

(MASTER THESIS)

**PLACE ATTACHMENT AND GATED
COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF SOYAK
MAVIŞEHİR, İZMİR**

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**YASAR UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCE**

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I declare and honestly confirm that my study titled "PLACE ATTACHMENT AND GATED COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF SOYAK MAVİŞEHİR, İZMİR" , and presented as Master Thesis has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions and all sources I have benefited from are listed in bibliography and I have benefited from these sources by means of making references.

Ebru BENGİSU

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of stylized, overlapping letters that appear to be 'E' and 'B'.

ABSTRACT**PLACE ATTACHMENT AND GATED COMMUNITIES: THE
CASE OF SOYAK MAVİŞEHİR, İZMİR**

BENGİSU, Ebru

MASTER THESIS, Department of Interior Architecture

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Globalization and competitive market strategies in Turkey since 1980s accelerated construction sector and brought gated communities into our lives. Gated communities were criticized to cause incoherence in the social structure despite the high demand especially in major cities of Turkey. This study aims to gain insight on the phenomena and popularity of gated communities in İzmir, from the perspective of gated community residents. The theory of place attachment is used to generate a theoretical framework for this study which is supported by literature research. Place attachment is a psychological well-being in the proximity of a place. The literature research points out three approaches on place attachment: identity, dependence and affection. Socio-demographic characteristics can affect the strength of attachment and place attachment motivates people to behave more responsible towards their environments. A survey questionnaire was conducted in Soyak Mavişehir to determine the profile of attached residents; the significance of place attachment aspects and the consequences of place attachment in gated communities. Statistical analysis found that 58 out of 100 residents of the sample are above the mean of attachment score (3.39 out of 5) however none of the socio-demographic characteristics is related to the strength of attachment. Affection is a significant indicator of attachment while the comparability of activities is not significant. The thesis concludes that place attachment in gated communities is not productive but consumptive practices of everyday life. Following the results and discussions some recommendations for the future studies is also presented.

Keywords: Place Attachment, Gated Communities, Mavişehir, İzmir.

ÖZET**MEKAN BAĞLILIĞI VE KAPALI SİTELER: İZMİR SOYAK
MAVIŞEHİR ÖRNEĞİ**

BENGİSU, Ebru
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, İç Mimarlık ve Çevre Tasarımı Bölümü

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Türkiye’de özellikle 1980 sonrasında etkin olmaya başlayan küreselleşme ve özelleştirme politikaları, yapılaşmayı da etkilemiş ve bizi kapalı sitelerle tanıştırmıştır. Kapalı siteler, sosyal yapıda yaratabileceği problemler nedeniyle akademik çevrelerce eleştirilse bile, özellikle Türkiye’nin büyük şehirlerinde oldukça rağbet görmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı İzmir’deki kapalı siteleri ve sitelerin popülaritesini site sakinleri açısından incelemektir. Çalışmanın teorik çerçevesi mekân bağlılığı teorisini üstünden şekillenmektedir. Mekan bağlılığı bir mekanda olma durumunda hissedilen iyi olma halidir. Literatür taraması mekân bağlılığını, kimlik, tabiiyet ve duygusallık olarak üç yaklaşımla tanımlamaktadır. Mekân bağlılığı teorisine göre her sosyo-demografik özelliğin bağlılığın üstünde farklı bir etkisi vardır ve mekân bağlılığı insanların çevrelerine karşı daha duyarlı olmalarını ve sorumlulukla hareket etmelerini sağlar. Literatür araştırmasının öne sürdüğü bu unsurları test etmek amacıyla Soyak Mavişehir sitesinde bir anket çalışması düzenlenmiştir. Sonuçta cevap veren 100 sakinin 58’inin elde edilen ortalama bağlılık derecesinden (5 üzerinden 3.39) yüksek bir dereceye sahip olduğu, duygusallığın belirgin bir bağlılık faktörü olduğu ve site içindeki aktivitelere tabi olmanın mekâna bağlılıkla anlamlı bir ilişkisi olmadığı görülmüştür. Bu tez, kapalı sitelerde mekân bağlılığının gündelik hayatın pratiklerinin üretimi ile değil tüketimi ile ilgili olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Sonuçlar ve tartışmalardan sonra geleceğe yönelik çalışma önerileri sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekân Bağlılığı, Kapalı Siteler, İzmir, Mavişehir,

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1. INTRODUCTION:

“We gave shape to our buildings and they, in turn, shape us”
(Churchill, 1943)

Through our experiences, we produce bonds with to certain places in a psychological level. These bonds occur through our experiences with places, appear in our representations and have an effect on our lives (Giuliani, 2003).

Several terms are introduced to explain these bonds such as, place identity (Proshansky et. al, 1983; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), place dependence (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001) or sense of place (Hay, 1998; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). *“Place attachment”* is the term that studies reached on consensus to describe these psychological bonds.

In the past years alone, the experience of places has undergone radical changes. Environmental disasters or globalization are some of the elements that threaten our experiences with places (Relph, 1976). People relocate to places in which they feel more secure physically, economically or socially. According to a survey by a workforce consulting company, 78 percent of respondents throughout the world stated that they would consider relocating for work in the future (ManPower, 2008).

People no longer inhabit a single dwelling for multiple generations. Contemporary dynamics in the consumption culture, technologies and lifestyles are shaping us to be more flexible and multi-tasking. These conditions influence our dwelling decisions and as Akçal (2004) stated, especially mid-upper, upper strata shift towards private settings such as gated communities, which offer security and amenities.

Gated communities are defined as housing developments, which are surrounded by fences, walls or other barriers that limit the public access (Grant and Mittlesteadt, 2004). In Istanbul the numbers of gated communities, which are

built between 2006-2010, constitute 13% of total housing stock in the city (Epos Real Estate Agency, 2010). The demands are so high that the units are sold even before the construction is completed. In 2013, 85% of the sold properties belong to projects, which are yet to be completed (REIDIN, 2013). It is assumed that the demand for gated communities increase over the next ten years as the urban population in Turkey is projected to be 71 million (GYODER Real Estate Agency Report, 2012).

Despite the popularization, gated communities were criticized since they assign usage rights of public places over a group of included members; an action which might cause fragmentation, segregation and polarization (Akçal, 2004; Çınar et. al, 2006; Geniş, 2007). Studies in Turkey call attention to potential problems of gated communities; however the psychology behind this high-demand is mostly neglected. At that point, it's thought that understanding resident' motives and their attachment behavior can contribute to gated community studies. In the following chapter, the aim of the study will be explained.

1.1 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to gain insight on the phenomena of gated communities and its popularity, from the perspective of gated community residents' attachment behavior. While achieving that, this study also aims to call attention to the consequences of place attachment in the context of gated communities.

Place attachment is a widely accepted concept in environmental psychology, which is used to provide insight on people's feelings, opinions and behaviors towards a distinct environment. Studies of place attachment (as it will be explained in Chapter 2) claim that, people show attachment through various ways such as trying to be physically close, identifying themselves with the place, showing affection and preferring this place among similar alternatives. There can be variations in attachment among different socio-demographic groups.

Gated communities on the other hand are marketed as unique housing solutions with many facilities for people who seek a prestigious lifestyle in a homogenous community. It's thought that different physical and social aspects of gated communities, address different ways of attachment. Differences in socio-demographic characteristics might also affect attachment behavior.

Another critical matter in question is the consequences of attachment in gated communities. Discussing these consequences can provide a better understanding on the preference of gated communities and help us foresee the potential outcomes.

Within the above-mentioned context the following research questions were introduced:

- Which people are more likely to be attached?
- Which aspects of attachment are most emphasized by attached gated community residents?
- What can be the consequences of attachment in gated communities?

1.2 Methodology of the Study

This research has been conducted from a qualitative perspective. In order to analyze residents' motives for living in gated communities the theoretical framework of place attachment is used. An informative background of place attachment theory and gated communities were constructed through the literature research. Literature research includes published books, online academic databases, real estate reports and newspaper articles.

Next stage of this research is to determine the relationships between the indicators of place attachment and gated community residents' behaviors. In order to test this relationship, data of gated community residents was required. This data was obtained by conducting a questionnaire in Soyak Mavişehir, a gated community in Mavişehir, İzmir. Thereafter the data was subjected to statistical

analysis. Further details on research site, sample size and statistics were discussed in Chapter 4.3.

1.3 Structure of the Study

The first chapter of the thesis is introduction. In this chapter, first, general information on place attachment theory is given, and then the motives for selecting gated communities as a research topic is explained. Next, the aim of the study and the methodology were introduced.

Chapter two starts with the definition of attachment and how it is applied in the investigation and formulation of theories concerning affective bonds between people and places. After that, different approaches to place attachment were discussed. Chapter two concludes with socio-demographic indicators and the consequences of place attachment.

Chapter three is based on gated communities. A brief history and the conditions that lead to the formation of gated communities in the world were followed by the emergence of gated communities in Turkey and İzmir. Then the social implications of gated communities were reviewed.

Chapter four introduces research site and its socio-economic and physical context. This chapter also gives details about the questionnaire and statistical analysis. At the end of Chapter 4, results of the analysis are presented as pie charts and tables.

Last chapter concludes with the discussion of the results and implications with the limitations current study and the recommendations for further research.

2. PLACE ATTACHMENT

Place attachment is defined as “a psychological well-being experienced as a result of accessibility to a place or a state of distress set up by the remoteness of a place” (Giuliani, 2003).

Scientific investigation on the construction of place attachment and how it is formed is still an ongoing process. On the other hand, attachment in interpersonal relationships acquired much more empirical research over the years. Giuliani (2003) stated that the definition of “attachment” compared with the broad concept of “place attachment” has a more restricted meaning thus can be used as a base to conceptualize place attachment. Next part focuses on attachment theory and its common aspects with place attachment.

2.1 Attachment Theory

In contemporary psychology, attachment to a significant person is defined as “a seeking of closeness that if found would result in feeling secure and comfortable in relation to a unique partner. This closeness can progress and sustain over time... inexplicable separation tends to cause stress, and permanent loss would cause grief” (Ainsworth, 1989). Bowlby (1988), who formulated the basic principles of attachment, made observations on children during and after separation from their mothers. He found that, children tried to be close to their mothers because mothers are seen as capable figures for protection and satisfying their needs (Bowlby, 1988). When separated, children protest and fall into despair (Bowlby, 1988).

Ainsworth (1989) developed Bowlby’s theory by investigating adulthood attachment. She found that, desire to be close to an attachment figure may sustain over time while distance and absence throughout adulthood affect attachment. However attachment never disappears and any inexplicable separation tends to cause distress and any loss would cause grief (Ainsworth, 1989).

As in interpersonal relationships, people realize attachment under circumstances such as when the bond is threatened (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981; Fried, 2000; Giuliani, 2003). One of the first studies that point out separation from places is the study of Fried (1963) on the effects of forced relocation. His study revealed that the reactions of a large number of forced relocated people resembled the sorrow experienced after the loss of a loved one. He claimed that forced separation causes a disconnection of residents' spatial and group identity (Fried, 2000).

Fried's (1963) study has set a precedent for following studies to accept "unwillingness to leave" as a key measure for place attachment. Furthermore, his theory on the disconnection of identity led the way for identity based approach of place attachment. In the following chapter, along with identity based approach, dependence and affection based approaches to place attachment were investigated.

2.2 Approaches to Place Attachment

Most of the studies take different psychological aspects as indicators of place attachment. That's why, today place attachment is accepted as an "umbrella" concept, which embraces multiple psychological aspects as indicators of place attachment. Main approaches that specify these aspects are based on identity, dependence and affection based approaches.

Following chapters develop a comprehensive understanding of each approach and indicate their relevance in terms of testing place attachment of gated community residents.

2.2.1 Identity Based Approach

It's already mentioned how in the forced relocation study of Fried (1963) the sorrows of inhabitants were interpreted as a disconnection of identity. In the context of psychological studies, place identity refers to a feature of a person, not a place. (Lewicka, 2004)

Proshansky (1983) was the first researcher to introduce place identity. It is defined as “substructure of self that consists a collection of memories, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about a physical setting” (Proshansky, 1983). His study is important for exploring the role of physical environment in identity studies, which was overlooked before; however there was not any reference to attachment.

Study of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1997) was first to explore the extents of place identity on the development of attachment to places. In their study, they adapt principles of identity from social psychology and postulated that if a person was attached to a place; he/she would express him/herself through these identity principles, which are distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem and self-efficacy. They conduct semi-structured interviews with the residents of a neighborhood in which several environmental and economic changes occur.

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell's (1997), place identity principles are explained as follow:

- *Distinctiveness:*

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1997), suggest that distinctiveness summarize a lifestyle and having a specific type of relationship with the environment, which is distinct from any other type of relations. Their study showed that, attached people distinguish themselves according to the place they live and qualities of people living in the same environment as they are. The ones who are not attached express no differentiation such kind.

For the study of gated communities, we could say that there is already a differentiation in terms of identifying people who live inside and outside the gates. It's quite possible that gated community residents distinguish themselves from others who are not living in the same environment according to the place they live or qualities of other people living inside the gates.

- *Continuity:*

Continuity is explained as a reference point over time, between old and new; or perceived and unknown (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1997; Proshansky et. al, 1983). In Twigger-Ross and Uzzell's study (1997), attached residents express continuity while talking about their residential history and opinions on relocation.

Hay (1998) contributed to the discussion of continuity by claiming that, if a person resides in a place for many years, he or she may develop a sense of security and this place becomes "an anchor for his or her identity" In his study, attachment behavior is particularly expressed by people who aged in the same place over the years (Hay, 1998).

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1997) claimed that, unless, relocation is planned by the inhabitant and symbolizes an opportunity to move on; forced relocation causes loss of continuity. They claimed that an attached resident protests the idea of relocation and tend to explain the history of the place in reference to their lives.

For the study of gated communities, continuity with reference to historical background can be a difficult task since the example doesn't have a history more than 5 years, which is not an influential time for residents' development. However residents' opinions on relocation can be a measure of attachment based on Fried's (1963) and Twigger-Ross and Uzzell's (1997) studies.

- *Self-esteem:*

Self-esteem principle of place identity refers to positive feelings of oneself in relation with the unique social or physical qualities of the place (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1997). In their study, self-esteem was examined through the statements of pride. It's stated that the qualities of place are one of the factors that effects how a person gain self-esteem (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1997). It's found that attached residents are proud to be living in their neighborhood.

In another study conducted in Halfa, Israel, the participants who indicated that they were proud to live in their neighborhood were more attached and they mostly live in socioeconomically homogenous neighborhoods (Mesch and Manor, 1998). It was explicated "enjoying high prestige and low environmental problems are influential in the development of pride" (Mesch and Manor, 1998).

Gated communities are one of the most socioeconomically homogenous areas. Regarding the study of Mesch and Manor, (1998) it is considered that the residents of gated communities would also enjoy high prestige and less environmental problems. The qualities of their living environment might results in high self-esteem which leads to attachment.

- *Self-efficacy:*

Self-efficacy is related to the manageability of the area. In the study of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1997) it is hypothesized that, if a resident states the functional aspects of an environment (e.g. closeness to work, having facilitates) as a benefit for their daily life, they would be more attached. However the results of the study show that self-efficacy is not a valid measure for differentiating attached and non-attached residents. In the context of this study self-efficacy statements were not tested.

In this part place attachment in the context of identity were introduced through the influential study of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell. This approach theorizes that expressing distinctiveness, continuity and self-esteem and self-efficacy manifest

attachment to a place. As a result, apart from self-efficacy all other principles are found to be related to attachment. For the case of gated communities analyzing these aspects might bring us insights on attachment behaviors.

Place attachment is also investigated in terms of the behaviors of people and the extent of dependability. Next part discusses dependence-based approaches to place attachment and their significance for gated community studies.

2.2.2 Dependence Based Approach

Dependence based approaches identifies evaluative and behavioral measures of place attachment. Stokols and Shumaker (1981) were first to introduce place dependence. Place dependence is defined as the opportunities a setting provides for goal and activity needs. Place dependence has two components: quality of place and comparability of place. Quality of place means capability scale of a place in terms of satisfying the needs of residents for an intended use (Raymond et. al, 2010). On the other hand, comparability of the place means to prefer a specific place over a range of alternatives for the goals of residents (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001).

Mesch and Manor (1998), claim that residents might be attached to their neighborhoods as long as they perceive them as good places to live. At first, this aspect could be confused with satisfaction. However, various studies indicate that satisfaction and attachment are distinct but related concepts. Mesch and Manor (1998) take attachment as sentiments developed towards a place whereas satisfaction indicates the evaluation of features of an environment. They claim that it is possible to be satisfied without being attached. However, people are more likely to develop positive affective bonds if they evaluate their environments positively. In another study, Ringel and Finkelstein (1991) claim that one of the major differences between satisfaction and attachment is that, attachment is based on the uniqueness of an environment.

One empirical study that analyzes place dependence as an indicator of attachment is the study of Pretty et al. (2003), in which she examined rural towns. The respondents stated that the residents' preferences to leave or stay were associated with the quality of activities they found to be diverse and interesting in comparison with other places. In another study conducted in an urban park, attached respondents stated that they considered this park as exceptional in terms of providing opportunities for physical activities that improves their health (Kyle et. al., 2004).

Dependence based approaches accepts the preference of a place over a range of alternatives with similar features as an indicator of attachment. In the case of gated communities there are many projects that are being marketed with similar facilities of 24 hour security, car parks, cafeterias, sport centers etc. Therefore the evaluation of the chosen gated community in terms of how well it executes these facilities in comparison with others could be used to reveal the attachment behavior of gated community residents.

2.2.3 Affection Based Approach

Affection based approach is related to emotions, feelings and moods of a person that is linked with the experiences of the physical world (Manzo, 2005). Manzo (2005), claims that in terms of creating meanings, relationships with places can represent an array of emotions from love to hate. In his study it is postulated that it is still possible to have significant and strong relationships with a place even the feelings are not positive (Manzo, 2005). However, the nature of relationships between unfavorable and favorable places is differentiated since the respondents stated that "They would rather forget or choose not to go" to a place that evokes negative feelings.

In another study about lake house owners, attached owners described their feelings with statements like "I feel happiest in my house" or "I really miss my lake property when I'm away from it for too long" (Jorgensen and Steadman, 2001).

An individual's emotional response to a place may differ from positive to negative. At this point, it is considered that place attachment embraces more positive than negative feelings about a place. However this aspect is still a new issue for place attachment studies.

Feelings and emotions are one of the first ways to describe our relationships our with anything. However, affection is one of the most subjective notions to conceptualize and analyze in a meaningful way.

Investigating place attachment approaches are crucial for creating the questionnaire survey. For this survey three questions were generated for each approach. The content of questions and their related approach was presented in

Table 2.1 Place Attachment Approaches and Survey Questions

Approach	Indicators	Related Studies	Survey Questions
Affect-Based Approach	Feelings/Emotions	Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989 ; Manzo, 2005	I feel good in Soyak Mavişehir
		Manzo, 2005; Jorgensen and Steadman 2001	I have an emotional connection with Soyak Mavişehir
		Jorgensen and Steadman, 2001, Brocato, 2006	I miss here when I'm away
Dependence-Based Approach	Comparability of place	Stokols et. al, 1981;	I cannot compare any other area for doing the things I do in Soyak Mavişehir
		Stokols et. al, 1981 Pretty et. al, 2003	I prefer to live in Soyak Mavişehir instead of any other gated community or any place in İzmir.
		Stokols et. al, 1981 Pretty et. al, 2003	I will not consider living in another gated community because of the activities of Soyak Mavişehir
Identity-Based Approach	Self-esteem	Mesch and Manor, 1998; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 2001	I'm proud to live in Soyak Mavişehir
	Continuity	Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 2001	I will not consider relocating even though my life requires change in İzmir
	Distinctiveness	Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 2001	I think people from similar income level and social status are living in Soyak Mavişehir.

2.3 Socio-Demographic Indicators of Place Attachment

Individuals cannot be equally attracted to the same assets of place (Pan Ke Shon, 2007). Even if they live in the same place, attachment levels of people might differ (Rollero and De Piccoli, 2010). It is claimed that socio-demographic characteristics like gender, family status, education level, income level, residency age and homeownership effect place attachment. These socio-demographic characteristics and their relations with place attachment were explained as such:

- *Duration of Residency:*

The length of years lived in the same place are stated to be a positive indicator for place attachment (Bonaiuto et al, 1999; Lewicka, 2010). The age of residency is linked with the formation of identity through years so that “place becomes an anchor of identity” (Hay, 1998). To some researchers length of residency is also associated with social ties, which may affect the number of social acquaintance thus attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

Many gated communities in İzmir don't have a history more than 10 years. Therefore it is thought that the amount of time spent in a gated community might not be inadequate for being influential on identity. However regarding the study of Scannell and Gifford (2010), more times spent in a gated community create more chances for people to socialize and familiarize with their neighbors. That's why residency age is taken as one of the factors that attached residents were analyzed in the context of this study.

- *Age*

Age by itself is scarcely investigated as an independent factor of place attachment. In most of the cases residency age and age of the resident were taken together to determine which age group stay longer than the other. In one study that investigate age as an independent factor, it is stated that old residents were more attached because their physical activities were slower, which makes them

less mobile and more interested on what happens in the neighborhood (Schwirian and Schwirian, 1993).

- *Gender:*

In most cases gender is not a determinant factor on attachment (Bonaiuto et al 1999; Brown et. al., 2003; Lewicka, 2004.) However there are some cases in which attachment among women is considered to be higher than men (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Rollero and De Piccoli, 2010). One of the main interpretations on the effect of gender is that women comparing with men are more interested in house requisites.

- *Having Social Bonds with Other People*

Social bonds refer to the relationships between people that fostered in places (Brocato, 2006). Several scholars have investigated the importance of social bonds in places.

Guest and Lee (1983) found that social involvement with friends and kin is one of the most consistent and significant factors of place attachment (Guest and Lee 1983). Mesch and Manor (1998) stated that families with younger children are more interested in their neighborhoods therefore they are more attached. They claimed that as young children play, socialize and go to the same schools with the neighbors' children, neighborhood becomes the center point of socialization.

Many gated communities have playgrounds where children play and at times family members look after them. During these times it's possible that the parents may socialize. Regarding Mesch and Manor's study, attachment levels of families with small children in gated communities are one of the socio-demographic groups that attached residents were analyzed.

- *Education Level:*

Education level can be an indicator of attachment; however it can be interpreted both negatively and positively. According to Mesch and Manor (1998) more educated people have more accurate understanding for where they enjoy to live, thus they are less likely to move out. On the contrary, it is claimed that educated people are more mobile and less dependent on a single place (Lewicka, 2004). Rollero and De Piccoli (2010) also support that people with more education are less attached. They claim that high-educated people have other opportunities to identify themselves with other groups; so they don't need to identify themselves with their environments.

In both approaches education itself is not directly related with place attachment. It is considered that education causes other factors such as conscious selection of the living environment or identification of the self through other aspects. That's why investigating the effect of education on gated community residents' attachments can result either of the ways. The validity of this investigation should also depend on the sample selection, which should be homogenous enough to represent different educational backgrounds.

- *Income Level:*

The effect of income levels on place attachment has also contradictory outcomes. In a study conducted in Rome, the most attached residents are belong to lower socio-economic levels and live together with few people (Bonaiuto et al, 1999). On the contrary, in Scannell and Gifford's study (2010) rich people are described more attached because they have privilege to select the location and type of dwellings according to their life styles (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Additionally, in Taylor et al.'s study (1985), which is conducted in 12 neighborhoods with 687 people; it is found that the homogeneity of income status in an neighborhood was associated with high levels of attachment.

It is possible for high-income residents to feel attached because they can choose wherever they want to be among many alternatives and they might be proud of their decision. Gated communities target high-income strata. Even though the owners don't live in some of the apartments, for the tenants, expenses for maintenance still require a certain amount of money. In the context of this study, it is assumed that it is not possible to have a reliable comparison between low-income and high-income residents due to the fact that mostly high-income residents would constitute the sample.

- *House Ownership:*

House ownership status is stated to be a positive predictor for place attachment (Lewicka, 2010). According to Mesch and Manor (1998), house owners are more attached because the investments of a house make owners more involved with their houses. However in Bilkent, Ankara no significant relationship was found between homeownership and attachment level (Akçal, 2004). Akçal (2004) explained that his sample is not satisfying enough to reflect both tenants and house owners because his sample is mostly constituted of students who were tenants.

It's thought that house ownership indicates a person-place relationship that sustains over time. Tenancy, on the other hand can be short-termed. Moreover house owners are more flexible for making changes whenever they want, but tenants might not have this flexibility. Therefore, in this study, house owners are expected to have higher attachment than tenants.

In this section the effect of different socio-demographic factors on attachment level were reviewed and possible implications of these factors on gated community residents were evaluated. A summary of socio-demographic indicators' effect on place attachment can be found in Table 2.2. In the next part consequences of place attachment is discussed.

Table 2.2 Socio-demographic factors' effect on place attachment

Socio-Demographic Factor	Effects on Attachment	Related Studies
Duration of Residency	Positive effect	Lewicka, 2010
Age	Positive effect	Schwirian and Schwirian, 1993
Gender	Females are more attached than males	Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Rollero and De Piccoli, 2010
Having Social Bonds	Positive effect	Guest and Lee, 1983; Mesch and Manor , 1998
House Ownership	Positive effect	Lewicka, 2010; Akçal, 2004
Education Level	Positive effect	Mesch and Manor ,1998
	Negative effect	Lewicka, 2004; Rollero and De Piccoli, 2010
Income Level	Positive effect	Scannell and Gifford, 2010
	Negative effect	Bonaiuto et al, 1999

2.4 Consequences of Place Attachment

In what way place attachment affect behaviors towards a place? Researches indicate that, attachment encourages involvement for improving and preserving the environment (Mesch and Manor, 1998).

Place attachment motivates people to behave more responsible in individual and group level. Brown et al. (2003) found that residents who are attached to their neighborhood are more likely to invest time and money to repair their houses. Sampson (1989) found that attached residents are more likely to form social and political organizations for the problems of a neighborhood than non-attached residents. Kyle et. al. (2004) added that attached visitors were more interested in taking part in management for the development of an urban park. In another study, residents took action and organized associations to stop demolition projects and renovate their neighborhood through their own means (Mooney, 2009). Attachment to a place can is connected with participation in planning, design that increases residents' responsiveness towards user participatory projects.

Although place attachment is mostly linked with positive consequences, in extreme cases place attachment might create conflicts. For instance, in poor, ethnic and immigrant neighborhoods residents are more likely to evaluate their neighborhoods positively, even though the place has higher physical and social

deteriorations (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). These residents show over possessiveness, thus any development attempt is perceived as a threat because of the proposed changes in the neighborhood (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Fried (2000) added that the importance of place can have more distinctive meanings in lower class people than middle and upper class people.

In the view of what was mentioned on the consequences of place attachment so far, we may suppose that place attachment has different consequences which are related with the physical and social factors of a place. On the other hand, gated communities generate their own physical and social context separated from its surroundings. In this respect, it is possible that place attachment in gated communities have different consequences than the given examples.

In the view of what was mentioned on the place attachment so far, we can summarize some of the most important aspects. Firstly, it is supposed that place attachment is a state of well-being in the proximity of a place and a state of stress in the remoteness of a place (Giuliani, 2003). Secondly, place attachment embraces multiple psychological indicators which are tested by the statements of people. Thirdly, strength of place attachment may change in accordance with socio-demographic factors. Lastly, place attachment might result in several positive and negative consequences depending on the features environment.

Next part introduces the phenomena of gated communities, their formation around the world and the history of gated communities in Turkey and İzmir.

3. GATED COMMUNITIES

In this section, the formation of gated communities, emergence of gated communities in the world, Turkey and İzmir were introduced.

3.1 Formation of Gated Communities

Over the years, with the effects of globalization and changing lifestyles gated communities have become an increasingly popular trend. Gated communities are defined as “physical private areas with prohibited accesses, which are being directed with special rules where outsiders and insiders exist,” (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2005).

Gated communities first emerged in United States. The first examples of gated communities were in United States as family estates in wealthy communities such as Llewellyn Park built in 1850s and Tuxedo Park built in 1886 (Low, 2012). The main reason for the emergence of gated communities was to provide an enclosed suburban environment in which upper class can live away from the busy city center (Low, 2012). In 1960s and 1970s, retirement clubs were gated communities in which middle class Americans can reside (Blakely and Synder, 1997). Resorts, country and golf clubs in 1980s spread across the country for the needs of prestige, exclusivity and leisure (Low, 2012). Over the last 50 years gated communities became a production of the existing segregation between different social and cultural groups (Low, 2012).

In different geographies, gated communities serve for different purposes (Geniş, 2007). For instance, Europe has a long history of gated communities dating back to industrial age when private communities inherited former aristocratic patterns of gates and walls to restrict the access of non-residents to the residences of upper class (Le Goix, and Callen, 2010) However, not all gated communities of the 19th century in Europe are restricted for upper classes. In industrial European cities, such as London and Paris, working-class villas and private developments for middle class also built, especially near the industrial

outskirts of these cities (Le Goix and Callen, 2010). Today, the main reasons for the preference of gated communities in Europe are the seasonal use in coastal areas and retirement facilities (Webster, 2002; Boulhouwer and Hoekstra, 2009). In metropolises of Europe gated communities are preferred because of prestige (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007).

In Asia, gated communities are different from the examples in Europe or United States. For instance, In Japan, due to construction regulations, privatizations of roads are not allowed. Therefore, instead of isolated neighborhoods; high-rise condominium buildings are frequent (Abe-Kudo, 2007). In China, Wu (2010) explained that Chinese gated communities are often built as low-density villa towns. It's argued that the changing consumption patterns in Asia created a "desire to show and protect new lifestyles and interests" (Huang, 2006).

Gated communities were mainly constructed for security reasons as a solution for social conflicts in Latin America and Africa. Coy (2006) stated that the depth of social inequalities increased the demands for security, and the number of gated communities. Gated communities have been continuing to grow, as high crime rate is the prominent problem in South Africa (Landman, 2003).

Emergence of gated communities' in Turkey started during 1980s with globalization and the adoption of competitive market strategies. Political shift of the era liberated the international trade, and the construction of the new roads accelerated sprawling across metropolises (Güner, 2005). Job opportunities and ease of transportation increased immigration to the big cities. New migrants, who couldn't support themselves, built squatter houses (Erman, 1997). During this time, institutions like TOKİ (Housing Development Administration), Emlak Bank and local authorities, began mass housing developments in privatized public lands in order to prevent the uncontrollable sprawling of squatter housing (Altun, 2008).

In 1990s, imports, private televisions and mass marketing accelerated the demand of individualism and social status became an aspect to be displayed (Güner, 2005). Starting from İstanbul, major cities underwent dramatic changes as

diverse housing projects were developed targeting different social strata (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2007). On one hand, large-scale projects of villa towns in suburban areas target upper class that prefers to live away from the city center. Kemer Country in Istanbul is one of the first examples of such villa towns. On the other hand, variations of gated enclaves that differ in terms of location, size and amenities were constructed for the upper and middle-income groups (Geniş, 2007).

The reasons for moving in to gated communities in Turkey were investigated by many scholars. In Kurtuluş's study (2005) the main reason for preferring gated communities was found to be living in a prestigious community. Aytar (2010) claimed that fear of earthquakes especially after 1999, accelerated relocation to earthquake-resistant buildings. Geniş (2007) postulated that unlike other examples around the world, security is not the primary motivation for Turkish people to choose gated communities, however fear of crime and sense of security can be a consequence of living in gated communities. Similarly, in Wilson-Doenges's study (2000), gated community residents had significantly higher sense of safety than non-gated community residents, although there were no critical differences on crime rates between these environments.

Geniş (2007) stated that prominent construction companies try to attract people with their marketing strategies. With these strategies, projects are presented as prestigious and modern housing solutions against the irregularities of the city center. Kan Ülkü (2010) stated that a need is created through marketing, which can be satisfied by having the advertised product. In addition to that, banks promote sales and low-interest loans according to the financial situation of prospective buyers. Erkip (2010) stated that, house ownership has been a profitable investment in Turkey. Having a house with low interest loans is an opportunity to be a house owner. All in all, the demands are usually so high; the units are sold even before the construction is completed (Geniş, 2007).

Changes in economic and social life have been represented in the urban structure of major cities in Turkey since the beginning of 1980s. İzmir, as the third most populated city of Turkey, has been effected by these changes over the

last years, however emergence of gated communities in İzmir were not elaborated in academic studies as much as the examples of İstanbul or Ankara. This study attempts to contribute to the research of gated communities by investigating their emergence in İzmir.

3.2 Emergence of Gated Communities in İzmir

Since the old ages, İzmir is one of the most important port cities that interconnect countries. Between 16th century and the beginning of 20th century; the population of İzmir had been composed by different ethnic groups of Levantines, Greeks and Turkish (Güner, 2006). Until 1920s, İzmir protected this cosmopolitan structure, however beginning with the First World War and the great fire of İzmir, the city transformed dramatically.

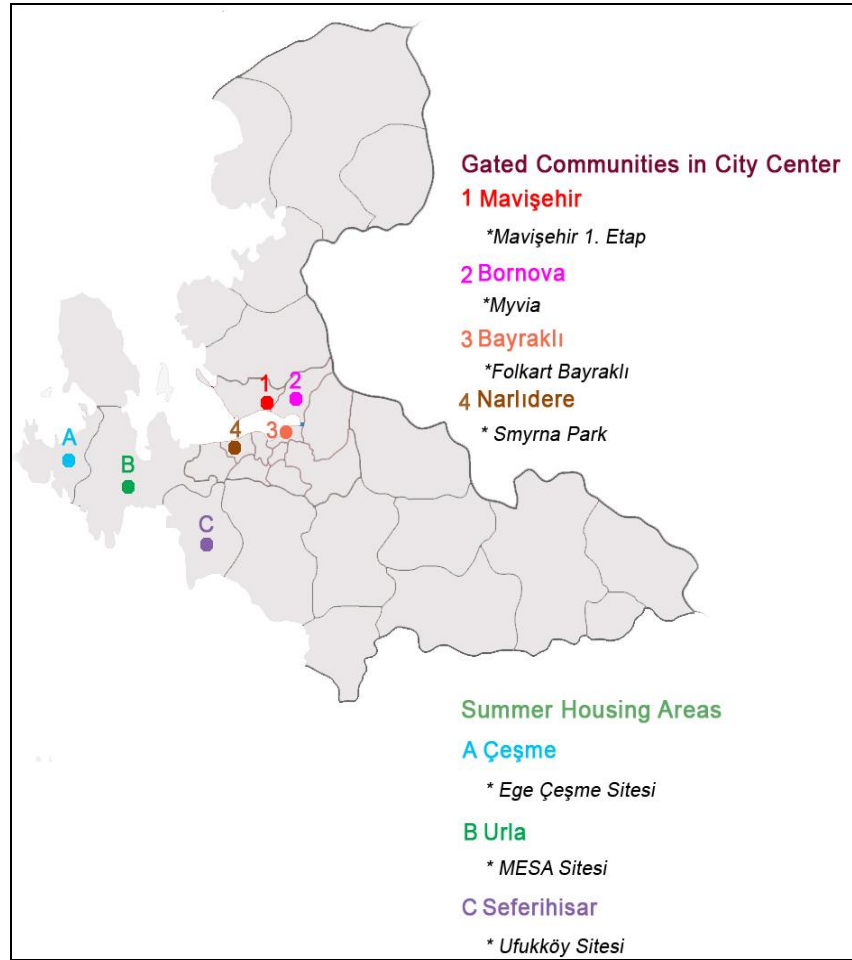
The period between the First World War and the end of Second World War, İzmir constituted its urban plan from the scratch. In 1950s, new roads and new infrastructure increased the construction rates (Güner, 2006). After the Second World War, till the beginning of 1960s, the population of İzmir increased 75 percent (Keyder, 1987).

İzmir is negatively affected from this rapid immigration. Insufficient resources and the absence of a robust solution to housing problems caused the problem of squatter housing (gecekondu) along the peripheries of the city (Güner, 2005). This caused a shift in the formation of the city as it became possible to distinguish different social classes from the locations and sizes of their houses.

During 1980s and 1990s, the concept of second houses was popular among the upper-middle and upper class of İzmir. In coastal areas like Urla, Çeşme and Seferihisar many summer housing complexes like Ege Çeşme or Mesa were constructed (Map 3.1) The idea of escaping from the crowd and noise of city center set developers into the action and with the role of government as an active legislator, gated communities for upper-high, upper class started to be built at the end of 1990s. Gated communities in İzmir, unlikely in Ankara and İstanbul were shaped inside the city's dynamics (Altun, 2008). Today, fastest developing areas

of gated communities are in Bornova to the east, Narlıdere to the west and Mavişehir to the north (Güner, 2006) Some of the projects are Myvia in Bornova, Folkart Narlıdere and Smyrna Park in Narlıdere and Emlak Konut Mavişehir and Soyak Mavişehir in Mavişehir. (Map 3.1)

Map 3.1. Distribution of Gated Communities in İzmir.



One of the fastest developing gated community areas in İzmir is Mavişehir. Mavişehir is developed as a metropolitan improvement land for Karşıyaka. It is located between Gediz Delta on its right and squatter housing rehabilitation area on its left (Taşçı, 1989). The first housing complex facility, Mavişehir, which gave its name to the area, was built in late 1990s. It has mixed-type housing complexes, such as high-storey apartment blocks and villas (Koç, 2001). Unlike today, the project was not constructed inside the gates. Taşçı (1989)

stated that the aim of the project was to provide “modern housing and working environments for high class people”. From 90s till now, this area has been transformed dramatically. First, with new legislations, protected lands of Gediz Delta were zoned for construction in 2004, and then, the completion of ring road accelerated constructions in this area. Over time, with the constructions of new communities, Mavişehir became gradually separated from the rest of Karşıyaka (Orhun and Orhun, 2006). By the year of 2013 the condition of Mavişehir can be seen in Map 3.2.

Soyak Mavişehir is one of the largest gated communities in Mavişehir. There are several reasons for conducting this study in Soyak Mavişehir. First of all, Soyak Mavişehir is built as a gated community with security gates, 24-hour surveillance system, designed landscape and services. Secondly, the construction started in 2005 right after the legislation passed and the houses were delivered in 2008, which makes Soyak Mavişehir one of the oldest gated communities in Mavişehir. Thirdly, with 1500 units it is one of the most populated and large-scaled projects in the area. Lastly, Soyak employed various marketing techniques such as advertisements in written and visual media, websites, promotional catalogues with 3d renderings, and a sales office with sample apartments and model houses. This marketing became successful that a project marketing manager of Soyak reported that most of the apartments were sold before the construction is completed. Next chapter investigates Soyak Mavişehir in physical and socio-economic context and presents the results of survey questionnaire.

Map 3.2. Distribution of Gated Communities in Mavişehir.

NO.	NAME of the PROJECT	CONSTRUCTION COMPANY	CONSTRUCTION YEAR
1	Mavişehir Villaları	Ceylan -Garanti Koza-Mesa -OTAK İnşaat	2001
2	Mavişehir Albatros Blokları	Emlak Konut	2001
3	Mavişehir 2. Etap	Emlak Konut	1997
4	Mavişehir 1. Etap	Emlak Konut	1995
5	Mavi Ada Elit Residence	Kervancı İnşaat	2005
6	Bozoğlu Mavişehir	Bozoğlu İnşaat	2008
7	Emlak Konut Mavişehir	TOKİ-Bozoğlu İnşaat	2006
8	Soyak Mavişehir	TOKİ-Soyak İnşaat	2005
9	Mavişehir Optimus First	Soyak İnşaat	2012
10	Park Yaşam Mavişehir	TOKİ-Türkerler İnşaat/Durmaz İnşaat/İZKA İnşaat	2010
11a	Mavişehir Modern 3	Gergül İnşaat	2013
11b	Mavişehir Modern 2	Gergül İnşaat	2012
11c	Mavişehir Modern 1	Gergül İnşaat	2011
12	Albayrak Mavişehir/Pelikan Sitesi	TOKİ-Albayrak İnşaat	2008
13	Vaha Evleri	Çağın İnşaat	2009
14	Metrokent Evleri	Bda İnşaat	2012
15	Aden Terrace	Erdil İnşaat	2011

NO.	NAME of the PROJECT	CONSTRUCTION COMPANY	CONSTRUCTION YEAR
16	Aden Park	Erdil İnşaat	2008
17	Duru Kent	Bda İnşaat	2009
18	Family Park Evleri	Engin İnşaat	2008
19	Lobi Platinum	Topuz Yapı	2011
20	Karya Evleri	Çağın İnşaat	2009
21	Folkart Mavişehir	Folkart Yapı	2007
22	Condominium	NKN İnşaat	2007
23	Platin Sitesi	Gültekin İnşaat	2006
24	Mimarın Mavişehir	Topuz Yapı	2010
25	Mavişehir Beyaz Nokta	Hiperbol İnşaat- Gültekinler İnşaat	2011
26	Urgancılar Sitesi	Katal İnşaat	2005
27	Kelebek Sitesi	Katal İnşaat	2010
28	Kayısı Kent	Öğünç Konut Yapı Kooperatifi	2008
29	Modda Mavişehir	Ontan İnşaat	2013
30	No:3 Mavişehir	Zabıtcı İnşaat	2013

NAME OF THE FACILITY	
A	Karşıyaka TayPark
B	Egepark Shopping Center
C	Denizkent Restaurant
D	Sports International
E	Atakent Anatolian High School
F	Mavişehir Primary School
G	Karşıyaka Sports Hall
H	Süleyman Demirel Anatolian High School
I	Koçtaş/DARTY Shopping Center
J	Fiat Showroom
K	Carrefour SA/ Praktiker Shopping Center
L	Hamza Rüstem Photography Gallery
M	İzmir Science High School
N	Çiğli İzban Train Atelier

4.CASE STUDY: SOYAK MAVİŞEHİR

4.1 Context

This part describes the physical, social and demographic factors of Soyak Mavişehir. The data for the physical context is obtained from promotional photos, plans, websites, and interviews with management offices while the data for socio-economic context is based on a survey questionnaire.

4.1.2 Physical Context

Settlement of Soyak Mavişehir is divided into two sections according to the locations and construction dates. The construction of the first section, *Zone A*, had begun in 2005. The construction of the second section, *Zone B*, had begun in 2007 (soyak.com.tr).

Zone A, contains 12 and *Zone B* contains 9 blocks. The zones are separated by car roads, which are all located in a 130.000 m² area. The blocks are either 14 or 16 storeys high and in total there are 1500 housing units. The sizes of these units vary between 64 m²-200m², which are 1+1, 2+1, 3+1, and 4+1. (See App.3)

There are several shopping centers in a walking distance. Apart from shopping centers in its vicinity, in Soyak Mavişehir there are 3 tennis courts, 3 basketball courts, 1.5 km bicycle tracks, 4 swimming pools on a 1400 m² area, 2 cafeterias and 2 playgrounds. In addition to sport facilities and recreational areas, the professionals especially for retired residents held various courses such as computer, singing or painting.

The maintenance of the facilities of Soyak Mavişehir is managed by private management companies, which is charged by the council of the residents. Once every year, one representative from each block is chosen to represent the residents for the council. The council of the block representatives discuss the problems of the residents, determines the rules and monthly fees.

The activities and services of Soyak Mavişehir are similar to the ones in other gated communities in Mavişehir. Thus, a comparison of these activities in terms of how well they are executed in Soyak can affect attachment level of residents as it is previously stated in Chapter 2.2.2. Apart from the physical context, socio-demographics of residents are also important to test attachment behavior. In the next part, socio-economic context of Soyak Mavişehir is presented.

4.1.2 Socio-Economic Context

Socio-economic factors can affect how gated community residents are likely to behave. In order to test socio-economical factors of Soyak Mavişehir residents, a questionnaire that comprised of three sections was designed. These sections are: Demographic variables, general questions about preferences related with Soyak and questions of place attachment. A pre-test was conducted with 30 residents and it's found that most of the respondents struggled with rank ordering question and tend to choose more than one answer for the question of reasons to live in Soyak Mavişehir. Therefore in the final version, rank ordering question is converted to ordinal question and reasons to live question has two choices.

For the final questionnaire, the respondents were selected randomly by snowballing technique, a method that was previously applied by Pretty et al (2003), Akçal (2004) and Brocato (2006). The questionnaire was distributed by the managerial office, researcher and respondents who gave extra copies to their neighbors. In addition to the printed version, there was also an online survey that is sent to the e-mails of the residents. A total of 150 printed questionnaires were distributed. 92 of them were collected. A success ratio of 60 % was reached in the distribution process. 18 questionnaires were answered digitally. A total of 110 questionnaires, each representing different houses were collected. 10 of the questionnaires were eliminated for various reasons such as too many questions left unanswered. The final sample represents 100 questionnaires.

Socio-demographic measures included: age, sex, education, occupation, declared income level, tenancy, length of residence and household size (indicating number of adults or children). Full demographics can be seen in Table 4.1

The sample consisted of 40 percent men and 60 percent women. Concerning age, 36% of the residents were between 31-40 years interval, 30% of the residents were older than 55 and only 2 respondents were under 21.

Respondents were asked to declare themselves in one of five income classification groups. The results showed a distribution of 7% high-income class, 55% upper-middle class, 36% middle class and 2% middle-low class. None of the residents were declared to be in low-income class.

The sample group of Soyak Mavişehir included people with at least high school education. None of the residents were declared to be primary school or middle school graduates.

The majority of the sample has been living in Soyak Mavişehir for 5 years with an average household of four persons. 67% of the sample is house owners.

For the reasons to move in Soyak Mavişehir, security was the most popular reason (Table 4.2). This question was a two-choice question. Choice pairs of this question are presented in Table 4.3. It can be seen that security is mostly paired with prestige and escape from city center.

It is found that the %36 of the sample avails from sports facilities with 36%, while %34 of the residents prefer playground. %19 prefer cafeteria, and the educational courses were preferred by %11

Table 4.1. Demographics of the Studied Sample

	NO.
SEX	
Female	60
Male	40
AGE	
21 or under	2
22-30	19
31-40	36
41-55	13
X>55	30
INCOME LEVEL	
Low-middle	2
Middle	36
Middle-high	55
High	7
EDUCATION	
High School	21
University	64
Post-Graduate	15
OCCUPATION	
Student	9
Working	53
Retired	20
Not working	10
Not Stated	8
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	
1	12
2	3
3	11
4	19
5	44
Less than 1 year	11
TENANCY	
House Owner	67
Tenant	33
SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	
1	14
2	30
3	25
4	27
5	1
Not Stated	3
LIVING WITH CHILDREN	
Living with Children Younger Than 18	21

Table 4.2 Reasons to live in Soyak Mavişehir

REASONS TO LIVE IN SOYAK MAVİŞEHİR	NO.
Security	81
Escape from City Center, Prestige	49
Transportation, Parking	31
Design, View, Size of Apartments	28
Neighbors, Friends and Relatives	11

Table 4.3 Reasons to live in Soyak Mavişehir (in Pairs)

REASONS TO LIVE IN SOYAK MAVİŞEHİR	NO.
Security + Escape from Pollution, Prestige	35
Security + Transportation, Parking	23
Security + Design, View, Size of Apartments	15
Security + Neighbors, Friends and Relatives	9
Design+ Escape from Pollution, Prestige	8
Design+ Neighbors, Friends and Relatives	2
Design+ Transportation, Parking	3
Transportation, Parking+ Escape from Pollution,Prestige	5

Table 4.4 Most used facility type in Soyak Mavişehir

FACILITY TYPE	NO.
Sport Facilities	36
Playground	34
Cafeteria	19
Educational Courses	11

After the inventory of socio-demographics, selected sample was subjected to statistical analysis to measure their attachment levels. Next part describes how attachment level was measured, which residents are more attached and which aspect is more effective on place attachment.

4.3 Place Attachment in Soyak Mavişehir

Place attachment questions consist of 9 statements. 3 of them describe place identity principles (continuity, self-esteem, distinctiveness) introduced by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1997); 3 of them describe affection as previously tested by Williams and Roggenbuck (1989), Jorgensen and Steadman (2001). Brocato (2006) and Manzo (2005); 3 of them reflects place dependence factor which is previously tested by Williams and Vaske (2003) and Kyle et.al (2004). In order to define the internal consistency of questions, a reliability analysis is made. It's stated that Cronbach's alpha between 0.7-0.8 is an acceptable value for reliability (Field, 2009). For this study Cronbach's alpha is 0.751 (See Appendix 5).

Participants were asked to indicate on a 5 point scale how much they agree with each statement. To compute the score of attachment, each statement is represented by numbers from 1 to 5 (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree). After, the means of statements' ratings were calculated. The sum of these means is called place attachment score and considered to be the cut-off criterion. The respondents higher than the attachment score are considered as attached while those below are considered to be not attached. This method was previously done in the study of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1997).

After the mathematical calculations an average score for each statement is derived. As seen in Table 4.5 mathematically affect-based statements of "I feel good in Mavişehir", "I have an emotional connection with Soyak Mavişehir" and "I miss here when I'm away" have the highest scores, where dependence-based statements like "I cannot compare any other area for doing the things I do in Soyak Mavişehir" and "I will not consider living in another gated community because of the activities of Soyak Mavişehir" have the lowest means (Table 4.5). One interesting aspect is that despite the fact that dependence based questions have low scores, the statement "I prefer to live in Soyak Mavişehir instead of any other gated community or any place in İzmir" has a high mean of 4,22 out of 5.

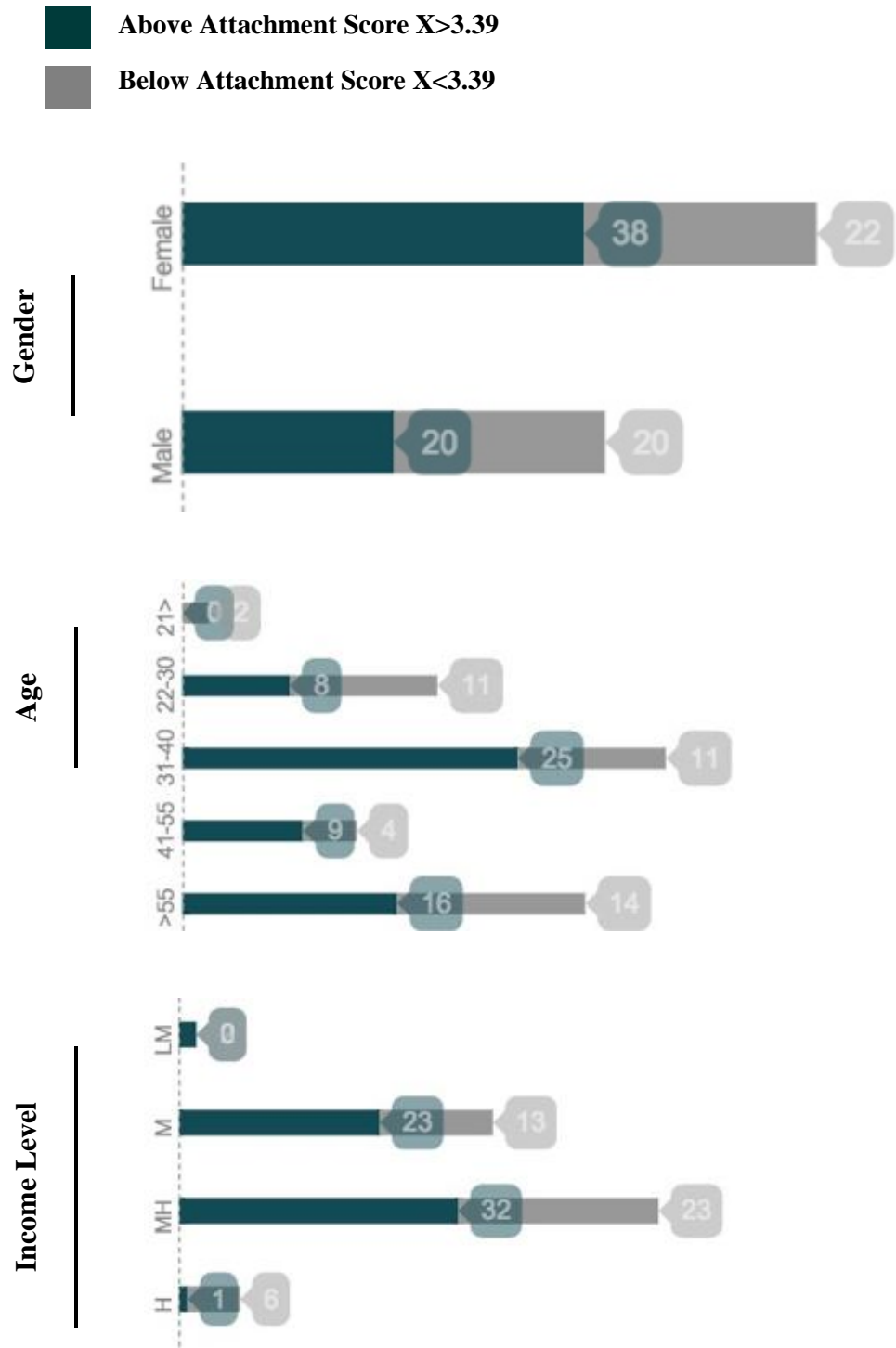
Table 4.5. Descriptive Analysis of Attachment Questions

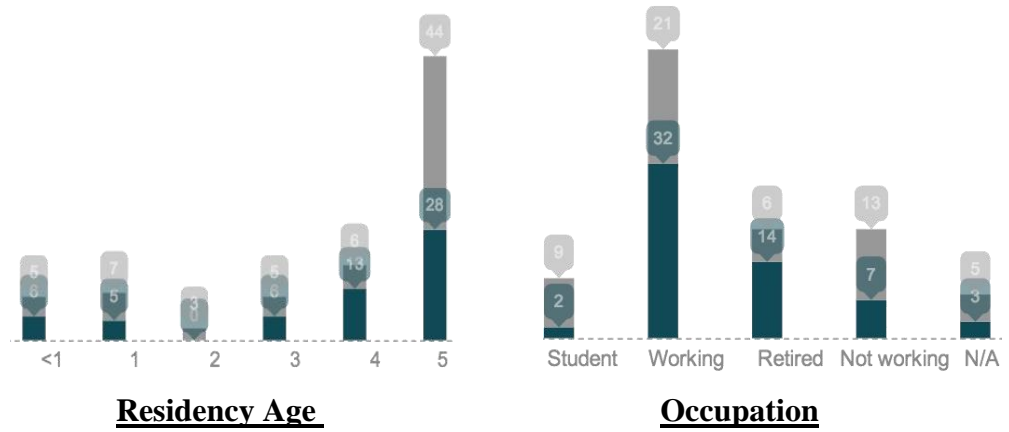
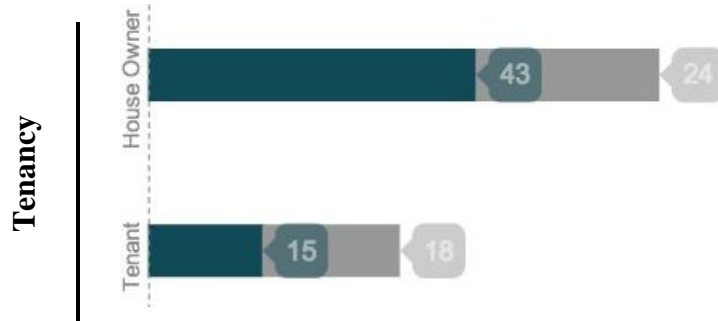
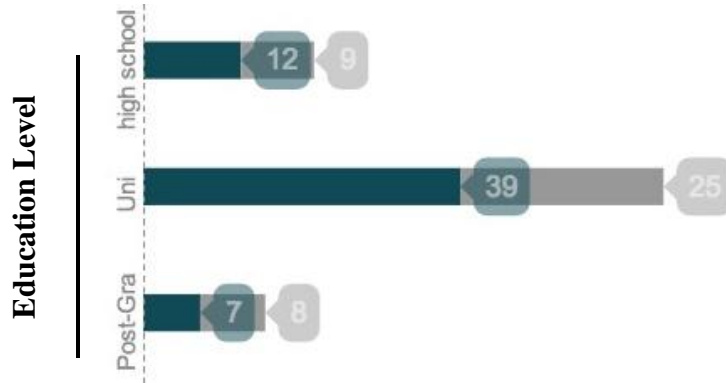
Place Attachment Approach	Related Questions	Mean Score				
		1	2	3	4	5
Affect-Based Approach (Mean of all Affect-based Qs=4,11)	I feel good in Soyak Mavişehir	4,43				
	I have an emotional connection with Soyak Mavişehir	3,81				
	I miss here when I'm away	4,09				
Dependence-Based Approach (Mean of all Dependence-based Qs=3,02)	I cannot compare any other area for doing the things I do in Soyak Mavişehir	2,64				
	I prefer to live in Soyak Mavişehir instead of any other gated community or any place in İzmir.	4,22				
	I will not consider living in another gated community because of the activities of Soyak Mavişehir	2,22				
Identity-Based Approach (Mean of all Dependence-based Qs=3,89)	I'm proud to live in Soyak Mavişehir	3,67				
	I will not consider relocating even though my life requires change in İzmir	3,98				
	I think people from similar income level and social status are living in Soyak Mavişehir.	4,02				

Attachment Score/Cut-off Criterion:
3.39

In total, the mean of all scores was 3.39 out of 5. Therefore 3.39 was used as a benchmark for accepting the residents as attached or not since the ones who are above 3.39 are considered as attached and the ones below 3.39 are considered as not attached. Regarding the previous studies (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001), 3.39 score points out the fact that hat the attached residents of the sample were quite attached to Soyak Mavişehir. An analysis revealed that 58 out of 100 respondents were above this score, so more than half of the samples are attached to Soyak Mavişehir (See Table 4.6)

Table 4.6. Demographics of the Attached Sample





After the inventory of socio-demographic groups, the statistical analysis were made in order to reveal the possible relations between the socio-demographic groups and their place attachment, based on their attachment scores as it is previously analyzed by different scholars given in Chapter 2.3. After chi-square analysis, it's found that none of the socio-demographic factors are significant for determining place attachment score (See Table 4.7) (See App. 4)

Table 4.7. Descriptive Analysis of Socio-Demographics Questions

Socio-Demographic Factor	Effects on Attachment	Number of People Above Attachment Score ($X > 3.39$)	Statistical Significance	Results
Duration of Residency	Positive effect	<1=6 1 year=5 2 years=0 3 years=8 4 years=13 5 years=28	,370	Not Significant
Age	Positive effect	21 or under =0 22-30=8 31-40=25 41-55=9 X>55 =16	,213	Not Significant
Gender	Females are more attached than males	Females=38 Males=20	,917	Not Significant
House Ownership	Positive effect	House owner=43 Tenant=15	098	Not Significant
Education Level	Positive effect	Post-Gra=7	,550	Not Significant
	Negative effect	Uni=39 High School=12		
Income Level	Positive effect	H=1	,944	Not Significant
	Negative effect	MH=32 M=23 LM=2		

Despite the fact that, some socio-demographic groups can be associated in accordance with their attachment level (for instance: for attached residents female respondents were numerically higher than male residents) none of the socio-demographic factors were proved to be effective on place attachment as it was previously suggested by other scholars. This could be both due to the fact that the sample was not distributed well enough to reflect all residents of Soyak Mavişehir, and the sample was not large enough. Nevertheless, it is important for that this study reveals the behaviors of residents which are associated with place attachment, in relation with their socio-demographic information.

Table 4.8. Predictors of Place Attachment

	Statement	Mean Score
Significant Predictors (p < 0.05)	Stronger I prefer to live in Soyak Mavişehir instead of any other gated community or any place in İzmir.	4.22
	I feel good in Soyak Mavişehir	4.43
	I will not consider relocating even though my life requires change in İzmir	3.98
	I have an emotional connection with Soyak Mavişehir	3.81
	I miss here when I'm away	4.09
	Weaker I think people from similar income level and social status are living in Soyak Mavişehir.	4.02
Insignificant Predictors (p > 0.05)	I'm proud to live in Soyak Mavişehir	3.67
	I cannot compare any other area for doing the things I do in Soyak Mavişehir	2.64
	I will not consider living in another gated community because of the activities of Soyak Mavişehir	2.22

Another importance of the statistical analysis is to show the significance of each statement for the prediction of place attachment score. Therefore after descriptive analysis of the means of each statement, the strength of the relationship between dependent variable (place attachment score) and independent variables (place attachment statements) are examined by a statistical test called the regression analysis (see App. 4)

The results of the regression analysis showed the statement: “I prefer to live in Soyak Mavişehir instead of any other gated community or any place in İzmir.” is the strongest predictor of place attachment ($R^2=, 389, p=0,000$). On the other hand the statements of “I'm proud to live in Soyak Mavişehir”, “I cannot compare any other area for doing the things i do in Soyak Mavişehir” and “I will not consider living in another gated community because of the activities of Soyak Mavişehir” are found to be insignificant, thus we cannot explain place attachment

of this sample through these statements (Table 4.8). One interesting fact is that although the statement “I’m proud to live in Soyak Mavişehir” has a higher score than 3.39, it is found that it is not a significant statement in terms of indicating attachment level. The reason for this can be explained by the process of statistical analysis. The insignificance of this statement can be related with the sampling process which is not homogenously distributed enough. Therefore, even though the means are high, the statistical analysis can indicate the results as insignificant. The results and the interpretation of the regression analysis can be seen in Appendix 4

Finally the relation between the preferred facility type and attachment level is analyzed. Cross tabulation shows that 21 out of 58 attached residents prefer playgrounds, while 17 residents prefer sport facilities (Table 4.9). However after chi-square tests, attached residents facility preference is not significantly related with their level of place attachment score (See App 4).

Table 4.9 Facilities preferred by Attached Residents



5. CONCLUSION

This study has investigated gated communities from the perspective of residents' attachment behavior. The role of place attachment on residents' choices and evaluations is a critical subject, which has been overlooked in previous research. This study aimed to provide a better understanding for the popularity of gated communities and point out the consequences of attachment in gated communities.

In order to analyze the role of place attachment in gated community residents' lives, several research questions were proposed. The first research question of this study sought to determine the level of attachment and socio-demographics characteristics of attached residents in gated communities. The results show that more than half of the sample are above the mean of attachment score. However no evidence was found to support the effects of socio-demographic factors on attachment level. A possible explanation of this result may be related with the sample size and its lack of representation for different socio-demographic groups. More socio-demographic information should be available to establish a greater accuracy on this manner. Therefore, future studies can increase the size of the sample and carry on this research in other gated communities.

The second research question aims to determine the most emphasized aspects of attachment by asking "Which aspects of attachment are most emphasized by attached gated community residents?" Regarding this question, there are several findings on the strength of attachment indicators. It's found that among all statements. "I prefer to live in Soyak Mavişehir instead of any other gated community or any place in İzmir" had the highest significance. This statement shows that the attached residents compare and choose Soyak Mavişehir over a range of places in terms of suitability for living. The extent of this choice is analyzed in detail by the significance of other statements.

Next finding of statistical analysis suggests affection based statements are strong predictors of place attachment. Feeling good and longing are highly

subjective thus they are difficult to explain in a meaningful way. However the significance of affect-based statements might be related with the experience of being at home, which can result in the formation of affective bonds. Future researches recommended focusing on the experience of being at home and its relation to affect-based approaches of place attachment. All in all, by providing evidence that emotions are strong predictors of attachment for gated community residents, this study contributes to the existing knowledge of affect-based approaches

Another interesting finding is that homogeneity of social environment in Soyak Mavişehir is a significant factor of attachment. The reason of this might be that attached residents tend to consider themselves as people who are accepted by this socio economically homogenous group, thus identify themselves as a member of this environment. However, as it is previously acclaimed by several scholars, this aspect can reinforce social inequality and spatial segregation (Blakely and Synder, 1997; Akçal, 2004; Çınar et. al, 2006; Geniş, 2007). Future studies should assess the long-term effects of homogenous social environments for urban structure.

Last finding regarding the second research question was that, the comparability of activities is not a significant predictor of attachment contrary to previous studies. This may be explained by the low scores of the statements related with the activities. A possible reason might be that for attached residents, Soyak Mavişehir does not offer a unique facility environment. However in İzmir, most of gated communities are marketed with similar facilities such as swimming pools, sport facilities etc. Therefore future studies should investigate for what reason people think that they can compare activities of Soyak Mavişehir with other places.

Third research question was about the consequences of attachment in gated communities. Existing studies show that place attachment stimulates the sense of responsibility. An attached resident is more interested in protecting and improving environment. However in the case of gated communities, protection and improvement are not direct responsibilities of the residents but the paid staff.

Protection and improvement of the environment are even marketed as “services” which is one of the privileges of living in gated communities.

Regarding these findings, it is suggested that, the consequence of attachment in gated communities is related with consumptive rather than productive practices of everyday life. Under these circumstances, it's believed that attachment in gated communities is a different concept from attachment to other environments because it might be easily affected. by consumption culture. Longitudinal study of place attachment can bring more insights for observing the changes in residents' attachment levels in terms of consumption culture.

The consumption of the practices of everyday life might cost stable relationships with people and put social cohesion at risk. As it is previously stated by Blakely and Synder (1997), giving the territorial control to a machine or to a charged person weakens sense of responsibility and social connection. Therefore for future studies, the potential problems of gated communities such as segregation, fragmentation and polarization should be reexamined from the perspective of sense of responsibility and social connection. In order to specify and develop solutions on these problems which are crucial for all the socio-economical groups of the society, the formation and encouragement of the sense of responsibility is needed in every stage of life.

Regarding these issues it can be said that, there is a definite need for residents of gated and non-gated communities, scholars, developers and policy makers to come together and discuss the potential and methods to encourage responsibility, in order to create design based solutions. Related with responsibility, place attachment can be a methodology to seeked and applied in order to develop efficient solutions in a participatory manner. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that, participatory design became one of the most favored subjects for design studies. Therefore an extensive study on place attachment can reveal strategies to be used for participatory design.

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Conference Papers

Ballice, G. and Bengisu, E., Creating Climatic Sensitiveness in Architectural Design: Case Study of Alaçatı, VIII. International Sinan Symposium, 25-26 April 2013, Edirne, Turkey.

Ballice, G. and Bengisu, E., Place Affiliation in Suburban Gated Communities, 39th IAHS World Housing Congress, 17-20 September 2013, Milan, Italy

Presentations

Bengisu, E and Ballice, G., 2013 Meeting of World Society of Ekistics, Home Staging Methods as a Marketing Tool for Gated Communities: A Study of Mavişehir, İzmir, 7-10 July 2013, Ankara, Turkey.

(MASTER THESIS)

**THE DISCUSSION OF PLACE ATTACHMENT IN
GATED COMMUNITIES: THE EXAMPLE OF
SOYAK MAVİŞEHİR, İZMİR**

APPENDICIES

Appendix 1 Turkish version of the questionnaire

Appendix 2 English version of the questionnaire

Appendix 3 Images from the site

Appendix 4 List and Results of Statistical Tests

**Bornova-İZMİR
2013**

APPENDIX 1: TURKISH VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

MEKAN BAĞLILIĞI ANKET ÇALIŞMASI

Anketi hazırlayan: Araş. Gör. Ebru Bengisu (Yaşar Üniversitesi)

Tez Danışmanı: Yard. Doç. Gülnur Ballice (Yaşar Üniversitesi)

Tezin Amacı: İzmir'deki kapalı site yerleşimlerini incelemek, insanların burada yaşama sebeplerini mekan bağlılığı kavramı çerçevesinde anket çalışması yardımıyla değerlendirmek ve sonuçlar üzerinden geleceğe yönelik çıkarımlarda bulunmak.

1. Cinsiyetiniz: a) kadın b) erkek
2. Yaşınız: a) 21 veya altı b) 22-30 c) 31-40 d) 41-55 e) 55 üstü
3. Öğrenim Durumunuz: a) ilkokul b) ortaokul c) lise d) üniversite e) lisansüstü
4. Mesleğiniz:
5. Bulduğunuz ülkenin koşullarına göre kendinizi aşağıdaki gelir gruplarından hangisine yerleştirirsiniz? a) alt b) alt-orta c) orta d) orta-üst e) üst
6. Şu an oturduğunuz konut: a) size ait b) kira
7. Ne kadar zamandır bu sitede oturuyorsunuz? a) 1 seneden az b) 1 c) 2 d) 3 e) 4 e) 5
8. Evinizde kaç kişi yaşıyor? Yetişkin ve çocuk sayısını yaşlarıyla belirtiniz.
9. Hangi blokta kalıyorsunuz? a) A1 b) A2 c) B1 d) B2 e) B3 f) B4 g) C1 h) C2 i) C3 j) C4 k) C5 l) C6 m) D1 n) D2 o) D3 p) D4 q) D5 r) D6 s) D7 t) D8 y) D9
10. Kaçınca katta kalıyorsunuz? a) 1 b) 2 c) 3 d) 4 e) 5 f) 6 g) 7 h) 8 i) 9 j) 10 k) 11 l) 12 m) 13 n) 14 n) 15 o) 16
11. Bu siteyi seçmenizin nedenleri nelerdir? Lütfen en önemli gördüğünüz 2 seçeneği işaretleyiniz:
 - a) [İşe/Okula Ulaşım ve Otopark Kolaylığı]
 - b) [Evlerin Tasarımı, Boyutları, Manzarası]
 - c) [Güvenlik]
 - d) [Şehrin ses ve çevre kirliliğinden kaçma isteği, Elit bir yaşam sunması]
 - e) [Site içindeki komşu ilişkileri, Aile fertlerinin/Yakın arkadaşların burada oturması]
12. Site içindeki hizmetlerin hangisini kullanıyorsunuz? Lütfen en çok kullandığınız 1 seçeneği işaretleyiniz:
 - a) Oyun Parkı
 - b) Spor Olanakları
 - c) Kafeterya
 - d) Kurslar

13. Aşağıdaki ifadelerle ilgili size en çok uygun gelen kutucuğu işaretleyiniz

	Hiç Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Emin Değilim	Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
Bu sitede kendimi iyi hissediyorum					
Bu siteyle duygusal bir bağım var.					
Uzaktayken burasını özlüyorum.					
Bu sitede benzer gelir düzeyine ve statüye sahip insanlar bir arada yaşıyor.					
İzmir içinde hayatım ile ilgili bir değişiklik olsa bile (iş yeri/okul değişikliği, evlilik, ailevi durumlar gibi) evimden taşınmayı düşünmem.					
Bu sitede yaşamak benim için bir gurur kaynağıdır.					
Bu sitede gerçekleştirdiğim aktivitelerin aynısını başka bir yerde yapmayı düşünmem.					
Şehir içinde başka bir evde ya da başka bir sitede yaşamaktansa bu sitede yaşamayı tercih ederim.					
Bu sitede yer alan aktiviteler dolayısıyla başka bir yerde oturmayı düşünmem.					

APPENDIX 2: ENGLISH VERSION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PLACE ATTACHMENT SURVEY

Prepared By: Res. Assist. Ebru Bengisu (Yaşar University)

Thesis Advisor: Assist. Dr. Gülnur Ballice (Yaşar University)

Aim of this survey: To analyze of gated communities in İzmir in terms of residents' usage and their reasons to live in gated communities

1. Gender: **a) kadın** **b) erkek**
2. Age: **a) 21 veya altı b) 22-30 c) 31-40 d) 41-55 e) more than 55**
3. Education: **a) primary school b) midschool c) high school d) university e) graduate**
4. Occupation:
5. According to the conditions of Turkey which income group do you belong to? **a) low b) low-middle c) middle d) middle-high e) high**
6. Your house is: **a) own house b) rent**
7. For how many years you are living in this gated community? **a) less than one year b) 1 c) 2 d) 3 e) 4 e) 5**
8. How many people are living in your house? Please write and indicate their ages
9. Which block you are living in? **a) A1 b) A2 c) B1 d) B2 e) B3 f) B4 g) C1 h) C2 i) C3 j) C4 k) C5 l) C6 m) D1 n) D2 o) D3 p) D4 q) D5 r) D6 s) D7 t) D8 y) D9**
10. On which floor you are staying at? **a) 1 b) 2 c) 3 d) 4 e) 5 f) 6 g) 7 h) 8 i) 9 j) 10 k) 11 l) 12 m) 13 n) 14 o) 15 p) 16**
11. Why do you choose to live in this gated community? Please choose 2 of the below
 - a) [Transportation Easiness, Car Parks]**
 - b) [Design , Dimensions, Panorama of the apartments]**
 - c) [Security]**
 - d) [To Escape from City's Pollution, Prestigious Lifestyle]**
 - e) [Neighborliness, Having Friends and Relatives]**
12. Which facility do you use the most? Please choose 1 of the below:
 - e) Playground**
 - f) Sport Facilities**
 - g) Cafeteria**
 - h) Courses**

13. Please choose the most relevant answer that best reflects your level of agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel good in Soyak Mavişehir.					
I have an emotional connection with Soyak Mavişehir.					
I'm missing here when i am away					
I think people from similar income level and social status are living in Soyak Mavişehir.					
I will not consider relocating even though my life requires change in İzmir (new job, new school, marriage...).					
I'm proud to live in Soyak Mavişehir.					
I cannot compare any other area for doing the activities i do in Soyak Mavişehir.					
I prefer to live in Soyak Mavişehir instead of any other gated community or any place in İzmir.					
I will not consider living in another gated community because of the activities that Soyak Mavişehir has.					

APPENDIX 3 IMAGES FROM THE SITE

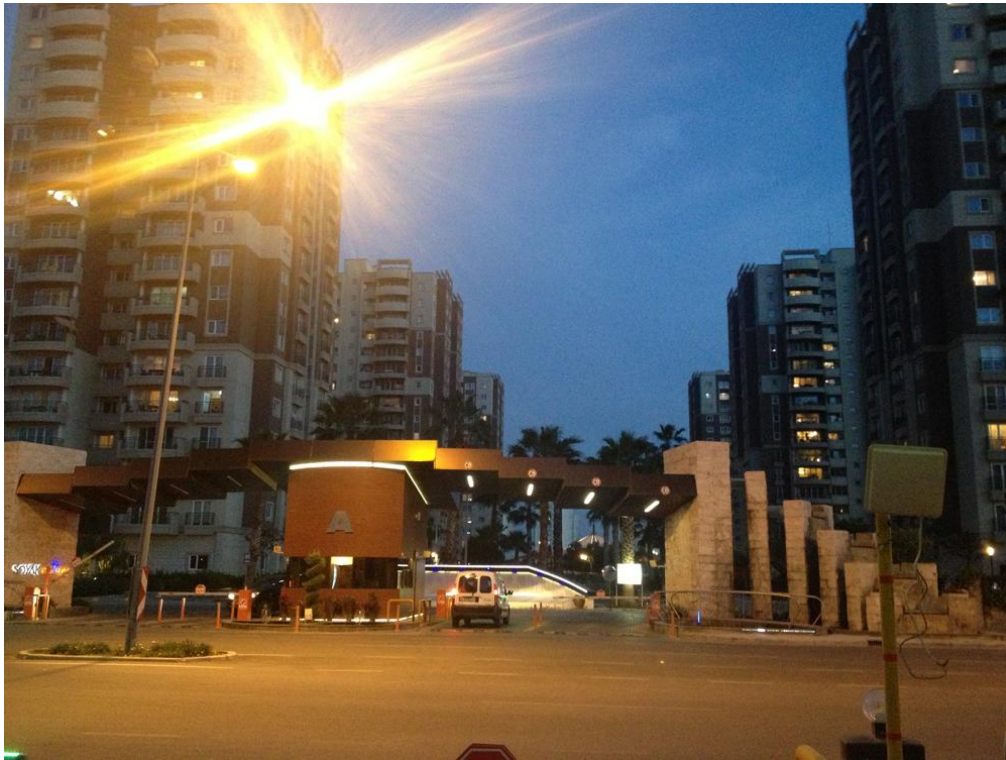


Figure A: Zone A Car Entrance (Ebru Bengisu's Archive, 2013)



Figure B: Zone B Car Entrance (Ebru Bengisu's Archive, 2013)



Figure C and D: Aerial View from B1 and Recreational Areas (Ebru Bengisu's Archive, 2013)



Figure E: Playground in Zone A (Ebru Bengisu's Archive, 2013)



Figure F: Side Entrance (Ebru Bengisu's Archive, 2013)



Figure G: Wired Fences (Ebru Bengisu's Archive, 2013)

VAZİYET PLANI



Figure H: Site Plan of Soyak Mavişehir (from Soyak Mavişehir Catalogue)

C BLOK

ARA KAT PLANI

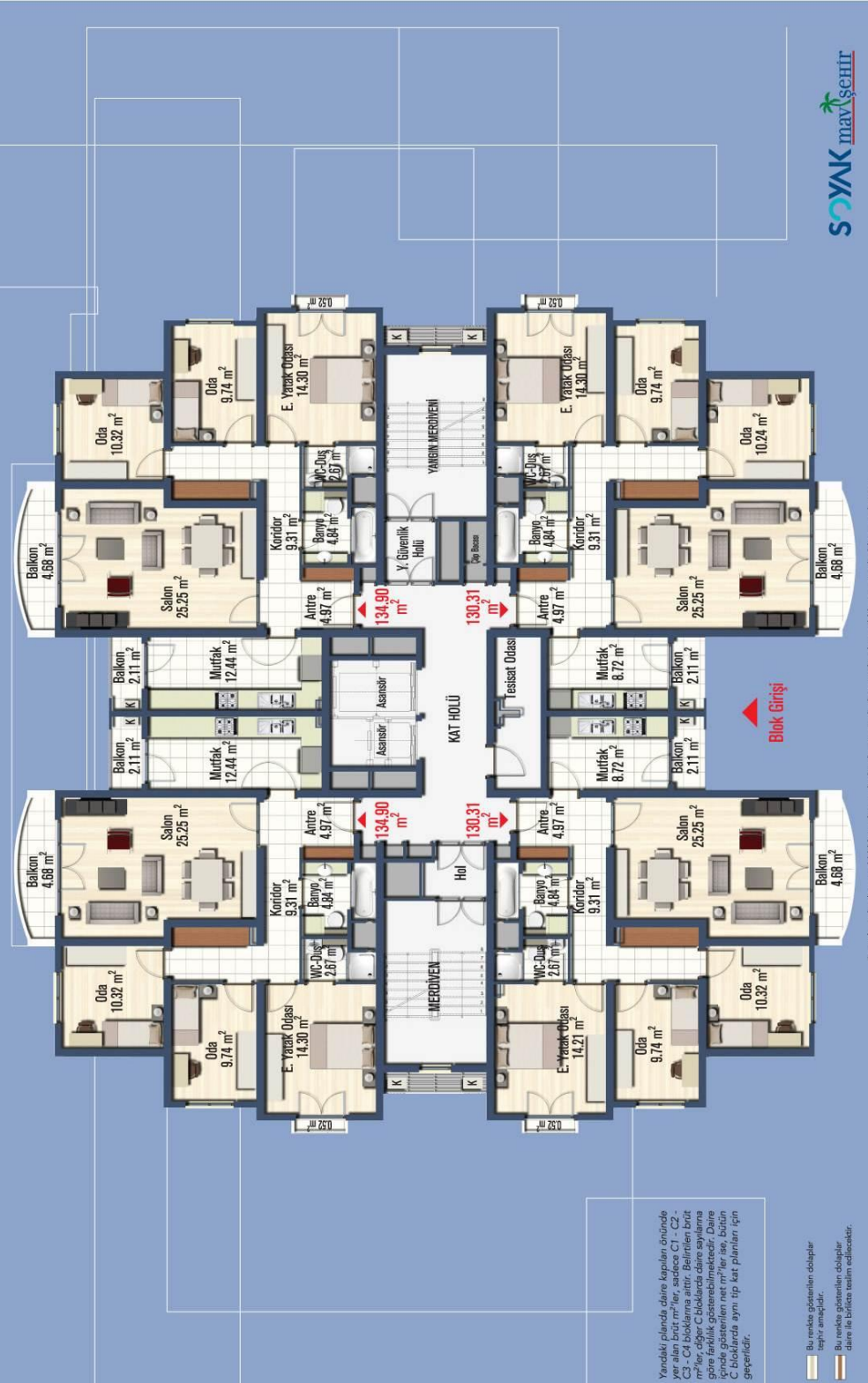


Figure I: Floor Plan of Soyak Mavişehir C Block (from Soyak Mavişehir Catalogue)

APPENDIX 4 LIST AND RESULTS OF STATISTICAL TESTS

Variable Information

Variable No.	Question No.	Description
VAR01	1	Gender
VAR02	2	Age
VAR03	3	Education
VAR04	4	Occupation
VAR05	5	Income Level
VAR06	6	Tenancy
VAR07	7	Residency Age
VAR08	8	Number of people live in the house
VAR09	9	Block Type
VAR10	10	Floor Level
VAR11	11	Reason to Choose Soyak Mavişehir 1 st Choice
VAR12	11a	Reason to Choose Soyak Mavişehir 2 nd Choice
VAR13	11b	Reasons to Choose Soyak Mavişehir Choice Matches
VAR14	12	Facility Type
VAR15	13a	I Feel Good In Soyak Mavişehir
VAR16	13b	I Have an Emotional Connection with Soyak Mavişehir
VAR17	13c	I'm Missing Here when I am Away
VAR18	13d	I think people from similar income level and social status are living in Soyak Mavişehir.
VAR19	13e	I will not consider relocating even though my life requires change in İzmir (new job, new school, marriage)
VAR20	13f	I'm proud to live in Soyak Mavişehir
VAR21	13g	I cannot compare any other area for doing the things i do in Soyak Mavişehir.
VAR22	13h	I prefer to live in Soyak Mavişehir instead of any other gated community or any place in İzmir.
VAR23	13i	I will not consider living in another gated community because of the activities of Soyak Mavişehir.
VAR24		Attachment Score

Results of Statistical Tests

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
,715	9

Chi-Square Tests

A Chi Square test measures whether there is a significant difference between two variables (Field, 2009).

How to read?

Asymption significance or p value is an estimate of the probability that the result has occurred by statistical accident. If p value is greater than 0.05 it means that there is not any significant relation between two variables (Field, 2009).

E1: VAR 24 vs. VAR 01

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3,914a	9	,917
Likelihood Ratio	4,536	9	,873
Linear-by-Linear Association	,001	1	,978
N of Valid Cases	58		

a. 17 cells (85,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count

E2: VAR 24 vs. VAR 02

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	32,533	27	,213
Likelihood Ratio	34,025	27	,165
Linear-by-Linear Association	,025	1	,875
N of Valid Cases	58		

38 cells (95,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,14

E3: VAR 24 vs. VAR 03

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16,617	18	,550
Likelihood Ratio	21,332	18	,263
Linear-by-Linear Association	,029	1	,864
N of Valid Cases	58		

27 cells (90,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,12.

E4: VAR 24 vs. VAR 04

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34,623	27	,149
Likelihood Ratio	31,033	27	,270
Linear-by-Linear Association	,452	1	,501
N of Valid Cases	55		

37 cells (92,5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,04.

E5: VAR 24 vs. VAR 05

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16,464	27	,944
Likelihood Ratio	17,716	27	,912
Linear-by-Linear Association	,750	1	,387
N of Valid Cases	58		

36 cells (90,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,02.

E6: VAR 24 vs. VAR 06

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14,758	9	,098
Likelihood Ratio	15,089	9	,089
Linear-by-Linear Association	,824	1	,364
N of Valid Cases	58		

17 cells (85,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,26.

E7: VAR 24 vs. VAR 07

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38,185	36	,370
Likelihood Ratio	37,899	36	,383
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,808	1	,051
N of Valid Cases	58		

48 cells (96,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,09.

E8: VAR 24 vs. VAR 08

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	33,607	27	,178
Likelihood Ratio	35,562	27	,125
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,757	1	,185
N of Valid Cases	57		

40 cells (100,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,18.

E9: VAR 24 vs. VAR 14

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21,369	27	,769
Likelihood Ratio	23,276	27	,670
Linear-by-Linear Association	,766	1	,382
N of Valid Cases	58		

Regression Analysis

Regression analysis is used when we want to predict the value of a variable based on the value of another variable. The variable we want to predict is called the dependent variable and the variable we are using to predict the other variable's value is called the independent variable (Field, 2009)

How to read?

First, we look at correlation. Correlation measures the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two variables (Field, 2009).

Then we look at unstandardized coefficients. The size of the coefficient for each independent variable gives the size of the effect that variable is having on dependent variable, and the sign on the coefficient (positive or negative) gives you the direction of the effect (Field, 2009).

The R-squared of the regression is the fraction of the variation in the dependent variable that is accounted for (or predicted by) your independent variables. The P value tells how confident it can be that each individual variable has some correlation with the dependent variable (Field, 2009).

Standard error is a statistical term that measures the accuracy of a population. The lesser the standard error, more accurate the regression analysis is (Field, 2009).

Lastly, F value explains the power of all regression test (Field, 2009).

Regression Analysis of Place Attachment Measures

	VAR 15	VAR 16	VAR 17	VAR 18	VAR 19	VAR 20	VAR 21	VAR 22	VAR 23
Pearson Correlation	,559	,393	,386	,345	,491	,237	,202	,624	,228
Significance (p)	,000	,002	,003	,008	,000	,074	,128	,000	,085
Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	,305	,109	,184	,172	,182	,085	,057	,262	,060
Significance (p)	,000	,002	,003	,008	,000	,074	,128	,000	,085
R	,559	,393	,386	,345	,491	,237	,202	,624	,228
R²	,312	,155	,149	,119	,241	,056	,041	,389	,052
Std. Error of Estimate	,228	,252	,253	,258	,239	,267	,269	,215	,267
Explained Variance (F)	25,42	10,25	9,79	7,57	17,78	3,32	2,39	35,62	3,07
Significance (p)	,000	,002	,003	,008	,000	,074	,128	,000	,085