

CONSPICIOUS LIFE CULTURE AND GATED COMMUNITIES

S. Selhan YALÇIN USAL, PhD

Assistant Professor
Haliç University
Faculty of Architecture
Department of Interior Architecture
Mecidiyeköy-Şişli, İstanbul 34394
sselhan@gmail.com

A Nilay EVCİL, PhD

Assistant Professor
Beykent University
Faculty of Engineering and Architecture
Department of Architecture
Ayazağa-Şişli, İstanbul 34396
anevcil@gmail.com

Neslihan TÜRKMENOĞLU BAYRAKTAR, PhD

Lecturer
Kocaeli University
Faculty of Architecture and Design
Department of Architecture
İzmit, Kocaeli 41300
neslihanurkmenoglu@yahoo.com

Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to discuss the effects of conspicuous life culture of current gated communities. People define their social class and statue by their possessions. The survey we conducted on the residents of two gated communities in Istanbul helps to express of this idea.

Key Words: Housing, Gated Community, Conspicuous Consumption, Conspicuous Leisure

Introduction

A gated community is a housing development which differs from other residential areas with some qualified factors. They are mostly surrounded by a closed perimeter of walls or fences, guarded 24-hours by CCTV (closed circuit television) and private security groups. They are built for the middle and upper income groups in big cities. They provide different luxury activities such as swimming pools, tennis courts, community centers, social clubs, playgrounds sport facilities etc.

In literature, the gated communities are mostly defined to be residential areas, where entry is restricted to residents and where 24-hour security systems are provided, as well as leisure-time activities. In Istanbul, many housing developments happen to provide security, central administration, certain services and activities. However, among others, the gated communities also differ with their barriers built at the periphery in order to isolate from public use, as a means of security system, in addition to the systems such as CCTV. This is the most criticized feature of the gated communities, since such isolations may trigger social fragmentation.

The studies (Firidin; 2006, Berköz; 2008) conducted so far show that the gated communities are preferred for their convenience, their well groomed environment and security they provide, as well as the homogeneity in terms of income level, social activities and prestige. The factors that effect the formation of gated communities also explain why they are preferred (see Table 1).

Status anxiety appears as an important motive in determining people's lifestyles. Displaying their lifestyles is a way of expressing their status. Many sociologists (Veblen, 1899/1934; Baudrillard, 1970/2003; Featherstone, 1987; Douglas and Isherwood, 1979/1996, Ritzer, 2001) have developed definitions for status anxiety. Veblen's 'The Theory of Leisure Class' is one of the oldest books on this subject. Veblen discusses that people need to display their wealth through leisure activities or through consumption in a conspicuous way. The two common concepts 'conspicuous leisure' and 'conspicuous consumption' appear to be used in the commercials of gated communities.

The objective of this paper is to argue whether the gated communities, as a consumption good, fulfill the consumers' needs - especially in the context of conspicuous leisure and

conspicuous consumption. For that purpose two gated communities in Istanbul are surveyed. As the pioneering sectors of industrialization, commercial, technology, education and entertainment centers are located there, the senior employees in these sectors also need these type of housing in Istanbul, besides other cities. In this report the gated community examples are chosen which are located in Istanbul as it is a pioneering city, though the gated communities has also started to be seen in other cities. The socio-demographic structure, social status, relations with the neighborhood and the city are examined in the survey, in reference to Fridin's (2006) study, where she criticizes social and spatial segregation. The gated communities chosen for this study are located in two developing regions in Istanbul and they are comprised of apartment blocks surrounded by social activity centers.

Table 1: Factors that effect the formation of gated communities

Factors That Effect The Formation Of Gated Communities

- Effect of globalization on socio-economic dynamics of the societies.

- Development of new elites and their life-style

- Being different from others

- Fashion (changing tastes and values)

- Security, safety and fear of crime

- New form of urbanism where public space is privatized.

The Growth of Gated Community in the World

There is a growing literature on the gated communities in the USA (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; McKenzie; 2005 and Le Goix, 2005) but this development can also be seen all over the world, even in the developing or underdeveloped countries (Leisch, 2002; Grant, 2005; Roitman, 2005; Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007). In the case of England (Atkinson et al, 2005), Turkey (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007, Berköz, 2008, Güzey, 2007, Evrim and Kozaman, 2006), Argentina (Roitman, 2005), USA (McKenzie, 2005), Canada (Grant, 2005) and Indonesia (Leisch, 2002), researchers examine their countries' conditions which affected

the development of gated communities from different perspectives. Generally, some researches have arguments supporting gated communities, while others are against to them (see for detail Gooblar, 2002). Additionally, some countries' local governments such as Canada, Austria and New Zealand, do not support gated communities because of their strong public planning policies.

Le Goix (2005) examines the literature in three parts:

1. Gated communities emerged as a physical expression of post-industrial changes and commoditization of public space.
2. Gated communities developed as an urban pathology. They cause social segregation.
3. Gated communities emerged as a new urbanism where public space is privatized.

The social change in terms of fragmentation and individualism in the post-industrial period form a basis in the emergence of gated communities. According to Glasze (2005), the idea of individual freedom is the starting point of gated communities.

Another point of view is to define gated communities as an urban pathology because they cause social segregation, which has also strong connection with income inequalities. Atkinson and Blandy (2005) stated that social diversity in a community is lost because of the growing number of gated communities. Residents of this type of communities need to go out very rarely because all services are located within the borders of the community. As a matter of fact, these developments discouraged mixed and balanced communities (Atkinson et al, 2005). Besides, the social segregation comes to scene as a result of the emergence of new middle class characterized by high level of consumption (Güney, 2007). This new emerged class imitates the upper income class and that forms the basis of Veblen's trickle-down theory.

According to Le Goix's classification, on the third part of literature, researchers claim that public spaces become privatized in gated communities because they create physical barriers to prevent access and they dissociate a lot of local government responsibilities from the rest of the community such as security, entertainment, maintenance and recreation (Güzey, 2007). In other words, in these private neighborhoods, 'the open spaces and the common services are managed and regulated by a self-governing organization.' (Glasze, 2005, pp.223)

In all around the world, the emergence of gated communities began in the 1970s. There is a consensus that the development of gated communities is considered as a part of urban spatial and social segregation (Berköz, 2008 and Le Goix, 2005). One of the main reasons behind the emergence of this kind of development is the need for security and fear of crime (Gooblar, 2002). Especially in Africa, Asia and Brazil, the number of gated communities increased rapidly to deal with the uncertainty and risky environment occurring outside the walls (Gooblar, 2002 and Atkinson et al, 2005). ‘Many middle and upper-class home buyers, fearful of crime and disenchanted with government, are in search of a privatized utopia offering security, a homogeneous population and managerial private government’ (McKenzie, 2005:187). On the other hand, Barnes (2009) express that, not only fear of crime but also race plays role especially in the case of the US in preferring to live in a spatially-separate communities.

In the proliferation of gated communities, exclusivity and prestige are also important factors. Almost one third of gated communities in the US constitute luxury communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Despite the abundance of contrary opinions (Glasze, 2005) lots of gated communities appear in London and Surrey for super-rich and influentials (Atkinson et al, 2005). But as a common interpretation global socio-economic changes, marketing strategies of developers and new lifestyles also play role in the development of gated neighborhoods in the world (Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007).

Characteristics of Gated Communities in Turkey and Istanbul

The construction of the first gated communities in Turkey dates back to 1980s, in parallel to the economic transformation (Güzey, 2007). From the mid-1980s, the effects of restructuring have been perceived in all aspects of the country. The liberal economic conditions became prominent with outward-looking development strategy and as a result of this, foreign capital came to Turkey for large investments in partnership with Turkish investors. The gross national product per capita (see for details State Institute of Statistics <http://www.die.gov.tr>) has rapidly increased due to this rapid transformation and “the demand to consume more products in a more leisurely environment has created a new consumption style” (Erkip, 2005:90-91) even in housing sector.

In the Turkish case, the major factor affecting the emergence of this new housing is not the fear of crime. Even in the metropolitan areas, the crime rate are lower than the European cities (Özkan and Kozaman, 2006; Baycan Levent and Gülümser, 2007). The main reason can be the fear of earthquake and new elites' needs such as security, good amenities for the whole family (Özkan and Kozaman, 2006) and their choice to escape from the dense and heterogeneous life of the city (Berköz, 2008). Besides, the effects of globalization can be seen on the preference of A-class people's new housing type as an imitation of the American lifestyle, which have also been pumped by the mass media (Özkan and Kozaman, 2006). Almost the same transformation can be evaluated in Ankara, the capital city of the country (Güzey, 2007).

The pattern of gated communities in Istanbul can be examined in four different types according to housing layout (Baycan, Levent and Gülümser, 2007):

1. Vertical gated development (gated towers)
2. Horizontal gated development (villa towns)
3. Gated apartment blocks
4. Mixed type gated development/gated town

Detailed explanation for each type can be found in the research paper by Baycan, Levent and Gülümser (2007). Besides this categorization, gated communities in Istanbul can be identified according to their location in the city. Accordingly, some of them are built in the periphery, while the others are located in the center. Generally the gated communities need to be built on big parcels, so the suburbs of the city in both European and Asian sides are preferred. The gated communities which are located in the center are called residence and they provide luxury services and high security provisions. Mainly upper income level people, expat managers from big companies and artists live in those residences. On the other hand, families with children do not prefer residences, as they do not provide outdoor facilities, such as gardens and playgrounds. They preferably live in apartment blocks or villas where there is enough space provided for the mentioned facilities.

Both types of gated communities (villas or apartment blocks) are growing in number in the northern part of Istanbul. This is mainly because of the availability of vacant and big land in the city's north. Another reason might be the effect of the earthquake fear, as the northern part is known to be the most earthquake-resistant region in the city.

Finally,

If gated communities in Istanbul are compared with other examples in the world, they carry some reflections. For example, because of their reason for development and the amenities available, they can be classified within the categories of lifestyle and prestige communities from the typology of Blakely and Snyder..... (but)...the typology of Luymes is based on the security level of gated developments does not have a large spectrum in Istanbul (Baycan, Levent and Gülümser, 2007:16).

Gated Communities and Veblen's Theory of Consumption

The design of residential areas can not be considered without their surroundings. In addition to serving as a sheltering facility for the households, the housing units must also fulfill their other fundamental needs. Through the research paper named *A Theory of Human Motivation* published in 1943, Maslow ranks the humans' needs (Maslow Hierarchy of Needs) as Self Actualization Needs (full potential), Esteem Needs (self respect, personal worth, autonomy), Love and Belongingness Needs (love, friendship, comradeship), Safety Needs (security; protection from harm), Physiological Needs (food, sleep, stimulation, activity). Tailoring this hierarchy for the residential design, Cooper (1975) ranks the needs as sheltering, security, comfort, socialization and self-expression and aesthetic.

The needs re-categorized by Cooper are very much fulfilled in today's design of gated communities. The housing units together with their surroundings in gated communities are designed to meet all the needs of individuals. In this type of communities, the security need is met via security guards and cameras, the comfort need is fulfilled through wellness centers, house cleaning, dry cleaning, valet parking services privatized to individuals or houses, while there are shopping malls, sport centers - swimming pools, (indoor or outdoor) fitness centers - movie theatres, kids' playgrounds for socialization and self expression needs. Gated communities, with all the facilities integrated, also serve for the individuals' need for self expression and status.

Regardless of the choice of categorization, prestige and social status are of great importance among the needs of individuals. The housing should not be considered only as a means of fulfilling the physical needs. The contemporary living standards suggest that being accepted as a member of a community would be possible by the individuals' possessions. Gated

communities are safe and privatized areas separated from the rest of the public areas by walls and their residents immediately become members of a community formed behind those walls. In other words, by possessing a housing unit in that community, individuals acquire a social environment that would contribute to their social status.

Thorstein Veblen (1899/1934), as a sociologist who analyses the relation between class differences and consumption patterns, argues that wealth by itself would not be an indicator of status and in order to serve as a sign for status, wealth should be used in a conspicuous way. In his book *The Theory of Leisure Class*, written in 1899, he says that a small number of new rich in America followed the lead of the European aristocrats, trying to imitate them through the goods they consume. On the contrary, a similar attitude was not valid for the European aristocrats. Veblen's trickle-down model, though belongs to an era of more than a century ago, helps explaining the roles of the social classes in the emergence of new products in today's marketing world. In Veblen's theory, imitation appears as a motive. As the lower classes try to emulate the leisure class, the leisure class starts to search for change.

Veblen argues that when the individuals start defining their identity through their possessions, they need to display this wealth and consume them persistently for the sake of their symbolic benefits. For that purpose, symbolic and conspicuous consumption appear as motives for consumption, aside from the fundamental needs. Odabaşı (1999:18), a marketing theorist, highlights the importance of consumption in acquiring status and explains symbolic and conspicuous consumption as follows:

Conspicuous consumption is based on comparing oneself with others. Consumption acts as a mirror that reflects to outside world who and what we are. Leisure activities and the consumption of related goods and services may be the examples to that. On the other hand, symbolic consumption is the most common type of consumption today, in terms of the identity formation. It is defined to be the consumption type of the post-modern culture. This consumption type becomes evident through paying a high price to goods for their symbolic benefits.

However, in his study Veblen also underlines the importance of the leisure activities in displaying wealth. For the sake of expressing wealth, individuals do not only consume conspicuously, but also involve in leisure activities –sports that provide status, such as golf, polo, etc., cruises or similar trips- and disseminate information about their status to their

surroundings. In essence, through leisure activities, individuals spend their wealth for pleasure. In some sense, the leisure activities also show that one does not need to spend time for making money.

The two means which were described in 1899 by Veblen as necessary to display wealth are met in today's gated communities. The location, format, the quality of construction, the interior attributes and social surroundings serves for conspicuous consumption, while the facilities built within the communities for social or physical activities serve for conspicuous leisure. However, taking part in these gated communities, by itself, is a conspicuous attitude. Therefore, the activities mostly cross the borders of the residential area, through boat trips, club memberships such as golf, etc. According to Ritzer (2001), leisure activities have changed in shape in today's hyper-consumption world; casinos, cruises, theme parks, entertainment, 'retailtainment' appear as today's conspicuous leisure.

Yanıklar (2006:145) also argues that the activities mentioned by Veblen in 1899 have changed form.

The leisure activity is not enough any more for individuals as a means of displaying pecuniary wealth in big cities, where everybody is stranger to one another and where secondary relations dominate. As the features of city life necessitated a more explicit way of displaying power and wealth, conspicuous leisure has given way to conspicuous consumption practice.

Yanıklar's ascertainments for our contemporary world overlap with the gated communities and the activities contained in their consumption areas -in particular vertical gated communities, shopping malls, food courts, sports centers and theater/movie theaters. In the gated community, individuals may also satisfy the conspicuous consumption need.

Gated Communities and Mass Media

Veblen had written the trickle-down theory more than a century ago, when there had been no such thing as 'mass media' or 'mass advertising'. However, in the contemporary world, the effect of mass media or mass advertising on displaying individuals' status or the formation of their status can not be ruled out. As a matter of fact, these instruments motivate people for mass consumption.

Gated community commercials often tell about a lifestyle. They promise that the individual would belong to a certain social environment thanks to the activities provided within the community and that the children would safely run in the garden and participate in different activities. The price range or the payment schedule is not underlined in the gated community commercials which target the leisure class. Generally, the declaration of the architectural style, or the characteristic design of a famous architect and the lifestyle would be enough. On the other hand, the gated community commercials that target the middle class would also emphasize the price range and the payment schedule, besides the social activities and constructional attributes. While the gated community commercials that target the upper class give information about the specialized sports, shopping malls/centers specialized for high income groups; the commercials that target the middle class speak of the close distance to shopping malls or sports centers and their distance to the city centers or transportation convenience.

Çizmeçi and Çınar (2007) state that in terms of marketing, the housing would differ with its immovability, expensiveness and relatively longer production process and emphasize the importance of bank loans in encouraging home sales. After all, unlike other goods, it is not possible to change into a new house in each season. Houses are different from other status-signal goods which can be moved to any place. They are real property and one needs to show effort in order to display the possession. However, as a distinct property from other goods, they create a lifestyle and offer immediate membership to a community. Therefore, social environment and lifestyles are highlighted in the basis of residential real estate commercials.

Reviewed Gated Communities In Istanbul

In the establishment of the gated communities, socio-economic factors, seeking safety against the fear of crime and earthquake, as well as the desire to express social status –appeared with the emergence of new elite- play important roles. Living in a secure community that is far from the crowd of the city and that includes sports facilities, shopping centers and other social activities, as well as living in a neighborhood of similar socio-economic status, started to become appealing for the upper and upper-middle income level groups. Fridin (2006) defines gated communities as the ‘world of privileges’ and explains the three major aspects of this world as the safety, privileged life and the protection of the price of the real estate from falling in countries like Turkey, where the economic conditions change frequently.

The concern for status, which is the subject of this study, comes after the necessity of a safe environment in the survey based studies that analyze the reasons behind preferring gated communities (Berköz, 2008; Fridin 2006). Berköz's (2008) findings on the surveys that aimed to pinpoint the customer satisfaction in the gated communities suggest that most of the families living in gated communities were mostly inclined towards moving to suburban areas from city centers, with the safety being their primary concern. In a crowded metropolis like Istanbul, the fear of earthquakes adds atop of the security issues. The earthquake angst appears as an important motive, after the disastrous earthquake ten years ago that had hit Istanbul, as well. In Berköz's research, 'prestige and economic value' ranked as the fifth among the factors that determine the satisfaction, with the first four factors being the location of the residential estate for investment, neighborhood and satisfaction with social relations, access to the center/shopping centers/friends/ recreation areas. Based on Fridin's survey (2006) in Gokdeniz community, where upper-middle income groups live, prestige ranked below security and a well groomed environment, among the reasons to prefer the community. Similarly, in her survey conducted in Villa Belde, which is also a community where upper-middle income group lives, prestige takes a back seat among the motives.

Against this backdrop, these communities are built along with all type of facilities –including the materials used in planning, architecture, and interior design - to meet the target group's need for prestige. Besides, in the advertisings of those communities, social life and emphasis on status should be on the foreground. The study of Veblen in 1899 on the necessity to display of prosperity via conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure helps the marketing strategies of these communities. The gated communities are designed in way to fulfill the necessity of conspicuous consumption, while the facilities built in the communities for the leisure activity are designed to satisfy the necessity of conspicuous leisure.

In this paper, through the surveys conducted in two gated communities in Istanbul, the social status, as well as the relations to the city and districts is questioned, using the questionnaire form of Fridin's (2006) study. Eksioğlu Beşyıldız is one of the communities chosen for the survey. This community, which is designed for upper-middle income group, is located in Çekmeköy, which a developing area with a growing number of communities built and it is in the Anatolian side of Istanbul. The other gated community is Kemerlife 21, which is also designed for upper income groups and is located in a developing area (Göktürk) of the European side of Istanbul. Kemerlife 21 is introduced via the name of its designer (Architect

Emre Arolat), while the former gated community is advertised by its security, resistance against earthquakes and abundance of green areas available– sports and social facilities. (See Table 2)

Out of the total participants in the survey conducted for Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız 194 are counted as valid in evaluations, while the number of valid sample is 30 in Kemerlife. The survey covers almost 70 % of total residents of both gated communities. The survey results show that majority of the residents in both communities do not have the intention to move out (84.96 % in Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız and 73.33 % in Kemerlife 21). Accordingly, we may conclude that they are mostly happy about the life in gated community. The lower ratio in Kemerlife 21 may be explained by the fact that 46.67 % of the respondents are renters (50 % are the home owners). In Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız, 21.60 % of the surveyed sample is renters, while the 78.41% is the homeowners. The majority of the respondents being homeowners express the importance of gated communities' property values.

In both communities, driving is pretty common for the head of the family and their spouses. 77.73 % of the heads of the families in Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız drive, while the ratio is lower at 47.99 % for the spouses. In Kemerlife 21, 66.67 % of the heads of the families drive, while the ratio declines to 46.67% for the spouses. These results are an indication that they are high income groups and there is only limited use of public transportation. At the same time, even though in this situation, the residents may be expected to have their leisure activities outside of the communities, spending leisure time at home is very popular in both communities. This ratio is 60.38 % in Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız, compared to 46.67 % in Kemerlife 21. The indoor shopping centers are also favored for leisure activities, with the ratios coming at above 30% in both gated communities (35.19 % in Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız, 33.33 % in Kemerlife 21). Note that based on an earlier research (Firidin, 2006, Özkan ve Kozaman, 2006), prestigious shopping centers appear to be the most commonly preferred areas by the people living in gated communities for their leisure activities outside the community. The shopping centers offer many leisure activities such as cinema, theater, gym and they are also located in city centers, both of which make them preferable. In addition, the close friendships are mostly left behind the walls of the gated communities and the rareness of the relations within the community turn the shopping centers into a popular meeting area in the city centers. In Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız, 53.79 % of the respondents and 66.67 % of those in Kemerlife 21 claimed their best friends live in another district. The ratio of within-community friendships remains lower

(30.67 % in Eksioğlu Beşyıldız, 10 % in Kemerlife 21). Glancing at the frequency of neighbors seeing each other in the community suggest that participation in social life is quite high. The ratio of the respondents that never see each other is 1.03 % in Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız and 10 % in Kemerlife 21. The ratio of seeing each other 2-3 times a week is above 30 % (36.09 % in Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız and 33.33 % in Kemerlife 21). Based on these results, the desire to socially become a part of the community seems mostly accomplished. Although these communities select residents according to their economic levels, the common social life inside the communities can be considered as successful.

Table 2: Provided Services in the Surveyed Gated Communities in Istanbul

SERVICES		Ekşioğlu Beşyıldız 4th Stage	Kemerlife 21
SECURITY	CCTV cameras	●	●
	Entrance with security cards		
	24 guards and alarm system	●	
SPORT AND LEISURE	Swimming pool	●	●
	Fitness center		●
	Sauna		
	Tennis court		
	Squash		●
	Basketball and football	●	
	Golf club or riding		
SOCIAL ACTIVITY	Sport Center		
	Cafe-bar		●
	Restaurant		●
	Tot lot	●	●
	Areas for barbecue (summer parties)	●	●
SHOPPING AND ENTERTAINMENT	Social club		●
	Shopping center		●
EDUCATION	Cinema-theatre		
	Kindergarden-nursery		
PUBLIC SERVICES	Gardening	●	●
	Garbage collection	●	●
	Garage	● (open)	●

Conclusion

In today's world, the values acquired by individuals serve as their evaluation criteria for their lifestyle. In order to evaluate one's life style, there is a need to consume products or activities conspicuously and symbolically. With the help of mass media and mass advertisings these prestigious houses are converted into desirable objects. Although the main motivations behind their formation are indicated as security, what determines their values in a social perspective, are the community that is belonged and opportunities provided by them.

Gated communities provide high security, prestige and homogeneous environment for middle and upper income levels. Meanwhile they cause social and spatial segregation.

The results of questionnaire indicate at the frequency of social relations which often show the value of the community. The majority of survey participants unwilling to move out of the walled community can be considered as a sign of their satisfaction with their lifes. This result demonstrates a homogeneous group within the community but at the same time displays a segregated one from the city.

Since the beginning of this century, house has attained a new status as an investment tool, since it is a part of consumption cycle and can be altered according to vogue. At this point, it is worth to remember the famous operetta of Cemal and Ekrem Bey brothers' Lüküs Hayat (Luxury Life) in 1933. They explain with irony the elites' adoption of the western lifestyle. Back then, the vogue was to leave the lifestyle of mansion (konak) and to start a new lifestyle in an apartment. Similarly, living in a gated community can be evaluated as today's fashion of the new elites. Besides, gated communities can be claimed to help forming an orderly structuring in Istanbul, where 70% of the buildings are unlawful buildings. However, as a result of this structuring, city's north, which in essence belongs to whole people living in the city, is covered with gates, walls and fences in a way that makes it impossible for the rest of the public to use these areas. Both this isolation and the social imbalances in the gated communities' relations with their environment is concerning.

References

- ATKINSON, R. and BLANDY S., 2005. Introduction: International Perspectives on The New Enclavism and the Rise of Gated Communities, *Housing Studies*, vol:20/2, pp.177-186, March, UK.
- ATKINSON, R. et al, 2005, Gated Cities of Today? Barricaded Residential Development in England, *Town Planning Review*, 76 , 4, pp.402-422
- BAUDRILLARD, J. 1970/2003. *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, London: Sage Pub. Inc.
- BAYCAN-LEVENT, T. and GÜLÜMSER, A. A., 2007. Gated Communities İn İstanbul: The New Walls of the City, Eurodiv Paper 51.2007, Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (online) Available from: <http://feem.it/Feem/Pub/Publications/EURODIVPapers/default.htm>
- BERKÖZ, L. 2008, İstanbul'da Korunaklı Tek Aile Konutları: Konut Kalitesi ve Kullanıcı Memnuniyetinin Belirlenmesi, *İTÜ Dergisi/A Mimarlık, Planlama, Tasarım*, 7/1, pp. 110-124.
- BLAKELY, E. J. and SNYDER, M.G., 1997, *Fortress America:Gated Communities in The United States*, Washington Dc., Brooking Institution Pres.
- COOPER, M.C., 1975. *Easter-Hill Village-Some Social Implications For Design*, The Pros Pres, New York.
- ÇİZMECİ, F and ÇINAR, C., 2007. İstanbul Konut Piyasasında Kitlesele Tüketimin Şekillendirdiği Yeni Konut Yerleşimleri, *İstanbul Kent Sempozyumu*, September, 13-15, pp. 274-284, TMMOB, İstanbul.
- DOUGLAS, M and ISHERWOOD, B., (1979/1996). *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*, N.Y.: Routledge.
- ERKİP, F., 2005, The Rise of the Shopping Mall in Turkey: The Use and Appeal of a Mall in Ankara, *Cities*, 22, 2, pp.89-108
- EVRİM, Ö. and KOZAMAN, S., 2006. Gated Communities: As an Efficient Force in the Fragmentation Process of İstanbul, Paper presented at 42nd IsoCaRP Congress, September, 12-18, Yıldız Technical University, İstanbul.
- FEATHERSTONE, M., 1987. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage Pub. Inc.
- FİRİDİN, E., 2006. *Sosyal ve Mekansal Ayırışma Çerçevesinde Yeni Konutlaşma Eğilimleri: Kapalı Siteler, İstanbul-Çekmeköy Örneği*, M.S.G.S.Ü., Institute of Science, unpublished PhD Thesis, İstanbul.
- GLASZE, G., 2005, Some Reflections on the Economic and Political Organisation of Private Neighbourhoods, *Housing Studies*, 20, 2, pp.221-233

GOOBLAR, A., 2002, Outside the Walls:Urban Gated Communities and Their Regulation Within the British Planning System, *European Planning Studies*, 10, 3, pp.321-334

GRANT, J., 2005. Planning Responses to Gated Communities in Canada, *Housing Studies*, 20,2, pp.273-285

GÜZEY, Ö., 2007, Development of Gated Communities: Social and Spatial Segregation in Ankara, Turkey, Paper presented at ERSA Congress Paris. (online)
Available from: http://sadapt.inapg.fr/ersa2007/papers_number.php?paper=983

Le GOIX, R.,2005, Gated Communities: Sprawl and Social Segregation in Southern California, *Housing Studies*, 20, 2 , pp.323-343

LEISCH, H., 2002. Gated Communities in Indonesia, *Cities*, 19, 5, pp.341-350

MASLOW, A.H., 1943. A Theory of Human Motivation, *Psychological Review* 50, 4, pp.370-396.

MASLOW, A.H., 1970. *Motivation and Personality*, New York: Harper and Row Publishers Inc.

McKENZIE, E., 2005, Construction The Pomerium in Las Vegas:A Case Study of Emerging Trends in American Gated Communities, *Housing Studies*, 20, 2, pp.187-203.

ODABAŞI, Y., 1999. *Tüketim Kültürü –Yetinen Toplumdan Tüketen Topluma-*. İstanbul: Sistem Yayıncılık.

RITZER, G., 2001. *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption: Fast Food, Credit Cards and Casinos*, London, GBR: Sage Publications, Inc.

ROITMAN, S., 2005. Who Segregates Whom? The Analysis of a Gated Community in Mendoza, Argentina, *Housing Studies*, 20, 2, pp.303-321

VEBLEN, T., 1899/1934. *The Theory of Leisure Class*. New York: Penguin.

YALÇIN USAL, S.S., 2007. Designer And Consumer As Victims In Consumption Culture. European Academy of Design Conference, (CD) April 7-10, Izmir.

YANIKLAR, C., 2006. *Tüketimin Sosyolojisi*, İstanbul: Birey Yayıncılık.