

BRANDED GATED COMMUNITIES:
MARKETING AND CONSUMER PERSPECTIVES

A Ph.D. Dissertation

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To Ali, Azize and Seçkin

**BRANDED GATED COMMUNITIES:
MARKETING AND CONSUMER PERSPECTIVES**

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ABSTRACT

BRANDED GATED COMMUNITIES: MARKETING AND CONSUMER PERSPECTIVES

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Recent studies on brands, branding and brand communities reveal the processes of brand development, and the actors that take part in these processes. Research also looks at consumers' individual and collective practices for the creation of brand value and the transformation of firm-based brand meanings. This study contributes to these literatures by exploring two key questions. First, how brands develop and who participates in these brand building processes? Second, how consumers experience and practice brands that become highly problematic?

A two stage ethnographic study explores the multiple actors that shape the development of brands, and consumers' lived experiences with problematic brands in the context of gated communities in Istanbul. Data were collected from developers, governmental and financial institutions, media representatives and consumers, using in-depth interviews, observations, commercial media accounts, official documentary records and visual data.

The findings reveal that brand-building processes begin much before their launch, and multiple actors play role in these dynamic processes. Rather than tension free, conflicts within and among brand stakeholder groups discipline brand construction performances. On the consumer side, homeowners execute individual and collective brand practices to contest brand rumors and stereotypes, and to negotiate appropriate brand performances. Tensions intensify with the move into the branded house, forming a rather non-democratic community. Overall, the branded house is a complex and multidimensional consumer object that embraces dynamic political, social, cultural, and economic tensions.

Key words: brands, branding, brand community, brand ownership, brand stakeholders, brand rumors and stereotypes, brand-building processes, branded house, gated communities, materiality, practice theory.

ÖZET

MARKALI KORUNAKLI SİTELER: PAZARLAMA VE TÜKETİCİ PERSPEKTİFLERİ

Omeraki, Sachfer

Doktora, İşletme Bölümü

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Markalar, markalaşma ve marka cemiyetleri üzerine yapılan son çalışmalar marka gelişme sürecini ve bu süreçte yer alan aktörleri gözler önüne sermektedir. Bu araştırmalar aynı zamanda marka değeri yaratma ve firma bazlı marka anlamlarının dönüşümünde tüketicilerin bireysel ve toplu alışkanlıklarını da incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, iki ana soruyu araştırarak bu literatürlere katkıda bulunmaktadır. İlk olarak, markalar nasıl gelişir ve bu marka yaratma süreçlerinde kimler çalışırlar? İkinci olarak, tüketiciler oldukça problemlili olan markaları nasıl deneyimler ve pratik ederler?

İki aşamalı bir etnografik bir çalışma markaların oluşumunu etkileyen aktörleri ve tüketicilerin problemlili markalarla yaşanmış deneyimlerini İstanbul'daki Korunaklı Siteler bağlamında incelemektedir. Veriler, derinlemesine mülakatlar, gözlemler, basın yayınları, resmi belgeler ve görsel veriler kullanılarak yapımcı şirketler, devlet kuruluşları, finansal kuruluşlar, basın temsilcileri ve tüketicilerden toplanmıştır.

Bulgular marka oluşum süreçlerinin lansmandan önce başladığını ve çeşitli aktörlerin bu dinamik süreçlerde rol aldığını göstermektedir. Marka paydaş grupları hem kendi içlerinde, hem de kendi aralarında anlaşmazlığa düşerek marka oluşum performanslarını kontrol etmektedir. Rather than tension free, conflicts within and among brand stakeholder groups discipline brand construction performances. Tüketici tarafında, ev sahipleri marka söylentilerini ve ön yargılarına karşı koymak ve uygun marka performanslarını atlatmak için bireysel ve kolektif marka praticeleri uygulamaktadır. Markalı konuta taşınmayla birlikte çatışmalar yoğunlaşması sonucu çok da demokratik olmayan bir cemiyet oluşmaktadır. Sonuçta, markalı konut dinamik, politik, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik çatışmaları içeren karmaşık ve çok boyutlu bir tüketim nesnesidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Markalar, Markalaşma, Marka Cemiyeti, Marka Sahiplenmesi, Marka Paydaşları, Marka Söylentileri ve Ön Yargıları, Marka Oluşum Süreçleri, Markalı Konut, Korunaklı Siteler, Maddesellik, Alışkanlık Teorisi.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present dynamic business environment has made differentiation based only on product features increasingly difficult. The academic and managerial interest on brands and branding explicate the advantages of building strong brands. Strong and familiar brands shape all stages and aspects of consumers' behavior as well as every type of marketing activity (Hoeffler and Keller, 2003). Brands increasingly influence consumer, product and financial markets (Keller and Lehmann, 2006).

Despite the general agreement on the significance of brands, the literature varies greatly in terms of how it conceptualizes brands, their building-processes and the actors that shape their development. Moving from the initial firm-centric view that focuses on the firm as the main and often only actor responsible for the development of brands (for example, Park and Srinivasan, 1994; Aaker, 1996; Kapferer, 2004), consumers individually and collectively through their lived experiences challenge firm-based brand

values and meanings (for example, Fournier, 1988; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; McAlexander et al. 2002; Schau et al. 2009). Apart from challenging the meanings developed and delivered by the firm, often consumer collectivities embrace tensions about consumers of the same and competing brand communities (for example, Kates, 2002; Brown et al. 2003; Muniz and Schau et al. 2005). Recent branding perspectives conceptualize and study brands as cultural and social forms, which are contextually and historically grounded (for example, Holt, 2004; Schroeder and Salzer-Morling, 2006; Cayla and Arnould, 2008), and developed through dynamic brand stakeholder interactions (Jones, 2005; Diamond et al. 2009; Merz et al. 2009). These studies show that beside the firm and/or consumers, several actors shape the development of brands and their associated brand meanings and values.

This study explores the brand-building processes of contemporary, but problematic brands. Following the recent academic interest in stakeholders' role in the development of brands (for example, Borghini et al. 2009; Merz et al. 2009), this research defines problematic brands as the dynamic project of multiple actors – the assemblage of multiple brand stakeholders, materials, discourses and events that dynamically interact to give material and symbolic forms to brands. Specifically, brand stakeholders, driven with different motivations and objectives, do not always work harmoniously. Rather tensions shape the execution of countervailing brand practices and the formation of countervailing brand meanings. These countervailing practices and meanings, along with the rumors and stereotypes that circulate with the launch of brands, form the problematic brands. Consumers have to cope with these tensions in order to become part of the brand community and embrace the brand.

This study explores two key questions. How brands develop and who participates in these brand-building processes? How consumers experience and practice brands that become highly problematic? The first research question identifies the multiple actors and practices, and explores how they shape the development of brands as material and symbolic properties both before and after their launch in the marketplace. The second research question examines how brands become problematic, and how consumers negotiate the tensions of their problematic brands. Through a two-stage ethnographic inquiry of gated communities in Istanbul, this study explores how multiple actors shape the development of the branded house and community, and how consumers manage these actors' multiple and often conflicting meanings, values and/or performances that may jeopardize the brand community.

This study attempts to address five main theoretical gaps. First, studies examine the actors that shape brands after their launch in the marketplace (for example, Diamond et al. 2009; Schau et al. 2009). However, this study explores the actors and the processes that shape the development of brands (as material and symbolic properties) both before and after their launch. The findings of this research show that brands and the material and symbolic objectification of brand meanings, and the taste culture of brand communities originate earlier than the current theories on branding discuss.

Second, the literatures on brand and branding are preoccupied by the symbolic properties of brands (for example, Holt, 2004; Cayla and Arnould, 2008). However, apart from the symbolic properties, brands also manifest in material terms (Kravets and Öрге, 2010). Material properties both structure and are structured by brand-building

processes. Consequently, this study aims to unite the distinction on the material and symbolic properties of brands.

Third, the new brand logic calls attention to the role of all brand stakeholders in the development of brands. The few studies that adopt this stakeholder perspective on brands conceptualize only the human internal and external brand stakeholders (Jones, 2005; Merz et al. 2009; O’Guinn and Muniz, 2009). Instead, this study provides a holistic account of the processes among and within brand stakeholders groups and the strategies that they employ in order to overcome tensions. Moreover, apart from human actors, materials, discourses and events also structure the development of brands.

Fourth, studies emphasize the co-existence of multiple consumer collectivities within the same brand community (for example, Kozinets, 2001; Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001; Brown et al. 2003; Cova et al. 2007). Employing the constructs of legitimacy and oppositional brand loyalty, scholars define the markers and mechanisms of brand communities. However, the literature on brand communities does not elaborate on how consumers both individually and collectively cope with the conflicts that arise from the co-existence of competing consumer collectivities within the same brand community. This research explores how the co-existence of consumer collectivities inside the same brand community breeds conflicts, forming a rather non-democratic brand community.

Fifth, the literature on consumer collectivities provides evidence about the impression management practices that consumers execute in order to manage stigmatic stereotypes (for example, Kozinets, 2001; Muniz and Schau, 2005). Consumers promote the brand to others and justify the reasons for allocating time and effort (Schau et al. 2009). In contrast to a single “stigma”, this study examines how consumers cope with

multiple stereotypes and rumors over time (both before and after becoming owners of the brand community) that arise both about the material and symbolic properties of their brand community. The significance of the branded consumer product in the production of consumers' identity projects (Belk, 1988) intensifies the need for taking immediate action towards the resolution of tensions.

In order to address the research questions and pursue the theoretical gaps, a two-stage ethnographic research was conducted in the branded gated communities of Istanbul. Developed mainly by private companies, the branded residential projects are known for their gates and walls, 24-hour operating security guards, and advanced social and leisure activities available only to their residents (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Atkinson and Blandy, 2005). The branded gated communities provide an interesting setting for this study. First, the literature provides evidence that this urban phenomenon is initiated and supported by three main actors – the state (at a national, local and regional level), developers and consumers (Glasze, 2005; McKenzie, 2005). Second, in Turkey from 2003 the government through the Mass Housing Administration (MHA from now on) took a significant role in the development of branded residential projects, which are sold even before the beginning of the construction (Geniş, 2007). Consequently, the gated communities provide an appropriate setting for exploring the multiple actors, processes and structures that shape the development of brands before and after their launch in the marketplace. Moreover, the transformation of the sales system, from a “first build then sell” to a “first sell and then build”, allows the observation of consumers' lived experiences with brands both before and after moving into the community.

The primary brand stakeholders that shape the development of gated communities, namely developers, governmental and financial institutions, and media representatives, formed the sample of the first stage of the ethnographic research. Theoretical and purposeful sampling techniques were employed in order to identify the different stakeholders, and form representative samples from each of the identified groups. In-depth interviews with representatives from each group, observations (in sales offices, show homes, fairs and conferences), commercial media accounts (print advertisements, newspapers and real estate newspaper supplements, magazines and websites), official documentary records (books and reports related to the industry), and visual data (photographs taken in consumer fairs, sales offices and show homes) inform the analysis.

Consumers that live in the *Ataköy Konakları* gated community formed the sample of the second stage of the ethnographic research. Theoretical and practical reasons make the site a representative of the gated community population. With the selection of the gated community, theoretical and purposeful sampling techniques were employed in order to form a representative sample of the community members. In-depth household interviews, observations (in sales offices, show homes and fairs, inside the “public” places of the community, in informants’ houses, in meetings of the Homeowners Association [HOA from now on], and in consumption rituals), commercial media accounts (print advertisements of the selected gated community, newspapers and real estate newspaper supplements, magazines and websites), official documentary records (HOA’s announcements) and visual data (photographs taken in the “public” places of the community, in community meetings and special events) inform the

analysis. Employing various sources of data (different time frames, different research sites and different stakeholders) and methods (in-depth interviews, observations, commercial media accounts, official documentary records and visual data), this study provides a holistic account of brand-building processes, and consumers' lived experiences with problematic brands.

The findings of the first study reveal that multiple actors shape development of brands before and after their launch in the marketplace. In contrast to the existing studies on brands and branding that tend to disregard the processes of brand development before their launch, this study uncovers the multiple actors (brand stakeholders, materials, discourses and events), the practices, and the integration of resources, competences and discourses that give form to brands before and after their launch. In contrast to the preoccupation with the symbolic properties of brands, this study reveals that brand development embeds both symbolic and material dimensions. Moreover, brand-building processes develop simultaneously brands and their associated brand communities. Stakeholders' performances and discursive practices give material and symbolic form to brands and their brand communities by framing the taste culture of their members. These brand-building processes are not tension free. Conflicts within and among different brand stakeholder groups often discipline brand construction performances.

The findings of the second study reveal that consumers execute individual and collective (as a household and as a community) brand practices to contest brand rumors and stereotypes, and to negotiate appropriate brand performances. The branded house and community are significant for the formation of social identities inside the private

sphere of home and inside the gates. Rumors and stereotypes, and community members' and other stakeholders' conflicting brand performances form multiple tensions that consumers need to work on both before and after the ownership of the branded house. Often these tensions force consumers to conceal the ownership of the brand. Rather than evangelizing and justifying the brand, consumers hide the brand to put at a distance the rumors and stereotypes. The analysis also reveals that there is a temporal dimension to the creation of brand value. Overall, the branded house, a complex and multidimensional consumer object, embraces dynamic political, social, cultural and economic tensions.

The empirical and theoretical narrative of the multi-actor brand-building processes, and consumers' lived experiences with the problematic brand unfolds as follows. Chapter 2 provides a critical review of the literatures on brands and branding. Chapter 3 discusses the research methods employed during the two stage ethnographic research. Chapter 4 and 5 present the findings of the ethnographic studies – brand-building processes and consumers' experiences with the branded house and community – respectively. Finally, chapter 6 elaborates on the theoretical contributions as well as the managerial implications, the research limitations and the areas future research.

CHAPTER 2

BRANDS AND BRANDING

This chapter will analyze the marketing literature on brands and branding, and will provide a critical theoretical discussion of branding models by focusing on the conceptualization of brands, the implicit assumptions employed in the processes of brand development, and the actors that participate and shape these processes.

Branding research has been generally involved in creating constructs and developing theories in order to understand the processes of building, managing and growing brands (for a thorough review see Keller and Lehmann, 2006). Regardless on the definition and operationalization of brands, strong brands yield several marketing advantages. Strong and familiar brands affect all stages and aspects of consumers' behavior (namely attention, learning, interpretation, evaluation and choice) as well as every type of marketing activity (for example, more favorable attribute and benefit perceptions, and more favorable responses towards brand extensions, price changes and

marketing communications) (Hoeffler and Keller, 2003). Brands influence three primary markets: customer, product and financial markets (Keller and Lehmann, 2006). Brands shape consumers' experiences with products, determine the effectiveness of marketing strategies and accrue financial value as an asset.

Since the pioneering studies of Gardner and Levy (1959) and Levy (1959), research on the development, management and extension of brands has grown rapidly (for reviews, see Keller and Lehmann [2006], Schau et al. [2009]). Gardner and Levy's (1955) work stimulated academic attention towards the study of brands as symbolic benefit associations. The authors called for "a greater awareness of the social and psychological nature of 'products' – whether brands, media, companies, institutional figures, services, industries or ideas" (Gardner and Levy, 1955: 34/35). While Gardner and Levy (1959) formed the relation between the product and the brand, Levy (1959: 124) reiterated "the ways products turn people's thoughts and feelings toward symbolic implications". Levy (1959: 118) was one of the first scholars who argued, "People buy things not only for what they can do, but also for what they mean". It had become evident that consumers purchase products not only for their functional benefits, but also and to a greater extent for their symbolic benefits. The literature moved away from the narrow focus of brands as merely identifiers or as functional benefit associations towards the study of brands as symbolic images (for example, Gardner and Levy, 1955; Levy, 1959; Park et al. 1986), a research perspective that still dominates the marketing discipline.

With the rising competition in the mid-1950s, firms faced difficulties in differentiating their brands based only on functional benefits. Increasingly, brands

competing in the same product category become functionally more similar to each other (de Chernatony, 1997). Firms, the primary actors in building brands associate their brands with symbolic meanings. Consequently, branding research focused on the symbolic value of brands in gaining competitive advantage and in stimulating consumer responses. According to this stream of research, when considering the purchase of a new product, consumers search not only for functional benefits, but also for the fit between the brand image and their own self-concepts (Sirgy, 1982). Consequently, consumers select brands that solve internally generated consumption needs for self-enhancement, role position, group membership or ego identification (Park et al. 1986; Merz et al. 2009). Consumers still receive passively the brand information stemming from the firm deprived from the creation of brand value.

Despite the acknowledgement about the significance of product symbolism in understanding consumers' behavior, the information-processing model had delayed the development of a relevant theory (Solomon, 1983). The early branding perspectives treated products as responses of behavior either for the purpose of need satisfaction or impression management (Solomon, 1983). The symbolic interactionism theory adopted from sociology, offers the theoretical basis for conceptualizing the socially oriented self. Symbolic interactionism focuses on how individuals create meanings to understand the world. According to this theoretical perspective, people, objects and situations do not possess meanings in themselves. On the contrary, meanings are created by the interactions between individuals and their material objects. This interaction has a significant influence in forming and enhancing an individual's self (Solomon, 1983). The adoption of this sociological perspective moved consumer research towards the

study of the interactions that consumers hold with their products. Grubb and Grathwohl (1967) developed the first formal model of the self-concept in consumer behavior, depicting a reciprocal relationship between product image and consumers' self-image. The basic proposition of the model is that the purchase, display and use of goods-symbols communicate meanings to others. Consequently, behavior will be directed toward the enhancement of self-concept through the consumption of goods as symbols (Grubb and Grathwohl, 1967).

Regardless, the academic interest on conceptualizing brands as symbolic objects, branding models for building, measuring and managing brands proliferated in the early 1990s. While the first branding models focused on the role of the firm in creating a consistent and coherent brand identity, increasingly research moved towards the integration of other actors in the brand-building processes.

The literature is organized under five main sections. The first four sections examine the theoretical evolution of branding models, and examine the conceptualization of brands, the key actors and the implicit assumptions employed in the processes of brand development. The literature is critically discussed under the following four branding models: mind-share branding, emotional branding, cultural branding and stakeholder branding. Each branding model is critically explored in terms of the research objects and the levels of analysis employed. These branding models differ on the research objects (cognitive, experiences, narratives, practices), research perspectives (managerial – sender – oriented, consumer – centric, culture – oriented, stakeholder – oriented) and units of analysis (individual, social, culture). Each branding model incrementally increases the role of other actors in the construction of brands,

brand values and meanings by embracing the following relationships: firm – brand, firm – consumer, consumer – brand - consumer(s), culture – brand, stakeholders – brand discussed in detail below. The last section provides an overview of the literature and identifies the theoretical gaps by linking the literature with the research questions.

2.1. Mind-Share Branding

With the recognition of brands as major strategic resources with functional and symbolic values, there was a shift in the branding literature towards developing brand-building models. From the early 1990s, the theoretical discussions on branding influenced by cognitive or social psychology theories revolve under two main perspectives: the brand identity perspective (firm, internal) and the brand image perspective (consumer cognitions, external). Both of these approaches add characteristics of the firm or the consumer creating a paradigmatic shift of the initial object oriented focus on brands (for example, Copeland, 1923; Coombe, 1996). The brand becomes a strategic resource and the firm, still the primary actor in the brand creation process, works on the construction of a coherent and consistent brand identity based on the firm's core values and/or consumers' perceptions.

The internal approach advocates that brand identity is a significant source for planning and implementing strategies. Aaker (1996) defines brand identity as the unique set of associations that represent what the brand stands for and imply a promise to consumers from the firm. The firm attempts to develop and protect the brand as a

strategic resource by acting within the degrees of freedom that the brand identity provides rather than being an unconditional response to consumers' needs and desires (Urde, 1999). A brand's identity provides a coherent profile of its mission, values, vision, target segments, style and anchoring products (Kapferer, 1992). Specifically, due to the dynamic market characterized by brand extensions, mergers and alliances, the core values (Urde, 1999) or the brand essence (Aaker, 1996) provide structure for the process of the brand-oriented company.

The brand identity is composed by different brand elements that can help to clarify, enrich and differentiate an identity; namely brand as product, brand as organization, brand as person and brand as symbol (Aaker, 1996). These elements help the firm to establish a value proposition based on functional, emotional or self-expressive benefits (Aaker, 1996; Aaker and Joachimsthaler, 2000) by merging the previous theoretical perspectives on brands and branding. Although some scholars state that branding should start from the customer, still, "it is not up to the customer to define the brand and its content, it is up to the company" (Kapferer, 2006: 82). Brands need a coherent identity and positioning, prior to perceptions, which means that "the central concept is brand identity, not brand image" (Kapferer, 2006: 5). Consequently, according to the firm-centric (internal) perspective, marketers create brands and form brand identities, and consumers receive these meanings from the market and form brand images. The brand identity approach ascribes brand construction and development practices to the firm and a passive, receptive role to the consumer.

On the other hand, the external approach advocates that the key for the creation of powerful brands is the creation of distinctive and favorable associations in consumers'

minds in order to differentiate the brand and create competitive advantage (Keller, 1993). The brand image that stems from consumers' perceptions guides the brand creation process. According to Keller (2003: 59) the basic assumption of the customer based brand equity (CBBE) model is that "a brand lies in what customers have learned, felt, seen and heard about the brand as a result of their experiences over time". The author develops a four step model on building brands in which each step is contingent on the completion of the previous step: brand identity (ensure identification of the brand with a certain product category or consumer need), brand meaning (develop the meaning of the brand by linking tangible and intangible brand associations), brand response (establish customer responses to the brand identity and meaning) and brand relationship (turn responses into active loyalty relationships between customers and brands).

Although, the external approach attempts to integrate consumers to the brand building models, still it carries certain limitations. Firstly, by relying on consumers' perceptions as sources of meaning, firm-based resources, capabilities and strategies often get little notice (Kapferer, 1992; Aaker, 1996). Secondly, brand meaning is constantly modified by the changes in consumers' expectations (Louro and Cunha, 2001). Opponents of this consumer centric approach argue that branding involves balancing consumers' desires with a brand's essence, vision and permanent qualities.

Even when both the firm and consumers are seen as significant actors in the creation of brand value, still the firm's internal activities are given supremacy. For example, Urde (1999) argues that brands have both an internal and external identity. The internal brand identity is the organization's conception and approach to the brand, whereas the external brand identity is the consumer's perceptions and evaluative

processes. According to the author, obtaining a deeper, holistic picture of the brand is possible only when both the internal and external brand identities are seen in a context. Yet, the starting point for the process of brand building is to first create a deeper understanding of the internal brand identity. The brand then becomes the strategic source for the satisfaction of consumers' needs and wants.

Whether firm or consumer centric, mind-share branding shares three main assumptions. First, influenced by cognitive and social psychology theories these studies focus on the firm based strategies that attempt to stimulate certain consumer responses (for example, brand awareness, brand loyalty). In contrast to the previous perspectives on brands, in this approach brand value is the perception of a brand's use-value to consumers (Merz et al. 2009).

Second, instead of investigating the benefits that a brand adds to a product offering and the types of associations that consumers form about brands, mind-share branding theorizes the processes of brand value construction (Merz et al. 2009). The consumer is perceived as an autonomous individual purified by the dynamics that structure his/her life, a passive receiver of brand meanings stimulated by marketers. The psychological view reduces culture to a collection of information that consumers incorporate in a cognitive schema, which influences future decision-making processes and attitudes towards the brand (van Osselaer and Janiszewski, 2001). For example, Keller (1993: 10) conceptualizes the consumer-based brand equity, but does not distinguish the sources of brand beliefs "that is whether beliefs are created by the marketer or by some other source of influence such as reference groups or publicity".

Third, this branding perspective has a tendency to assume a rather static and controllable brand environment and a dependence on the internal capabilities of the firm. Despite the challenges of contemporary markets, the brand environment is controlled by an analysis of customers, competitors and the firm itself. According to Aaker (1996) building brands requires strategic and tactical imperatives that create significant organizational challenges. The author mentions two basic imperatives: to create a brand identity and to create mechanisms to coordinate brand building across organizational units, media and markets. Urde (1999; 2003) also states that brand building is a two-way process: internal within the company itself and external between the brand and the customer. Similarly, Keller (1993) indicates that building consumer-based brand equity requires the choice of a brand identity (brand name, logo and symbol) and the integration of this brand identity into the marketing program without taking into consideration other actors that may influence brand value and meanings. Brand building begins with identifying the constellation of abstract concepts or associations. The main objective of the firm is to construct and communicate a consistent identity and image. Even earlier than these pioneering works, Farquhar (1989) argues that there are three essential elements in order to build strong brands: a positive brand evaluation, an accessible brand attitude and a consistent brand image. The defined constructs thus rather than providing theoretical insights on how to build brands (process) provide useful metrics for evaluating identity value (Holt, 2004).

In a recent research Keller and Lehmann (2003) define the brand value chain model. According to the model, brand value creation begins with the firm's marketing activity (marketing program investment), which influences consumer mindset with

respect to the brand (customer mindset) and then shapes the performance of the brand in the marketplace (brand performance) and as a result affects the financial value of the brand for investors (shareholder value). The authors state that a number of factors, namely multipliers intervene between these stages and moderate the transfer of value from the marketing program to the subsequent stages. There are three sets of multipliers: the program quality multiplier (clarity, relevance, distinctiveness, and consistency), the marketplace conditions multiplier (competitors' reactions, channel support, customer size and profile) and the investor sentiment multiplier (market dynamics, growth potential, risk profile and brand contributions). Although the authors acknowledge that several factors outside the firm may inhibit value creation, the model directs attention to the direct influencers of brand value namely, the firm itself, consumers, competitors, channel members and investors. The brand value chain model with the unilateral movement of value creation still bears the limitations of the earlier works in this branding approach.

Extending the brand value chain model, Keller and Lehmann (2006) propose a new "systems model of brand antecedents and consequences" that illustrates how brand equity operates. The linear process in the model is composed of four main stages: 1) company actions, 2) consumers' thoughts and feelings about the brand, 3) consumers' brand related actions and 4) their impact in the financial market. The model acknowledges that consumers' thoughts and feelings about the brand are affected by other actors' actions (for example, competitors' actions, industry/environmental conditions and partners' actions). The firm is given supremacy by initiating the creation

of brands with the planning of the marketing program that aims to create stable, descriptive attributes or informational dimensions that form the brands (Keller, 2003).

Apart from the role of consumers' perceptions for creating abstract associations that form the brand, research in the 1990s and early 2000s also paid attention to the role of employees on shaping and promoting brand value. This turn towards employees and the organizational culture share the same assumptions with the mind-share branding. Studies on marketing and brand management, services marketing and corporate branding provide evidence that both internal (employees) and external consumers shape brand-building process (for example, Urde, 1999; Aaker and Joachimsthaler, 2000; de Chernatony and Segal-Horn, 2001; Schulz and de Chernatony, 2002). Employees shape, represent and promote brand promises made to consumers (Merz et al. 2009). For this reason, firms build an organizational culture based on the core values of the brand and cultivate these values through out the firm. Consequently, firms train employees for the delivery of brand promises. The failure of delivering the promises of brands influences the credibility of brands and firms (Ind, 2003). Even though the firm is still the primary actors, employees also become significant actors in the creation of brand value. Employees deliver and shape the brand promises during the direct and indirect interactions with consumers.

Other than marketing communications, the firm's employees are also significant contributors to brand value (de Chernatony, 2001). As the functional benefits of brands continue to become similar, organizational culture becomes a critical tool for achieving competitive advantage. As the author argues: "it is not so much what consumers receive but rather how they receive it" (de Chernatony, 2001: 37). The firm should align the

values and behaviors of their employees with the brands' core values, since they shape and represent the brand to external consumers (de Chernatony, 1999). Similarly, Aaker and Joachimsthaler (2000) explicate that employees act as brand representatives and firms can achieve brand leadership by first creating a brand building organization. According to the authors, the first challenge of building strong brands is to establish a brand-nurturing structure and culture. Also Urde (1999), defining the brand as a strategic resource, argues that the brand building process requires the construction of a core value for both the firm and the consumers. The construction of brand value is performed both internally within the organization (internal brand identity) and externally between the brand and its consumers (external brand identity). The internal brand identity is established through the development and communication of the firm's vision, organizational values and core values. Likewise, Ind (2003) argues that employees, through their understanding of the brand's ideology, truly build an image of the firm in consumers' and other stakeholders' minds. Finally, Miles and Mangold (2004: 68) developed the construct of employee branding, which is "the process by which employees internalize the desired brand image and are motivated to project the image to customers and other organizational constituents". This conceptual paper links brand management with human resources management and discusses the consequences of the positive employee brand image for the brand.

Studies on services branding also pay attention to the role of employees as brand value co-creators. Berry (2000) develops a service-branding framework and argues that employees play a greater role than the product itself in forming consumer value. The author elaborating on his argument states, "in labor-intensive service businesses, human

performance, rather than machine performance plays the most critical role in building the brand” (Berry, 2000: 130). In a related matter, de Chernatony and Segal-Horn (2001) examine the processes of developing and sustaining strong services brands. The product-service dichotomy calls for a move away from the classical branding models that develop and then communicate the brand value to consumers. Employees play a critical role in services branding, shaping brand quality and values through the interactions that they have with consumers. Thus, before the promotion of the brand to consumers, the firm initially must focus on the internal issues. Managers need to build an organizational culture aligned with the brand’s values, train employees for the delivery of the brand’s unique benefits and support employees’ behavior that brace the brand (Berry, 2000).

The move from the classical mind-share branding models that focus on communications to an organizational cultural perspective also builds theoretically the construct of corporate branding. Studies on this domain adopt and triangulate theories on organizational, marketing and strategy studies (Schultz and de Chernatony, 2002). Similar to the mind-share branding perspectives, corporate branding adopts the same objective of creating differentiation and triggering consumer preference (Knox and Bickerton, 2000). However, corporate branding “is rendered more complex by managers conducting these practices at the level of organization, rather than the individual product or service, and the requirement to manage interactions with multiple stakeholder audiences” (Knox and Bickerton, 2000: 999). Except the role of employees, the literature on corporate branding moves thinking to the various internal (employees) and external (consumers) stakeholders in building the internal and external brand identity (for example, Schultz and de Chernatony, 2002; Urde, 2003).

Overall, mind share branding highlights consumers' perceptions in the construction of brands value. However, the influence of cognitive and social psychology theories narrows the unit of analysis to the individual consumer. The primacy of the firm, its resources and competences, shapes the creation and management of brands. Recent studies that employ the principles of mind share branding pay attention to the role of employees or internal consumers on building brand value. Through, the direct or indirect interactions with consumers, employees shape brand creation processes by communicating brand promises (Merz et al. 2009). Treating the brand as a strategic resource, academic interest increasingly moves towards the dynamic interactions between the organizational culture and other stakeholders on the construction of brand value (see 2.4.).

2.2. Emotional Branding

Moving from the narrow focus on the firm, its employees and the individual consumer, emotional branding adopts anthropological and sociological constructs that lead to an alternative understanding of brands and branding. The focus is on examining consumers' lived experiences with brands. This perspective challenges the claims of the earlier theories of creating a consistent and distinctive benefit position in consumers' mind. Proponents of the emotional branding perspective argue that a focus on creating a distinctive positioning based on benefits/associations cannot lead to a lasting competitive advantage as it can be easily imitated by the competitors (Gobe, 2001).

Moreover, the overdependence on a benefit approach is unlikely to break through the offerings of the saturated market where several brands fight for delivering unique associations (Gobe, 2001; Thompson et al. 2006). Following this reasoning, emotional branding proponents argue that consumers' brand awareness, passion and loyalty are hardly ever based on benefits (for example, Gobe, 2001, 2002; Mark and Pearson, 2001). Rather, managers should focus on building and communicating the right emotions, experiences and stories that can touch consumers' lives (Gobe, 2002). Consumers are interested in buying an emotional experience and in building multifaceted, holistic relationships with brands based on trust (Gobe, 2002). The strong emotional bonds between consumers and their brands "create a true sense of brand ownership" (Gobe, 2002: xxi).

Three main assumptions evolve from the emotional branding perspective. First, this turn calls for the reevaluation of the existing research approaches and measurements (for example, Ger et al. 1999; Gardner and Levy, 1955). Interpretive consumer researchers employing qualitative research methods (interviews, observations, projective techniques and netnography) examine the role of consumers in the creation of brands, brand values and meanings.

Second, the overdependence on the firm on building brands is challenged. Consumers, individually or in consumer collectivities, become significant actors in the brand creation processes. For example, Fournier (1998) using the case study method examines consumers and their relationships with brands. According to the author, the abstracted, goal-directed and experiential categories that consumers create for brands are

not necessarily the same as the categories imposed by the marketers. Rather consumers' lived experiences produce a different conception of brands.

Third, this tradition attempts to move thinking away from the consumer brand dyad that stems from the influence on psychology with a focus on the individual consumer. Consumers increasingly seek products for their linking rather than use value, a linking value that is not created by firms, but by individuals who consume the same brand (Cova, 1997). Muniz and O'Guinn (2001) develop the brand community construct that evolves around the triangular relationship among a branded object, its consumers and other consumers. The authors define brand community as "a specialized, non-geographically bound community, based on a structured set of social relationships among admirers of a brand" (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001: 412). Brand meanings in these communities are collectively created among consumers of the same brand. These consumer collectivities share three main features: consciousness of a kind (a sense of belonging to a group), rituals and traditions, and a sense of moral responsibility (a sense of obligation to the community and to its members) (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001).

The construct of community soon became a significant level of analysis in studying consumer behavior and specifically in understanding collective consumption practices and processes of brand creation (for example, Kates, 2002; Kozinets, 2001; Wright-Isak, 1996; Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). For example, McAlexander and his colleagues (2002) extending Muniz and O'Guinn's (2001) triangular model, examine consumers' relationships with the brand, related marketing agents, institutions as well as other consumers. Consumers adopt, transform or reject actively the brand meanings stemming from various brand authors (Holt, 2004). The interactions among community

members are so strong that revive even brands abandoned by their producers (Muniz and Schau, 2005). For example, Muniz and Schau (2005) examine consumers' community practices of the Apple Newton brand that the firm has withdrawn from the marketplace. The authors link the loyalty to the abandoned brand with the communal nature of religion. Consumers act as proselytizers of the brand through their meanings and practices. Specifically, the members engage in consumer-to-consumer narrative interactions that attach the members to the community and reify its values and beliefs. Community members co-create brand value through the transmission of brand related stories. These stories similar to the mystical stories in the Bible attempt to foster belief around a central figure and in this case the brand.

Recently, Schau et al. (2009) using a meta-analytic review of articles in major journals examined the collective value creation and identify twelve common practices present in most brand communities. The authors organize these practices in four thematic categories within which other practices also unfold. First, social networking practices refer to the practices that form, cultivate and sustain ties among community members and include welcoming, empathizing and governing practices. Second, impression management practices focus on creating favorable associations of the brand and brand community to non-community members. Impression management practices include evangelizing and justifying practices. Third, community engagement practices reinforce community members' increasing commitment with the brand community and include staking, milestone, badging and documenting practices. Finally, brand use practices involve practices for improving or enhancing the consumption of the brand and include grooming, customizing and commoditizing practices.

Apart from the positive relationships and the homogeneity of brand meanings within the community, brand communities also embrace tensions about community members and competing consumer collectivities. Consumer culture theoreticians elaborate on the tensions within and between brand communities using the constructs of legitimacy and oppositional brand loyalty (for example, Schau et al. 2009; Cova et al. 2007; Brown et al. 2003; Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001). Legitimacy refers to the process by which community members differentiate others inside the community based on the authenticity of their consumption practices. Illegitimate community members fail to appreciate the culture, history, rituals and traditions and symbols of the brand community (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001). The true believers of the brand feel concerned by the irresponsible practices of others that threaten their harmonious community. Conflicts specifically arise out of status hierarchies. The launch of brands welcomes new comers and makes anxious existing community members (for example, Brown et al. 2003; Kozinets, 2001). For example, Brown et al. (2003), investigating the launch of retro brands, discuss the irresolvable contradictions that manifest between supporters of the old Beetle and the new Beetle, and between supporters of the original Star Wars and the new Star Wars. The authors conceptualize these contradictions as “brand antinomy” referring to the paradoxes that arise with “the simultaneous presence of old and new, tradition and technology, primitivism and progress, same and different” (Brown et al. 2003: 21). True believers blame marketers for the illegitimate practices of other community members. In product markets based on technological progress, commercial profits induce innovation and obsolescence of previous products, and threaten the presence of community ethos (for example, Muniz and Schau, 2005; Brown et al. 2003;

Kozinets, 2001; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001). "Community asserts tensions against the market, against hegemony and against the growth of the brand" (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001: 419) as they threaten the existing community ethos.

Except for the conflicts that arise from innovations, Kates (2002) argues that community members gain legitimacy by distancing themselves from the stereotypical others inside the community. The findings indicate that gay consumers detach themselves from the "ghetto queen", the stereotypical gay consumer, who discards his agency and individuality. Rather than a homogenous community, consumers in the gay community favor reflexive thought and individualistic taste. Tensions also arise from normative pressures from community members. Exploring the social influence of brand communities, Algesheimer et al. (2005) argue that brand communities can influence their members in negative ways. Extrinsic obligations to conform to the community's norms, cultivate resistance against the normative consumption practices of community members. Similarly, Luedicke and Giesler (2009) argue that differences in consumption practices trigger legitimization struggles between two ethnic groups in the same brand community. The host cultures' ethnic reservations and stereotyping oppose the migrants' membership in the brand community.

In addition to legitimacy, oppositional brand loyalty also shapes the formation of tensions between competing brand communities. Oppositional brand loyalty refers to the process through which community members defend consciousness of a kind (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001). By differentiating their brand from others, brand communities experience the community and negotiate the meanings of brands (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001). Often consumers, anti-brand activists, bloggers and opinion leaders in media

circulate negative images and stories about brands. Thompson and his colleagues (2006) define this collection of opposing meanings as the doppelganger brand image. The authors draw attention to the cultural contradictions that challenge the authentic brand stories of iconic brands. Although negative, the doppelganger brand image assists managers for the reconfiguration of their brand stories as authenticating narratives for consumers' identity projects. Kates (2004) in a similar vein, examining the adoption of brands by a gay community, argues that brands undergone severe tests by community members in order to gain legitimacy. The author examines the processes through which brands become legitimate. The "litmus test" criteria delineate whether consumers will employ, alter or reject particular brands.

Driven by the premises of posthuman consumer culture (Venkatesh et al. 2002), Giesler and Venkatesh (2005) develops a different conceptual framework in order to understand brand communities and brand protests. The author theorizes brands as social systems that embed consumers' and producers' brand-specific communications to create control over consumption. Giesler and Venkatesh (2005) employ the notion of "system as distinction" against the structural functionalist notion of "system as unity" that fails to incorporate ideology, meaning and change within the domain of consumption. The "system as distinction" implies control and negotiation that is enabled through communication. Reality rather than a mere representation is "actively constructed by the observer in the permanent process of drawing distinctions" (Giesler and Venkatesh, 2005: 663). Through this theoretical argument, the author argues that brand systems are developed through the distinctions of what the brand communicates to be and what it rejects to be. According to the author, brands reflect a set of economic, social, political

and aesthetic distinctions. Brands remain alive as long as these distinctions are negotiated through communication.

Luedicke (2006a) evolves the notion of brand systems through a qualitative content analysis of five consumer culture theory studies on brands. The analysis reveals that brand systems are developed through the social communication about brands. The system dissolves when consumers stop communicating about brands. Brand systems exist when brand distinctions are visible for the different observers (for example, marketers, consumers, mass media) in order to enable communication. Brand systems negotiate and maintain specific programs and structures that guide, encourage and control communication. These programs and structures continuously change the brand systems and allow observers to communicate in favor of or against the brand system. The success of a brand system depends on the various observers, as the interested observers are the only actors that can perceive the communication of the brand system. Therefore, the brand system of Macintosh cannot exist without the supporters of Microsoft (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001) or the Starbucks cannot exist without the supporters of local coffee shops (Thompson and Arsel, 2004). Consumers, marketers, the media and other observers create and protest brand meanings not only through the intrinsic communalities, but also through the various distinctions between a brand system and its social environment. The communication of distinctions through stories, narratives and myths by marketers, consumers and other observers keep brands alive.

Parallel to these consumer collectivities, consumer identities seem to be increasingly fluid (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Featherstone, 1991). Without having any commitment, consumers more than ever are free to choose among different lifestyles,

different communities and consequently different brands. Consumers become not only more disloyal, but also more reflexive towards the firm based branding techniques (for example, Thompson et al. 2006). Holt (2002) argues that firms can no longer act as cultural engineers that direct individuals to embrace the brand to their everyday life. Rather, the author advocates that brands should be built as authentic cultural resources, as useful ingredients to produce the self that one chooses to become.

Recently, the theoretical differences between mind-share and emotional branding are narrowing as opponents of the earlier theoretical orientations integrate the premises of emotional branding. For example, defining brand knowledge, Keller (2003: 596) argues that branding involves abstract and intangible considerations that stem from the research on brand communities that provide significant insights on conceptualizing brand knowledge. Keller (2001; 2003) develops the customer-based brand equity pyramid, where each step of the pyramid depends on the successful implementation of the previous step. The final step defined as brand resonance focuses on the relationship and the level of identification that the consumer has with the brand. Still the premises of cognitive psychology with the primacy of the firm and the focus on the individual consumer influence this model and create a reduced form of the relationship construct.

The power of consumers in shaping brand value has also formed another challenger to mind-share branding defined as viral branding (also known as grass roots and buzz marketing). This research perspective similar to emotional branding assumes that consumers but not firms shape the creation of brands. Viral branding pays attention to how non-company actors convince consumers to become owners of the brand. Similar to viruses key influencers act as vehicles to disseminate the brand (Gladwell,

2000). This branding perspective was formed as a result of consumers increasing distrust of marketing activities and the emergence of the Internet (Holt, 2004). Increasingly, consumers distancing mass communications, “discover brands on their own” (Holt, 2004: 28). Firms find the most influential individuals, who can persuade others to become part of the brand community. Consequently, in viral branding firm regularly form covert public relations teams in order to discover the right consumers that will embrace the brands and form its value. While viral branding provides strategies to discover trends and to develop and promote brands, studies on brand communities focus on consumers’ collective practices in brand communities.

Overall, the emotional branding perspective highlights consumers’ active and dynamic role on the construction of brands. Moving from the narrow focus on the individual and the primacy of the firm based brand meanings, consumers engage in continuous, social and highly dynamic interactions with the firm and other consumers of the same or competing brand communities. Consumers, individually and as members of a brand community, become significant actors in the creation processes of brands. Through consumption practices, community members co-create and negotiate brand meanings, and protect the community ethos from the tensions that arise from the firm, the media, from competing brand communities and within the brand community.

2.3. Cultural Branding

Acknowledging consumers' agency in the construction of brands, branding research moved towards the study of brands both as managerial and as cultural concepts. The basic assumption of this stream of research is that brands do not only reside in consumers' minds, but also live in cultures. The research revolves around a central question: "how do brands interact with culture?" (Schroeder and Salzer-Morling, 2006: 4). Supporters of the cultural branding perspective argue that neither producers nor consumers entirely control branding processes – rather "cultural codes constrain how brands work to produce meaning" (Schroeder and Salzer-Morling, 2006: 1).

According to Schroeder and Salzer-Morling (2006) brand culture refers to the cultural influences and implications of brands into two ways. Firstly, brands infuse culture with meaning and increasingly, brand management shapes the whole society. Secondly, brand culture, along with brand identity and image, provides the cultural, historical and political cornerstones to make sense of brands in context. Increasingly consumers' brand meanings derive not only from the firm based brand identity; rather "a process of negotiation also takes place in and between a marketing environment, a cultural environment, and a social environment" (Schroeder and Salzer-Morling, 2006: 5). Therefore, brands exist as cultural, ideological and political objects that give form to the development of brands. Culture guides and constrains the brand creation processes executed by the dynamic interactions among the firm, consumers, consumer collectivities, the media and other actors.

Holt (2004) developed the first formal model on cultural branding by exploring the origin of strong iconic brands. Seven main axioms revolve around the cultural branding model. First, iconic brands address the most important collective tensions and desires. In the aggregate level a nation's citizens share the same desires and anxieties when forming their identities, therefore, the same historical changes shape the development of consumers' identity projects. Second, iconic brands rely and perform identity myths that address the nation's desires and anxieties. Rather than associating brands with aspirational figures, iconic brands rely on myths of imaginary worlds that ease the tensions and assist consumers in creating purpose in their lives. Third, identity myths reside in the markers of brands (for example, brand names, logos and design elements) and consumers experience and share brands via consumption rituals. The experience of the brand, "the material embodiment of the myth" (Holt, 2004: 8), attempts to resolve identity burdens. Fourth, identity myths are situated in populist worlds, communities that express a unique ethos through their performances (for example, Harley originated from the outlaw bikers, see Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). Myths use the resources of populist worlds in order to build authenticity to the myth that it is grounded in the lives of real people that share a particular ethos. Fifth, iconic brands act like cultural activists by encouraging consumers to reconsider established ideas about themselves. Iconic brands rather than evoking benefits, personalities and emotions, motivate consumers to align with the desires of the particular nation. Sixth, iconic brands rely on revolutionary performances rather than consistent communications. These breakthrough performances build and keep alive the iconic brands (for example, Coca-Cola's advertisement "I'd like to buy the world a

Coke” that aimed to unite individuals against the war). Finally, iconic brands form a halo on other aspects of the brand. When a brand communicates a powerful identity myth, this identity value enhances brands’ image and benefits.

Apart from these key axioms, the author in various genealogical studies, Holt (2005; 2006) argues that iconic brands remain iconic as long as they revise the existing myth in accordance with the cultural interruptions that may alter the myth of the populist worlds. Consequently, rather than a static and consistent entity, brands embrace the cultural changes. Similarly, O’Guinn and Muniz (2005) argue that strong brands communities form out of challenges. Tensions give the community a reason to maintain cohesiveness (O’Guinn and Muniz, 2005).

Adopting the premises of cultural branding, Cayla and Arnould (2008) argue that branding practices differ across cultural contexts. Specifically, the authors refute previous branding theories since they implicitly assume that the principles of building strong brands are the same across cultures. Ethnocentrism and the premise of a uniform brand evolution obscure the dynamic interactions between brands and cultures (for example, Coulter et al. 2003; Strizhakova et al. 2008). Kapferer (2006) also supports this argument by examining the processes of luxury brand creation. The findings of the research reveal that two different models of luxury branding exist in the market. Rather than a uniform brand model, each model is based on oppositional cultural assumptions about luxury: one based on history, scarcity and craftsmanship associated with European brands, while the other based on stories, images and marketing skills associated with the success of the American culture. As there are alternative modernities and alternative

consumer cultures, alternative brands cultures also exist in different contexts (Cayla and Arnould, 2008).

Studies on brand communities also elaborate on how cultural variation forms a plurality of brand meanings. Different consumer collectivities inside the same brand community allocate different meanings regarding the same brand (for example, Cova et al. 2007; Luedicke and Giesler, 2009). For example, Cova et al. (2007) challenge Muniz and O'Guinn's (2001) assumption that brand communities "may transcend geography" (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001: 415). Investigating the meanings of the Warhammer brand in France and in America, the authors explicate how each local consumer collectivity reinterprets the brand's meanings as a result of its own culture.

Holt's (2004) cultural branding approach assumes that myth markets develop around the acute contradiction in national ideology. Recent studies however, indicate that some myth markets move beyond national boundaries evoking a global myth (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard, 2008; Strizhakova et al. 2008). For example, Askegaard and Kjeldgaard (2008) examine how the myth of self-actualization expanded and diffused on a global scale through the combination of the popular trends towards psychology and Eastern philosophical and religious practices. The authors analyze how the meaning of yoga in the context of Nepalese middle class youth has changed from a practice of a pre-modern, religious culture to a practice of the global myth of the modern consumer. Similarly, Strizhakova et al. (2008) argue that global brands in different product categories stimulate the same common global myth of the independent, decision-making consumer. Consequently, identity myths travel across cultures.

The culturally informed branding research also draws attention to the study of brands as polycentric entities that embrace several actors' negotiations and tensions. Cayla and Arnould (2008) in their study on branding in the global marketplace argue that brand meanings originate from the dynamic interactions among consumer communities spread all over the world, producers and other actors. Holt (2004; 2006) also in different genealogical studies on the formation and management of iconic brands, points out the various non-marketing actors that shape the construction ideology-based culture. Increasingly, research calls attention to the different stakeholders that shape the creation of brands.

In sum, the cultural branding perspective expands and enriches the brand creation processes of the previous branding orientations. The theorization of culture in branding research illustrates the move away from the narrow focus on the marketing environment and the firm. Brands and their creation processes are contextually and historically grounded. Cultural branding creates "storied products" (Holt, 2004: 36) that have distinctive branded elements through which consumers perform identity myths. Increasingly, cultural branding also calls for a shift in the brand logic towards the role of different stakeholders in the creation of brand value.

2.4. Stakeholder Branding

Emotional branding and cultural branding formed the origin of the shift towards the stakeholder approach to branding (for example, Schultz and de Chernatony, 2002;

Cayla and Arnould, 2008; Diamond et al. 2009). Adopting the premises of these branding perspectives, brand scholars move towards the study of brand creation through the dynamic interactions among all brand stakeholders (Merz et al. 2009).

Supporters of the cultural branding approach argue that the construction of brands becomes a collective process (Holt, 2004; Cayla and Arnould, 2008) as “various authors tell stories that involve the brand” (Holt, 2004: 3). According to Holt (2004) four primary authors form and shape brand stories: firms, the culture industries, intermediates and consumers especially when they form communities around brands. The influence of these brand authors varies across product categories. Each author may have a different story. But as the stories collide in everyday life, a single story that also provides the seeds for the establishment of the brand may emerge. Using Jack Daniel’s whiskey as an example of an iconic brand, the author argues that the myths develop outside the firm’s control and iconic brands compared to the other brand authors have little influence on the direction of the myth (Holt, 2006).

Similarly, Bergvall (2006), employing the concept of brand ecosystem (Winkler, 1999), explores the ways brands interact with other cornerstones. Brand ecosystem is the complex interrelationships of all the stakeholders and brands that assist in the creation of a product or service (Winkler, 1999). The findings indicate that the interactions inside the brand ecosystem are fluid and continuous, where any action affects the whole ecosystem. Bergvall (2006) expands the firm-centric scope and includes technology and governmental actions as they give a broader understanding of the cultural foundations in the brand creation processes. In a brand ecosystem seemingly disconnected phenomena influence and control each other as they depend on the existing cultural interrelation.

Cayla and Arnould (2008) also adopt the stakeholder approach towards the study of global branding. According to the authors “a brand’s meanings emerges out of consensus and dissensus, between the collective sharing of what the brand means to all its stakeholders and the active and often conflictual negotiation of such meanings” (Cayla and Arnould, 2008: 98). Consequently, different institutional and social structures shape the formation of different networks, different kinds of brand creation processes and different types of brands.

Apart from the supporters of the cultural branding perspective, research on corporate branding also turns attention towards the role of stakeholders in corporate brand building. Corporate branding expands the scope of traditional brand management towards the systematic observation and control of internal and external stakeholders in the corporate brand strategy (Schultz and de Chernatony, 2002; Keller and Richey, 2006). For example, Jones (2005) developed the stakeholder-brand value model based on three assumptions. Primarily, the firm relies on a network of relationships and the interactions between the brand and its stakeholders create brand value. Secondly, value is created through the satisfaction of stakeholders’ expectations in the form of functional, symbolic or hedonic exchanges and outcomes. Finally, brand perceptions are formed by the actions of all stakeholders except the firms’ practices.

Ind and Bjerke (2007) also call attention to the different brand stakeholders that shape the development of brands. The authors develop the participatory market orientation that provides an outwards and inwards focus for developing and enhancing brand equity. According to the proposed new market orientation, firms should monitor

and form close relationships with consumers and other stakeholders, and build coalitions within the organization to deliver clear and consistent consumer brand experiences.

Similarly, Gregory (2007) developed the concept of negotiated brand in order to explain how stakeholders' practices shape brand creation processes. The study calls attention to the role of stakeholders as partners rather than targets in the construction of the brand. The author proposed a negotiated brand process for the creation of the negotiated brand. This process initiates inside the firm. Dynamic interactions among internal stakeholders or employees form the brand's core values. These core values are then exposed to all stakeholders through corporate communication. Internal and external stakeholders actively review, evaluate and refine brand values to provide an informed knowledge base for the firm. The knowledge stemming from brand stakeholders revise firms' brand strategies.

Increasingly, consumer culture theoreticians call attention to the stakeholder approach towards the study of the processes of brand creation. Diamond et al. (2009) argue that brands are the products of multiple stakeholders, narrating multiple representations in multiple channels. The investigation of the American Girl brand provides evidence of the complex nature of brands and the multiplicity of antiphonal brand meanings originating from different narrative sources; the culture at large, the founder's brand creation myth, the sales representatives, the girls and their mothers. The authors' advice marketers to "recall that they are often managing political, not merely commercial properties" (Diamond et al. 2009: 133), which require attention to all brand stakeholders.

Similarly, O'Guinn and Muniz (2010) propose a sociological model of brands that theorizes brand stakeholders and the processes of brand creation. Brands are constructed by the interactions of multiple parties, institutions, publics and social forces. According to the model, five main actors shape the development of the brand and brand related meanings: the firm, the object, individual consumers, consumer collectives and institutions (media, retailers, equity markets, government and non-governmental organizations). These dynamics actors give form to brands through five dynamic processes: accommodation, negotiation, mediated cultivation, polity, rumor and disruption. Accommodation is the process through which the firm's meanings gain some level of acceptance by consumers. Negotiation refers to the social process in which consumers actively revise the firm-based brand meanings. Mediated cultivation is the process of embracing brands in programming content through which brands become part of representations shared by audiences. Polity is the social process of forming political accounts by discriminating among brands. Rumor refers to the stories that circulate about the brands that might not have any truth-value, but reflect what the consumer community wants to be true. Finally, disruption reflects the interruption in social continuity initiated by societal changes (for example, demographic changes). Overall, the model highlights the significance of brands as social creations and centers of social organization.

Pioneers of cognitive branding also draw attention to more holistic approaches towards branding. Keller (2003) develops the construct of brand synthesis and argues that increasingly marketers link their brands to multiple entities such as people, places, things or other brands. According to the author, these secondary sources of brand

knowledge may affect existing brand knowledge or may create new brand knowledge. Although, prior research has examined the transfer of brand knowledge in terms of country of origin effects, celebrity source effects, co-branding and corporate branding effects, few studies consider the multiple entities to which a brand can be linked. Although based on cognitive psychology, this theoretical paper provides important insights in terms of the multidimensional nature of contemporary brands. The author assumes that firms intentionally link their brands to other sources in order to build or leverage knowledge that might be difficult to achieve only through the development and execution of marketing strategies.

Providing a historical account of the studies on branding, Merz et al. (2009) connect the stakeholder-focus brand era to the service-dominant logic in marketing (Vargo and Lusch, 2008). The evolving service-dominant logic shares three main assumptions. First, it regards services as the common property in the exchange. Second, it embraces a focus on process (the service) rather than output (goods and services). Third, value creation originates from the interactions between consumers and other actors rather than the firm. The conceptual paper provides evidence that the stakeholder brand logic parallels and reflects the new evolving service-dominant logic in marketing. The authors elaborate how each brand era builds on the foundational premises of the service-dominant logic. The new brand logic based on brand stakeholders' as the actors of brand creation embraces nearly all of the foundational premises. Adopting the premises of the service-dominant logic in market, the authors develop a brand value co-creation (BVCC) model. The basic proposition of the BVCC model is that "a brand constitutes a collaborative, value co-creation activity involving all stakeholders and the

firm. That is, all stakeholders and the firm can be viewed as resource integrators that collectively co-create a brand's value" (Merz et al. 2009: 340).

Overall, the stakeholder-focus brand era highlights the role of internal and external brand stakeholders in the creation processes of brands. Branding research in this perspective conceptualizes brands as the outcome of dynamic and interactive processes among the firm, the brand and all its stakeholders. Brand stakeholders through their negotiations and collaborations act collectively to create brand value (Merz et al. 2009).

2.5. Theoretical Gaps and Summary

The chapter provides an overview of the branding literature elaborating on the evolution of research objects, perspectives and level of analysis in each branding model. Contemporary perspectives on brands and branding research increasingly move attention to the study of brands as cultural and social forms, which are contextually and historically grounded and constructed through dynamic brand stakeholder interactions. Differentiating products from brands, this research defines products as the physical forms and appearances of properties, while brands as the material and immaterial and highly symbolic properties that are embedded in social, cultural, political and financial structures.

Using the premises of the stakeholder logic for branding, the proposed research attempts to address five main theoretical gaps. First, contemporary perspectives on brands and branding examine the actors that shape brands after their launch in the

marketplace (for example, Diamond et al. 2009; Schau et al. 2009). Only the studies on new product development (NPD) and new brand development (NBD) pay attention to how consumers provide valuable information on the development of a new product or brand (for a thorough review of NPD see Krishnan and Ulrich, 2001). Firms create prototypes (physical or virtual) before the initiation of a detailed product design in order to monitor consumer responses (Srinivasan et al. 1997; Krishnan and Ulrich, 2001). Consequently, building a strong brand requires the adoption of a strong market orientation and marketing becomes an integral facet of every new brand development project (Cooper, 1994; Ponsonby-McCabe and Boyle, 2006; Boyle, 2007). Despite the customer driven approach to the development of a new brand, still “the process is essentially an internal matter for the members of a firm” (Ponsonby-McCabe and Boyle, 2006: 178). Moving from the primacy of the firm in the development of a new brand, the proposed research explores the multiple actors (brand stakeholders, materials, discourses and events) and the processes that shape the construction of brands (both in material and immaterial terms) both before and after their launch. Even though some studies acknowledge the role of various actors in the development of the brand offering before its launch (O’Guinn and Muniz, 2010), these processes are not incorporated in the branding models. Brands, and their brand manifestations, brand meanings and consumers’ taste structures that will interact under the same brand community originate earlier than the current theories on branding.

Second, branding is preoccupied by the symbolic nature of brands (for example, Holt, 2004; Cayla and Arnould, 2008). However, apart from the symbolic properties (or symbolic associations), brands also manifest in material terms. Adopting the theory of

materiality (Miller, 2005), multiple material brand manifestations shape the processes of brand creation. For example, Wilk (2006) examines how the privatization and branding of water has become both a material and symbolic political issue. Muhlbacher and Hemetsberger (2008) also pay attention to the material expressions of brand meanings defined as brand manifestations. The brand interest group or brand stakeholders dynamically construct these brand manifestations. In a recent study, Kravets and Öрге (2010) argue that materiality is an aspect both of material (such as product features and packaging) and symbolic properties through which brands' symbolic density can be maintained or terminated. The authors assume that symbolism always embraces a process of objectification that is of material manifestations. Following this reasoning, the proposed research examines the processes of brand construction both as material and immaterial forms as well as the interactions of brand stakeholders in the construction of the brand manifestations. Consequently, the research aims to unite the distinction on the material and symbolic properties of brands. The existing literature increasingly focuses on the symbolic properties of brands such as meanings, relationships, communities and resistances moving away from the material properties that also shape the construction of brands.

Third, the new brand logic calls attention to the role of all brand stakeholders in the brand construction processes (for example, Gregory, 2007; Merz et al. 2009). Although the studies in this research stream define the internal and external brand stakeholders theoretically (for example, Jones, 2005; O'Guinn and Muniz, 2010), there is not a holistic account of the processes among and within the brand stakeholder groups and the strategies that they employ in order to overcome tensions. The current literature

is limited to a small set of stakeholders, which are treated as human actors. Gregory (2007) explores only internal brand stakeholders' collective practices for the construction of the brands' core values, and Schau et al. (2009) examine only consumers' collective brand value creation processes. As Merz et al. (2009) propose the interactions among the actors (firms, brands and all stakeholders) warrant further exploration. The thesis explores the negotiations and tensions not only among different brand stakeholders groups, but also within each brand stakeholder group.

Fourth, studies emphasize the co-existence of multiple consumer collectivities inside the same brand community and across competing brand communities (for example, Kozinets, 2001; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Brown et al. 2003; Cova et al. 2007). Employing the constructs of legitimacy and oppositional brand loyalty, scholars define the markers and mechanisms of brand communities. The literature provides evidence about the plurality of brand meanings within and across brand communities. However, studies do not elaborate on how consumers both individually and collectively cope with the conflicts that arise from the co-existence of competing consumer collectivities within the same brand community. For example, even though Cova et al. (2007) explicate the plurality of brand meanings within the same brand community, still they do not discuss whether consumers perceive these oppositions, and if they do, how they respond. While Muniz and O'Guinn (2001: 421) argue that "brand communities generally seem more democratic and inclusive than many traditional face-to-face communities", the research explores how the co-existence of consumer collectivities shapes the formation of conflicts, creating a rather non-democratic brand community.

Finally, oppositional brand loyalty refers to the practices that consumers undertake in order to define “what the brand is not and who the brand community members are not” (Muniz and O’Guinn: 420). Consumers execute impression management practices in order to create favorable impressions to non-members about the brand community (Schau et al. 2009). The brand community literature provides evidence about the impression management practices that consumers execute in order to manage stigmatic stereotypes (for example, Kozinets, 2001; Muniz and Schau, 2005). In Schau et al.’s (2009) categorization, impression management practices consist of evangelizing and justifying practices. Evangelizing practices refer to practices enacted in order to promote the brand to others often by comparing the brand to other competing brands. While justifying practices refer to practices undertaken to give reasons for allocating time and effort to the brand. The thesis examines how consumers (both before and after becoming owners of the brand community) cope with multiple stereotypes and rumors, which arise about the material and symbolic properties of the problematic brand over time. Consumers employ alternative impression management strategies not yet considered in the extant literature.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study aims to understand the processes of building brands and consumers' lived experiences with problematic brands. Specifically, the focus is on exploring the stakeholders and their practices, the required resources, competences and discourses, and the negotiations and tensions that give form to brands before and after their launch in the marketplace. Brand construction performances often give rise to rumors and stereotypes about brands and their brand stakeholders (for example, Kozinets, 2001; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2005), and consumers' work on the resolution of tensions towards their problematic brand community (Muniz and Schau, 2005). Through a two stage ethnographic inquiry of gated communities, this study explores how multiple actors with different and often conflicting objectives shape the construction of the branded house and community, and how consumers manage the multiple and often conflicting meanings and performances that jeopardize the brand community.

Initially the chapter gives reasons for the adoption of a qualitative tradition of inquiry. Then the chapter explicates the research context and elaborates on the reasons for selecting the particular research sites. The next section provides a detailed account of the data collection methods and the strategies employed for the analysis of the data. The final section elaborates on the tactics used for securing validity and reliability in the study.

3.1. Qualitative Inquiry

Given the objectives of this study, qualitative inquiry is deemed as the most appropriate methodological approach for a number of reasons. First, qualitative research attempts to gain the actors' perspectives (Maxwell, 1996). It helps to understand the meaning of events, situations, the actions that the individuals take and their accounts regarding their lives and experiences. Increasingly, brands are not only commercial but also political properties (Diamond et al. 2009). By employing qualitative methods, the study sought to reveal how and by whom brands are created and how the actions towards the creation of brands shape stakeholders' practices and consumers' lived experiences with the brand. Especially, since individuals' lived experiences create the "home" (Mallett, 2004) this study also attempts to understand the meaning of the branded house through an in-depth investigation of the natives' everyday life.

Second, qualitative methods also help make sense of the particular context within which the individuals take action, and the influence of this context on their

actions (Maxwell, 1996). The contextual focus of qualitative inquiry assists in gaining an understanding of the research objectives. Contemporary perspectives on brands and branding argue that cultural processes such as the historical context, the government, institutional actors and consumers shape the development of brands (Bergvall, 2006). Moreover, Turkey is an interesting context in order to explore actors' interactions on the construction of brands since from the Ottoman Empire the state has always been an important agent and structure for the development of everyday life (Navaro-Yashin, 2002). Especially, with the rising political Islam, traditional and modern, religious and secular values intermingle and shape not only the market and the performances of actors and institutions within it, but also consumers' consumption practices (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010).

Third, qualitative research offers the flexibility of discovering unanticipated phenomena that enable the development of new grounded theories on the basis of a "constant comparative analysis" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This requires a dialogue between the theory and the data and a continuous dance, going back and forth in the literature and the collected data. The use of a qualitative inquiry in this study allowed the systematic observation of the dynamic social processes among brand stakeholders (Jones, 2005; Merz et al. 2009) and the examination of unanticipated phenomena that would be impossible to capture through the use of quantitative methods (for example, the global mortgage crisis, municipal elections).

Fourth, qualitative inquiry provides an understanding not only of the outcomes, but also of the processes through which the events and actions take place (Maxwell, 1996). Particularly, the study sought to explore how complex practices among and

within brand stakeholder groups give form to brands. Additionally, by exploring the journey of the family home, the study tried to explain how consumers move to the branded house and how the branded house turns into a sacred home.

Following the strengths of qualitative methods and the research objectives, the study employed a two stage ethnographic inquiry. Ethnography refers to the research process that involves prolonged observation of the social group or system by immersing in individuals' everyday practices and by conducting in-depths interviews with the group under study (Creswell, 1988). Through an iterative research design and the triangulation of methods and sources of data, the study sought to provide a holistic account of the brand creation processes and the experiences that consumers have with multi-actored, polysemous and antiphonal problematic brands. Before explicating the choice of the data collection methods, the chapter will elaborate on the choice of the research site.

3.2. Research Context

The study chose the branded consumer product of gated communities to explore the research questions. The research is composed by two different studies. The first study explores different gated communities in order to reveal all the different actors and practices that give a material and symbolic form to different brands. The second study examines consumers' lived experiences with a specific gated community in order to

provide a deep ethnographic account of the different actors that shape consumers' brand practices.

3.2.1. Gated Communities in Istanbul

Gated communities refer to the global urban phenomenon that is developed by private companies and known for their gates and walls, 24-hour operating security guards, and advanced social and leisure activities available only to their residents (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Atkinson and Blandy, 2005). Promoted as part of a global lifestyle, gated communities create a modern and western enclave for the urban elites (Caldeira, 1996). Fear of crime, the desire for status, privacy, community, leisure facilities and the investment potential motivate consumers to move in these upscale gated enclaves (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005). Gated communities become a new source of prestige, a new form of taste, and part of the “symbolic struggle” in Bourdieu’s (1984) conceptualization.

Nevertheless, the life inside the gated communities is not as problem-free as promised. The urban phenomenon makes visible the existing social inequalities and intensifies social segregation by creating new barriers between the rich and the poor (Manzi and Smith-Bowers, 2005). Gates often reinforce fear of the unknown others behind the gates (Low, 2003), and the laws enforced by the housing association often bring the loss of many liberties (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005).

The gated communities appeared initially in the 1960s in North America with the arrival of large master planned communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). The growth of this type housing in the United States has reached such a point that they embrace nearly 11 percent of all new residences and provide shelter for nearly 4 million individuals (McKenzie, 1994; Blakeley and Snyder, 1997). Soon the gated communities that started as an American phenomenon began spreading around the world with spatial manifestations in both developed and developing countries such as Europe (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005), Latin America (Roitman, 2005), Canada (Grant, 2005), China (Wu, 2005), Indonesia (Leisch, 2002), South Africa (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002), and Turkey (Geniş, 2007). The literature points to four main processes that accelerate and spread this urban phenomenon: the shift from a model of an all-powerful state to a minimal state (deregulation and privatization), growing feelings of insecurity due to social disparities, the adoption of a global lifestyle and the diffusion of new real estate products (for example, McKenzie, 2005; Coy and Pohler, 2002; Davis, 1990; Sorkin, 1992; Marcuse, 1997a,b).

In Turkey the roots of gated communities go back to the mid-1970s with the development of summer housing in coastal areas especially in Western and Southern Anatolia (Dündar and Özcan, 2003). The basic reason to wall-off from their surroundings was security, as the houses were used only during the summer (Dündar and Özcan, 2003). In the urban cities of Turkey the urban phenomenon initially appeared in the end of the 1980 particularly in Istanbul and Ankara. By the 1990s gated communities had become a significant social and spatial phenomenon (for example,

Öncü, 1997; Ayata, 2002; Şenyapılı, 2004; Kurtuluş, 2005a,b; Perouse ve Daniş, 2005; Geniş, 2007).

The gated communities in Istanbul are located in the urban and suburban areas of both the European and Asian continents of the city (Appendix 4, photograph 4). The residential projects differ in the types of firms that produce these communities as well as in the types of houses incorporated such as apartments, villas, or mixed (apartments and villas) communities. The most popular suburban residential projects are close to business districts, in the north (*Göktürk – Kemerburgaz, Zekeriyaköy – Demirciköy*) and southwest (*Bahçeşehir and Büyükdere*) of the European Continent and near the second Bosphorus Bridge (*Beykoz*) and north part (*Ömerli*) of the Asian Continent (Colliers Rescoe, 2006). Only in Istanbul, by the end 2005 there were more than 650 completed gated communities and just in 2005, 150 new-gated communities were under construction (Perouse and Daniş, 2005). Approximately 100.000 consumers live in this type of housing (Perouse and Daniş, 2005). Even though the total population in gated communities seems to be low, the total m² of land used (close to 30 million m²) should not be underrated (Baycan-Levent and Gülümser, 2004).

The research context is an appropriate setting for the collection of data. First, the literature on gated communities provides evidence that developers, the state (on a national regional and local level) and consumers enable the development of this urban phenomenon (Glasze, 2005; McKenzie, 2005). Moreover, media representations, forms and venues pass to consumers the ideals of home (Chapman, 1999; Leonard et al. 2009). For example, Chapman (1999) explicates how developers' furnished homes form images of family life, as it is "ought to be lived" (Chapman, 1999: 49). The recent

literatures on brands and branding pay attention to role of the all the brand stakeholders in the construction of brand value (; Jones, 2005; Diamond et al. 2009; Merz et al. 2009). For example, Diamond et al. (2009) argue that, “a viable brand epistemology requires the identification and study of as many of the brand’s creators, representations, forms, and venues, as possible, as well as an understanding of the complex interactions among the system components” (Diamond et al. 2009: 119). Consequently, the research site made possible the examination of how various stakeholders give form to brands. The gated communities allowed the exploration of multiple brand stakeholders, processes, interactions and structures that are all part of the research questions.

Second, the transformation in the sales strategies enabled the observation of the brand-building processes before the launch of the branded gated communities in the marketplace. In 2003 the favorable market conditions, the state’s reforms towards planned urbanization and the postponed consumer demand enabled the flow of resources and stakeholders for the construction of gated communities. Consumers’ desire for newly constructed houses compatible with the earthquake legislations allowed the sale of the residential projects even before their construction (Geniş, 2007). Thus, the real estate industry moved from a “first build then sell” to a “first sell and then build” system. Consequently, the research site provided an appropriate setting for exploring the construction of brands both before and after their launch in the marketplace. Moreover, the transformation of the sales system allowed the observation of consumers’ lived experiences with brands both before and after moving in the brand community. Since early homebuyers have to wait approximately 3-4 years until the development of the project, the research site enabled the observation of brand negotiations and tensions.

Third, the popularity of the real estate industry and the growth in the number of developers and gated communities made possible the entry to the research setting and the access to various developers. Moreover, since the sales offices are accessible to anyone, the site allowed the observation of developers' staging practices (retail spectacles, sales representatives, scales models, show homes) and the processes of becoming an owner of the branded house.

3.2.2. *Ataköy and Ataköy Konakları*

The consumer research took place in a gated community in the district of *Ataköy* branded under the name *Ataköy Konakları*. The district lies in the east of the *Atatürk* International Airport in Southwestern Istanbul (Appendix 4, photographs 1 and 2). The gated community is located in one of the nearest parcels to the airport close to the seaside (Appendix 4, photograph 3).

In Turkey, the elections of 1950 marked the beginning of more liberal economics and populist politics of the Democrat Party, but also the application of high modernism in architecture and urbanism (Bozdoğan, 1997). The flow of aid with the Marshall Plan, the arrival of Western experts from international corporations and Turkey's desire to transform Istanbul into a global city accelerated the dissemination of international architectural examples (Bozdoğan, 1997). During this period, the district of *Ataköy* was formed under the initiative of the *Emlak Kredi* Bank. *Ataköy* was one of the first examples of suburbanization that "followed the modernist emphasis on rational design,

sun angles, ventilation and greenery” (Bozdoğan, 1997: 145). The *Emlak Kredi* Bank was originally established to provide long-term and low-interest credit, to develop affordable housing and to support housing cooperatives (Bozdoğan, 1997; Aysever, 2010). The institution’s main objective was to reduce the severe housing shortage accompanying the rapid urbanization that intensified with the inner rural migration. However, the institution ended up financing the construction of modern, expensive and luxurious residential complexes like *Ataköy* (Aysever, 2010).

The newly formed edge city attracted many upper middle class consumers, who had the financial resources to become owners of a western apartment and lifestyle. The close distance to the beach (both a winter and a summer house), the parking lots, the greenery, the playgrounds, the walking paths and the small shopping districts formed “the culture of *Ataköy*” (Aysever, 2010: 43). The district’s distance from the city center also created a safe haven, a protected residential environment with determined boundaries. For example, Aysever (2010) argues that during the political protests in 1971, *Ataköy* was a numb area. In political stance most of the families in the district are secularists, devoted to the founder of the Turkish Republic. Even though they are not fanatically devoted to any kind of political ideology, they are distant to religious political movements.

Emlak Kredi Bank developed the district progressively. In the 1950s the institution, developed the first five floor apartments and named it as *Ataköy* 1st district. This district lies in the closest parcel close to old district of *Bakırköy*. Compared to the western houses in *Ataköy*, the houses in *Bakırköy* were old and adjacent to each other (Aysever, 2010). However, the residents in *Bakırköy* were never a threat to the

community in *Ataköy*. Then the bank developed the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 9th and 10th, then the 7th and 8th districts (Aysever, 2010), leaving the parcel of the 6th district, where the gated community is located, vacant until 2003. In 1988, *Ataköy* and the whole country witnessed the opening of the first shopping mall. The American inspired shopping mall Galleria soon attracted the elites living in the same or other districts.

The problems of *Ataköy* started with the construction of a bridge over the motorway that connected the 9th district with the *Sirinevler*, a neighboring lower class district. Soon safety concerns of the residents in *Ataköy*, resulted in fencing the houses and the gardens off (Aysever, 2010). Moreover, the district witnessed the flow of prostitutes (who could stay anonymous in the highly populated buildings) coming from the overseas and wealthy men that used the apartments (mostly studios) for their extramarital affairs (Aysever, 2010). Finally, the earthquake intensified the problems in the district. With the fear of a future earthquake several families moved to newly constructed buildings in the suburbs. The decreased housing prices in the seismic zone of *Ataköy* attracted families with different taste cultures, forming a rather heterogonous community. Despite these tensions, due to the rapid urbanization the location of the district is now even closer to the city center compared to the other suburban districts. This enables the production of new urban spaces for the development of new upscale residential projects like *Ataköy Konakları*.

There are five main reasons for the choice of the particular gated community. First, in contrast to the previous studies in gated communities, the research took place in a gated community developed through the MHA's revenue sharing model. The MHA, a governmental institutional bound to the prime minister, from 2003 uses public resources

for the construction of upscale-gated communities. The revenue sharing model refers to the public and private sector partnership for the construction of upscale-gated communities in treasury lands. *Ataköy Konakları* is one of the first branded gated communities developed through the public-private sector partnership (see chapter 4 for more details). The MHA, as an active agent in the construction of brands, allowed the examination of the state's practices towards the development of brands.

Second, the research site contains the stereotypical characteristics of gated communities as defined in the literature: gates and walls, 24-hour operating security guards and cameras, and social and leisure activities available only to community members (Atkinson and Blandy, 2005). For this reason, the research site is a representative of the gated community setting.

Third, the timing of the purchase as well as the duration until the completion of the project affects the research objectives significantly. Developers provide a stage to consumers for imagining their future brand performances until the realization of the project. Consequently, consumers' brand performances start earlier than the actual act of moving in. Consumers' decision-making processes and experiences before moving in the branded house provided a holistic account on consumers' lived experiences. The selected research site fulfilled these criteria, since the marketing and sales of the houses started in 2005 and the first residents moved in their branded houses in June 2007. The consumer data was collected from November 2008 until March 2009. Since informants had been living in the gated community for only one year, they could easily elaborate on their experiences both before and after moving in the gated community.

Fourth, the research site features 950 houses, composed of 58 apartments and 4 different types of apartments that differ on size, numbers of rooms, design and amenities. This large sample size enabled to adequately capture the heterogeneity in the gated community population.

Finally, the researcher, by being a member of the brand community herself, conducted effectively the research during the data collection process. The membership in the brand community allowed the researcher to gain a good rapport with the community and to immerse in consumers' everyday lives. By living in the research site from August 2007, data was continuously collected by using multiple sources of data and methods in order to understand in every respect the phenomena under study.

3.3. Data Collection Methods

The study employed multiple data collection methods and sources of data to secure the theoretical validity of the findings (Kirk and Miller, 1986). Each method and each data provides a different aspect of the same symbolic reality (Berg, 1988). Following the strengths of qualitative inquiry, in-depth interviews served as the primary data collection method. Participant and non-participant observations, visual data and multiple sources of secondary data assisted in challenging and in confirming the findings of the interviews. By triangulating methods and sources of data, the study obtained a more substantive picture of informants' reality, a more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts, and a technique for confirming many of these

elements (Berg, 1988). The study employed an iterative design by using new sources of data that transformed or confirmed existing realities. Consequently, the data collection and analysis were emergent processes that integrated new data and theories for gaining a better understanding of the phenomena under study.

3.3.1. Sampling Strategies

The two stage ethnographic inquiry employed non-probability sampling strategies in order to identify the informants that would provide a thorough understanding of the research objectives. In contrast to probability sampling strategies, qualitative research employs purposive sampling strategies to form the samples. Purposive sampling refers to the strategy in which settings, individuals or events are selected deliberately because of some characteristic in order to provide valuable information to answer the research questions (Patton, 1990; Maxwell, 1996).

The sample consists of the main brand stakeholders that shape the construction of brand namely, developers, governmental and financial institutions, media representatives and consumers. The initial focus was on collecting data from developers in order to identify the different processes of brand construction. However, the literature on gated communities, the pilot study and the secondary data revealed that there are also other important stakeholders that shape the branded residential projects from their basic form as product concepts until their transformation into branded living spaces. For example, investigating the rapid development of gated communities in Las Vegas,

McKenzie (2005) argues that the state, on the national, regional and local level, the developers and the consumers enable the expansion of this urban phenomenon. Furthermore, the literature provides evidence that the media communicates representations and forms of the ideal home through popular magazines and newspapers, advertisements, television programs, shows and movies (Chapman, 1999; Leonard et al. 2004). For this reason, initially a theoretical sampling strategy was employed in order to identify and explore the stakeholders, who can contribute to the existing theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The pilot study and the secondary data also confirmed that developers, governmental institutions (the state, the MHA, the metropolitan and district municipalities), financial institutions, media representatives and consumers shape the construction of brands as well as consumers' lived experiences with brands.

After the identification of the brand stakeholders, this study employed a criterion selection strategy in order to form a representative sample of the identified stakeholders. The first criterion used was the selection of developers that build upscale branded gated communities. The second criterion used to select the developers were the form of their business entity. Secondary data assisted in the identification of six main types of firms in the real estate industry: corporate brands, Real Estate Investment Trusts (REITS from now on), joint ventures, public-private sector partnerships (MHA and private developers), public firms (MHA and KIPTAŞ), and new comers from other industries. Apart from the public firms that also construct social housing estates, all of the other types of firms develop only upscale-gated communities. Corporate brands refer to firms that have started as small-scale constructors in the 1980s and have transformed into corporations (for example, Hektaş Construction, Dumankaya, Sinpaş). REITs are

corporations that invest in real estate and go public, in order to reduce their corporate income taxes. Joint ventures are two or more firms that come together for the construction of gated communities (such as KKG Group and Öztaş, Artaş and Doğu Consortium). Some of the joint ventures also include firms that do not operate primarily in the real estate industry (such as Delta Construction). Public-private partnerships refer to the collaboration of the MHA and the private developers for the construction of gated communities in treasury lands. The private developers are either corporate brands or joint ventures formed mainly by developers since the participation in bids requires former completed real-estate projects (such as Delta Construction – MHA, Agaoğlu Group – MHA). Two main public firms operate in Istanbul, the MHA and KIPTAŞ. The MHA, bound to the prime minister and thus the state, collaborates with private developers for the construction of gated communities, but also develops independently social housing for the urban poor. KIPTAŞ is a public firm affiliated with the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The firm initially used to develop only social housing in lands belonging to the municipality, but in recent years it has also moved to the construction of upscale-gated communities. New comers refer to the firms that have entered the real estate industry as a diversification strategy especially during the boom of the industry in 2005. These firms primarily operate in the textile industry or in the construction industry (such as Eroğlu Yapı – Colins Jeans and Eczacıbaşı Holding – Construction Materials). Using the maximum variation strategy each type of firm also varied in the number of projects completed and under construction, and on the types of gated communities (villas, apartments or mixed).

Using the criterion-based selection strategy, municipalities that are populated by gated communities formed the sample. The administrations make possible the material development of the project by providing and controlling construction codes and by issuing legal permission for construction and residence. Regional and local authorities often promote the formation of the urban phenomenon since they represent growth, increase tax revenues and decrease public expenditures (McKenzie, 2005). The municipalities varied also in different political views. Specifically, the deliberate selection of a municipality that dissolved during the data collection process served as a critical case. Critical cases provide a significant test of the existing theories and provide a different understanding of the phenomenon than representative cases (Maxwell, 1996).

Financial institutions play a significant role for the realization of the gated communities both from the developers' and the consumers' side. Producers and consumers require financial capital in order to develop the project and enable homeownership. Financial institutions were selected using a convenience sampling strategy. With the development of the mortgage system all of the institutions offer similar financial products. In order to save time, the sample formed by available subjects (Patton, 1990).

As the research questions aim also to understand the discursive practices that give forms to brands, institutions responsible for creating media texts were also selected. The media is also a significant agent in communicating the meaning of brands. The sample formed through a convenience sampling strategy in order to select available media representatives that use different sources to reach their stakeholders.

The sample of the residents living in the selected research site (*Ataköy Konakları*) is formed through the use of criterion, maximum variation and snowball sampling techniques. Two criteria were used in order to develop the sample, namely homeowners and the house type. Firstly, the secondary data revealed that various consumers purchase houses at the very beginning of the project for investment purposes, as the prices are lower. Consequently, often tenants also live in the gated communities. The literature on the meaning of home indicates that homeownership provides autonomy, as the residents are more able to personalize the house and thus enhance their perceptions of home (Kearns et al. 2000). Additionally, as the research deals with the construction of brands, consumers that have experienced the processes of becoming owners of the branded house and community formed the sample.

The second criterion employed was the type of the house that the consumers reside in. The literature indicates that the physical structure of the house also affects the meaning of home (Mallett, 2004), and thus the meaning of the branded house and community. Four different types of houses that differ in terms of the number and size of the rooms as well as other amenities exist in the gated community of *Ataköy Konakları*. The names of the house types are: A house type, B house type, C house type and D house type respectively. The A house type refers to the largest houses in the gated community. With a total of 270m² the houses have 4 rooms and 1 living room, 1 kitchen, 1 balcony, 1 dressing room, 2 bathrooms and 1 toilet with two houses in each floor. The 260 m² B house type has 4 rooms and 1 living room, 1 kitchen, 2 balconies, 1 dressing room, 2 bathrooms and 1 toilet with two houses in each floor. The 180m² – 211m² C house type has 3 or 4 rooms depending on the size, 1 living room and 1

kitchen, 2 balconies, 1 dressing room, 2 bathrooms and 1 toilet with two houses per floor. The D house type refers to the smallest houses in the gated community. With a total of 174m², the houses have 3 rooms and 1 living room, 1 kitchen, 2 balconies, 1 smaller dressing room than the other house types, 2 bathrooms and 1 toilet with four houses in each floor. The sample formed by representative households from each house type.

In the second phase of the sampling plan, snowballing and maximum variation sampling strategies were combined to form the sample. Given the identified criteria (home-ownership and type of house), key informants in the research site assisted in the selection of new informants that have rich information about the topic of research. Maximum variation assisted in capturing the variations of the households with regard to the stage in the family life cycle (for example, full or empty nesters), the family size and the occupation of the breadwinners. After forming the samples, the next decision was the selection and application of the most appropriate qualitative data collection methods to answer the research questions.

3.3.2. In-Depth Interviews

In-depth semi structured interviews served as the primary data collection method in order to explore the processes of buildings brands and consumers' experiences with problematic brands. This type of interview involves the implementation of predetermined categories and questions. However, it allows freedom to probe beyond

the answers to the prepared standardized questions (Berg, 2004). The interviews in this study consisted of a set of open-ended questions that permitted the informants to elaborate on their answers. Each of the questions allowed the informants to tell their own stories, experiences and meanings in their own terms (McCracken, 1988). Consequently, in-depth semi-structured interviews captured the categories and the logic used by the respondents without being under the influence of predetermined categories and logics (McCracken, 1988).

Interview guides were prepared for each brand stakeholders group namely, developers, municipalities, financial institutions, media representatives and consumers. An exhaustive literature review on the theories on branding, on gated communities and on the meaning of home, revealed a list of topics in order to prepare the questions. Before the development of the interview guides, a self-reflexive report was developed. Introspection in inner thoughts, emotions and personal experiences with the cultural phenomenon allowed the adoption of a critical distance (McCracken, 1988). Introspection also enabled the identification of cultural categories and relationships that have not been considered by the extant literature (McCracken, 1988). For example, consumers' tendency to hide the ownership of the branded house emerged from the self-reflection report.

The review of the analytic and cultural categories assisted in the construction of the interview guides (McCracken, 1988). The interview guides covered all of the categories and relationships of the phenomenon under study. The number of the informants in each brand stakeholder group was determined by the quality of the information acquired. Qualitative research allows the generation of adequate data that

illuminates the processes, properties, patterns and dimensions that provide answers to the research questions (Cresswell, 1998). The interviews were conducted until the saturation of data (Cresswell, 1998).

The data was collected from January 2008 to March 2009, and was completed with the saturation of data. The collection of the data lasted for 15 months, since it was really difficult to reach and persuade the different brand stakeholders and especially the developers to participate in the study. Often the meetings were cancelled and rescheduled or postponed and sometimes they were not conducted at any time. The informants initially were reached by phone and by long e-mails describing the purpose of the research. Some of the informants were recruited during fairs and conferences. Extensive fieldnotes were also taken after leaving the field.

Following the sampling strategies, developers formed the first informant group. Five main broad categories formed the interview guide: demographics and the firms' profile, the development of projects and their dimensions, the consumer profile and the marketing strategies, the community and the future houses (Appendix 1, 1.1.). The questions were constructed combining a set of general descriptive, structural and contrast questions (Wengraf, 1990), which are effective types of questions for the design of semi-structured interviews. For example, "Could you please describe the gated community? Which dimensions form your project? What are the similarities/differences with the other gated communities?". The nature of the semi-structured interviews gave the opportunity to "probe" answers to derive a more complete picture of the processes of brand construction.

A total of 21 interviews were conducted with informants holding different job titles in 16 real estate firms such as CEOs, general managers, R&D managers, marketing and sales managers, and project managers (Appendix 2, Table 1). The interviews were conducted in the managers' offices inside the firm or in the sales office at the construction area. The interviews with developers lasted 60 minutes on average, ranging from 25 to 140 minutes. All of the interviews, except one, were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. One of the informants expressed her disturbance with tape recording, for this reason the researcher took notes.

Municipalities that have gated communities in their districts formed the second group. Three main broad categories formed the interview guide: the role of municipalities in the development of gated communities, the process of receiving legal permissions of a gated community, the development and transformation of construction codes (Appendix 1, 1.2.). Similarly, general descriptive, structural and contrast questions formed the questions (Wengraf, 1990). For example, "What is the role of municipalities in the construction of gated communities? Are there any differences in the processes of receiving legal permissions between the municipalities?"

A total of 5 interviews were conducted with informants holding different job titles in 3 municipalities such as a deputy mayor, a media adviser and 2 personnel from the legal permissions departments (Appendix 2, Table 2). The interviews were conducted in the town halls. The interviews lasted 35 minutes on average, ranging from 20 to 90 minutes. An interview was also conducted with the director of Urban Transformation in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in order to explore the state's

attitude towards urbanization and gated communities. All of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Financial institutions that issue commercial and consumer loans formed the third group. Three main broad categories formed the interview guide: the development of the mortgage system, the process of issuing loans (commercial and consumer loans), types of loans and interest rate fluctuations (Appendix 1, 1.3.). Descriptive, structural and contrast questions formed the interview guide (Wengraf, 1990). For example, “How do you decide to issue a commercial and a consumer loan? Could you please describe the financial product that your bank offers?”

Three interviews were conducted with informants knowledgeable about commercial and consumer loans in two banks (Appendix 2, Table 3). One of the informants even had bought a mortgage herself for a house in a gated community. The informant also described her own personal experiences during the decision-making process. The interviews were conducted in the banks. The interviews lasted 40 minutes on average, ranging from 20 to 60 minutes. All of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Media institutions formed the fourth group. Three categories formed the interview guide: the role of media in the real estate industry, the transformation in the real estate industry, the different sources of media and their consumer profile (Appendix 1, 1.4.). Descriptive and structural questions formed the interview guide (Wengraf, 1990). For example, “What are your different media sources? How do you evaluate the transformation in the real estate industry?”. Only one in-depth interview was conducted with one of most pioneering media agents (Appendix 2, Table 4). The interview lasted

for 38 minutes. It was tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Informal interviews were also conducted with other media agents in real estate conferences and fairs. These interviews were not tape-recorded, but extensive notes were taken after leaving the field.

Homeowners that live in the specified gated community, *Ataköy Konakları*, formed the fifth group. In-depth, long semi-structured interviews explored the *emic* meanings of the branded house and community. Eight broad categories formed the interview guide: demographics, lifestyle questions, the meaning of home, former houses – communities – neighborhoods, decision-making processes, the branded house, the brand community and the meanings of the branded house (Appendix 1, 1.5.). Descriptive, structural and contrast questions formed the interview guide (Wengraf, 1990). For example, “Could you please describe the different rooms in your house? What types of rumors and stereotypes circulate about your branded house and community? How does your current residence compare to where you lived before? ”. Probes during the interviewing process drew out more complete stories from the informants (Berg, 2004).

An auto-driving technique was also employed during the execution of the interviews. Auto-driving is a planned prompting procedure that asks informants to comment on a picture, video or any other stimulus and to provide their accounts on what they think (McCracken, 1988; Heisley and Levy, 1991). Two print advertisements of the gated community, *Ataköy Konakları*, were used in order to explore consumers’ responses to the discursive ideal house and community (Appendix 3, advertisements 1 and 2).

A total of 27 in-depth, long household (husband and wife) interviews formed the sample (Appendix 2, Table 5). Saunders and Willams (1988) indicate that the household rather than the individual is the basic unit through which the relationships of production and consumption of home can be analyzed. As the research examines the brand creation processes, and consumers' experiences with branded residential communities, the interviews were conducted both with the husband and wife. Nine interviews were conducted only with wives. From these nine interviews, two of the wives were widows. The remaining seven wives declared either that their husbands' worked until late hours or that they disliked interviews. Children also participated in two interviews and explained their lived experiences with the brand community. Most the households, except two, used to live at the same or close by districts before moving in the gated community and had their very first experience with a branded house and community. Two households used to live in suburban-gated communities. The closer distance to the city centre motivated these two families to move to the gated community where the fieldwork was performed. According to the house types, the sample was composed of 2 households from the A house type, 8 households from the B house type, 9 households from the C house type, and 8 households from the D house type. During the data collection process there were still houses for sale and some families had not moved in yet. For this reason, the number of the recruited informants for each house type was formed by calculating the ratios of the number of households have started living in the specific house type to the total number of houses in the same house type. The HOA provided this information before the beginning of the data collection process. The recruited households also showed variation on the stage of the family life cycle (full

nesters with young or adult depended children, and empty nesters). The interviews were conducted at the informants' houses. The interviews lasted 120 minutes on average, ranging from 65 to 190 minutes. All of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

3.3.3. Observations

Ethnographic research entails a prolonged and intense participation in the culture under study (Creswell, 1998). Observation allows drawing inferences about informants' meanings and perspectives that could not be obtained only by relying on interview data (Maxwell, 1996). It is an important tool used for overcoming the danger of reducing social life to the definition of the informants (Silverman, 1993). While interviews reveal what informants say, observations reveal what informants do (Silverman, 1993). Individuals do not always do what they actually say. The observational data, collected through fieldnotes and visual documentation, must be descriptive enough in order to allow the complete understanding of the phenomenon and the settings in which the phenomenon takes place. Consequently, observations challenge and validate the findings of interview data (Silverman, 1993; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994) as well as guide the development of interview guides. For this reason, observations overcome the limitations of interviews and the triangulation of methods enables a more precise understanding of the phenomenon understudy.

Throughout the data collection process, observations were carried out in several settings. Observations were carried out in sales offices and show homes in order to reveal how developers stage the project as well as how consumers experience the brand. At the sales offices, receptionists guide consumers to sales representatives. The presentation of the residential project takes place in front of a scale model, which is the miniature model of the gated community. At the sales offices, consumers can also observe the samples of furniture, kitchens, electronic appliances, tiles, ceramics, doors and others materials that will form the interiors of the branded houses. Show homes are also constructed generally by the end of the first phase of the sales. With the launch of the project, developers' complete as soon as possible one apartment/villa that enables consumers to experience of a sample of the branded house. These houses are typically fully furnished and decorated. Sales representatives guide consumers to the show homes and provide information about the amenities that the ownership of the branded house will bring.

Observations were also performed in informants' houses. During the interviews, most of the time the informants elicited the observation of their private spheres by showing examples that justifies their accounts. This allowed the observation of the branded house and specifically its appropriation into a branded home. By establishing rapport with informants, observations were also carried out in monthly tea gatherings and in religious rituals.

Consumers were also observed in different times and occasions in the "public" places inside the community such as sports center, restaurants, swimming pools, restaurants, parks and streets. Moreover, during the fieldwork several meetings took

place inside and outside the gated community: meetings of the HOA, meetings of competing consumer collectivities (since developers run the HOA for the first two years), meetings between consumers and the candidate mayors during the local elections, a meeting between a consumer collectivity and the MHA, and a torchlight march for the celebration of a national holiday. The meetings enabled the observation of the interactions between community members as well as the interactions between consumers and other brand stakeholders.

Observations were also carried out in various consumer and trade fairs. Each year developers, financial institutions, media representatives and real estate agents organize 2 or 3 consumer fairs. These brand stakeholders construct different stands for the promotion of their brands. Most of the developers offer consumer promotion tools such as special deals and promotional products that imprint the communities' brand name. Consumer fairs allowed the investigation of brand stakeholders' practices towards the normalization and the promotion of the branded houses and communities.

In 2008, an observation was also performed in the annual "Real Estate Summit". Every year, the Association of the Real Estate Investment Companies (GYODER from now on) organizes the fair in a five-star hotel for three days. The main topics of the conference in 2008 were the country's economic outlook, the nature of financial and real estate investments, real estate opportunities, and urban renewal and regenerations. Representatives from all of the brand stakeholder groups, except consumers, in roundtables discussed the main problems in the real estate industry and proposed solutions for the growth of the real estate market.

Overall, extensive field notes and visual data supported the development of interview guides and the recruitment of informants, as well as confirmed and challenged the interview data.

3.3.4. Unobtrusive Research Strategies

The previous research methods require an intrusion into the informants' lives. Unobtrusive strategies allow the examination and assessment of individuals' traces and records (Berg, 2004). Different types of unobtrusive data provide venues for the study of informants that might be otherwise very difficult to investigate (Berg, 2004).

The study employed two main unobtrusive research strategies – commercial media accounts and official documentary records. Commercial media accounts refer to the written, visual or recorded material produced for mass consumption (Berg, 2004). An archive of print advertisements collected for more than 5 years and an archive of real estate newspaper supplements, newspapers, magazines and websites collected for more than 2 years inform the analysis. Three of the most circulated newspapers publish once per week newspaper supplements on the real estate industry (*Hurriyet, Milliyet ve Sabah Emlak Ekleri*). The supplements provide information about new residential projects and new construction technologies, write articles about districts populated with gated communities, and hold interviews with developers, financial institutions as well as celebrities that live in gated communities. Columnists in local newspapers often discuss issues on the real estate industry in their daily columns. Several magazines also provided

rich data that informed the development of the sample, the interview guides and the analysis. The data was revealed both from industrial magazines (*Altın Anahtar, Adres, Hurriyet Emlak, Konut Dergisi*) and lifestyle magazines (for example, *Home Art, Elle Décor, Instyle Home Dergisi*). The content of the industrial magazines is similar to newspaper supplements. The lifestyle magazines on the other hand, often use show homes as photography studios or shot the houses of celebrities that live in gated communities. Popular television serials also use show homes as the setting where the leading actors live. These television serials illustrate the promised lifestyle by displaying the actors' performances inside the gated community. Data was also collected from the developers' official websites as well as websites that provide daily news on the industry. In the real estate websites, specialists write columns on various issues such as real estate consulting and essentials on real estate finance and legal permissions¹. Specifically, the websites provide valuable information that was impossible to obtain through the interview data. For example, the illegal practices between brand stakeholders were revealed through the use of these secondary data sources.

The second unobtrusive research strategy employed was official documentary records. Official documentary records refer to documents that are originally produced for some specific audiences, but often circulate to the public domain (Berg, 2004). Books, reports, and the announcements of the HOA provided interesting sources of data. Particularly, books on urbanization and the mortgage system in Turkey informed the analysis. For example, the examination of the historical evolution of the real estate industry in the country revealed the stakeholders and their roles in the production of

¹ <http://www.emlakkulisi.com/>; <http://www.gazeteparc.com/>; <http://www.gmtr.com.tr/>; <http://www.arkitera.com/>.

urban residential spaces (for example, Eronat, 1977; Kent-Koop, 1982; Bayraktar, 2001). The MHA has published several books on urbanization that focus on the transformation of cities into global cities (for example, Toplu-Konut and IULA-EMME, 1993; Bayraktar, 2007). The publications of institutions inform the analysis and explicate the state's attitude towards urbanization and urban development. Several market reports published by private consultancy firms and various associations on the real estate industry (for example, GYODER, Euromonitor International, TCCE²) also inform the analysis. The reports provided information about the development of the market and the consumer profile, but also revealed significant information that was impossible to investigate (for example, some developers close ties with the political party in charge). The HOA regularly posts announcements in each apartment about the different issues and events in the brand community. This data provided valuable insights during the data collection process and also informed the analysis.

Overall, unobtrusive research strategies informed the formation of the sample groups, the development of interview guides and the analysis of findings. Finally, the method confirmed or challenged the data collected from the previous research methods.

3.3.5. Visual Data

The study finally employed visual data collection to provide a descriptive analysis of cultural arrangements and practices (Ball and Smith, 1992). Visual data

² GYODER – The Association of the Real Estate Investment Companies; Euromonitor International – International Market Intelligence Firm; TCCE – Turkish Chamber of Civil Engineers.

records material reality (Ball and Smith, 1992) by displaying the details of the process and the contextual setting (Collier and Collier, 1996).

Photographs were taken in different settings and in different times in order to provide a holistic account of the material culture. The first group of photographs provides a visual representation of the brand-building processes from its launch as an empty lot until its physical realization. The second group of photographs portrays the promotion of the branded houses and communities. Photographs were taken in consumer fairs, sales offices and show homes. The third group of photographs record consumers' collective practices. With the move into the branded house and community, visual data was collected in the "public" places (for example, sports centers, parks, balconies, etc) and in community meetings and special events. Since cultural phenomena take place in time (Collier and Collier, 1996), sequential records revealed the development of community practices and the evolution of the context through time. For example, the photographs illustrate how the opening of the sports center cultivates community practices. Finally, the photographs and advertisements provided in Appendices 4 and 5 will assist readers in understanding the research findings.

3.3. Methods of Analysis

Data analysis refers to the process of expanding and extending data beyond a descriptive account (Wolcott, 1994). The emphasis is on identifying key factors and key relationships that explain the phenomenon under study. Coding refers to the various

approaches and ways for organizing qualitative data (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). In qualitative research the main objective of coding is to fracture the data and rearrange it into categories that enable the comparison of data within and between categories, and assist in the development of theoretical concepts (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Maxwell, 1996). Analysis is, on the whole, a cyclical process, a reflexive data-led activity (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996).

The study employed the grounded theory coding procedures (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Coding was performed over the entire time frame of the study through the constant comparative analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Janesick, 1994). In grounded theory, data collection, analysis and theory are related reciprocally (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). For this reason, the concepts were continuously reassessed and refined as the fieldwork proceeded. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and all the different sources of data (fieldnotes and secondary data) were analyzed during the whole data collection process.

The analysis of the texts (transcripts, fieldnotes, commercial media accounts and official documentary records) was conducted in three levels. Initially each text was coded separately. The emerged categories and themes were then compared with other texts. Comparisons were made both within the respective source of data and with other sources of data. For example, each interview was coded separately. The emerged categories and themes were then compared with other interviews. Comparisons were made both within the respective brand stakeholder group, with other brand stakeholder groups and with others sources of data.

The texts were analyzed following the types of coding in grounded theory (Strauss and Gorbin, 1990) focusing on the components of practices (Reckwitz, 2002). Analysis in grounded theory is composed of three major types of coding – open coding, axial coding and selecting coding (Strauss and Gorbin, 1990). Open coding is the analytic process by which concepts are identified and developed in terms of their categories (groups of interrelated concepts) and properties. This is accomplished by using a constant comparative approach to reveal similarities and differences between each incident, event, and other instances of the phenomena being explored. While the open coding only identifies concepts, categories and their properties, axial coding reveals the relationships between a category and its subcategories. The focus in axial coding is “on specifying a category (phenomenon) in terms of the conditions that give rise to it; the context (its specific set of properties) in which it is embedded; the action/interactional strategies by which it is handled, managed, carried out; and the consequences of these strategies” (Strauss and Gorbin, 1990: 97). After this phase of analysis a selective coding process initiates. This coding refers to the process of selecting a core category, relating it systematically to other categories, validating these relationships, and completing categories that need further development. Selective coding builds a story that connects the categories, and answers the research questions.

In addition to the types of coding in grounded theory, the analysis also employed the premises of practice theory (Rekwitz, 2002; Warde, 2005). The sociological theory of practice moves attention beyond the symbolically oriented theories of consumption towards the study of consumers, producers and their material artifacts (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). Rather than the subjects or the objects, practice is the main unit of

analysis (Reckwitz, 2002). Reckwitz (2002) defines a practice as “a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002: 249). Consequently, practices involve the dynamic integration of materials, forms of competence and discourses – “a nexus of doings and sayings” (Schatzki, 1996: 3). In practice theory, actors are not only carriers of patterns of bodily behavior, but also of certain routinized ways of understanding, knowing how and desiring.

Taking practices as the unit of analysis, the grounded theory procedures were applied for the analysis of texts. In the open coding phase, using the constant comparative approach, several categories were identified reflecting the various macro and micro practices (locating, financing, legalizing, planning and executing, moving and living in the gated community) and their properties (actors and their actions, as well as resources, competences and discourses). In the axial coding phase, these micro and macro practices were interrelated several times in order to identify the central phenomena and their subcategories and properties. The phenomena or main practices explicate the conditions (brand stakeholders, brand resources, brand competences and discourses of ownership) that shape the production and reproduction of practices, the context in which the practices are embedded, the performances that produce and reproduce practices and their outcomes. In the last phase of the analysis, a story evolved that integrates the refined micro and macro practices at a more abstract level, and provides an understanding of the phenomena under study.

3.4. Validity and Reliability

Obtaining trustworthiness is a critical issue in every research. Relating to the validity issues of quantitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that a qualitative research establishes trustworthiness with the use of several techniques that provide truth-value through credibility, applicability through transferability, consistency through dependability and neutrality through confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This study employed various strategies in order to increase the trustworthiness of the research.

This research required the establishment of a prolonged engagement with the informants in order to understand the processes of building and experiencing brands through the natives' world. Prolonged engagement in the research sites allowed the construction of rapport and thus, enhanced the truth-value of the findings. Persistent observations also increased the depth of the data by distinguishing relevancies from irrelevancies, and often gave way to the discovery of negative cases.

Data source (time, space and person) and method (interviews, participant observation, secondary sources and visual data) triangulation enhanced the credibility of the findings. For example, the research examined various brand stakeholders groups (consumers, developers, municipalities, financial institutions and media agents), in different occasions (fairs, conferences, sales offices, HOA meetings, rituals) and in different settings (sales offices, show homes, consumers' homes and communities) through the use of different research methods. Particularly, the use of purposeful sampling allowed the triangulation of informants within each brand stakeholder group

(by recruiting informants that enable the discovery of heterogeneous patterns such as different family life cycles and different types of developers) and consequently, enhanced the credibility of the findings and their transferability in other contexts (Erlandson et al. 1993). Moreover, several referential adequacy materials such as tape recording, photographs, commercial media accounts and official documentary reports support the credibility and the confirmability of the findings.

Through out the study, professors, colleagues and informants provided feedback about the emerging categories, themes, interpretations and other related concerns. Peer debriefing also allowed the reflection of alternative explanations and increased the credibility of the findings. Reflexive journals written throughout the study explain the actions taken in each step of the research and thus, establish trustworthiness in this study. Finally, a thick description provides the audience a complete understanding of the phenomena. Quotes from the interviews and visual materials support the analysis and increase the transferability of judgments.

Finally, prolonged engagement and the construction of rapport and trust, triangulation across sources and methods, good interviewing skills, protection of informants' identities by using pseudonyms, and introspections eliminate conflicts between the researcher and the informants (Wallerdorf and Belk, 1989). These strategies provide a basis for reducing the deceptiveness of information and consequently, enhance the integrity of this ethnographic research.

CHAPTER 4

BRAND-BUILDING PROCESSES

The chapter presents the findings of the first stage of ethnographic research that explores the creation processes of brands. Employing the premises of cultural and stakeholder branding, the analysis reveals the multi-actored dynamic processes of brand-building. Using the branded gated communities as a research context, the findings indicate that multiple stakeholders, materials, discourses and events engage in the construction of brands. The analysis reveals the following three co-constitutive practices: empowering the flow of brand resources and brand stakeholders, legitimizing and disciplining brand construction performances, and constructing brand ownership. First, the analysis explicates how the government's intervention in urbanization and the catastrophic earthquake empowered the flow of brand resources and brand stakeholders for the development of gated communities. The findings indicate that the reforms of the political party in charge and stakeholders' actions enable both the material realization of

brands and the symbolic framing of brand communities. Second, the analysis explains how branding competences legitimize and discipline stakeholders' brand construction performances. The findings illustrate that the adoption of a market orientation perspective within the confines of spatial specificities, the maintenance of financial credibility, and the commitment to the patrimonial system discipline brand construction performances. Third, the findings explain how the flow of brand resources and the legitimization of brand construction performances require a simultaneous discursive construction of brand ownership. The analysis reveals that dynamic stakeholders transform and appropriate the meaning of homeownership in order to normalize and promote the ownership of the branded house and the membership in brand communities. Brands and branding practices are embedded in political, economic, aesthetic and social structures.

4.1. Empowering the Flow of Brand Resources and Brand Stakeholders

Apart from the planning of the marketing program by the firm (Keller and Lehmann, 2006), brand-building processes embrace multiple actors that give form to brands (as material and symbolic properties) even before their launch. Dynamic relationships between stakeholders enable or disable the flow of necessary brand resources for the material and the symbolic realization of brands. Brand resources refer to internal and external resources (such as urban land, construction codes and financial

capital) that structure the material and symbolic development of branded gated communities, and are structured by stakeholders' branding performances.

The state is one of the most significant actors in the production of built environment and it is a site of conflict or cooperation between other actors (Knox, 1993). Cities worldwide are witnessing the increasing political intervention in the urban landscape and the charging of the spheres of consumption and everyday life with political action and ideological confrontation (Castells, 1972). The outcomes depend on time- and place- specific political, social and economic relations among human actors, namely, the ruling party, developers, landowners, investors, financiers, design professionals, construction workers, business leaders and of course consumers (Knox, 1993). Therefore, the state's impact on urbanization depends on the context and the presence of other actors (Knox, 1993; Zukin, 1991). The evolution of the residential market in Turkey reveals the processes that have enabled the flow of brand resources and brand stakeholders for the construction of branded gated communities.

Similar to other countries that have experienced the urban phenomenon of gated communities (for example, Coy and Pohler, 2002; McKenzie, 2005), in Turkey the liberalization movement in the 1980's increased state's intervention in urbanization. With the adoption of neo-liberal urbanism, the ruling party allowed the flow of resources for the development of the real estate industry (Geniş, 2007). Nevertheless, before turning to market economy, the state abstained from a direct intervention and rather allocated its financial resources to industrialization (Eronat, 1977; Geniş, 2007). The ruling party at that time believed that in the long term a country can only develop by the social and economic transformations generated by industrial development

(Eronat, 1977). The growing industrialization in the country facilitated the migration of rural households to the urban cities in search for a better living. Specifically, the financial support provided by the Marshall Plan in 1947 facilitated the flow of rural migrants to the cities. Approximately 40,000 tractors introduced in this period dislocated one million farmers (Karpat, 1976). The housing shortage and the high rents in the cities forced the low-income rural migrants to the squatter settlements (Heper, 1978). By the first half of the 1960s, 59% of the total population in Ankara, 45% in Istanbul and 33% in Izmir lived in low quality squatter settlements (Buğra, 1998). The growing housing problem intensified the need for a state intervention.

The constitution in 1961 allowed the formation of a planning authority that advised the government on the policies required for achieving socio-economic development. This reform incorporated the issue of housing in the five-year development plans and for the first time housing became a part of macro-economic policies (Keleş, 1990). During this planning phase, the Turkish Real Estate and Credit Bank and the Social Insurance Fund provided subsidized credit to non-homeowner consumers and cooperatives, and also became involved in the development of mass housing projects. The organizations however, rather than assisting in the realization of social housing, contributed to the development of upscale residential projects (Buğra, 1988). For example, in Istanbul the Real Estate Credit Bank financed the construction of *Ataköy* and *Levent* districts which turned into upscale residential developments rather than subsidizing low-income housing (Bozdoğan, 1997). Similarly, higher income groups acquired the apartments built for workers covered by the Social Insurance Fund (Buğra, 1988). Despite the exclusionary outcome of these policies, the institutions

enabled the formation of housing cooperatives that still represent the main source of homeownership for lower income consumer groups.

Overall, until the 1980s housing provision was controlled by: 1) individual consumers that built their own houses with the assistance of professionals, 2) cooperatives that brought together a group of people for the construction of a residential development, 3) small scale constructors, who first built and then sold the constructed buildings, 4) cooperatives and local public institutions that cooperated for the construction of residential districts (for example, such a collaboration constructed the *Bahçelievler* district in Ankara), 5) migrants that invaded public or private land for the construction of squatter housing and 6) private constructors that built squatters and transformed them into a commodity (Tekeli, 1982).

The neo-liberal transition in the 1980s marked a significant transformation in the government's attitude towards urbanization triggered by the increasing demand for housing, the unresolved shortage in affordable housing for the urban poor, and the lack of urban land for the development of new housing (Öncü, 1988). The neo-liberal policies of economic and spatial restructuring were initiated with the victory of the center-right nationalist Motherland Party (ANAP from now on), which has intended to transform Istanbul into a global city (Geniş, 2007). In 1984, the ruling party passed a series of laws and allowed the formation of the Mass Housing Administration (MHA from now on), which through significant budgetary public resources, named as the Mass Housing Fund (MHF from now on), accelerated residential construction by cooperatives (Buğra, 1988). The administration established the rules and regulations concerning the MHF, and controlled their implementation. The ruling party held the MHF independent

from the general budget. Consequently, the MHA in its initial establishment, used to control only the appropriation of housing credits and did not interfere with the planning of broader policy objectives apart from financial issues (Keleş, 1990). It is estimated that the share of housing units in cooperatives in terms of the total number of housing units increased from 20.3% in 1984 to 35.4% in 1988 (Türel, 1996).

Nevertheless, state subsidies provided to cooperatives once more forced exclusion. First, the MHA did not provide subsidized credit to all cooperatives (Berkman, 1995; Osmay, 1995). Second, the institution granted subsidies only to consumers with a steady employment in the formal sector. Thus, the MHA excluded the rural migrants, who work in the informal sector and live in squatter settlements (Osmay, 1995; Türel, 1995). Third, the housing law in 1984 allowed the access of subsidized credit to private investors for the construction of houses up to 150m² (Buğra, 1988). The newly formed institution rather than increasing the flow of finance for the development of social housing, promoted the construction of larger houses catering to the needs of middle- and upper-income groups (Buğra, 1988; Geniş, 2007).

Apart from the formation of the MHA, during this period the ruling party also welcomed large capitalists for the construction of new districts with upscale housing (in the spatial form of gated communities) not only by enabling financial resources, but also by passing legislations regarding land use (Geniş, 2007). The government privatized public land in the city centre and in the periphery, and sold or transferred the most valuable material resource to powerful developers or banks (Geniş, 2007). Political networks relaxed or neglected metropolitan and local master plans, regulating zoning and construction codes in preserved areas such as the Bosphorus hills and areas close to

lakes and forests (Kurtuluş, 2005a,b). Especially, the reforms in the 1984s allowed the formation of suburban municipalities that used to operate independent from the metropolitan city municipalities. These suburban municipalities enabled to by-pass the legal obstacles, assisting further the development of upscale-gated communities in their districts (Perouse and Daniş, 2005). Moreover, the state's investment in public infrastructure allowed the flow of both stakeholders and resources in the periphery (Perouse and Daniş, 2005; Geniş, 2007). For example, the construction of the second Bosphorus Bridge and the Trans European Motorway in 1984 facilitated the development of gated communities in the *Büyükdere* district by connecting the suburban area with the city center (Perouse and Daniş, 2005).

The fundamental shift from the protectionist, import-substitution to the market oriented growth strategy also opened the country to foreign capital and initiated the entrance of consumer goods that the country had not witnessed before (Erkip, 2000; Bali, 2002). As a result of this shift, several multinational corporations particularly in the service sector entered the country, and several Turkish corporations formed partnerships with foreign firms (Erkip, 2000). The consequences of this restructuring process are common and not unique to Turkey. The dramatic income redistribution and the enormous decline in real wages intensified the distance between two opposing poles: the rural poor who have migrated to the city in search for a better living and the new high-paid, high-educated professional group who worked mostly in finance, insurance and real estate industries (Güvenç and Işık, 2002). This polarization has had visible spatial consequences similar to other countries that had undergone similar experiences (for example, Caldeira, 2000). On the one hand, the poorer groups and specifically the

rural migrants created their own homes (squatter housing) constructed on land belonging to others or the state without the consent of the owner. The squatter neighborhoods had become an important component of the urban scene, where the residents continued their own rural lifestyle. Distinctive characteristics distinguished the squatter population from the rest of the city such as their stronger ties with the village, the low economic position in the job market and the community values allowing the formation of a subculture (Erman, 2001).

On the other hand, the emergence of branded gated communities, which followed global examples, attracted the newly formed upper-middle class. The desire for quality in life created a new metropolitan lifestyle. The wealthy segments chose to isolate themselves from the inferior others, specifically not only with their homes but also with their new lifestyle (Öncü, 1997; Güvenç and Işık, 2002). The new lifestyle distanced the urban clutter of migrants, traffic and crime, and created a homogenous setting where the elite households could lead active lives, engage in sports and socialize with others that share the same new lifestyle (Öncü, 1997). This lifestyle also embraces a proficiency in high art and luxury brands (Bali, 2002).

In the Turkish general elections in 1991 the centre-right rival True Path Party (DYP from now on) defeated ANAP after their second successive win in 1987. DYP formed a coalition government with the left Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP from now on). The newly formed coalition government also abstained from a direct intervention in housing. Specifically, it incorporated the MHF within the general budget and thus, decreased the funds allocated for housing. Through this reform, the coalition government distanced the institution from the construction of social housing and

intensified further the housing problem. Nevertheless, the MHA promoted the ideal of transforming Istanbul into a global city. According to a report published by the institution this ideal could be accomplished through the following objectives (TOKI and IULA-EMME, 1993: 20):

- To transform Istanbul into a world city;
- To increase the quality of life and form a decent city.
- To form a democratic and active local administration.

- *(İstanbul'un dünya kenti niteliğini kazanması;*
- *Yaşam kalitesini geliştirilmesi, insanca yaşanır bir kent olması.*
- *Demokratik ve etkin bir yerel yönetimin gerçekleştirilmesi.)*

Elaborating on these objectives the institution called for foreign investors and capital, urban development (construction of highways and subway systems, production of urban land for the construction of housing, hotels, shopping malls and offices, and the provision of housing for the urban poor) and urban transformation (restoration of historical buildings and elimination of squatter dwellings), and the activation of the local authorities towards the realization of these objectives.

Apart from the coalition government, the general elections in 1991 also witnessed the rise of the Welfare Party (RP from now), a party with religious background. The conservative party had an increased share of the vote and took several cities including Istanbul. In the general elections in 1995, the country witnessed the victory of RP. For the first time after the declaration of the Turkish Republic, a conservative party became the ruling party forming a coalition government with DYP.

In the local elections in 1994, *Tayyip Erdoğan*, then member of RP and the current prime minister became the mayor of Istanbul. In 1995, with the ideal of

transforming Istanbul into a global city, *Tayyip Erdoğan* established KIPTAŞ, a public housing corporation bound to the metropolitan municipality of Istanbul for the construction of social housing projects. Initially the institution developed affordable residential developments in public lands belonging to the municipality. As the General Manager Consultant of KIPTAŞ asserts:

The firm was founded as a result of the current prime minister's promise of fifty thousand houses to the people of Istanbul.

(Şu anki başbakanımız, Tayyip Bey'in İstanbul halkına elli bin konut şeklinde vermiş olduğu söz üzerine kurulan bir şirkettir.)

Tayyip Erdoğan continued his intervention on housing in 2003 with the victory of the Justice and Development Party (JDP from now on), a new moderate and conservative party after the ban of RP. The issue of housing increasingly turned into an incentive to "purchase" political activity.

In 1996, the coalition government of RP and DYP formed the legal framework for the development of REITs in order to increase the flow of financial resources to the industry. REITs facilitated the flow of corporate capital for the financing of the resource-starved real estate industry and enabled the construction of large real estate projects (for example, shopping malls, gated communities and office buildings). With at least 49% of their stock open to the public, REITs attempt to eliminate the problem of liquidity by bringing together the savings of individual and corporate investors into a common pool³. Similar to the government's previous attempts, the formation of REITs allowed the realization of large profit-generating real estate projects and thus, increased

³ <http://www.gyoder.org.tr/>

further the exclusion of the urban poor. For example, in 1996 Alarko Holding formed the Alarko REIT for the financing of luxurious gated communities (for example, Alkent – Istanbul 2000).

In the general elections in 1999 the country witnessed the formation of another coalition government (DSP-MHP⁴-ANAP). The coalition was formed against the Virtue Party (FP from now on), a new party based on religious values. In 1999, the catastrophic earthquake marked a significant transformation in the real estate industry and specifically, in the residential market. Various groups held responsible the coalition government for the consequences of the natural phenomenon as it failed to provide affordable housing, and control the construction of formal and informal housing. Specifically, the earthquake encouraged several elites to look for newly constructed buildings, which comply with the newly passed earthquake legislation. The reduced physical risk and the lower land prices in the suburbs accelerated the construction of suburban-gated communities and the move of consumers from the city. The natural disaster thus, was a significant non-human agent that shaped and still shapes the formation of brands.

However, in 2001 the country witnesses a severe economic crisis. The devaluation of the Turkish Lira and the high inflation rates postponed residential demand. Despite signs of economic recovery in 2002, political distress within the coalition government led to another economic downturn resulting in early elections. The election of a single party government, after almost 10 years of inefficient coalition governments, marked a significant transformation in Turkey and in the residential

⁴ MHP: Nationalist Movement Party, far-right political party in Turkey.

market. The victory of the newly formed conservative party JDP and *Tayyip Erdoğan* at the general elections in 2002 and the economic recovery in 2005 intensified the ruling party's agency in the material and symbolic construction of branded gated communities. Governmental reforms empowered the flow of resources for the realization and the expansion of upscale-gated communities.

First, in 2003 the conservative party revised the roles of the MHA. The ruling party gave the MHA (bound now to the prime minister) the authority to takeover treasury lands for free with the permission of the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. The ruling party also granted to the institution the authority to develop and modify construction codes. The most important revision was the source of finance. While earlier the MHA used the resources stemming from the MHF or the general budget, now the institution developed its own resources by taking an active role in the construction of upscale-gated communities. Rather than a financier, the MHA turned into a powerful agent – financier, developer and regulator.

For the construction of upscale-gated communities, the MHA developed a new model for the use of treasury land based on the public and private sector partnership named as revenue-sharing model. Before this reform, the party in charge either sold the treasury land or received houses from the building to be constructed as a payment for the land. According to the president of the MHA, both of these earlier models were not profitable, since the administration was responsible for the sale of the houses (Bayraktar, 2007). However, often the houses that remained unsold became a burden since the government had to pay the housing taxes, the maintenance costs and the employees responsible for their control. With these revisions, the MHA eliminates financial risks

and uses the allocated funds for the construction of social housing, for urban transformation projects (squatter transformation projects) and for the provision of financial assistance to the urban poor (provision of credits with lower interest rates and longer periods of payment) (Bayraktar, 2007). The institution advocates that they create their own financial pool by receiving resources from the rich and giving it back to the poor. In the words of the President of the MHA:

The MHA uses the resources coming from there (the luxurious gated communities) to make the citizens of the lower class segment homeowners. While the firms that construct social housings for the lower income group receive the whole amount and leave, the MHA hands in these houses to these citizens, who pay the amount in 15-20 years in installments (Gözlem Gazetesi, January 23, 2009).

(Buralardan (lüks konutlardan) gelen gelir, TOKİ'nin asıl amacı olan alt gelir grubu vatandaşları ev sahibi yapmak için kullanılır. Alt gelir grubu için konut yapan bir müteahhitlik firması parasının tamamını alıp ayrılırken TOKİ bu evleri vatandaşa 15–20 yıllık taksitlerle veriyor. Buradan da anlaşılacağı üzere TOKİ, henüz almadığı paranın karşılığını ödemek durumunda. Kâr elde etmek için değil alt gelir grubunu finansman etmek için arsa satışları ve hasılat paylaşım projelerini yapmak durumundayız (Gözlem Gazetesi, 23 Ocak, 2009).)

With the new revenue sharing model, interested and financially credible developers make bids for treasury lands. The developer that offers the highest total revenues and the highest revenue-sharing margin to the institution receives the bid. The MHA announces the technical terms of the bids such as the total size of the lot, the construction codes and the distance of the lot from major highways. The print and online announcements of the bids also incorporate a map that locates the lot in the district and illustrates the distance from major highways and nearby gated communities (Appendix 4, photograph 5). The institution online publicizes the required documents (for example,

signature specimen, certificate from the Chamber of Commerce or Industry) and the timing of payments (the number of installments and the percentage of the total revenue that will be paid). Moreover, these announcements specify technically and financially the developers that can participate in the bids. Legitimate developers should have built, controlled or managed at least 200.000m² of total building construction. Legitimate developers should also have financial strength and liquidity conditioned by the following ratios in their balance sheets and income statements: at least 0.50 of current assets/current liabilities ratio, at least shareholders' equity /total assets ratio, and less than 0.75 short-term debt/paid in capital ratio.

The public bids beside the residential development usually require the construction of public buildings such as school and mosques, and commercial buildings such as shopping malls and offices. With this new model, the MHA controls the construction of gated communities and receives financial resources for the construction of social housing, while developers bear the costs of production (construction, infrastructure and legal permissions), sales and marketing. Consider the list of objectives that the revenue sharing model entails (Bayraktar, 2007: 105):

- *With this method, the institution uses its valuable estates to gain the highest revenues possible and enable the accumulation of resources.*
- *With this method, developers undertake all the risks and reset the institution's risk of losing.*
- *The institution uses its valuable estate for the construction of planned, controlled, representative and prestigious urban areas.*

- *(Bu yöntemle, idare elindeki değerli arsalar, maksimum gelir elde edilerek değerlendirilmekte ve kaynak girişi sağlanmaktadır.*
- *İdare bu yöntemle tüm riskleri yükleniciye bırakmakta ve idarenin zarar riski sıfırlanmaktadır.*

- *İdare elindeki değerli arsalar üzerinde planlı, denetimli, örnek ve prestijli kentsel alanlar oluşturmaktadır.)*

The public-private partnership enables the development of branded gated communities by the flow of valuable estates and increases further the ruling party's power in the market.

The favorable market conditions also attracted cooperatives, private owners and investors from different industries, who transferred their resources for the construction of gated communities. While investors used this opportunity as a diversification strategy, cooperatives and private owners negotiated with developers on the number and material features of the houses (such as the number and size of the houses and the exact location and direction inside the gated community). For example, in 2005 Taşyapı launched its first residential project branded as “Mashattan” in the *Maslak* district. The 140.000 m² plot belonged to an automotive cooperative that planned to develop an industrial business district. With the economic recovery the cooperative decided to bargain with developers for the construction of an upscale-gated community. After several negotiations with multiple developers and conflicts within the members of the cooperative, Taşyapı undertook the construction of the brand.

Apart from the transformation of the MHA and the reforms concerning the treasury lands, the real estate industry flourished further with the flow of financial resources for the construction of gated communities. In 2007, the National Assembly passed the legislation for the expected mortgage system that enabled funding before the materialization of the brand, and attempted to decrease the interest rates and increase the timing of loans. National and international banks formed various financial products

competing on persuading powerful developers for gaining entry into the real estate industry.

Before the reform, developers used to build the residential developments before launching their brands in the marketplace. However, the favorable market conditions after the 2003 general elections and the postponed residential demand allowed developers to sell the branded houses even before their construction. Stakeholders define this transformation in the sales strategy as from a “first build and then sell” to a “first sell and then build”. This sales strategy coupled with the legal framework of the mortgage system allowed developers to use the accumulated resources for the material development of brands and at the same time allowed the issue of consumer loans. Prior to the mortgage system, financial institutions conditioned the issue of consumer loans close to the material completion of the project. The mortgage system however, enables homeownership even before the beginning of the construction. Since the new sales strategy delays the practice of home, developers increase the prices incrementally in order to attract consumers to their brand community in progress. Early buyers have to wait approximately three to four years until the material development of their branded house and community.

The legislation nevertheless, did not bring the expected effect of enabling homeownership for the whole society as observed in developed countries. The mortgage system restricted the allocation of financial resources to middle and upper-middle class consumer groups. Stakeholders often describe the conditions that the mortgage system requires. The booklet “100 Questions about Mortgage” published by The Istanbul

Chamber of Commerce (2007: 48-49) explains the target market of the mortgage system.

The mortgage system claims to finance the residential demand of the middle class. For example, an individual wants to take a loan for 7-8 years with a security interest in a real property, with a monthly interest of 1.75 (+ cost). If he takes a mortgage of 200 thousand new Turkish liras, he/she will have to pay an installment of approximately 2,500 new Turkish liras. However, the installments should not exceed a certain portion of these individual's monthly income.

(Mortgage sistemi, orta gelir grubunun konut talebini finanse edecek bir iddia taşımaktadır. Bankalardan gayrimenkulü teminat ile söz gelimi aylık 1.75 (+ masraf) civarından maliyetlerle 7-8 yıl vadeyle kredi almak isteyen bir kişi; 200 bin YTL'lik bir konut kredisi almış ise aylık 2,500 YTL civarında bir taksit ödemek zorunda kalacaktır. Oysa ki sistemden yararlanmak isteyen kişinin aylık ödemeleri aylık gelirinin belirli bir kısmını geçmemesi gerekir.)

As the institution explains, the payments require a disposable income beyond the average. For this reason, stakeholders guide lower income consumer groups towards the MHA's affordable social housing developments. The legislation thus, forms the symbolic boundaries of the brand community through fostering exclusion and distancing the inferior others.

The government indirectly controls the material development of gated communities through the municipalities, which develop the construction plans and regulate zoning and construction codes. Especially after the earthquake, the government intensified the control over urbanization. Municipalities promote the construction of gated communities compatible with the new earthquake legislation and the construction codes of the lot. They also disable the further invasion of urban land for the further development of squatter housing. Specifically, municipalities favor developers'

branding practices as they enable planned urbanization. Consider the Municipality of *Ümraniye*, a district populated with brand communities:

The producer always organizes the roads, the parks, gardens, social complex...
The area organized and the problems disappear there.

(Yapımcı her zaman kendisinin üzerine olan yolları kendisi düzenliyor, parkını, bahçesini, sosyal tesisini... Bir yer bir düzenlenmiş bölge oluyor oradaki sorunları ortadan kalkmış oluyor.)

Consequently, developers assume municipalities' roles. Overall, the evolution of the residential market makes evident the ruling party's significance in the material and symbolic construction of brands. The state owns and controls public land, shapes master plans and regularizes the flow of finance to the market. Through empowering the flow of brand resources, the government enables and legitimizes brand-building processes. While the state empowers the flow of resources, brand building could not be executed only with the ruling party's favorable reforms towards the development of brands. Multiple stakeholders, materials, discourses and events shape brand-building processes. The postponed residential demand and consumers desire of living with others that share the same concerns (for example, families' well-being, children's education and socialization, traffic), the same risks (for example, rising rural migration, incidences of theft and crime, earthquake), and the same interests (socializing with others that share a similar taste structure) enable and shape the development of branded gated communities. Developers compete on gaining ownership of the enabled brand resources (land, construction codes and financial resources) and develop the brands within the limits provided by the dynamic brand stakeholders (government, developers, municipalities,

banks and consumers). Municipalities compete on increasing the financial value of their districts, and shape brands by welcoming and assisting developers on the material development of brands (for example, relieving construction codes). Banks compete on gaining ownership of foreign capital and on using these financial resources for financing developers as well as consumers.

At the same time the ruling party's reforms towards urbanization and other stakeholders' brand practices not only enable the construction of brands, but also shape the symbolic boundaries of the branded gated communities. The mortgage system, the relaxation of construction codes, the investments in infrastructure, the newly developed revenue sharing model and consumers' desire of a controlled and homogeneous consumer community, foster exclusion of the unwanted urban others by reproducing spatially social class differences. Therefore, by empowering the flow of brand resources for the development of brands, stakeholders materially and symbolically also form the taste structure of the brand community. Branding processes rather than initiating only from the firm with the planning of the marketing program (Aaker, 1996; Keller and Lehman, 2006) or from consumers' negotiations of firm based brand meanings or cultural myths (Diamond, et. al, 2009; Schau, et. al., 2009; Holt, 2004), require the flow of brand resources and brand stakeholders, but also the adoption of branding competences for the execution and reproduction of brand construction performances.

4.2. Legitimizing and Disciplining Brand- Building Performances

Apart from the flow of brand resources and stakeholders, brand development requires mastering of branding competences. Branding competences embrace ways of understanding and knowing how to execute brand-building processes and thus, enable action and reproduce practices (Warde, 2005; Reckwitz, 2002). Through these branding competences stakeholders legitimize and discipline brand-building performances in the marketplace. Brand construction performances refer to the actions taken for the material realization of brands. Competence is embedded in and distributed among material, legal and financial resources, as well social, commercial and ideological relations within and among stakeholders. Human, as well as non-human actors (materials, discourse and events) form brands with the accumulation of competences (Watson and Shove, 2005). Brand development requires the following branding competences: adoption of a market orientation perspective, maintenance of financial credibility and commitment to the patrimonial system.

First, legitimate brand construction is associated with the adaptation of a market orientation perspective according to which consumers' desire of material, social and public order shape the material development of brands. Studies on gated communities (for example, Low, 2003; Atkinson and Blandy, 2006) and consumer findings (see chapter 5) explicate the following consumer motivations for moving into a gated community: the desire for security, status, privacy, community (neighborliness) and leisure facilities, and the desire for a home and community cleansed from the unresolved problems of unplanned urbanization and crime. Competent developers disapprove the

practices of developers that still adopt the production concept. According to the production concept consumers favor any product that is available in the marketplace. Adopting the market orientation perspective, firms increasingly respond to the needs of the target market (Kohli and Jaworski, 1990). Consider the account of the General Manager of Y&Y REIT:

You used to develop the project without conducting any market research. The consumers got very knowledgeable. Now when you make the project, you will analyze the group you are going to sell thoroughly. Who do I prepare the project for? Who I develop it for? What may be their character like?

(Şimdi eskiden siz projeyi geliştirdiniz, projeyi geliştirdikten sonra herhangi bir pazarlayacağınız ve satacağınız grubu araştırmadan yapardık. Şimdi tüketicilerde çok ciddi bir bilinçlenme oldu... Projeyi yaparken satacağınız grubu iyi inceleyeceksiniz. Ben kime ürün hazırlıyorum, kime proje geliştiriyorum, onun karakteri neler olabilir?)

As the developer contends, brand construction requires reflection on consumers' identity projects, rather than dictation by market agents (Holt, 2002). For example, the R&D manager of Maya Holding explains how consumers' practices shape the material development of brands. According to the manager, the technological advances in refrigerators and freezing have transformed consumers' shopping and storage practices by allowing the preservation of food acquired or bought in bulk (for example, Hand and Shove, 2007). Given also the emergence of hypermarkets that reduce market prices, and the hectic city life, consumers do not go daily for grocery shopping, but often weekly or monthly. For this reason, consumers often return home with an average of 10-15 shopping bags. The manager explains that constructing an open-air parking lot without

monitoring the transformation in consumers' practices may result in a brand's failure.

As the R&D manager of Maya explicates:

When we consider shopping, especially grocery shopping, it is a great advantage for a home buyer to be able to walk as little as possible from the parking lot to his home.

(Şu anki alışveriş özellikle erzak alışverişini göze aldığımızda, arabasını park ettiği yerden mümkün mertebe az yürüyerek evine ulaşmak bir konut alıcısı için çok artı bir puan.)

Apart from the parking lots, the manager elaborates that consumer storage needs also shape the material dimensions inside the branded house. Rather than providing plain rooms with four walls, developers furnish rooms with built-in wardrobes and especially cupboards in the bathrooms for storing the bulky purchased consumer durables. Therefore, legitimate brand-building performances require the constant monitoring of the target market.

Consumers' concerns with maintenance costs, which sustain the constructed order inside the gated communities, also guide the material realization of brands. Every gated community incorporates a rather uniform package of activities including sports centers, swimming pools, playgrounds, and walking paths. Increasingly developers differentiate their brands by integrating alternative practices such as ice-skating, horse riding, observing the sky from observatories at the roof of the apartments and rowing boats at the artificial lakes. Consider the Sales Manager of Tepe Construction:

Several projects develop this kind of places (refers to social activities), which cause significant problems to consumers after beginning to live in the community. It turns into chaos. Taking this into account, we didn't want the

maintenance costs to be like a rent. For this reason, we planned the social areas by making a cost analysis, but still in the light of consumers' needs.

(Birçok yerde insanları satışa çekmek için bu tarzda yerleri yapıp ondan sonra insanlar yaşamaya başlayınca ciddi sıkıntılar bunlar. Kaosa dönüştüğü için, bunları göz önüne alarak ilerledik biz yani hani burada kira bedeli öder şekilde bir aidat sistemini istemedik biz. Ona göre bir maliyetleme çalışması yaparak ama yine de ihtiyaçları karşılayabilecek nitelikte alanlar düşünerek uyguladık.)

Legitimate brand-building performances require consideration of the costs of maintaining the brand community after sales, since the accommodation of recreational facilities often becomes a burden for community members.

While the material development of the brand should reflect consumers' ideals of the dream home, spatial dimensions also guide and often restrict the development of the brand. On the one hand, municipalities through the construction codes restrict the material dimensions of the brand community such as the size of the houses, the number of floors in each building or villa and the proportion of built environment to landscape. When the metropolitan master plans include the lot, then developers acquire from the municipality the legal permissions for the initiation of branded projects. If not, then brand-building processes get postponed until the development of the master plans. Zoning incorporates framing the land in parcels, defining the use of each parcel and specifying construction codes. Zoning practices also include infrastructural plans that organize the movement between the different areas of the city, the provision of telecommunications, water, sanitary and energy services. Developers that own a land in the same district often cooperate with the municipality in order to enable the necessary resources for the development of gated communities. The sales and marketing manager of Alarko Holding exemplifies the difficulties that they face in the development of their

new brand, since the land is not incorporated in the master plans. Even though the developer has planned the brand, the construction has not yet started, as they have not received the legal permissions from the municipality. Developers often hold meetings with the metropolitan city municipality in order to resolve the infrastructural and legal restrictions. As the Sales and Marketing Manager of Alarko REIT explains, brand construction requires the government's approval:

We still haven't started the project. The district is not included in the construction plans and for this reason we face problems with the legal permissions. It is really painful because we cannot get the legal permissions. For this reason we still do not make any promotions and sales... For example, there are problems with even water supply and electricity. Imagine there is not even a road. We are going to construct a road. Last week I participated in a meeting and discussed for hours how we could get the electricity to the area. Certainly the state has to approve all of these issues. Shortly, designing the houses and the projects is only the beginning.

(Şu an bölge imara henüz açılmadığı için ruhsatta sorun çıkıyor o yüzden henüz proje başlamadı. Çok sancılı geçiyor çünkü ruhsat alamıyoruz. Biz de o yüzden henüz pazarlamasını ve satışını yapmıyoruz... Mesela su, doğalgaz, elektrik bile sorunları var. Geçen hafta benim de katıldığım bir toplantıda saatlerce elektriği nasıl getireceğimiz üzerine konuşuldu. Düşünün şu an yol bile yok onu bile biz yapacağız. Tabii ki devletin onay vermesi gerekecek bütün bu konular için. Kısaca ev çizmek ve projeyi yapmak sadece bir başlangıç.)

Beside construction codes, the lot and the urban development of the district shape the material development of brands. The district shapes not only the profile of the target market, but also the recreational facilities that should be incorporated in the brand communities. Thus, brands are shaped not only by consumers' ideals, identities, values and meanings (for example, Aaker, 1996; Kapferer, 2004), but also by material dimensions. For example, competing brands at the same district shape the development of new brands. The interior designer of the KKG Group Construction explains how 15

years ago the district of *Hadımköy* was known for its natural lake and *Alkent* – an upper-scale villa type gated community. Nowadays, several villa-type gated communities surround the *Büyükçekmece* Lake transforming the suburban area into an upper-scale villa city. Along with competing brand communities, spatial dimensions such as the size and shape of the lot and the adjacent lots guide the construction of residential developments. The Business Development Manager of Sur Construction explains how the lot triggered the formation of a self-sufficient, inward-looking branded gated community around the concept of neighborhood:

Actually the structure of the land enforced us to develop an inward project to a certain extent because next to this lot there is very small parcel and on this side there is another parcel as well. For this reason, you cannot form an independent neighborhood; you cannot form a private living environment. With this architectural design we implemented this.

(Aslında buranın arazi yapısı onu bir miktar içe dönüklüğe zorluyor sizi. Çünkü burada şu alan hemen yanı başında başka bir ipincecik bir parsel olduğu gibi burada da başka bir parselle yan yana yakın. Dolayısıyla bunu kendi içerisinde bağımsız bir mahalleye dönüştüremezseniz, bunu şey yapamazsınız yani kendi iç yaşam alanını oluşturamazsınız. Böyle bir mimari tarzla biz bunu sağladık.)

The manager elaborates on how the lot guided the placement and design of the buildings. The apartment buildings are located along the boundaries of the lot. The bedrooms face the adjacent parcels, while the kitchens, the living rooms and the balconies face the built environment inside the community – the gardens, the ornamental pools, the artificial lakes, the walking paths, the open-air swimming pool and playground, and the social center (Appendix 4, photograph 6). Consequently, the competences required for the material realization of brands lie in the dynamic relations among stakeholders, materials (for example, material properties of competing brands

and the lot), discourse and events (for example, the earthquake, the second victory of the conservative party).

Despite construction codes, the ruling party, through the presence of the MHA, indirectly disciplines the development of brands built in treasury lands through the revenue sharing model. Building a brand in a treasury land embraces the material and the financial control of the ruling party. The bids, beside the residential development, usually include public buildings such as schools and mosques, and commercial buildings such as shopping malls. Developers are also responsible for the construction of these buildings, generally planned in a lot at the surrounds of the gated communities, since non-community members will also use these developments. Consequently, the MHA disciplines the material development of brands through forcing the accommodation of alternative practices (such as education, worshipping and/or shopping). Consider the following example: Hektaş Construction is a developer that collaborates with the institution towards the construction of an upscale mixed (apartment and villa) gated community. Beside the residential development, the bid included the construction of a mosque in the surrounds of the gated community. The Public Relations Manager of the firm asserts that the association of the brand with the Islamist ideology (through the institutions' control over the material development of the brand) shapes an anti-consumption movement (Varman and Belk, 2009). The conservative ideology shapes consumer resistance to the brand, since it poses a threat to the execution of secular brand community practices. The manager asserts:

A perception formed on whether there is a conservative attitude. Some individuals do want to encounter with the others, and they can't stand each other

at the same place. Individuals were even disturbed by the mosque located outside the residential project. They asked whether men would use the swimming pools for 3 days per week and women for the remaining 4 days.

(Muhafazakâr bir tutum var mı diye bir algı da oldu. Bazı insanlar bazı insanlarla karşılaşmak istemiyor, aynı ortamda tahammül edemiyor. Bizim mesela projenin dış kısmında cami olmasına rağmen, dış tarafında kalıyor, bu bile rahatsız etti insanları. Buradaki havuzlarda 3 gün erkekler, 4 gün hanımlar mı kullanacak diye sordular... Cami yaptık dünyayı karşıımıza aldık sanki.)

The manager explains that the MHA decides on the construction of these buildings depending on the urban needs of the district. Thus, the firm defending the brand asserts that if the district required a hospital then the MHA would have required the construction of a hospital instead of a mosque. The mosque reproduces the class identity conflicts between the new conservative middle-class and the urban secular elites (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010).

The institution controls the material development of brands not only by forcing the accommodation of practices (such as education, worshipping and shopping), but also by locating the spatial manifestation of these practices inside or in the surrounds of the communities. These disciplining brand-building performances often distance developers from the co-construction of brands with the MHA. For example, Soyak Construction is one of the first developers that constructed a gated community with the revenue sharing model. The Marketing Manager Assistant of the holding explains the reasons for distancing the government from development of new brands:

TOKİ points the locations of the schools, mosques, commercial centers, hospitals, etc. In every project, TOKİ has several conditions according to which you develop the project, but on your own land, you can decide their location and can build it.

(İşte projede mesela şurada okul olacak, şurada cami olacak, şurada ticari merkez olacak, şurada hastane olacak vs bunların hepsini TOKİ size söylüyor. TOKİ'nin şartları var ona göre yapıyorsunuz. Ama kendi arsanızda yerini sizi belirleyip istediğiniz gibi yapabilirsiniz.)

The manager asserts that the MHA's control over the material realization of the project restricts the corporate brand's creativity and innovation. Beside the material development of the brand, the MHA also controls the flow of financial resources. Developers deposit the revenues flowing by the sale of the branded houses to the institution's bank account. While the MHA can use its portion of the revenues from the pool, the developer can only benefit from the financial resources parallel to the material development of the brand. The conditions of the bid also determine the timing of payments to developers. Moreover, the institution controls the pricing and scheduling of sales. With the launch of brands before their material construction, developers divide sales in different phases in order to manipulate consumers' risk perceptions. Nevertheless, developers that collaborate with the institution cannot take any action without taking the institution's approval. Additionally, the MHA protects itself against a downturn in the residential market. In such a case, developers need to pay the estimated revenues forecasted during the bid. However, during favorable market conditions, developers have to allocate the resources using the revenue-sharing margin. For example, in the gated community where the fieldwork was performed, the revenues increased from 102,3 million euros to 160 million euros by the end of the project (Bayraktar, 2007).

The institution, through the power attributed by the ruling party on the use of public land and the development and transformation of construction codes, creates

unfair competition in the marketplace. With the revision of the MHA in 2003, the conservative party gave to the MHA the authority to use treasury land for the construction of brand communities. Depending on the material dimensions of the treasury land (for example, district, size and access to the city), the MHA decides on use of the land for the construction of either luxurious branded gated communities or branded social housing communities. The institution however allocates the most valuable treasury lands for the production of upscale residential communities through the public-private partnership. The profit sharing margin varies depending on the district and the infrastructural opportunities in the district. Consider the Sales Manager's (Artaş-Öztaş and Doğu Construction Consortium) comparison of two brand communities both co-constructed with the MHA:

In some areas they undertake 30% of the total revenues. Why? Because the value of the land is very important. For example, we can make the following comparison. The value of the land (Avrupa Konutları, TEM) here is higher than the value of land in the Halkalı district (Avrupa Konutları, Halkalı). This means that each area has a different value. The land value is higher here as it is close to the TEM motorway and it is in a higher location. You know that the land becomes more valuable depending on the urban structure. For example, the presence of a school, a shopping mall or a mosque close to your project creates a different value to your project.

(Bazı yerlerde %30 kadar taahhüt edilebiliyor (TOKİ tarafından). Neden? Çünkü arsa değeri çok önemli. Örneğin şöyle kıyas yapabiliriz. Halkalı ile (Avrupa Konutları, Halkalı) burasının (Avrupa Konutları, TEM) arasında kıyas yaparsak rayiç bedel olarak burası daha yüksek. Yani bir de her yerin arazi değeri var. İşte TEM'E yakın olması, daha yüksek konumlu olması, arazi daha değerli. Arazi biliyorsunuz, aslında etrafındaki yapılaşmaya göre değerlendiriliyor. Örneğin sizin projenizin yakınında bir okul varsa farklı bir değer oluyor, alışveriş merkezi varsa farklı bir değer, ya da bir cami farklı bir değer katar.)

Besides being the agency for using and modifying public land, the ruling party also provides legal agency to the MHA. The institution has the authority both to produce urban land in areas not yet incorporated in the city's master plans, and to modify construction codes without requiring the legal permissions of either the local or the metropolitan city municipalities. The ruling party exempts the MHA from the high costs of legal fees required for the material realization of the residential projects. Consider the General Manager of Y&Y's REIT's account on the resolution of the institution's brand-building performances:

TOKİ must now become a regulator. In other words, a land developer, an institution that makes planning for project developers, a planner, a party with a very important function in urban transformation. It must turn from a player to a regulator. When TOKİ becomes a player, this creates a competitive environment. This is similar to a competition between the older and younger brother or a father and a son. This is not right.

(TOKİ artık düzenleyici konuma geçmesi lazım. Yani arsa üreten, proje geliştiricilere yol haritası çizen, planlamalar yapan, kentsel dönüşümde önemli bir fonksiyon alan bir yapı olması lazım. Yani oyunculuğu bırakıp düzenleyici olması lazım... TOKİ çünkü oyuncu olduğu zaman, sektörde kaldığı zaman şey oluyor, diğer proje geliştiricilerle birazcık rekabet ortamı oluyor. O da yani, bir ağabeyin kardeşe rekabet etmesi doğru olmuyor tabii ki veya bir babanın oğluyla rekabet etmesi olabilir mi?)

As the general manager explicates the power provided to the MHA by the government, transforms the institution into a powerful agent in the brand stakeholder assembly.

Recently, the MHA prohibited the use of English words in the brand communities developed through the revenue sharing model. Even though the marketing of the residential projects belongs to the developers that collaborate with the institution,

still the MHA restricts symbolic brand properties. This control was initiated with the charges filled by the Turkish Literary Institute against developers that use foreign brand names. For this reason, developers justify the selection of brand names employing the material and symbolic properties of their brand communities. Consider the declaration of the lawyer of the Turkish Literary Institute below:

When asked why the names of the housing projects Almondhill and Mashattan are in a foreign language, the owner of Taşyapı Emrullah Turanlı for the project in Maslak, they were inspired by Manhattan in New York, and for the project in Acıbadem, they gave this name because Acıbadem is a hill and therefore gave the name Almondhill. This is an interesting example for one's alienation to his own country and society (Hayati Arıgan, Sabah Gazetesi, July 26, 2007).

(Taşyapı'nın sahibi Emrullah Turanlı konut projeleri olan Mashattan ve Almondhill adlarının neden yabancı olduğu sorusuna, Maslak'taki projenin New York'taki ünlü Manhattan'dan esinlendiklerini, Acıbadem'deki proje için ise Acıbadem'in tepe konumunda olması nedeniyle "Badem Tepe" anlamına gelen Almondhill adının verildiğini söyleyerek toplumuna ve ülkesine yabancılaşmanın ilginç bir örneğini vermiştir (Hayati Arıgan, Sabah Gazetesi, 26 Temmuz, 2007).)

Overall, the first brand competence incorporates the adoption of a market orientation perspective. Consumers' shared interests, concerns and risks shape the development of brands. However, multiple actors often restrict the practice of the market orientation perspective. Municipalities, through metropolitan construction, plans and codes the MHA through the material, financial and legal control of brands developed by the revenue-sharing model, the material dimensions of competing brands, the level of urbanization in the district and the spatial specificities of the districts and the plot shape brand-building processes.

Legitimate brand-building performances also require the maintenance of financial credibility. Financial credibility enables the collaboration of developers with

financial institutions, as they shape the value and timing of loans. The transition of financing practices from a “first build then sell” to a “first sell then build” system requires the simultaneous issue of commercial and consumer loans before the materialization of brands. Through this collaboration, stakeholders decrease the interest rates below the market price. Developers and banks make certain agreements involving the credit terms and the release schedule of the allocated funds depending on corporate brand credibility. Banks perform corporate and product brand evaluation checks in order to check developers’ credibility. Credibility tests entail various practices such as analyzing financial accounts, examining earlier and newly developed brands, and controlling master plans, construction codes and the urban development of the district. The credibility tests reflect a measure of brand equity (Aaker, 1996). For example, the R&D Director of Sur Construction explains how financial institutions legitimize brand development:

If you can you take a commercial loan during the construction phase of the project, this means that the banks also approve your brand’s equity and credibility. As soon as we place our signboard, several banks approach us and say, “We are ready to give a loan to this project”.

(Siz inşaattayken yani daha proje aşamasındayken kredilendirebiliyorsanız projenizi, bu sizin kurumsal değerinizin, marka değerinizin ve güvenilirliğinizin bir anlamda banka tarafından da tescil edilmesi anlamına geliyor. Biz daha tabelamızı asar asmaz birçok banka gelerek “tamam biz bu projeye kredi vermeye hazırız” diyor bankalar.)

The collaboration of developers and banks thus signifies brand equity, and legitimizes and assures the material development of brands. In 2009 due to economic downturn and the consequent increase in interest rates, developers with financial

credibility started forming consumer loans without the presence of banks. This action was performed in order to maintain and carry on the material development of the brand. The advertisements of gated communities also communicate the removal of brands from the brand stakeholder assembly (Appendix 5, advertisement 1). Some developers even assume and revise the roles and practices of real estate agents. For example, a developer in collaboration with a real estate agent offers bartering services to potential consumers. According to the conditions of the barter, the developer exchanges any kind of property with a house in their new branded gated community. Depending on the financial value of the property, the firm issues consumers loans for the remaining amount. While banks criticize the adoption of their competences, developers legitimize their performances since the financial institutions have withdrawn from the brand stakeholder assembly. The CEO of Erođlu Construction explains how stakeholders' personal interests have forced the adoption of others' brand-building performances:

I think that now the banks are out of service. Can they do anything with these interest rates? No. They do not decrease the interest rates in order to earn more. This is the reality. Do I want to acquire the financial burden on my own? The truth is that I don't want it either. But today this is the reality.

(O (banka) Őimdi servis dıŐı bana gre. Őimdi bu faizlerle onun yapabileceđi bir Őey var mı? Yok, hani o da ok daha fazla para kazanmak iin onu yapmıyor (faizleri dŐrmyor) realite bu. Ben ister miyim finansman ykn kendi zerime almayı o sıkıntıyla kendim girmeyi? Ben de istemem aslına bakarsanız, ama bugnn geređi bu.)

Developers legitimize their new role by the discursive framing of the purchase (ownership of house in a gated community) as an investment. In order to attract consumers in the project before the materialization of brands, developers manipulate

sales and prices. Depending on the size of the residential project, developers divide sales in three or four phases. The launch of a new phase announces the rise in the financial value of brands and the decrease in product availability (section 4.3.2). The Advertising and Public Relations Manager of KKG Construction Group explains the reasons for the manipulation of prices:

Consumers will start living by the end of the first phase this year. This place will become a living place. And it will also show its investment potential. For this reason, you cannot expect the prices to be similar between the first and the second phase. Consumers who buy a house from the third phase will invest in a guaranteed investment. But someone that buys a house in the first phase takes a risk. But it not like that in the third phase. His/her house has not been completed yet, but he/she observes examples of ways of living.

(Birinci etapta bu yılsonuna kadar yaşam başlayacak. Burası artık yaşayan bir yer olacak. İnsanların yaşadığı bir mekan olacak. Ve kendini kanıtlamış bir yatırım da olacak dolayısıyla. O yüzden birinci etaptaki fiyatların 3 etapla aynı olması beklenemez. Çünkü 3 etapta ev alan kişi garantili bir yatırıma parasını yatırmış oluyor. Ama 1 etapta alan aslında riskli alıyor. Ama 3 etapta öyle değil. Evi bitmemiş ama yaşayan bir örnek var görüyor.)

For this reason, developers avoid decreasing the financial value of brands since the home is a source of investment for early buyers. Recently, the ruling party formed a short-term reform in order to recover the market downturn and sustain the brands in the marketplace. According to this reform, the taxing of houses that exceeds 150m² declined from 18% to 8%. Still this reform re-produces social class differences by relieving only the upscale branded gated communities. Consider the account of the CEO of Sinpaş REIT:

This law was made for the MHA and for its revenue sharing partners that have unsold houses (Hürriyet Gazetesi, March 19, 2009).

(Bu uygulama TOKİ ve TOKİ ile hasılat paylaşımı yapmış ancak konutları elinde kalmış şirketler için çıkarıldı (Hürriyet Gazetesi, 19 Mart, 2009).)

Houses that exceed 150m² comprise only 5% of the total housing stock in the country (Guler and Alp, 2009). As the developer states, the ruling conservative party initiated the reform to promote the MHA's brands. Given the condition of the reform, the government enables homeownership only for the upper income consumer groups, who have the economic capital to participate in the upscale brand communities.

Finally, legitimizing and disciplining brand-building performances also requires commitment to the patrimonial system. A derivation from Weber's concept of patrimonialism (1978), patrimonial system refers to a type of domination that exists between rulers and ruled. The ruler acts as a patron and personal relations invade formal institutions (Erdmann and Engel, 2007). Within this system, formal state institutions determine politics and policies with particularistic interests and orientations (Erdmann and Engel, 2007). The commitment to this type of a patrimonial system enables access to brand resources and assists the material realization of projects.

The intensification of the housing problem after the earthquake in 1999 and the economic recovery after the crisis in 2001 created a safeguard for the revolutionary reforms of the conservative party. The transformation of the MHA and the allocation of brand resources to the institution, the initiation of the mortgage system and the centralization of local municipalities under the control of the metropolitan city municipality enabled the diffusion of the patrimonial system. The significance of this competence intensified after the second victory of the conservative party in 2007. This triumph fortified the party's agency and reinforced the reproduction of class differences

(elites versus urban poor) and class identity conflicts (the new conservative middle-class versus the urban secular elites). For example, any developer that meets the conditions of the bid can participate in treasury land bids. Only certain developers receive the bids repeatedly. According to a recent report published by the Turkish Chamber of Civil Engineers, developers win the bids not by coincidence (TCCE, 2009):

Most of the firms that have received the lion's share by the MHA have close ideological ties with JDP, familial and social relationships with the directors of the political party in charge such as members of the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (MUSIAD), the Association of Anatolian Businessmen (ASKON) and the Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists in Turkey (TUSKON). Moreover, businessmen from the other right wing parties have also taken up business from MHA.

(TOKİ'den aslan payını alan firmaların büyük kısmı, AKP iktidarına ideolojik açıdan yakın olan, parti yöneticileriyle değişik derecelerde akrabalık, arkadaşlık ilişkisi bulunan, Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği (MÜSİAD), Anadolu Aslanları İşadamları Derneği (ASKON), Türkiye Sanayici ve İşadamı Dernekleri Konfederasyonu (TUSKON) üyesi şirketlerden oluşmaktadır. Ayrıca diğer sağ partilere yakınlığı ile tanınan işadamları da TOKİ'den iş alanlar arasında bulunmaktadır.)

According to the report during 2004-2005, developers that hold close ties with the conservative party in charge received 68% of the residential bids. The ruling party rewards its partisans and forms a pool of financial resources that are hardly ever used for the construction of social housing. As stated by the report, despite the call for an urban transformation in Istanbul, the MHA used 56% of its resources for the construction of upscale gated communities and only 44% for the construction of social housing communities (TCCE, 2009). Therefore, the ruling party promotes the city to local and foreign investment groups by allowing the flow of resources to the rich rather than the urban poor.

Developers, rather than drawing this kind of brand distinctions (Luedicke, 2006b), generally remain silent. Developers only commend on the unfair competition created by the agency provided to the MHA and KIPTAŞ. KIPTAŞ following the transformation of the MHA also used the public resources allocated by the metropolitan city municipality for the construction of not only social housing, but also upscale-gated communities.

The agency of the MHA also restricts developers from employing trickle down strategies for the construction of residential projects to the lower income classes.

According to the CEO of Soyak Holding:

The high tax and toll costs prevent us from addressing to the lower and middle classes. These costs must be decreased. Otherwise it would be impossible for the private sector to produce residential projects for the lower class consumers... The current legislation makes exceptions to the MHA. The private sector also expects the same exceptions as the ones provided to the public institution (Hürriyet Gazetesi, December 1, 2008).

(Dar ve orta gelirlere hitap edebilmek için, bizi engelleyen çok büyük vergi-resim ve harç yükü vardır. Bunun indirilmesi gerekiyor. Aksi takdirde özel sektörün dar gelirliler için üreteceği konut projelerine katkıda bulunması mümkün olmaz... Bugün zaten mevzuat TOKİ'ye istisnalar sağlıyor. Biz kamuya sağlanan istisnaların özel sektöre de sağlanmasını istiyoruz (Hürriyet Gazetesi, 1 Aralık, 2008).)

By distancing developers from the development of social housing communities, it becomes easier for the institution to legitimize the development of upscale-gated communities. The MHA undertakes the construction of social housing and distances not only developers, but also cooperatives that used to provide housing to the lower income consumer groups (Geray, 2007). The ruling party with the presence of the MHA monopolizes residential production and consumption.

Although developers avoid commenting on the social relations of some developers with the ruling party, often rumors shape the construction of brand meanings (Muniz et al. 2006). For example, in the gated community, where the fieldwork took place, a rumor circulated about one of the developers. According to the rumor, the developer is a relative of the deputy chairman responsible for the Regional Administrations and Deputy of Istanbul. Members of the ruling conservative party often become the invisible “developers” of upscale-gated communities. Specifically, rumors about certain developers close ties with the political party in charge intensify with the number of brands that they introduce to the market. For example, this kind of rumor exists about the founder of Taşyapı Construction. Consider the news story:

During the governance of the JDP political party, it was put forward that as the Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan was from the city of Rize, he used his social and political relationships for his own business purposes. It was also claimed that he has modified the construction of a lot in the Göztepe district, where he plans to develop a four-skyscraper project (Habertürk, July 8, 2009).

(AK Parti döneminde Başbakan Tayyip Erdoğan’ın da Rizeli olması nedeniyle yakınlıklarını ve siyasi ilişkilerini iş hayatında kullandığı öne sürüldü. Göztepe’de inşa edeceği dört gökdelenen oluşan projede de imar planlarıyla oynandığı iddia edildi (Habertürk, 8 Temmuz, 2009).)

As the news story elaborates, the alliance with the patrons shapes master plans and construction codes, giving developers the ability to modify the material dimensions of brands (such expanding the size of the buildings and increasing the number of floors). Off the record, one of the developers explains how these illegal practices often necessitate the flow of financial resources to the local or metropolitan city municipality. Sometimes municipalities record these resources as donations, but most of the times

they bypass official accounts. Especially the metropolitan city municipality has the authority to perform any material modification in the gated communities without the consent of local municipalities. According to a columnist, during the first 5 years of the party's governance, the metropolitan city municipality modified 4.300 construction plans (Cüneyt Ülsever, Hürriyet Gazetesi, October 2, 2008).

Before the recent local elections in 2008, the government redefined the spatial boundaries of municipalities by removing some of the suburban municipalities and by extending others. For example, with the transition to a market economy in the 1980s, the ruling party at that time transformed the district of *Bahçeşehir* that used to be a preserved area for plantation into an upscale residential area flourished with brand communities. Particularly, developers' close ties with the ruling party (Kurtuluş, 2005_a) enabled the construction of upscale-gated communities. Developers in the district formed a private company named as *Yonaş* that resolved infrastructural and administrative problems. The referendum in 1999 terminated the company's functions and transformed *Bahçeşehir* into a suburban municipality. Before the municipality elections in 2008, the government incorporated the district in the boundaries of *Başakşehir* – a lower class district. The media adviser of the municipality explains that the ruling party reconfigured the boundaries in order to increase the possibility of the conservative party's election and thus, increase further the party's spatial agency (the map in Appendix 4, photograph 7, illustrates both the new and old boundaries of the districts). In the words of the dissolved municipality:

The state's proposed law towards the modification of the election areas reflects the implementation of the system known as "Gerrymandering" in the

Constitutional Law. This means that the reform is implemented to set the elections areas in the interest of a political party.

(Hükümetin seçim çevrelerini yeniden belirlenmeyi amaçlayan bu uygulaması ve yasa tasarısı, Anayasa Hukuku literatüründe “Gerrymandering” olarak bilinen bir sistemin Türkiye uygulamasıdır. Yani, tam olarak; seçim çevrelerinin, bir siyasi partinin yararına olacak şekilde düzenlemesinin yapılması uygulamasıdır.)

In sum, the adoption of branding competences enables the execution of brand-building performances. Developers acquire competences with the adoption of a market orientation perspective, the maintenance of financial credibility and the commitment to the patrimonial system. Branding competences legitimize, discipline and reproduce stakeholders’ brand construction performances. Nevertheless, gaining these competences embrace dynamic relationships among brand stakeholders as well as material properties. Rather than being a property of only human subjects, competences lie in the dynamic relations between human and non-human actors (Watson and Shove, 2008). Particularly, the findings indicate that brand development should not only respond materially to consumers’ changing practices in the private sphere of home. Spatial dimensions also shape the execution of brand-building performances. Moreover, the government and competing brands enable or restrict the material realization of brands. Consequently, the traditional market orientation perspective (for example, Kohli and Jaworski, 1990) should incorporate the co-constitutive dynamic relations between human actors and the materials that they deal with. Brand-building also requires financial credibility. Financial credibility allows the issue of commercial and consumer loans before the material realization of brands and thus, ensures the material development and the maintenance of brands in the marketplace. Financial credibility

also makes the participation in treasury land bids issued by the MHA possible. Finally, brand development requires the commitment to the patrimonial system. Having close ties with the ruling party allows access to brand resources (for example, treasury lands and financial resources, and bypass of construction codes). Apart from the simultaneous integration of brand resources and branding competences, brand development is also made possible with the integration of ideals and discourses of brand ownership.

4.3. Constructing Brand Ownership

Brand stakeholders form and promote the concept of brand ownership by transforming and appropriating the meaning of homeownership towards the ownership of branded houses. Through employing different strategies, brand stakeholders execute two co-constitutive practices: normalizing and promoting brand ownership, and staging brand ownership. First, stakeholders by normalizing and promoting the ownership of branded houses guide consumers during the decision-making process. Brand stakeholders advice consumers about the strategies that they need to employ for selecting the right projects. Through these strategies, stakeholders direct consumers to the legitimate corporate brands that have adopted the necessary branding competences (market orientation, financial credibility and patrimonialism). Specifically, stakeholders communicate the temporality of brand value and advice consumers to take immediate action by directing them to the sales offices. Second, developers stage the ownership of branded houses at the sales offices using scale models and show homes. These resources

assist consumers in dreaming the branded house and community and also assist developers in staging sales. Developers manipulate brand value materially and financially in order to direct consumers towards the ownership of the branded house. Through staging sales, developers also enable financially the material realization of brands.

4.3.1. Normalizing and Promoting Brand Ownership

The catastrophic earthquake in 1999 transformed the middle class ideal of “having a roof over my head” to “having a safe roof over my head” and stakeholders extended this new ideal to the whole society. With the flow of brand resources, each brand stakeholder group promotes the ideal of branded home using different discourses.

The MHA and thus the ruling party referring to international organizations such as the World Bank, the Council of Europe and the United Nations promote the right to homeownership (Bayraktar, 2007). Parallel to these international laws towards homeownership, the Turkish Constitution in 1982 had also codified the right to homeownership enumerating to role of the state in the development of urban areas and in the provision of housing. In the words of the 57th article of the Constitution (Bayraktar, 2007: 18):

The state takes measures towards the satisfaction of residential demand that takes into account the characteristics of the cities and environment, and additionally supports social housing attempts.

(Devlet, şehirlerin özelliklerini ve çevre şartlarını gözeterek bir planlama çerçevesinde, konut ihtiyacını karşılayacak tedbirleri alır, ayrıca toplu konut teşebbüslerini destekler.)

With the victory of the conservative party JDP in 2003, the government initiated an urgent action plan regarding urbanization and housing. This action plan focused on planned urbanization, and on the prevention and transformation of insecure squatter dwellings (Bayraktar, 2007). The mobilization of urbanization enabled and justified the passing of laws, the transformation of the MHA and the extension of the municipalities' authorities towards urban transformation. The main objective behind these reforms was to enable homeownership for the urban poor through making steady payments like a rent.

Behind the right to homeownership, the MHA intends to normalize brand ownership. Both the social housing communities and the luxurious gated communities, branded under the institution's corporate brand name, transform the cultural meaning of homeownership towards the ownership of a home in a brand community. While the MHA brands the social housing communities after the district and the use of the word "dwellings" (for example, *Hadımköy Dwellings – Hadımköy Konutları*), the public-private collaboration brands the luxurious brand communities using brand names that connote the exclusivity of the community (for example, linking the brand with global cities, upscale districts and houses). Expanding the cultural meanings of home (haven, privacy, control, self, family, gender⁵), brands cultivate consumer trust and eliminate consumer risk. The ruling party is one of the actors that forms and normalizes brand

⁵ Popular Turkish sayings about home: "Evim, evim güzel evim", "Ev gibisi yok", "Yuvayı dışı kuş yapar".

communities not only by bringing together consumers (citizens) that belong to same taste culture, but also by creating self-sufficient contemporary communities. According to the president of the MHA the meaning of home has extended beyond the need for a shelter (Bayraktar, 2007: 76):

The analysis of the residential demand today shows that consumers understand the house as a living environment, which has completed its infrastructural problems and provides sufficient social services for education, health, culture and commerce; as well as place that offers various contemporary living opportunities such as parks, gardens, landscaping, sports and entertainment facilities.

(Bugün konut ihtiyacını irdelediğimizde, altyapısı ve ulaşımı tamamlanmış; eğitim, sağlık, kültür, ticaret gibi sosyal donatıları yeterli; parkları, bahçeleri, çevre düzeni, spor, dinlenme ve eğlence tesisleriyle insalara çağdaş yaşam olanakları sunan yerleşim alanlarında ikamet edebilme anlaşılmaktadır.)

The MHA therefore combines the need for housing with the amenities of urban living even for the social housing communities. According to the institution, these performances have transformed consumers' perceptions towards not only the government, but also the state (Bayraktar, 2007).

The institution and thus the ruling party employ the discourse of morality to normalize branding practices and to promote the ownership of the branded house. The institution argues that they do not use any other source of revenue for the construction of social housing. The MHA creates its own resources by receiving resources from the rich and giving it back to the poor by producing affordable houses (Bayraktar, 2007). The declarations of the MHA evoke the English folklore hero Robin Hood known for "taking from the rich and giving to the poor" (Esin Gedik, Akşam Gazatesi, March, 18, 2010). The conservative party that emphasizes religious values for the contemporary

Turkish identity employs one of the five pillars of Islam in order to normalize the institution's branding practices. Islamic faith requires giving alms for the poor and the MHA realizes this moral imperative call:

It is our duty to be able to make the lower income group homeowners. It is our mission... We will continue this with the resources we receive from our valuable lands and the capital we earn from selling the houses we develop to the wealthy (Anadolu Ajans, Sabah Emlak, November 11, 2009).

(Yoksul grubunu ev sahibi yapmak bizim boynumuzun borcudur, görevimizdir... Zenginlere yaptığımız konutlardan kazandığımız paralarla kıymetli arsalarımızı değerlendirmek suretiyle elde etmiş olduğumuz kaynakla alt gelir grubuna ve yoksullara yönelik bu atağımızı sürdüreceğiz (Anadolu Ajans, Sabah Emlak, Kasım 11, 2009).)

The MHA transforms into a reliable public brand that operates not only for the well being of its citizens, but also for the country as a whole. With the transformation of the MHA in 2003, the institution argues that their brand-building performances provide employment and foster economic growth. The real estate industry revitalizes several industries from cement to iron, from textile to furniture, from automobiles to electronic appliances, etc (Bayraktar, 2007). In the words of president of the MHA:

Considering the other sectors it affects, the real estate industry has the potential to trigger 33% of the whole economy. The activities within the "Planned Urbanization and House Production Program", which was started by TOKİ in 2003 and which was directed by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became an important factor in the revitalization of the real estate sector (Bayraktar, 2007: 135–136).

(Üretime dâhil ettiği diğer sektörler de dikkate alındığında, inşaat sektörü ekonominin yüzde 33'ünü hareket geçirecek güçtedir... TOKİ'nin 2003 yılında başlattığı ve Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın bizzat yönlendirdiği "Planlı Kentleşme ve Konut Üretimi Programı" çerçevesindeki faaliyetleri, özel sektörü de harekete geçirerek inşaat sektörünün canlanmasında çekici güç olmuştur (Bayraktar, 2007: 135–136).)

The institutions defense of the government's intervention in the development of brands on the one hand shapes and promotes the formation of brand ideologies and on the one hand, increases the power of the ruling party. The prime minister even legitimizes the brand-building performances of the institution using the global subprime mortgage crisis. According to the state, the MHA is hailed as the country's savior from the mortgage crisis:

The private sector claims that TOKİ restricts them this and that way. No, the tasks of TOKİ is different, yours is different. If there were not any TOKİ, the mortgage crisis would also hit us. You need to know this. If the mortgage crisis has hit USA but not Turkey, we have an insurance. What is that insurance? It is TOKİ (Hürriyet Gazetesi, May 18, 2008)

(Özel sektörden, "TOKİ bizi şöyle engelliyor, böyle engelliyor" diyorlar. Hayır, TOKİ'nin görev alanı farklı, sizin görev alanınız farklı. Eğer TOKİ olmamış olsaydı mortgage krizi bizi de aynen vururdu. Bunu böyle biliniz. Eğer ABD'deki mortgage krizi Türkiye'yi vurmadıysa, bizim sigortamız var. Nedir o sigorta? Toplu Konut İdaresi (Hürriyet Gazetesi, 18 Mayıs, 2008).)

As the president notes, the upscale brand communities enable the trickle down of the spatial phenomenon of gated communities from the highest socio-economic groups to the lower ones. Legitimizing upscale brand-building performances, the institution notes that these brand communities comprise only 15% of the total housing constructed under their corporate brand name (Bayraktar, 2007).

Apart from the ruling party, financial institutions normalize and promote branded house ownership. With the initiation of the mortgage system, banks have started promoting homeownership by producing various financial products varying on payments and interest rates. For example, the copy of a bank's advertisement reads (Appendix 5, advertisement 2):

Garanti, the Mortgage specialist, observed very carefully your wants and needs. He/she worked for long hours. He/she prepared the most suitable mortgage options for you carefully one by one... Mortgage specialist Garanti, let him/her make you an owner of a home.

(Mortgage Uzmanı Garanti, farklı istek ve ihtiyaçlarınızı can kulağıyla dinledi. Üstünde uzun uzun çalıştı. Size en uygun mortgage seçeneklerini, özenle, birer birer hazırladı... Mortgage uzmanı Garanti, yapsın sizi ev sahibi.)

Developers and the banks that they collaborate with also perform co-branding practices. The print and online advertisements of brand communities depict the different payment options coupled with the brand names and logos of banks. While banks, on their online mortgage websites, list the brand communities that they cooperate with and provide the link of the projects' website. Through these co-branding practices developers and banks cultivate consumer trust in the ownership of the branded house.

Developers are also significant actors in the discursive framing of the branded house ownership. Developers define this urban phenomenon as branded housing projects or living spaces due to the size of the development and the accommodation of practices that enable community interactions. In the words of the General Manager of Y&Y REIT Construction:

You sell a lifestyle to consumers. You tell to consumers that this project will give you the opportunity to spend time with your children, to exercise comfortably, to swim when you wake up, to create spacious home environments, a place where parking will not be a problem anymore and a home that provides all the necessary electronic equipments.

(Artık insanlara yaşam tarzı satıyorsunuz. Diyorsunuz ki ben bu projede çocuklarınızın vakit geçirebileceği bir mekân, kendinizin rahat spor yapabileceği, havuzu olacak, kalkınca yüzebileceği, geniş mekânlar oluşturabileceğiniz, araba parkının sorun olmayacağı, evinizin içinde her türlü elektronik donanımı sağlayabileceğiniz.)

Developers frame these self-sufficient projects with the assistance of in-house marketing departments and/or private advertising agencies. Advertising agents play a significant role in the development and in the translation of the project into a marketing communications format. Media representations and discourses attempt to persuade consumers to visit the sales office and experience the specificities of brand ownership. For this reason, the media focuses on promoting the community and the associated lifestyle rather than the house itself. Consider the Marketing Manager of Dumankaya Construction below:

In the advertisements initially you need to provide information about the community. It is more logical to provide information about the home interiors when consumers visit the sales office. Because I think that you first need to see the whole project, rather than the interior of the house... in the advertisements you have to communicate the points of difference and the project's spirit.

(Bir reklam olarak düşündüğünüzde, sizin ilk önce insanlara o siteyle ilgili bilgi vermeniz gerekiyor. İçiyle ilgili bilgiyi daha sonra satış ofisinde vermeniz çok daha mantıklı. Çünkü siz baktığınızda evin içini görmeniz değil, ilk önce bütün olarak bakmanız gerektiğine inanıyorum... Reklamda siz projeyi farklılaşmasıyla ilgili olan ve proje ruhunu yansıtmanız gerekiyor.)

As the manager contends, representations and narratives promote the ownership of the branded house and community and create and reinforce consumers' perceptions of the necessity of the branded gated communities. Since during the launch of the project the material development of brands has not started yet, developers generally animate images until the construction of gated communities. Some developers also place cameras that record the development of their projects. Consumers by going on line can observe live the construction of their branded houses. With the development of the

project, often developers also use images of show homes (a sample house furnished by developers).

In advertisements developers' frame ownership of the branded house using the co-constitutive tropes of naturescape, theming and gating. Naturescape links nature and the notion of community through the visual representations of the natural environment rather than the home interiors. The advertisements constantly demonstrate visual images of houses surrounded by trees and artificial lakes that connote the healthy and harmonious environment of the residential projects (Appendix 5, advertisement 3). The city is portrayed as alienating and dangerous, whereas the gated communities with their natural environment are distanced from this core. The dirt outside the gates signifies disorder and the elimination of the dirt inside the gates results to a positive effort to organize the environment (Douglas, 1966). The natural havens of the gated communities form the new metropolis, the new Istanbul both physically and socially cleansed from the inescapable hazards of the city (Appendix 5, advertisement 4). Brand names also connote the formation of a new city, a new Istanbul such as *Misstanbul Evleri* (= homes) and *Idealist Kent* (= city). The communities promise an Edenic lifestyle (Wood, 2002) freed from the uncertainties of contemporary living and especially the concerns over a future earthquake (Appendix 5, advertisement 5). In order to wall out material uncertainties, advertisements depict the names of the technologies used for the development of the brand communities despite the fact they are incomprehensible by the average consumer (such as bore pile and tunnel form systems, and raft foundation). Referring to architects and earlier projects of the corporate brands' also eliminate uncertainties. Popular local and foreign architects exclude the problems of uneven

development by producing contemporary living spaces that integrate the family, the community and the natural environment. Advertisements also refer to developers' previous branded residential projects. Real life images of earlier communities that have created a safe home for its consumers build trust towards the corporate brand. While gated communities distance themselves from the city, they depict the close proximity to major highways. The upscale residential communities enable the movement of community members to workplaces, airports, shopping districts and private schools and universities. Maps that locate the lot in the district and illustrate the distance of the gated community from major highways and metro stations often reinforce narratives.

Theming is also instrumental in the promotion of brand community ownership. It links the values of a resort lifestyle and the notion of community. Branded gated communities promote a self-sufficient space offering a whole inclusive – holiday like living that fosters the revival of neighborliness. In the words of the Business and Development Manager of Sur Construction:

Why does an individual want to take a holiday? They say, "I have worked for the whole year. I am really tired and I want to relax". If his/her house does not provide any opportunity for relaxation, then he/she will always desire to take a holiday. But why does a person go on a holiday? For swimming, for laying on the greenery. But if you offer some of these expectations in that community, if you say that every morning you can wake up and swim in the pool, and after taking your shower and making your breakfast you can start your day, and with the growing numbers of these types of living environments, the need for going on vacation also decreases. Sometimes individuals living in these types of communities say "We used to go on a holiday, but now we don't as living here is like being everyday on a holiday"

(*Kişi tatili niçin istiyor? "Ya ben bütün bir yıl boyunca çok yoruldum, dinlenmem lazım" diyor. Eğer evinde veya bulunduğu yaşam alanında dinlenme imkânı sağlanamıyor ise bu kişinin içinde sürekli bir tatil arzusu birikiyor. Ama tatile insan niye gider? Yüzmek için gider, değişik yeşil bir alanda uzanmak için*

gider, onda sonra sonuçta bu tatilde beklentilerinin bir kısmını siz o sitede verebiliyorsanız ona yani sen sabah kalkıp yüzme havuzunda yüzebilirsin, gelip duşunu aldıktan sonra kahvaltını edip ondan sonra gününe başlayabilirsin. Bunu dedikten sonra bu tür yaşam alanları çoğaldıkça, insanların tatil ihtiyaçları da o anlamda azalıyor. Belli dönemlerde bu tür sitelerde yaşayan insanlar “ya eskiden tatile çıkardık tatile çıkma isteğimizde kalmadı çünkü burada neredeyse her gün tatildegiz” diyen insanlar oluyor.)

Advertisements reinforce the holiday like living shared with other community members with the selection of brand names that connote the sense of belongingness to a community using words such as neighborhood, homes, village, country and city. Visual images also reinforce sociability through the portrayal of practices that can be undertaken in the brand community: drinking coffee in the verandas, swimming and sunbathing in the swimming pools, exercising in the sports center, playing tennis, rowing boats in artificial lakes, and children playing in playgrounds (Appendix 5, advertisement 6). Visual images and copies often draw attention to children’s socialization (Appendix 5, advertisement 7). Advertisements draw attention to the recreational facilities and the practices that foster community ties, while images rarely portray the practices inside the private sphere of home. On one hand, the neo-liberal ideology and the global consumerist ethos facilitate the construction of ownership of the branded house through theming, defined as a “concept” in emic meaning. Consider the definition provided by the Marketing Manager Assistant of Soyak Holding:

The concept of a project is the theme that project will be built on. You can think this like: “what are you going to offer to the consumers?”, “what are the characteristics of the lifestyle?”, “how are we going to define the project?”

(Projenin konsepti, projenin nasıl bir tema üzerine oturtulacağı. Bunu da şöyle düşünebilirsiniz: “müşteriye orada ne sunacağız?”, “yaşam alanının özellikleri ne olacak?”, “projeyi nasıl tanımlayacağız?”.)

Several developers replicate the global Disney theme park formula (Gottdiener, 2001) in the pursuit of brand construction. The gated communities represent a certain type of community, centered upon notions of the idealized family, neighborliness and the combination of leisured consumerism. In the way that Disneyland is America and that the “real” America does not exist outside Disney’s Main Street, similarly the values of suburban lifestyle, the notion of nature, neighborliness and security can only be found within the walls (Wood, 2002). Developers seek to remove the heterogeneous aspects of difference and otherness and offer a homogeneous lifestyle. As soon as consumers step through the gates, like Alice stepping through the Looking Glass, they will be entering into another world (Wood, 2002).

On the other hand, distinctive material and symbolic properties shape and differentiate the gated communities from each other. Developers form unique concepts that structure material and symbolic properties. For example, in 2008 Sinpaş REIT launched its new project named as “Bosphorus City Istanbul”. The developer promotes the brand under the tag line “As living in Bosphorus” (*Boğazda yaşar gibi*). The material form of the brand reproduces the prestigious districts of Bosphorus through the design of the houses, the landscape that reproduces the seven hills of Istanbul and the two 720 meters artificial bridges connecting the constructed European and Anatolian parts of the project (Appendix 5, advertisement 8). Even though developers form brands under a common motif, they provide some degree of individualized differentiation and choice within the gated communities. Developers create and narrate the material diversity of the houses inside the brand communities. For example, “Bosphorus City Istanbul” incorporates thirty-eight different types of houses in the price range of

153.000YTL to 2 million YTL (1st phase of sales, 2008). Consequently, apart from community members' practices (Kates, 2002), developers also recreate status differences in the built environment. While gated communities form a homogenous "public" environment, the houses create a "private" home that reproduces differences within the upper income group. Similar to the structures of common difference (Wilk, 1995), through theming developers shape brand community ownership, while material and symbolic properties differentiate brand offerings.

Finally, the trope of gating shapes the boundaries of brand communities and distances members from non-members. Visual images of gates signify exclusion and socio-cultural stability by welcoming consumers that share a similar taste culture. Some advertisements even depict the occupational categories of early community owners (buyers) and thus distance consumers that do not fit the criteria (Appendix 5, advertisement 9). The recreational facilities inside the gates (such as golf and horse riding, art galleries) and the selection of brand names linked to other entities (Keller, 2003) (such as global cities and upscale districts) foster distinction and distancing further (Appendix 5, advertisement 10). Beside maintaining and making the members' habitus visible, gates protect children's socialization. Neighborhoods are sites for educating and socializing children and parents want to ensure that their children get an education appropriate to their anticipated class position (Savage and Warden, 1993). For this reason, advertisements often depict the distance of the brand community from prestigious schools and universities (Appendix 5, advertisement 7). The community also allows the socialization of children belonging to the same class position. Gates also protect the financial value of the brand community by keeping the inferior others outside

the gates and thus, by maintaining order inside the brand community. Since the prices of the branded houses increase incrementally with the material development of the community (see 4.3.2), through time developers make financially even harder the realization of homeownership.

Overall, developers with the assistance of advertising agencies, frame the ownership of the branded house and community using the three co-constitutive tropes of nature-scape, theming and gating embraced by the global myth of the ideal home (Öncü, 1997). The myth market of the branded gated communities' moves beyond national boundaries (Holt, 2004) evoking a global, uniform myth (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard, 2008; Strizhakova et al. 2008).

Images and new stories in foreign and local lifestyle and industrial magazines (for example, *Monocle*, *House Beautiful*, *Home Art*, *Hurriyet Emlak*) and newspapers (most of the local newspapers provide weekly supplements on housing), and on TV channels and series (for example, *Desperate Housewives*, *Weeds*, *Binbir Gece*, *Samanyolu*) normalize and encourage the ownership of the branded house. Sales offices and show homes usually become the workplace (for example, *Annem – Idealist Kent*) or homes (for example, *Binbir Gece – Pelican Hill*, *KKG*; *Aşk-ı Memnu – Lagün*, *SINPAŞ*) of the heroes, while the community becomes the setting of music videos and product advertisements (for example, *Biri, Biri ADSL – Mashattan*) (Appendix 4, photographs 8 and 9). Last year one of the most popular TV series in Turkey (*Binbir Gece*) aired live the last episode of its season in the *Pelican Hill* gated community. Developers used this opportunity to promote the residential project that hosted the luxurious wedding ceremony of the leading actors (Appendix 5, advertisement 11).

With the transformation of the meaning of home and the normalization of brand ownership, stakeholders form guidelines for the selection of brands. Stakeholders' advice potential consumers to control brand community resources. The guidelines attempt to minimize consumer risk perception by listing legitimate and illegitimate brand-building performances. Turgut Enginođlu, columnist in an industry related website (www.emlakkulisi.com), explains the significance of the decision on the performance of identity projects:

Buying a house is one of the most important decisions in a lifetime. This subject has many dimensions: legal, economical, social, cultural, technical, bureaucratic and psychological. Buying a house from a project means investing all your savings into your future. Making a wrong selection means a vital mistake (Turgut Enginođlu, www.emlakkulisi.com, 11 January, 2010).

(Konut satın alma kişinin yaşamındaki en önemli kararlardan biridir. Konunun yasal, ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel, teknik, bürokratik ve psikolojik birçok boyutu var... Projeden konut satın almak tüm birikimleri, geleceğine yatırmak demektir. Eğer iyi bir seçim yapılmaz ise, yaşamsal bir kumar oynanmış olur (Turgut Enginođlu, www.emlakkulisi.com, 11 Ocak, 2010).)

Stakeholders direct consumers to the municipalities in order to control master plans and construction codes, which may pose a threat to future brand community performances. For example, in the gated community where the ethnographic research took place, the parcel that locates the tennis and football courts belong to the city municipality and was actually allocated for the construction as a part of highway. A community member revealed this deception and publicized his complaint on a national newspaper. Even though developers have rented the parcel for nearly ten years, community members believe that the municipality's agency inside the gates may eliminate the future practices inside the brand community.

Stakeholders additionally advise consumers to consider the dimensions that have restricted the execution of practices in their former home environments. The house represents one of the most significant and expensive consumption objects for the formation of consumers' identities (for example, McCracken, 1989; Belk, 1988). It is a site rich of cultural symbolism, a mirror of self (Marcus, 1994), a space that confirm one's self (Jackson and Moore, 1995) and a space in which one is able to exercise control and power (Belk, 1988). By reflecting on the real and perceived tensions of the former home environments, stakeholders advise consumers to examine the congruity between the branded residential projects and their own identity projects. For example, KIPTAŞ, the institution bound to the municipality of Istanbul, similar to the MHA has also initiated the development of upscale-gated communities. Despite the marketing strategies of the institution, the implicit presence of the conservative ideology and the predominance of conservative upper class consumers have turned the gated community into a religiously defined brand community distancing urban upper class seculars. The possible differences between the promised and lived lifestyle distract not only one's identity project, but also the family's identity project.

Stakeholders suggest to consumers to monitor the material properties of the projects by checking developers' previous brand communities and the contracts that provide information about the technologies and the products that will be used for the development of brands. During the economic downturn in 2008, stakeholders promoted the ownership of smaller houses inside the gated communities. Lower taxes and maintenance costs coupled with the whole-inclusive lifestyle legitimize the development and promotion of smaller apartments within brand communities.

Apart from the symbolic connotations, brand stakeholders frame the branded house as a source of investment. Legitimate brand communities create financial benefits to community members both with the future market value of the house and the district. Legitimate brand communities do not make a burden the monthly payments for the maintenance of order inside the community. Recreational facilities inside the residential projects increase the maintenance costs of brand communities. For this reason, in some gated communities the sports centers are accessible to consumers outside the gates as well (for example, Alkent Etiler – Alarko Holding, Maya Residences – Maya Construction Group). Stakeholders recommend to consumers the use consumer loans since the banks control a brand's equity and thus eliminate consumers' risk perceptions:

Bank loan is a type of a guarantor for an unfinished house. It is for this reason the banks issue loans after investigating the companies. This way, you will understand that the company is trustworthy and has a satisfying balance sheet with enough funds to complete the project and you will thus be able to buy a house with a piece of mind (Barış Yılmazkaya, www.emlakkulisi.com, 21 September, 2008).

(Banka kredisi, aslında bitmemiş bir konut için bir nevi garantördür. İşte bu garantörlükten dolayı bankalar aslında sizlerin yerine firmayı araştırıp inceledikten sonra kredi kullanıyıyor olacaktır. Bu sayede de firmanın güvenilir olduğunu, bilançosunun iyi olduğunu, projeyi tamamlayacak kaynaklarının olduğunu göreceksiniz ve gönül rahatlığı ile konut alacaksınız (Barış Yılmazkaya, www.emlakkulisi.com, 21 Eylül, 2008).)

Recently one gated community developed an advertisement in the format of a quiz. The quiz, named as “how to make the right home selection in ten questions”, examines consumers' attitudes towards the brands' properties (such as the district, technological infrastructure and the trust towards the corporate brand) and the respective accommodation of practices in the gated community (for example, shopping and

exercising). At the end of the quiz “participants” learn whether they have considered the right dimensions when selecting a new home. If not, the advertisement recommends the correct dimensions that need to be examined by directing consumers to the developer’s project (Appendix 5, advertisement 12).

Overall, brand stakeholders employ different discursive practices in order to normalize the ownership of brand houses and guide consumers towards the ownership of legitimate brands. Developers apart from media representations and discourses employ other resources (scale models and show homes) and strategies (staging sales) in order to materialize and promote brand ownership for an offering that has not been materially constructed yet.

4.3.2. Staging Brand Ownership

Stakeholders’ brand building processes develop brands and brand communities jointly. Neither brands nor brand communities develop individually, rather they develop simultaneously. By enabling brand resources, brand stakeholders allow the formation of the brand and the brand community before its physical construction. Specifically, the initiation of the mortgage system allowed the issue of consumer loans before the materialization of the brand, and consequently allowed the transition of brand construction from a “first build then sell” to a “first sell then build” system. Developers stage the brand community through the use of scale models and show homes, and split up sales to classify community members.

Since during the introduction of the brand in the marketplace the construction has not yet started, developers stage the brand and the brand community at the sales office in the construction area using scale models and show homes. Early buyers have to wait approximately three to four years until the completion of the branded project. For this reason, developers employ resources for the materialization of the brand and brand community assisting consumers in imagining and in performing the ownership of the branded house. Consequently, consumers imagine and experience the brand community before its construction and thus, play a significant role in the development of the brand and the brand community.

The scale model is a miniature representation of the brand community portraying the design of the houses, the distance between the buildings, the recreational facilities, the parking lots and the landscape. Sales representatives stage the brand community in front of the scale models unfolding the brand from a macro to a micro perspective – from the community to the home (Appendix 4, photographs 10 and 11). The brand unfolds from positioning consumers at the exact location at the scale model to showing the direction used to reach the development and locating the areas on the periphery of the community. Moving from macro to micro perspective, sales representatives provide information about the general characteristics of the brand such as the size of the lot, the proportion of built environment to landscape, the technologies used for the construction, the number and sizes of the houses and the recreational facilities that altogether form the dimensions of the promised lifestyle and community.

Depending on the construction schedule, developers build a sample home (apartment or villa, depending on the type of the gated community) that creates a stage

for experiencing the private sphere of home (Appendix 4, photographs 12 and 13). Interior designers furnish show homes depicting the accommodation of possessions and the accommodation of practices in each room. Sales representatives provide information about the type of the house such as the size and number of rooms, describe the possible use of each room, and show the furniture and technological appliances that the brand ownership will bring. Show homes enable consumers to imagine the micro-practices inside the constructed home environment before the material development of brands. The Business and Development Manager of Sur Construction explains:

A person cannot give a meaning when he/she only sees the plain house. He does not raise any questions like “how can I turn this into a living room”, “can this object fit in this room”, “will the wardrobe get into the room?”. This is because in the show homes, the objects are there, the wardrobe has been fit. He actually experiences it.

(Kişi sadece dört duvarı gördüğü zaman anlamlandıramıyor. “Ya burası salon ama nasıl salon”, “eşya sığabilir mi sığmaz mı”, “dolap girer mi girmez mi” diye kafasında bir soru işareti olmuyor. Çünkü (örnek evlerde) zaten eşya orada, dolap orada görüyor sığdığını. Orada birebir yaşıyor.)

Depending on the construction schedule, developers allow consumers to visit apartments in rough construction work with the assistance of architects. Consumers, wearing barrettes, climb ladders and walk up the unfinished stairs in order to reach the home of their preference and observe the landscape (Appendix 4, photographs 14 – 18). After the presentation of the brand and the brand community (in the sales office and show homes) sales representatives hand to consumers catalogues that describe the brand and portray the scale model and the plans of each type of house (Appendix 4,

photographs 19 and 20). These catalogues assist consumers in examining and dreaming the branded house and community after leaving the retail spectacle.

Until the material development of brands, community members often visit the sales office in order to observe the development of the project and the current financial value of the brand. The consumer findings of this research show that some consumers even change some of their everyday practices in order to create occasions for visiting the brand community. Before shopping for the new home, consumers often measure the rooms of the home under-construction and take pictures that will permit a nostalgic reflection of the “birth” of their new home. Some families use construction plans for allocating rooms to family members and locating possessions inside the branded home.

In order to cultivate brand community ownership, developers often organize parties before and after the completion of the residential project. Socializing practices on the hand, provide a venue for collecting additional information about consumers and building brand loyalty, and on the other hand, give consumers the opportunity to meet other community members.

Although some avoid customization due to the size of the project and the construction schedule, developers usually give consumers the opportunity to customize their homes by offering a selection of colors for the tiles, the parquets and the furniture (for example, kitchen cupboards and wardrobes). The customization of home allows consumers to form their own brand meanings. However while planning the brand, developers time the completion of the brand community depending on the negotiations among developers, constructors and retailers that provide the resources for the materialization of the project. The production schedule and the corporate brand

discipline the materialization of the project. In the words of Sales Manager of Tepe Construction:

In order to deliver the finished houses at the specified time, I have to make specific contracts. You have to plan in advance with the retailers of bricks, cement, etc., this and that, the retailers of doors and windows. Because I am a big firm I have to complete the houses at the specified time even if they have not been sold yet.

(Bitmiş bir binayı da belirli bir sürede insanlara teslim edebilmek için belirli anlaşmalar yapıyorum. İşte bunun tuğlacısı, demircisi, betoncusu, vesairesi bilmem nesi, kapıcısı, pencerecisi bunlar baştan planlanıyor. Teslim tarihlerinde size satsam da satmasam da şu dönemler içerisinde ben büyük bir firma olduğum için bunları bitirmek durumundayım.)

The sales manager also defends the uniform production of homes by referring to household dynamics. The conflicts within families multiplied by the number of houses inside the brand community create a significant threat on the timing of the production schedule. Despite some developers Fordist mode of production, still the discursive framing enables the promotion of exclusionary consumption.

Developers manipulate the timing of brand ownership through staging sales. Depending on the size of the project, developers divide sales in three or four phases. The launch of a new phase announces the decrease in product availability and the rise in the brands' financial value. For early buyers, the branded house is a source of investment. The financial value of the brand is lower during its launch, as the construction has not yet started. Developers compensate consumers willing to take a risk. For followers and late buyers, the brand community reflects the lost opportunities both financially, given the brand inflation in each phase and materially, given the decrease in product

availability. Through staging sales, the brand embeds a temporality that affects consumers' experiences with the home.

Developers develop the phases of the sales employing two different strategies. The first strategy entails manipulating sales and prices through production. Developers divide the project into three or four phases depending on the construction schedule. Thus, each phase announces the completion of set of apartment buildings or villas. The second strategy manipulates sales and prices based on revenues in order to ensure the sale of the whole brand community. Rather than launching the entire project or the phase that will be completed first, developers in each phase launch a specified numbers of houses varying in material dimensions (for example, landscape, direction and size of the house, floor number). The sales manager of the consortium of Artaş- Öztaş and Doğu Construction explains the reasons for staging sales:

Let's say that there are 10 apartment blocks. If you launch all of the blocks at one time, the best apartment will be sold and the others will remain unsold.

(Diyelim ki 10 blok var. 10 bloğun hepsini satışa çıkarırsanız, 10 bloğun iyi kat ve cepheleri satılır, diğerleri elinizde kalır.)

Developers postpone the sale of houses that possess greater material benefits in order to accumulate higher financial resources. Whether production or revenues based, through staging sales developers classify community members by creating boundaries within the brand community and forming distinction based on the financial value and ton he material properties of branded houses. Specifically, the revenue sharing model makes brand distinctions visible, since consumers that own houses with greater material properties portray the households' economic capital.

Overall, the material development of brands is not possible without transforming consumers' housing preferences. Brand stakeholders employ various discursive strategies to develop, normalize and promote the ownership of the branded house and community, and direct consumers to the retail spectacles. In the retail spectacles, developers use scale models and show home in order to materialize the brand and the brand community before their development. Developers split up sales by manipulating prices in order to enable the flow of financial resources for the material realization of the project. Consumers by using scale models, show homes, brochures and catalogues as well as by visiting the branded houses in rough construction, imagine and experience both the brand and the brand community.

4.4. Summary

The findings demonstrate the multiple and dynamic actors (brand stakeholders, materials, discourses and events) and processes that enable and control the development of brands. Brand stakeholders build brands and brand communities through the simultaneous integration of brand community resources, branding competences and discourses of brand ownership. The ruling party's intervention in the development of the built environment is significant for the flow of resources and stakeholders for the construction of branded gated communities. Apart from governmental institutions, consumers, developers, financial institutions, media representatives, materials, events and discourses also enable and shape the construction of brands. On one hand,

consumers sharing similar concerns, risks and interests enable and shape the development of controlled self-sufficient residential communities. Particularly, the significance of the object in consumers' identity projects and consumers' experiences with former home environments shape the development and adoption of brands. On the other hand, construction codes, financial resources and spatial specificities shape the processes of brand creation. Negotiations and tensions within and between brand stakeholders groups impact the future of brands. Particularly, negotiations and tensions over brand resources enable the development of branding competences. Branding competences legitimize and discipline brand construction performances and shape the material and symbolic construction of brands. Brand stakeholders also discursively develop, normalize and promote the ownership of the branded house in order direct consumers to the retail spectacles. While the staging of sales puts pressure on the timing of ownership, scale models and show homes assist consumers in enabling the ownership of the branded house before its materialization.

Apart from the construction of brand, stakeholders' brand-building practices produce additional effects. Branding practices enable the construction of brands, but at the same time enable the construction of brand communities. Stakeholders define and shape the taste culture of community members. Governmental policies towards urbanization such as the transformation of the MHA and the development of the revenue sharing model, the relaxation of construction codes and the initiation of the mortgage system classify consumers based on economic capital. The material dimensions of the houses in the upscale residential communities such as the size and the technologies used also create economic divides. The luxurious branded houses generally accommodate at

least three rooms and two bathrooms (with at least one Jacuzzi), dressing rooms, branded kitchens and technological appliances, video monitors to control those outside the gates and the community members inside the gated community, and private swimming pools and housekeeper rooms in villa type gated communities. Apart from the reflection of economic capital, discursive practices of brand ownership, brand names, the built environment, the landscaped garden and the leisure facilities inside the community form taste boundaries and distinctions. Consequently, economic and social divides enable the formation of the brand community.

By constructing the brand community, branding practices also reproduce spatially social class differences. The gates distance the urban poor and assure protection of class positions. Often the image of the corporate brand and the accommodation of practices reproduce class identity conflicts. Developers' adoption of the conservative ideology and the infusion of religious values in the brand community with the development of mosques or shrines reproduce the class identity conflicts between the new conservative middle-class and the urban secular elites.

In addition to the reproduction of social class differences, branding practices force a commitment to the patrimonial system. The reforms and the second victory of the conservative party in charge have increased the government's control over the construction of brands. Since the political party in charge shapes master plans and construction codes, and allows the flow of financial and material resources and brand stakeholders, it becomes a significant actor in the execution brand construction performances. Developers that adopt the patrimonial system assure the maintenance and growth of their corporate brands in the marketplace.

Branding practices additionally transform social norms about housing. Brand stakeholders normalize and promote the ownership of branded houses. The branded gated communities beyond the need for a safe shelter provide and promise a whole inclusive lifestyle that embraces the amenities of modern living and excludes the disorderliness of the decaying city. Brand ownership cultivates belonging by bringing together consumers that share the same concerns, risks and interests.

Finally, branding practices transform the meaning of brands. Rather than only symbolic meanings, brands embrace symbolic and material, social and cultural, political and economic meanings and distinctions.

CHAPTER 5

EXPERIENCING THE BRANDED HOUSE AND COMMUNITY

This chapter presents the findings of the empirical study that explores consumers' experiences with the branded house and community. The multi-actored brand-building processes, and the development and flow of countervailing brand meanings often form problematic brands that consumers have to negotiate. Moving to a branded gated community, consumers experience multiple tensions with their new branded home environment. Tensions arise within the brand community, among the brand community and other stakeholders. Consumers, individually and collectively as a household and as community, work on the resolution of brand tensions to restore and protect the brand community.

The findings are analyzed under two main practices that unfold the negotiations and tensions with the branded house and community: contesting brand rumors and brand stereotypes, and negotiating appropriate brand performances. The first practice

explicates how consumers resolve brand rumors and brand stereotypes by normalizing the ownership of the brand house and their membership in the brand community. The findings illustrate that consumers employ multiple strategies in order to negate and resolve brand rumors and brand stereotypes that surround their brand. Along with restoring the brand image, consumers often prefer to hide their membership in the brand community or ignore brand speculations by stereotyping the sources of the rumors and stereotypes. The second practice explains how consumers negotiate the execution of proper brand performances. Illegitimate brand performances threaten the future of the brand. The findings indicate that different taste cultures inside the community and community members' and other stakeholders' practices inside and outside the gates shape the execution of individual and collective brand performances for the protection of the brand community.

5.1. Contesting Brand Rumors and Brand Stereotypes

The previous chapter illustrates how different market institutions form the discourse of “brand ownership” through transforming the cultural meaning of homeownership, and through normalizing and promoting the ownership of the branded house and community (section 4.3.). Along with market institutions, consumers through their own imagined and lived experiences with the brand also form their own discourse of “brand ownership” in order to normalize the ownership of the branded house and the membership in the brand community. Particularly, consumers execute these normalizing

practices to fight against brand rumors and brand stereotypes. The launch of the brand community shaped the formation and circulation of rumors and stereotypes on the material and symbolic properties of the brand.

The subsidiaries of the Turkish Real Estate and Credit bank in the mid-1950s enabled the development of the upscale suburban district of *Ataköy*. The institution divided the suburban district in different residential parcels (named as 1st district, 2nd district 3rd, etc) leaving one of the most valuable seaside landscape lots for future development. Although the district developed progressively, the institution after the construction of the residential buildings in the 5th district moved to the construction of the 7th and 8th districts. The boundaries of the lot defined as 6th district formed an autonomous parcel from the other districts in *Ataköy* enclosed with the military garrison, the railroad, the coastal highway that connects the city with the suburbs, and the main road that provides access to the district and the city center (Appendix 4, Photograph 3). Even though the institution planned the construction of a villa community on the lot, the unfavorable market conditions did not realize the project.

Several consumers that used to live at the same district recall their memories with the lot. Children used the vacant lot as a recreational area and adults used the area to practice driving. In 1999, during the holy month of Ramadan, the municipality of *Bakırköy* with the financial assistance of the Prime Minister's Public Relations Fund transformed the area into an "Ottoman Neighborhood" reviving the old Ramadan celebrations. During the month of Ramadan, the public space transformed into a temporary consumption space that offered a wide selection of food and various opportunities for shopping and entertainment after paying an entrance fee (Sandıkcı and

Omeraki, 2007). At the same year, the municipality during the religious ritual of *Eid al-Adha* (Festival of Sacrifice) also transformed the parcel into a sacrifice area after the ban of the performance of the ritual in the gardens of the apartment buildings. Consumers also recall how the lot created a safe “home” during the earthquake in 1999. Several households spent a couple of nights at the vacant parcel, a safeguard to protect their families from the speculations of a future earthquake.

With the transformation of the MHA in 2003, the government transferred the resources of the Turkish Real Estate and Credit Bank to the institution. The revenue sharing model converted the deserted lot into an upscale apartment type gated community and shaped the formation of brand related rumors and stereotypes. Speculations arose about the inappropriateness of the land for construction. The location of the land in the seismic zone also intensified the mobilization of this rumor. Additionally, the parcel is close to a dirty stream that has been under rehabilitation for many years. Depending on the weather conditions, a terrible smell invades several areas in the district. The adverse effects of this stream encouraged the classification of community members as the residents’ of the “shitty stream”. Observing the construction plans and the material development of the brand also encouraged the circulation of rumors about the close distance of the apartments. According to the rumor, commercial incentives have expanded the built environment by minimizing the portion of the landscaped gardens. The corporate brand image also reinforced this rumor. In 2003 Delta Construction, a corporation formed by the consortium of seven business companies operating in the real estate and other industries⁶, received the bid for the

⁶ The highest share belongs to a firm that operates in the textile industry.

development of the gated community. Specifically, the firms that operate in the real estate industry, before the construction of luxurious gated communities (for example, Pelican Hill, Florya Konakları), used to develop regular apartments in the district of *Florya*, known for their illegal constructions. Several houses in the *Florya* district do not have the legal permissions for residence, forming an upscale version of squatter housing. *Florya* is the closest district to the main airport of Istanbul. For this reason, there are legal constraints on the numbers of floors. Despite the legal constraints, several developers have constructed apartments that exceed their permits. The metropolitan and local municipalities have not taken any action on the demolition of these illegal buildings. It is quite evident that close ties with the political party in charge delay or forbid the execution of actions, a common phenomenon in the real estate industry (for example, Geniş, 2007; Doğaner, 1999). Similar rumors arise also about the gated community. According to the rumor, the developers of *Ataköy Konakları* have illegally expanded the project and therefore community members may face problems when applying for the legal permissions for housing. Consider how a columnist defines the developers of the branded gated community:

Delta Construction develops (the brand) *Ataköy Konakları*. The biggest share in the firm belongs to Nihat Delibalta, a leading name in the textile industry. The second most important partner is “the illegal developers” of the *Florya* district: Mustafa Keleşoğlu ve Çetin Gül (Mahmut Övür, *Sabah Gazetesi*, May 12, 2006).

(Ataköy Konakları'nı Delta İnşaat yapıyor. Şirketin en büyük ortağı tekstil sektörünün önde gelen isimlerinden Nihat Delibalta. İkinci önemli ortak ise Florya'nın "kaçak müteahhitleri" Mustafa Keleşoğlu ve Çetin Gül (Mahmut Övür, Sabah Gazetesi, 12 Mayıs, 2006).)

These rumors intensified by the media coverage on the political tensions that surround the brand. Columnists declare that the MHA and the political party in charge have invaded *Ataköy*. Commercial, political and social ties have expanded the numbers of buildings and decreased the landscaped gardens. According to the news report, having the support of the ruling party, developers have even invaded a parcel of land that belongs to the municipality of *Bakırköy*. The confirmation of the rumor by the mayor intensified the tensions on the brand. Elaborating on the invasion, the columnist publicizes the mayor's comment:

The developers nearly drew our borders as well. There are gardens, walking paths, tennis courts, swimming pools in the brochures, which contributes to the sales drastically. Therefore, I called the owner of the firm, Nihat Delibalta. "This 38,000 m² belongs to the municipality, it has to have a cost. You earn at least 100,000-150,000 Dollars per apartment. The municipality must earn the half of this amount. When we calculate this with taking the square meter used and the rent averages in account, this amounts to 20 million Dollars in 10 years." Delibalta got mad. I also gave him a week to think about this and to make a decision. He left. After some time, the inspectors came (Mahmut Övür, *Sabah Gazetesi*, May 12, 2006).

(Sahil boyunca neredeyse bizim hududu da çizmiş adamlar. Satış broşürlerinde o yeşil alanlarda; yürüyüş yolu, tenis kortu, yüzme havuzu görünüyor. Bu da satışa ciddi katkı sağlıyor. Onun üzerine işin sahibi Nihat Delibalta'yı çağırdım. "Bu 38 dönüm arazi belediyenin, bunun bir bedeli var. Daire başına en az 100-150 bin dolar para kazanıyorsun. Bunun yarısı belediye hakkıdır. Metrekare hesabına vurunca emsal kiralara bakınca bunun rakamı 10 yıllığına 20 milyon dolardır". Adam köpürdü. Ben de bir hafta düşünmesini ve bana kararını bildirmesini söyledim. Gidiş o gidiş. Ondan sonra o değil müfettişler geldi (Mahmut Övür, Sabah Gazetesi, 12 Mayıs, 2006).)

Stereotypes also arise about the economic and socio-cultural background of community members. Although the financial value of the houses was lower during the launch of the brand, still rumors circulate about the unreasonable prices. Community

members are perceived as the nouveau riche and the “new fashion” upper class conservatives. Specifically, the rumors about developers’ close ties with the conservative ruling party intensified consumers’ anxiety over the taste culture of community members. Melahat (49, F) and Yagmur (53, F) explain their fears about the conservative values that can threaten the execution of everyday practices in the “public” space of the gated community:

Melahat (49, F): We were concerned that the managements’ tendency towards religion would restrict our lives... Individuals were afraid of this. Whether they would experience “neighborhood pressure”. Living this pressure inside the closed community.... Since every political party creates their own networks, with the presence of the MHA individuals believed that the community would be managed based on their (the developers’) own values.

(Melahat (49, K): Yönetim açısından daha dine yönelik olması aslında bazı şeylerde de acaba bizi kısıtlayacak mı diye düşünce getirdi açıkçası yaşam olarak... İnsanlar bundan korkuyorlardı zaten. Mahalle baskısı denen olayı buradan yaşamaktan. Kapalı çevre içerisinde yaşamaktan... TOKİ'nin olması dolayısıyla her parti kendi çevresini yaratıyor. Onun için de onun verdiği değerler doğrultusunda olayların gelişeceğini düşünüyor.)

Consumers encounter rumors and stereotypes about the brand not only in their everyday interactions, but also on online forums. For example, in 2005, an online member of a popular Turkish hypertext dictionary that is build up on user contribution created a post on the gated community. One of the entries on this online consumer dictionary gives a synopsis of the rumors and stereotypes that surround the brand community⁷:

⁷ <http://www.eksisozluk.com/show.asp?t=ataköy%20konakları>

The place was built with Islamic capital. Therefore, every convenience was taken into consideration. I believe that only the apartments that face the sea are sold because the other flats at the other side face the auto junk yard, hill and train scenery. In addition, the bad smell of the creek nearby quadruples in summer (nickname cuppa, 02.08.2008).

(Yeşil sermaye ile yapıldığı için her türlü kolaylığın düşünüldüğü yer... tahminimce sadece denize bakan kısmındaki evlerin satılmıştır zira arka taraftaki evlerin sadece araba mezarlığı, bayır ve tren manzarası vardır. Ayrıca ordaki derenin kokusu yaz aylarında dört kat fazla etkili oldu (takma adı cuppa, 02.08.2008).)

Some consumers, feared of the rumors and stereotypes, even gave up the ownership of the branded house. Selah (62, M) and Nur (51, F) explain that during the launch of the project, they reserved two apartments that were not on sale yet. When the sales representative called the couple for the apartments, Selah (62, M) went to the bank that he cooperates with to receive information about the mortgage options. However, the brand rumors disrupted the ideal branded house. Consider Selah's (62, M) reaction:

Selah (62, M): I said, "I liked an apartment in Atakoy Konaklari" then "God willing, we are thinking to buy it". When I said this and they like me in the bank they said, "Mr. Selah we will tell you something. We have a customer that bought four houses from Atakoy Konaklari. But he heard so many negative things, the apartments should be five-stories and the sixth and seventh floors are illegal and that the creek smells, that he cancelled all of the houses purchase. When I heard this I went to my wife and said "Nur there is such a situation and in the first place I was concerned with the smell, the condition of the land, etc". We gave up. I called them and told them that they could sell the two apartments that we had selected, which were really cheap then. Both the Euro parity and the prices were low.

(Selah (62, E): "Ataköy konaklarından yer beğendim" dedim ondan sonra dedim "kısmetse düşünüyoruz". Öyle deyince beni de bankadan severler, "Selah Bey" dediler "size bir şey söyleyeceğiz ama sakın şey yapmayın bizim çok iyi bir müşterimiz var oradan 4 tane yer aldı Ataköy konaklarından, fakat adama öyle haberler gelmiş ki işte 5 katlıydı da kaçak katmış bu 6 ile 7 'yi diye, dere kokuyor ondan sonra tüm insanlar aldığı daireleri iptal etti diye. Bu adam da geldi 4 tane daireyi iptal etti aldığından vazgeçti". Öyle deyince geldim dedim

“Nur böyle böyle bir durum var zaten o koku olayı benim kafama takılıyordu, ondan sonra toprak yumuşak bilmem ne”. Vazgeçtik ben telefon açtım dedim serbest, o benim iki tane ayırttığım ki o zaman çok ucuzdu hem Euro çok düşüktü hem de fiyatta düşüktü.)

Consequently, rumors do not only reflect what the community wants to be true that is positive speculations about the brand (O’Guinn and Muniz, 2010), but also embrace the conflicting speculations of non-community members. Brand rumors and stereotypes shape community members’ brand meanings and consumption practices before and after moving in. Consumers employ multiple strategies in order to cope with the rumors and stereotypes that surround their problematic brand. Community members carry out practices to normalize the ownership of the branded house and the brand community.

5.1.1. Normalizing the Ownership of the Branded House

Consumers employ various strategies both before and after becoming owners of the branded house, and members of the brand community in order to manage and control brand rumors and stereotypes. Community members normalize the ownership of the branded house by narrating their own class position, and by monitoring the financial value of the brand. Often consumers rather than controlling the impression of others prefer to hide the ownership of the branded house in order to avoid the endless justifications and to reveal the fair value of consumer products. Sometimes they even

react by stereotyping the consumers that circulate the conflicting brand rumors and stereotypes.

5.1.1.1. Building the Discourse of “We Deserve”

Comparing the financial value of the branded houses with the other houses in the district, individuals outside the gates perceive community members as the newly rich that either make money without much effort (get on the gravy train – *kolay para kazanan*) or engage in illegal practices. Households, collectively as a family, use the narratives of their former home environments and especially the process of becoming homeowners in order to normalize their own socio-economic position. Homeownership marks one of the significant stages in the family life cycle. McCracken (1989) defines homeyness as the cultural phenomenon by which individuals construct their self and family, and realize definitions of sociality and rootedness that are otherwise inaccessible. It represents an ideology through which individuals invest material culture with very particular meanings. However, several constraints that may arise from housing residence and the general loss of control make it unlikely to provide the homeyness that McCracken (1989) defines (Hill, 1991). Informants discuss the hardships of tenancy and thank God for their current situation. Consider Jale’s (73, F) account below:

Jale (73, F): First of all, you need to find the means to pay the rent every month. Second, they can tell you to leave suddenly, which will leave you no choice but to look for another flat. Thirdly, you cannot invest in everyone’s apartment because in the end, the apartment is not yours. I always prayed Allah to give me

my own dwelling because I never had the budget to make such expenditure. Therefore, I believe Allah gave me this apartment.

(Jale (73, K): Şimdi bir kere her ay bir para bulmak zorundasın. Bir ikincisi sana çık diyi verirler. Yeni ev arayacaksın gideceksin. Bir üçüncüsü herkesin evine birşey yapamazsın çünkü o masrafı ettiğin zaman senin değildir o. O kadar mesraf edecek büyük bir bütçem olmadığı için Allah bana kendi evimi versin diye dua ettiğim için, Allah'ta bana burayı nasip etti diyorum. Ben burayı böyle gönlümün içine sarmış durumdayım.)

Along with the hardships of tenancy, the material properties of the buildings and the socio-cultural profile of the residents in the former home environments distract the meaning of home. Halil's (52, M) attachment to his childhood district, moved the newly weds to a rented apartment in the *Fatih* district. Halil (52, M) explains how the spatial properties of the apartments disturbed the privacy of the family home:

Halil (52, M): The houses in Fatih are very close to each other. Ayten used to live in Germany in an area similar to gated community where the buildings were further away from each other. She was very much annoyed in Fatih. There is the problem of parking, the streets and roads are very narrow, when you open your window, you are very close to the building across the street. You are very very close to each other. When a TV is turned on across the street, you can hear it in your flat very easily. People speak, shout, make noise, cars honk, the children play in front of the door of the building. Ayten was very uncomfortable. Also, the apartment was heated by furnace. Naturally, when we first got married, we did not have the enough financial means so we rented a flat.

(Halil (52, E): Şimdi Fatih'te evler birbirine çok yakın. Aysel'de Almanya'dan geldiği için Türkiye'ye, Almanya'da site tarzı biryerlerde oturuyor ve binalar bu şekilde uzak. Orada çok rahatsız oldu. Otopark sorunu var, yollar çok dar, camını açtığın zaman karşıdaki binayla göz gözesin. Çok yakınsın birbirine. Karşıda televizyon açtıkları zaman sesini sen evinde rahatlıkla dinleyebiliyorsun. Konuşulanlar, bağırışmalar, gürültüler, araba sesleri, çocukların kapıda oynamaları. Aysel rahatsız oldu ondan. Sonra sobalı bir evdi. Tabi biz ilk evlendiğimiz zaman maddi imkanlarımız da çok yeterli olmadığı için kirada oturmak zorunda kaldık.)

After living in the *Fatih* district for two years, the household bought their own house in the *Bahçelievler* district with the financial assistance of their families. The new home environment restored temporarily the meaning of the family home.

Similarly, Candan (42, F) explains that their first two houses were at the same district with her parents in law. When their three daughters grew up, the district posed a threat on their socialization process. Candan (42, F) explicates the motivations for the ownership of the branded house:

Candan (42, F): It was the time when the children have started the primary school. We observed some shortcomings. Well you can think whether there any differences between districts? They are. Similar to the differences between schools, differences also can form between districts...The children motivated us to move. We wish our children to get an education in a better district, to grow up in a better district and to make friends in a better district, as they could not do any of these in the Fındıkzade district. For example, I used to drive the children here (to Atakoy) for swimming. They did not have these opportunities in Fındıkzade.

(Candan (42, K): *Çocuklar ilköğretime başlamışlardı, bize okulunda birtakım eksiklikleri gözümüze geliyordu yani diyeceksinizki hani semtten semte farklılık oluyor mu? Oluyor. Okuldan okula nasıl fark oluyorsa semtten semtede farklılıklar oluşabiliyor... Çocuklar daha iyi semte okusun, çocuklar daha iyi semtte yetişsin, çocuklar daha iyi yerde arkadaşlık edinebilsin. Tamamen bu şekilde gelişti olaylar. Çünkü çok fazla Fındıkzade de bu tarz şeyler yapamıyorlardı. En basit dediğim gibi haftada 3 gün buraya (Ataköy'e) yüzmeye getiriyordum. Fındıkzade de böyle bir imkanları yoktu.)*

Changes in the families' life cycles and the fear of the urban others, normalize the families' ownership of the fortified branded house and community. Likewise, Sevim (49, F) and Umut (58, M) faced similar concerns with their former home environment. The changes in the family's life cycle turned the household from homeowners to tenants. The emotional attachment retained the ownership of the parental home, moving

the family to a rented apartment in the *Ataköy* district. The household elaborates on the rising tensions of the previous district:

Sevim (49, F): When the children grew up, it became a problem. My son started driving and we started quarreling every night because of the parking problem.

Umut (58, M): Getting home was a problem, going out was a problem. We had enough.

Sevim (49, F): My daughter grew up. She could not wear what she wanted in that neighborhood.

Umut (58, M): Of course, that area is a little different. People are conservative there. This was the final straw.

(Sevim (49, K): Çocuklarda büyüdükten sonra sorun olmaya başladı. Oğlum araba kullanmaya başladı her akşam kavga ediyoruz. Park sorunu her Allah'ın günü.

Umut (58, E): Eve girmeleri dert çıkmaları dert. Bardak dolmaya başladı.

Sevim (49, K): Kızım genç kız oldu. Mahalle arasına çıkıyor giydiğini giyemiyor falan.

Umut (58, E): Oralari biraz daha değişik tabii ki. Bir muhafazakarlık var bir bilmem nelik var. Bunlar da bardağı doldurdu.)

The family, leaving behind their parents' home in the *Bakırköy* district, rented an apartment in the *Ataköy* district. The family lived at the apartment for eight years until the homeowner decided to sell the house. However, the homeowner priced the apartment above its market value and therefore, the household decided to become homeowners and examined the alternatives within their financial capability.

Apart from the hardships of tenancy and the journey towards homeownership, households also describe how they enabled the acquisition of the branded house. Some households had to sell their former homes in order to become members of the brand community. Melahat (49, F) explains the trajectory of their homeownership:

Melahat (49, F): My husband made everything by himself when we got married. We do not have any properties we received from both of our fathers. We did not receive any support from anybody neither when we bought this nor when we bought our former apartments. We did everything by borrowing, by developing what we owned but all by ourselves.

Interviewer: Did you use bank loan?

Melahat (49, F): No, we did not. We paid ourselves by working, and actually by working more. We tried to pay by selling the two flats we owned. We paid all our debt last year. We live without debt.

(Melahat (49, K): Eşim her şeyi kendi yaptı evlenirken. Hiç kimseden yardım almadı. Babadan kalma hiçbirimizin yeri yok. Hep çalışarak bazı şeyleri kazandık. Yani bu evi almamızda da kimsenin katkısı yoktur. Oradaki (Ataköy 4 Kısım'daki) evi alırken de. Hep birtakım şeyleri biraz borca girerek, birtakım şeyleri geliştirerek hep kendi çabalarımızla yaşadık....

Interviewer: Konut kredisi kullandınız mı?

Melahat (49, K): Yok kullanmadık. Kendimiz ödedik yani çalışarak. Biraz daha fazla çalışarak. İki daireyi de satarak ödemeye çalıştık. Borcumuzu geçen sene bitirdik. Borçsuz yaşıyoruz.)

Melahat (49, F) negates the class-based stereotypes and justifies their ownership of the branded house by explaining what she and her husband gave up in order become members of the gated community. Several other consumers also explain that they got into debt in order to become owners of the branded house. Candan (42, F) explains how her husband enabled the ownership of branded house:

Candan (42, F): We did not take a mortgage. He (her husband) borrowed money from his brother. We had some savings and for the remaining amount we received financial support from my brother-in-law... The bank loans, the interest rates and the risk of not being able to make the payments on time frighten my extended family. But when there is a financial issue between brothers, if he needs assistance my husband helps, and if we need assistance he helps us, so they help each other on financials issues.

(Candan (42, K): Valla bizim konut kredisi olmadı. Borç falan böyle kayımla alışverişleri oldu. Bir miktar kendi paranız vardı, bir miktar kayımla öyle onun parasını kullanmış olduk yani öyle birşeyler oldu... Banka kredisiyle, banka faizleri oluyor, bazen işte o faizin gecikmesi oluyor, o tarz işlerde biraz bizimkilerde korkuyorlar. Ama kardeşler aralarında böyle parasal alışveriş söz

konusu olduğunda şeylerdir yani onun ihtiyacı olur o ona verir onun ihtiyacı olur o ona verir şeydir yani öyle şeyleri olur birbirlerine karşı yardımları olur.)

While Candan (42, F) and her husband used a safer source for borrowing resources, other consumers took a mortgage that will be paid off in a couple of years. By narrating the story of the family home, consumers negate the stereotype of nouveau riche and normalize the ownership of the branded house. Rather than an unfulfilling terminal materialism, consumers perceive the ownership of the branded object as an empowering instrumentalism to live a more enjoyable and secure life (Ger and Belk, 1999).

Dealing with the rumors about the abnormal prices of the branded houses, consumers normalize their purchase through monitoring the market value of the branded house. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the staging of sales increases the financial value of the branded houses incrementally and decreases product availability (see section 4.3.2). Several households explicate that they were very lucky for foreseeing the investment potential of the gated community, as the prices have doubled or tripled from the time that they have performed the purchase. For example, Gözde (46, F) and Savaş (48, M) explain how the good timing has enabled the ownership of the branded house:

Gözde (46, F): We did not ask and hence missed the first stage. When we came and asked, we saw that the value of our apartment and the renovation costs will be around a new, larger apartment here. That's why, we did not think that it was expensive. I think unlike now, at that time it was not.

Savaş (48, M): If it were now, we could not buy it. Now, it's more than it's worth. If you are going to buy something, you need to buy it at the first stage when the company starts selling the first apartments at the beginning of the construction.

Gözde (46, F): At that time, there was rough construction here.

Savaş (48, M): The ones who buy at the first stage are advantageous. After that, it is not affordable. When these apartments finish, they will be worth 600,000-700,000 Euros. We bought them at half price.

(Gözde (46, K): Sormadık, ilk etabı öyle kaçırdık. Sonra bir geldik sorduk. Baktık bizim oturduğumuz ev ile alacağımız evi de üzerine koyunca bir de tadilat yapacağımızı düşündüğümüzde evin metrekareside ona göre büyük. Hepsini üst üste koyduğumuzda fiyat bize çok pahalı gelmedi. Ki o zaman uygundu zaten. Şimdiki gibi değildi rakamlar.

Savaş (48, E): Şimdi olsa alınmaz zaten. Değerini buldu. Birşey alacaksınız zaten ilk etapta alacaksınız. İlk satıştan alacaksınız. İlk kazma vurulurken.

Gözde (46, K): Zaten temeldi burası. Temeli çıkmıştı.

Savaş (48, E): İlk olan etapta avantajlı. Sonra güç yetmez. Yoksa bittikten sonra bu dairelere 600-700 bin euro ne olacak. Biz yarı fiyatlarına aldık.)

Even after moving into the gated community, consumers observe the market value of the branded house in order to rationalize and normalize their ownership. Consumers often visit the sales office inside the gated community, the real estate agencies in the district, and check industry related websites to assess the current financial performance of the brand community in the marketplace. Reyhan (49, F) explains that even though they have bought their house in the later stages when the prices had increased, still they made a good investment:

Reyhan (49, F): The other day there was a house for sale over there. I heard that the owner had some financial problems. They put the ads while they were still living in the house. What did he say 550 thousand Euros...(pause)... We called and asked for the prices. It made an astronomical profit.

(Reyhan (49, K): Şurada bir eee şey vardı geçen gün sahibi satıyor iş durumları iyi değilmiş, içinde oturuyorlardı ilanlar vardı. Kaç dedi o 550 bin euro... (duraklar)... Yani biz telefon açtık sorduk da o fiyatlar, yani çok astronomik prim yaptı.)

Despite the symbolic value of brands (for example, Aaker, 1996; Keller and Lehman, 2006), consumers also consider the present and future financial performance of the brands in the marketplace. Research on brand equity deals with the methods that marketers need to apply for measuring brand equity (for example, Keller, 2001; Keller and Lehman, 2006). The findings illustrate that consumers also employ strategies for the measurement of brand equity to normalize the ownership of the branded house. For example, Özgür (40, M), one of the first homeowners explains that he often visits the sales office in order to monitor the current value of the branded house as well as to check product availability. According to the informant, as product availability decreases, the value of their houses will increase.

Along with the trajectory of the family home and the realization of the potential for profitable investment, consumers also hide their brand ownership in order to avoid brand rumors and stereotypes.

5.1.1.2. Hiding Brand Ownership

Consumers individually often hide the branded house in order to avoid the brand rumors and stereotypes. By hiding the ownership of the branded house, community members avoid not only justifications, but also avoid others' desires, and attempt to enable the fair execution of marketplace performances. Rumors and stereotypes signal an embarrassment to being a member of the brand community and a denial of the stigmatization of their consumption practices by others (Kozinets, 2001).

Consumers employ hiding practices during and after the decision-making process. First, consumers hide the brand in order to avoid the material (unsafe construction site, proximity of the buildings and the stream), and the class (nouveau riche and competing taste cultures) based social speculations. Consider Ferah's (48, F) reaction after her husband, Nejat (48, M) told her that he bought a new home from the gated community:

Nejat (48, M): I said, "I bought a house".

Ferah (48, F): And I cried. I was disappointed. I said, "What is the point"

Interviewer: Really?

Ferah (48, F): We did not tell anyone that we bought a house. Neither our friends nor anyone knew about it...Everyday someone said "The people who have bought houses from Atakoy Konakları are mafia. They do not earn money legally".

(Nejat (48, E): "Ev aldım" dedim.

Ferah (48, K): Ben de ağladım, üzüldüm. Dedim "ne lüzum var".

Interviewer: Öyle mi?

Ferah (48, K): Hiç kimseye söylemedik biz aldığımız falan. Ne arkadaş grubumuz bildi ne bişey bildi hiç ne biliyim... Bana hergün birisi diyor ki "Ay diyor burda Ataköy konaklarında alan insanlar diyor mafya diyor. E şey normal parayla kazanmış insanlar değil".)

Ferah (48, F), similar to other informants, feels depressed about the negative opinions of others. Even though the narratives of homeownership and the disorderliness of former home environments legitimize the ownership of the branded house, rumors constrain the production and consumption of brand distinctions. Sometimes the branded house even changes ordinary practices such as taking a cap. Jale (73, F) feels stressful when taking a cap and for this reason she gets off at a place close to the gated community and prefers to walk instead.

Often, rather than justifying the community, consumers remain silent to the opinions of others. Consider, Melis's (53, F) example below:

Melis (53, F): For example, an incident happened at the hospital. I gave the address Ataköy 6th district, but the official address is Ataköy Konakları 6th District. I heard two women talking, when she (the secretary at the hospital) wrote Ataköy Konakları. They said, "Woowooow! She is also lives in Ataköy Konakları". This is really interesting. I could say something. But I didn't. I just stared at them and then I walked away. And I know the doctor. For a moment he changed his facial expression.

(Melis (53, K): Mesela ben hastanede bir olay yaşadım. Adresimi verdim Ataköy 6. kısım ama öyle bir şey ki resmi kayıtlarda bizim buranın adresi Ataköy Konakları 6. Kısım. Ataköy Konakları diye yazınca, iki hanımın konuştuğunu duydum. "Aaaaaaaa! Bu da Başbakanlık Konutlarında oturuyor" diye. Bakın bu çok enteresan. Cevap verebilirdim. Vermedim. Sadece başımı çevirdim. Baktım, geri döndüm. Oradaki doktora tanıdık. Bir an yüzünü değiştirdi.)

Rather than voicing the value of the brand, Melis (53, F) justifies the gated community on her unvoiced thoughts. Other informants rather than remaining silent, approve the brand rumors and stereotypes. Güneş (46, F) explains the reasons for supporting the negative brand associations:

Güneş (46, F): I think the people have a different image in their minds. When they hear that we live here, we face an extraordinary reaction. Some of them say "wow", some say "so you live in that place with the bad smell?" and others ask if Atakoy Konakları is very expensive. I avoid people's reactions and answering the questions of my friends, neighbors and defending the place with "no, it is not like that" makes me tired and that's why I do nothing. I say "yes, we got used to the smell". Actually, I know that this problem is going to be solved. We checked this before we moved here. This is of course important for us, but I avoid explaining and justifying this to people because I am tired.

(Güneş (46, K): İnsanların kafasında farklı bir imajı olduğunu düşünüyorum. İnsanlar bunu duyduklarında bazıları anormal tepkiler veriyorlar. Bazıları "Aaa, vay" diyorlar, bazıları da "Ay o kokulu yerdemi oturuyorsunuz?" diyorlar. Bazıları da "Ay orası çok pahalıymış öylemi?" diyorlar. Bütün

bunlardan çekindiğim için yani insanların tepkilerinden birde onlara cevap vermek artık herkese yolda çevirenlere yani işte arkadaşlarımıza, komşularımıza, herkese böyle anlatmak varya orayı aslında öyle değil sizin düşündüğünüz gibi değil falan demek beni yoruyor onun içinde çok fazla şey yapmıyorum. “Evet aman ya biz alıştık o kokuya” deyip geçiştiriyorum. Halbuki biliyorum bu iş çözülecek onu ta buraya taşınmadan önce öğrendik bizim içinde önemliydi ama insanlara “Ya ben biliyorum biz araştırdık o koku olayı zaten olmayacak” falan demek ne gerek var insanlarla bu kadar uğraşmak deyip anlatmamayı tercih ediyorum.)

Güneş (46, F) avoids the ongoing justifications by validating the speculations of others. Specifically, Güneş (46, F) and other informants believe that the brand name shapes the formation of an incongruous brand image. Consumers feel uncomfortable about the incongruity between the symbolic connotations of the brand name and the material properties of the brand. The brand name denotes a mansion (*konak*) rather than an apartment building. Hence, consumers relocate their place of residence or rename the brand in order to avoid rumors and establish a congruity between symbolic and spatial dimensions. Güneş (46, F) explicates how she responds when asked about her place of residence:

Güneş (46, F): When people ask “Where do you live?” I say “I live n Atakoy”. They ask, “Where exactly”. I say “By the seaside”. They ask “Where by the seaside”? I say “At the 6th district”. Well I don’t know why I struggle so much, but I resisting calling the (brand) name. In the end I say “In the newly constructed houses”. They say, “Wow in Atakoy Konaklari”. I say “Yes”. I think that individuals have a different image about the gated community...For this reason, the brand name Atakoy Konaklari, maybe because of the word mansion (*konak*), creates a problem. I think that if the name was “6th Distrct Houses”, then it would not be such a problem.

(Güneş (46, K): “Nerde oturuyorsunuz?” deyince “Ataköyde oturuyorum” diyorum. “Neresinde?” diyorlar “Sahilde” diyorum. “Sahilin neresinde” diyorlar ben “6. Kısım” diyorum. Yani niye bu kadar çok uğraşıyorum bilmiyorum ama sanki o ismi söylememek için direniyorum diyim. En sonunda “Yeni yapılan evlerde” diyorum. “Aa Ataköy konaklarındamı” diyorlar. “Evet”

diyorum. Yani o insanların kafasında farklı bir imajı olduğunu düşünüyorum... O yüzden Ataköy Konakları ismi birazcık belki konak olduğundan dolayı belki bir problem yaratabiliyor. Belki "6. kısım Evleri" olsaydı belki bu kadar problem olmayacaktı bilemiyorum.)

Like Güneş (46, F), other informants also employ similar renaming strategies. Consumers prefer brand names that normalize rather than discriminate the branded house from the other houses in the district such as *Ataköy Evleri* (*Ataköy Houses – Homes*) or *Ataköy 6 Kısım Evleri* (*Ataköy 6th District Houses – Homes*). Specifically, the consequences of the symbolic properties of the branded home intensify with the ownership of the branded house. One of the informants, Nejat (48, M) states that apart from the stereotypes, he dislikes the brand name since the initials *AK* (*Ataköy Konakları*) evoke the name of the conservative party in charge (*AK Parti*, the Turkish abbreviation for *JDP*).

Consumers also hide the brand in order to avoid the induction of desire. The class polarization disciplines the relationships that consumers hold with the branded gated community and restricts the production and consumption of brand meanings. Consumers often adjust their home depending on the social class of the person that they are in contact with. Halil (52, M), a pharmacist who works in a lower income district, discusses the adjustment strategies that he employs:

Halil (52, M): When I meet new people, I don't tell them where I live. It's like making a show. I don't tell anything, when I meet with someone from a lower class. I hesitate...My customers ask "Where do you live?", I say in the 6th district of Ataköy". But when I go to the bank and they ask me "Where do I live?, I say "In Ataköy Konakları". Of course, my responses differ in every situation. Sales representative from the pharmaceutical companies visit me at the pharmacy and they ask "Where do you live? Where is your house?" I say "In Ataköy". They ask "Where in Ataköy?" I say "In the 6th district". They say, "I see", because

they don't know where exactly it is. But when managers or regional manager pay me a visit and ask me "Where do you live?", I say "In Ataköy Konakları". My responses differ according to the person that I am in contact with. I don't lie, but I explain it differently...If I tell them that I live in Ataköy Konakları, they will feel that I am not like them or that I am superior than them and thus, they can face difficulties in approaching me. I try to adjust myself to their economic position. But when I go to the bank or when there is a situation in which I need to show my status I say "Ataköy Konakları".

(Halil (52, E): Yeni tanıştığım birileri varsa onlara söylemiyorum. Yani hava atmak gibi. Biraz durumu kötü olan biri ile tanıştığında söylemiyorum. Çekiniyorum yani... Müşterilerimiz soruyor "Nerde oturuyorsunuz?" diye. "Ataköy 6. Kısımda" diyorum. Ama bankaya gittiğimde "Nerede oturuyorsunuz" dediklerinde, "Ataköy Konaklarında oturuyorum" diyorum. Tabi her ortamda farklı oluyor. Şimdi ilaç firmasından kişiler geliyor. "Nerde oturuyorsun, evin nerede?" diyorlar. "Ataköy" diyorum. "Neresinde Ataköy'ün?" diyorlar. "6. Kısım" diyorum. "Aa falan" diyorlar ama kestiremiyorlar. Ama ilaç firmasından bir müdür veya bölge müdürü birisi geldiği zaman, "Nerede oturuyorsunuz?" dedikleri zaman "Ataköy Konakları" diyorum. Kişiye göre değiştiriyorum. Yalan söylemiyorum ama farklı anlatıyorum... Şimdi Ataköy Konakları diyince hemen kendilerinden biri değilmiş gibi görürler. Veyahutta daha çok üstün görürlerse bana yaklaşmaları, ulaşmaları daha zor olur diye. Ben biraz onların maddi seviyelerine inmeye çalışıyorum. Ama bir bankaya gittiğim zaman veya herhangi bir şekilde durumumu daha iyi göstermek hissettiğim durumlarda sorulduğunda da "Ataköy Konakları" diyorum.)

Like Halil (52, F), for other informants also the home is either a status symbol or a material product that protects the family and creates a roof over their head. Consumers negotiate the meaning of the branded house depending on the class position of others.

Specifically, the branded house and community becomes a burden during shopping for the new house. As the branded house is a mirror of one's self (Marcus, 1995; Mallett, 2004), consumers explain that often retailers and practitioners adjust prices according to their class position. For this reason, community members hide the ownership of the branded house in order to avoid price inflations and enable the fair

execution of marketplace performances. Saniye (37, F) explains how the brand stereotypes inflate prices:

Saniye (37, F): Only because you live in Ataköy Konakları, you do not have use the most expensive of everything. This is very absurd. I do not need to pay the extra amount as you know it is not worth it. I feel like stupid.

(Saniye (37, K): Sırf Ataköy Konaklarında yaşıyorsun diye herşeyin en pahalısını kullanmak zorunda değilsin ya bana çok saçma geliyor. Ya bile bile yani o fazla parayı ödemek zorunda değilim insan kendini enayi hissediyor. Ne gereği var.)

Sometimes the nature of the products causes difficulties in performance. Specifically, nearly all of the informants explain their concerns when shopping for curtains. Although consumers observed the prices of the fabrics, they felt uncomfortable about the quantity of the materials used. Consider Resul's (50, M) account:

Resul (50, M): On our former apartment, we had been also cheated when we bought our curtains as we were here. They say this is you need this much of cloth for curtains, but do they really use that much? And of course, there are extras. I believe we were seriously cheated, but we have to have them made.

(Resul (50, E): Geçen yani 7-8 deki oturduğumuz evin perdelerinde de öyle kazık yemiştik bu perdelerde de öyle ciddi kazık yedik...dediği gibi (eşinin) "şu kadar metre kumaş gidiyor" diyor ama hakikaten o kadar metre kumaş kullanıyor mu yani? Sonra pilesi var o var, bu var diye ciddi kazık yedik bana göre. Mecburen yaptırmanız lazım.)

Consumers, individually and as a household, employ several strategies in order to reveal the fair value of products. They design furniture, measure the rooms and the windows of their branded house before contacting practitioners, and relocate their homes to near home territories during the transaction. Gözde (46, F), an architect, explicates the methods that they used when buying their new curtains:

Gözde (46, F): Especially curtain retailers set the price high. They inflate the prices, even though we know the measures of the house. We measured the windows and went to the store. One of the windows requires 29 meters of fabric. The measurements are determined. The price of the fabric is determined. And the cost of sewing is determined. For example, I asked for a price. The price of the fabric is this much. The sales representatives asked “How much fabric do you need?”, we said “30 meters. How much will it cost?”, she said “900 new Turkish liras”, we bargained “How much will it cost in total”, she said “2.200 new Turkish liras, I said “How is this possible?”. I couldn’t understand. How can it cost triple the price that we have considered? The work is obvious. The fabric is obvious. It is like that when it comes to curtains. For this reason, we bought the fabric. We went to the tailor and had them sewed. We brought them and hanged them ourselves. We found such a solution. We didn’t get cheated.

(Gözde (46, K): Özellikle burada fiyat şeyini koyan perdeciler. İnanılmaz şişiriyorlar. Ki benim evimin ölçüsü belli. Ölçtüük, gittük. Hele bir tanesinde 29 metre tül gidiyor. Metresi belli. Tülün metre fiyatı da belli. Dikiş fiyatı da belli. Mesela ben bir fiyat sordum. Tülün metresi şu kadar. Neyse “kaç metre tül”. “30 metre tül”. “Ne kadar tutar bunun fiyatı” “900”. “Kaça yaparsınız?” diyorum “2.200” diyor. Dedim “nasıl oluyor bu?”. Ben bir türlü anlayamadım. 3 katna nasıl çıkar? İşi belli, kumaşı belli. Öyle yani. Perdeye gelince. Bizde baktık öyle olunca tülü ayrı aldık. Götürdük terziye, diktirdik. Kendimiz getirdik, taktık. Çözümü öyle bulduk. Kazıklanmadık.)

Consumers form and display competences in enabling fair execution of market transactions. However, sometimes consumers fail in hiding the ownership of the branded house since physical dimensions reveal the brand. Ayşin (39, F) explains how the measures of the windows revealed their branded house:

Ayşin (39, F): Before going to the store we said that we are not going to mention the mansions (konakları) (laughs)... Various firms have already taken the measures of the windows for every house type, whether it is an A type, B type and D type and they have formed the plans of each house type. According to the fabrics that you select, they immediately calculate the total cost of the curtains. There is no need for taking the measurements...Even they say “These fabrics were chosen and for they B type we sewed these curtains. We sewed these curtains for the kitchen in an A house type”. They took pictures and created an album. They said “Choose from these photos” and gave us the album.

(Aylin (39, K): Biz zaten önce konaklar demeyelim diye gittik (gülerek) ... Çoğu firmalara işte A'nın, B'nin, D'nin hepsinin ölçüleri yapılmış, çizilmiş, şema halinde eviniz hangi modelse beğendiniz kumaşa göre onlar hemen hesabı çıkartıyorlar. Yani hiç ölçmeye gerek yok... Hatta “şunları şunları verdik, B'ye şunları yaptık, A'nın mutfağına şunları yaptık”. Böyle bir fotoğraf çekip, albüm yapıp koymuşlar. “Ordan beğenin” diye önünüze de koyuyorlar.)

Often practitioners visit the branded house for getting accurate measurements.

Nejat (48, M) and Ferah (48, F) required additional cupboards in their kitchen for storing purposes. Nejat (48, M) explains that even though they had agreed with the practitioner on the payment, he adjusted the price after observing the branded house:

Nejat (48, M): The boy repeatedly asked “Where is the house?”, “It doesn't matter. Does it matter where the house is? You will make 2 cupboards and their door will be like this”, he said “OK sir”. I agreed with the price that he gave me and he said, “I will make it”, but I said “Even though I designed the cupboards, you need to come and take the exact measurements. Your measurements will differ from the ones that I have taken”... He didn't come in person, but send his apprentice. While driving to the house the boy asked me “Sir where are we going”, I said, “Follow the seaside”, he said “Sir, do you know the houses that cost trillions. These people live there and those (referring to names)”. When we approach the gated community the boy remained speechless. The boy messed up when we got into the community. He couldn't recover. I said “We will see how much the price will change”. The price did quintuplicate, quintuplicate. Not 5%, but fivefold.

(Nejat (48, E): “Ev nerde?” ikide bir soruyor. “Önemli değil, ev neredeyse nerede evle bunun ne alakası var? Sen yapacağın 2 dolap şöyle, kapaklarını böyle yapacaksın”. “Tamam abi” dedi. Bana bir fiyat verdi tamam dedim, “ben bunu yapıyorum” dedi. “Bak dedim şimdi ben bunu çizdim ettim ama sen dedim gidip metrik ölçü alman lazım. Benim aldığım ölçüyle senin aldığın ölçü farklı olur”...Gelmiyor adamını veriyor falan, şimdi gelirken adam “abi nerde?” falan “sahilden gideceğiz”, “abi ya bir evler var anlatıyor işte şöyle trilyonlarmış bilmem nelermiş. Şunlar oturmuş, bunlar oturmuş”. Adam resmen buraya girdiğimiz zaman dili tutuldu yani. Bu mekana girince yani dağıldı adam. Kendini toparlayamadı, ondan sonra dedim “ne kadar değişecek göreceğiz” dedim. 5 misli değişti fiyat, 5 misli. % 5 falan değil 5 misli.)

Overall, consumers, individually and as a household, employ various strategies in order to hide the ownership of the branded house. Consumers hide the brand to avoid rumors and stereotypes, to resist the reproduction of social inequalities and to enable the fair execution of market transactions. Brand stereotypes and rumors force community members to normalize the ownership of the branded house. While it is somewhat easier to publicly hide the membership in some brand communities, for example those based on leisure (for example, Kozinets, 2001), for the residential brand communities even hiding the brand becomes a burden. The centrality of the consumption object in consumers' identity projects (Belk, 1988), the conspicuousness of the gated community and the material properties often reveal the ownership of the branded house. However, often consumers oppose rumors by stereotyping their sources.

5.1.1.3. Stereotyping the Other

Often consumers rather than justifying rumors and stereotypes develop counterarguments. According to community members, speculations arise since the branded house is a desired and out of reach consumer object. Consumers employ a metaphor that indicates the motives for the production of stereotypes. The metaphor connotes envy for the owners of the branded house, who have the economic capital that enables membership in the branded gated community. Resul (50, F) uses the metaphor as an offensive articulation against the stereotypes:

Resul (50, M): Initially everyone was negative about the gated community. Because of the closeness of the creek and the district, which is in the seismic zone, individuals said, “How can someone buy a house from there?, “The buildings are very close to each others”... Despite the rumors we bought both an apartment for ourselves and another one for investment. We bought more than one houses. There were several rumors such as “it is in the seismic zone”, “it is an illegal project”. Now I think that ““kedi erişemediği ciğere mundar dermiş”. This means that individuals that do not the have the financial capital to buy a house from here, they dragged the name of the community through the dirt.

(Resul (50, E): Dereye yakın olması, deprem bölgesi diye ilk baştında millet olumsuzdu millet olumsuzken “ordan yer alınır mı”, diyorlardı “binalar birbirine yakın”... buna rağmen biz burdan hem daire alıp hem yatırım yaptık yani, birden fazla daire aldık. “Burası deprem bölgesi”, yok “kaçak inşaat” diye bu tür dedikodular vardı yani o da şundan diye düşünüyorum hani “kedi erişemediği ciğere mundar dermiş”. Burdan daire alacak maddi gücü olmayan burayı tu kaka ediyordu yani.)

Like Resul (50, M), others also ignore brand rumors and stereotypes by stereotyping the consumers that produce defective brand meanings. Some consumers ignore brand rumors and stereotypes by articulating the antithesis between the lived (inside the gates) and the observed (outside the gates) home environments. Umut (58, M) explicates how individuals perceive the community outside the gates:

Umut (58, M): I will tell you something “kedi erişemediği ciğere mundar dermiş”. Individuals generally pass along the community without getting inside; they pass from there (the main road in the entrance of the gated community and the shopping mall), from the seaside, or from somewhere else. When they use this road they don’t see anything else except a huge prison (the shopping mall) and drive straightaway from the seaside. When you get inside the gated community you feel the spacious environments, with its boulevards and entrances, etc. Until we moved into our house, we received several the criticisms of our significant other.

(Umut (58, E): Şimdi ben şöyle bir şey söyleyeceğim “kedi ulaşamadığı şeye mundar dermiş”. Buranın içine girmeyip insanlar geçiyor; oradan geçiyor (alışveriş merkezinin ve sitenin girişinin olduğu cadde), sahilden geçiyor, başka bir yerden geçmiyor. Oradan geçtiğinde önünde kocaman bir hapishane (alışveriş merkezi) var zaten bir şey göremiyorsun, sahilden de geçtiğinde virt

diye geçiyorsun bunun gibi görünüyor. İçeri girdiğinde de ferah bir ortam var yani bulvar, giriş var, bilmem ne var yani böyle bir şey var. Ve biz buraya taşınana kadar devamlı arkadaşlarımızdan, tanıdıklarımızdan tenkit yedik.)

Umut (58, M) feels offended by the criticisms of his significant others. He ignored brand rumors, since the construction plans showed clearly that the distance between the apartments was going to be 40 meters.

In sum, consumers normalize the ownership of the brand in order to cope with the conflicting brand meanings. Community members employ various strategies to legitimize the ownership of the branded house. Rumors about the material properties of the brand and stereotypes about community members' class position force consumers to hide the brand. With the articulation of stereotypes consumers often remain silent, approve the stereotypes or hide and relocate their place of residence. During the contact with retailers and practitioners, consumers hide the brand to avoid price inflations and to reveal the fair market value of consumer products. Additionally, community members often ignore brand rumors by stereotyping the individuals that shape the formation of distorted brand meanings. The construction of the brand also intensifies the need for normalizing not only the ownership of the branded house, but also of the branded gated community.

5.1.2. Normalizing the Branded Gated Community

Apart from defending their own class position and their membership in the brand community, consumers also employ strategies to normalize the brand community.

Community members employ strategies both before and after the ownership of the branded house to control the brand rumors and stereotypes relating to the material properties of the brand and the corporate brand image. Consumers normalize the branded gated community by monitoring the development of the branded house and community, and by discriminating the branded gated community from the others.

5.1.2.1. Monitoring the Development of the Branded House and Community

Community members negate brand rumors relating to the material properties of the brand by monitoring the physical development of the branded gated community. Before the ownership of the branded house, consumers ask experts about the reliability of the new bored pile foundation, and investigate the future of the stream by controlling the construction plans of the metropolitan city and local municipalities. Some households that used to live in the same district recall the noise coming from the placement of the piles 30 meters below the ground surface.

Even though scale models and show homes assist consumers in the selection of the branded house, still the rumor about the proximity of the buildings shape the execution of alternative strategies. Depending on the production schedule consumers visit apartments in rough construction work with the assistance of architects. Despite the physical risk, consumers wearing barrettes walk up the unfinished stairs in order to reach the home of their preferences and observe the landscape (Appendix 4, photographs 14-18). Consider Güneş (46, F):

Güneş (46, F): I don't like buying a house from a scale model. Even though it was really dangerous, I climbed and observed the house. I climbed on the 3rd floor and observed both this house and the apartments next door. I observed so many B type houses.

(Güneş (46, K): Ben maketten ev almayı hiç sevmiyorum tırmanıp tırmanıp yine çıkmıştım buraya bayağı bir tehlikeli gerçekten tırmanmıştım. Ama çıkıp 3. kata çıkıp, hatta bunun yan dairelerine buraya her tarafına bakmıştım. Kaç tanede B gezmiştim ama yine tırmanarak çıkmıştım.)

Güneş (46, F) explains that the scale model demonstrated clearly the landscape of their apartment, but she and her husband took the physical risk to observe their dream home.

Some households in order to negate the rumor about the proximity of the buildings measured the distance between the apartment that accommodates their dream home and the adjacent building. Zehra (47, F) explains the strategies that they employed to control the distance between the buildings:

Zehra (47, F): In the scale model you can see the distance between the apartments. We measured the distances between the apartments and then compared these houses with the houses in our former district. How long is the distance between these apartments? 38 meters? The distance between the apartments in the former district was 28-29 meters. We said ok it was longer than the former apartment. Then we said that it would be more comfortable. We made these kinds of comparisons. Fine you observe the scale models but. Because the construction had started, the parcel of each apartment was determined. For this reason we said that we want to check the actual distances. Then, none couldn't walk to the construction area, for this reason we drove us by the worksite car.

(Zehra (47, K): Orda (makette) mesela bakıyorsun ara mesafeler ne kadar? Onları ölçtürdük. Ev aralarını şunları falan. Hani onları gidip sonra bizim ordaki (eski evle) karşılaştırdık. Karşıdaki blokların arası ne kadar? 38 metre miydi? Orası (eski ev) 28 mi 29 mu neymiş. Tamam demek ki bundan daha çok. O zaman biraz daha ferah demek ki yanla olan mesafeler falan diye. Biraz öyle karşılaştırmalar bir şeyler yaptık yani. Yani o makettekiler görüyorsun çok güzel de. Biraz temel yerleri belirginleşmişti çünkü onları çevirmişlerdi. Onun

için hani bu aralık ne kadar dedik işte. O zaman yürüyerek gelinmiyordu da, şantiye arabasıyla giriliyordu.)

After becoming owners of the branded house, consumers visit regularly the site in order to control the material development of the brand. The sales office forms a retailscape for socializing with sales representatives and community members, and for collecting information about the progression of the project. Some consumers also used the sales office as a meeting point for going out, but first by controlling the project. Some community members even changed their everyday practices in order to create occasions for observing or visiting the gated community. Halil (52, M) and Ayten (43, F) explain how they metaphorically started living in their branded house:

Halil (52, M): From the beginning until the end of the construction we (metaphorically) lived here.

Ayten (43, F): We observed every stage.

Halil (52, M): And normally I drive to the pharmacy by the E-5 motorway. I changed my route. Everyday I reported to Ayten the progress of the community. Today they built the roofs, today they did the painting, and today they placed the window frames and the windows.

Ayten (43, F): They placed the windows.

Halil (52, M): Today they put up the walls, they placed the lampposts, they planted the grass, they planted this and that. I reported everyday.

(Halil (52, E): Sürekli olarak da her gün inşaatın başlamasından bitimine kadar yaşadık biz burada.

Ayten (43, K): Her devresinde geldik.

Halil (52, E): Ve ben 7-8 de E5 ten gidiyordum eczaneye. Yolumu değiştirdim. 7-8den buradan gelip sahilden gittim. Hergün Ayten'e talimat veriyordum. Bugün çatısını yaptılar, bugün boyasını yaptılar, çerçevesi takıldı, camlar takıldı.

Ayten (43, K): Camlar takıldı.

Halil (52, E): Bugün duvarlar örüldü, bugün yollara elektrik direkleri dikildi, çimler ekildi şu ekildi bu ekildi. Hergün tekmil veriyordum.)

Halil (52, M), who owns a pharmacy in the *Küçükçekmece* district, changed his route to work to observe the material development of the gated community despite the longer distance that he had to drive.

Consumers monitor the development of the gated community to also control the rumors towards the corporate brand image: Rumors both about the close ties of developers with the conservative party in charge and the stereotypical image of “*Laz* developers” form insecurity towards the completion of the project. The evolution of the real estate industry in the country shaped the formation of the “*Laz* developer” stereotype. The stereotype articulates the developers, who have migrated from the Black sea region that construct houses using low quality materials and cheap labor, and even sometimes run away without completing the construction. Additionally, two partners of the “Delta Construction” consortium are the main developers in the *Florya* district that have constructed illegal houses. On one hand, community members monitor the development of the project and the construction plans in the district municipality in order to negate the rumors and stereotypes. On the other hand, consumers’ trust towards the MHA and thus, the state normalize the branded gated community. Selçuk (60, M) explains why he ignored the rumors about the developers:

Selçuk (60, M): For me TOKI means state and the name gave me trust. TOKI means government. Does the state cheat on its citizens? I presumed it doesn’t. The developers here are similar to the constructors from the Black Sea area. We said, “There is state, there is the MHA. It will be completed”.

(Selçuk (60, E): *Ben hep karşımda devlet gördüğüm için, ismi (TOKI) güvence verdi bana o kadar. TOKİ diyince devlet. Devlet vatandaşına kazık atar mı? Atmaz herhalde dedim. Şimdi buradaki laz müteahhit gibi inşaatçı. “Karşımızda” dedik “devlet var, TOKİ var. Herhalde biter” dedim.*)

Similar to Selçuk (60, M), other informants also explicate the trust towards the institution. According to the revenue sharing model, the MHA controls the physical construction of the gated community. For this reason, consumers believe that the ruling party disciplines developers' practices. Apart from monitoring the development of the brand community, consumers also discriminate the branded gated community from the others houses in order to normalize the brand community and consequently their own membership.

5.1.2.2. Discriminating the Branded Gated Community from the Others

Consumers often normalize the branded gated community by discriminating their new home environment from the regular houses in the district, and from other gated communities. By adopting discriminating strategies, consumers attempt to normalize the financial value and the material properties of their own community. Community members often normalize the financial value of the brand by adopting marketers' normalization strategies. Similar to the marketers' discursive practices, the gated community forms a contemporary living space that eliminates disorder and enables the consumption of a common lifestyle. For consumers, the brand community reflects the normal type of housing. Fikret (52, F) negates the rumors by narrating the brand dimensions that shape the formation of a "harmonious" lifestyle:

Fikret (52, F): People found the prices to be high. They said "they are very expensive, how can a person give such a sum to an apartment there? How can a

person give such a sum to an apartment?" However, we do not buy an apartment here, we buy a life style. People could not understand this or maybe they ignored this because they could not afford it, I don't know.

Interviewer: Can you please explain us the life style of Atakoy Konakları?

Fikret (52, F): The life style of Ataköy Konakları. Primarily, there is an ambiance of living in a 5- star holiday resort in all the traffic and the chaos of the metropolis. Comprehending this is very important and after understanding this fact, it is important to live with enjoying this. For me, this is the most beautiful part of this place. I just gave you an example: I went to the swimming pool, after that I went to shopping and cinema. If you go out, you go to a dinner but when you come back, there is no traffic, no crowd, no noise. On the contrary, there are safety measures. I sleep safely because I think durable against earthquake. At night when I go to sleep, I feel very tranquil and happy. Thank God, we do not have any incidents of robbery here. If there was, then they would pay more attention to it. Everything is fine here, life is very beautiful.

(Fikret (52, K): Fiyatlar fazla bulundu, pahalı bulundu evler "çok pahalı işte, oraya verilir mi? Bir eve o para verilir mi?". Halbuki burada bir ev almıyoruz, bir yaşam tarzı alıyoruz. İnsanlar bunu kavrayamadılar veyahutta alamadıkları için belkide görmezden geldiler kim bilir bilmiyorum... (gülür)...

Interviewer: Ataköy Konakları'nın yaşam tarzını anlatabilirmisiniz?

Fikret (52, K): Ataköy Konakları'nın yaşam tarzı. Öncelikle bir defa eee şehrin, büyük şehrin ee keşmekeşi içinde diyeyim trafiği için de burada eee bir 5 yıldızlı tatil köyünde yaşıyor havası var. Bunu algulamak önemli ve bunu alguladıktan sonra tadını çıkararak yaşamak önemli. Ya benim için buranın en güzel tarafı o. Demin de size örnek verdim ya havuza girdim çıktım, ondan sonra gittim alışverişimi yaptım, sinemaya gittim ne bileyim eee dışarı giderseniz bir yemek yersiniz ama geldiğiniz zaman şöyle bakın işte trafik şeyi yok, yoğunluğu yok, ses yok. Ne bileyim buna karşılık eeee güvenlik önlemleri alınmış. Ben burada rahat uyuyorum yani depreme karşı eee dayanıklı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Gece eee başımı yastığa koyduğum zaman her bakımdan huzurlu ve rahatım. Yani hırsızlık olayı çok şükür ki yok, olsa da bir şekilde daha çok önem verilir diye düşünüyorum. Her şey güzel bana göre burada, hayat çok güzel yani.)

The gated community eliminates disorder with the accommodation and management of material order (for example, the durable construction, the design of the apartments, parking lots, the organized landscape and the provision of technical services), public order (for example, security cameras and guards, cleaning providers) and social order (for example, "homogenous" community, sports and leisure facilities, written and unwritten rules of conduct). These different orders accommodate practices

that the regular houses in the district fail to provide (such as parking, exercising, swimming, walking, cleaning, planting and protection). Consider Melahat (49, F), who explains the difference between ordered and disordered practices:

Melahat (49, F): ... We desired an order after a certain age.

Interviewer: What do you mean by order?

Melahat (49, F): When I say order, I mean the order outside your private sphere. Why the garbage is not taken out? Why the plants are not pruned? In these small communities (regular apartment buildings) residents manage the order in the apartments. No one takes any responsibility. The people in charge make judgments without restraints. After some point you get very tired of controlling. Why the floors are not cleaned? Why I didn't get my daily delivery? You get tired of those things. The gated community is an ordered and well-cared environment. It is a close place to do sports, a comfortable place where you can grab your bag, wear your sport outfit and go without any traffic.

(Melahat (49, K): ...Bir de hayatımızda belli bir yaştan sonra belli bir düzen gelmesini arzu ettik.

Interviewer: Düzen derken?

Melahat (49, K): Düzen çıktığımız zaman dışarıya neden bu çöp atılmamış niye bu kesilmemiş? Niye bu ağaç budanmamış? Neden buranın bakımı yapılmıyor? Artık orada o küçük mekanlarda apartman ortamlarında yönetimi siz üstleniyorsunuz. Kimse görevini yerine getirmiyor. Oradaki görevliler kendi kendilerine istedikleri gibi ahkam kesiyorlar. Bir dönem sonra yoruluyorsunuz artık her şeyi takip etmekten. Bugün işte apartman niye silinmedi, bugün işte servisim niye gelmedi. Böyle şeylerde yormaya başlıyor. Site düzenli, bakımlı bir ortam. Spor yapabileceğin yakın bir mekan. Çantanızı alıp ya da spor kıyafetinizi giyip çıkabileceğiniz, arabasız, trafik gürültüsü olmayacağı rahat bir ortam.)

As the informant notes the trajectory of the family home intensifies the significance of order and shapes the normalization of the brand community. Umut (58, M) explains the triggering motivation for moving into the gated community:

Umut (58, M): One night, when I came home, I was looking for a place to park my car. I found an empty spot on the side of the road. While I was locking the car, I heard a crackling noise from the other side of the car. Every 10 seconds a

minibus used to pass from that road. The minibus hit and broke my mirror...Eventually I took the mirror and throw it at the back of the car. I immediately went upstairs and said to Sevim (his wife) “find a house tommorow”.

(Umut (58, E): Bir gece geldim işten, arabamı park edecek yer arıyorum ve arabayı oraya park ettim (yolun kenarına). Bu taraftan kapıyı kilitlerken bu taraftan “çatır” diye bir ses meydana geldi. Oradan saniye de bir, aşağı yukarı on saniyede bir minibüs geçer. O minibüs koca yolda gel, sen benim aynayı al götür... Netice de o aynayı aldım, arabanın içine attım. Doğru yukarı çıktım, Sevim’e (eşi) dedim ki “yarın git ev bul”.)

Consumer narratives of the trajectory of home reflect both the normalization of the gated community as well as the mobility of the household and the practices with the family home. The transition from a disordered to an ordered home environment reflects the combined material and social mobility of the subject and the object. Consider Halil (52, F) that explicates the reasons for feeling upwardly mobile:

Halil (52, M): In the end, we came to a place above my expectations. I did not think it would be this well. They told us at least there will be a sports complex. All the gated communities have these complexes, but they are not used or taken care of. Some of theis problems are not checked. Sometimes, people need to pay a fee. We hesitated because we also had a membership somewhere else. We said it doesn’t matter for us if the community had this club. Now that the construction is finished, I see that it was well done. They pay attention to it as well. The sports centre and the fact that it is well managed comprise 30-40% of our satisfaction with this place. Also, the closed garage is very important. In our former neighborhood, we had a lot of parking problems. We don’t have it here. Everyone has their own parking spots. You have an additional spot for a second car. Security is very important. Landscape and maintenance is very nice. We came to a better place than I expected. I feel like I have moved up to a higher class.

(Halil (52, E): Sonuçta benim tahminimin üzerinde daha üzerinde bir yere geldik. Ben bu kadar iyi olacağını düşünmüyordum. En azından spor tesisi var demişlerdi. Yani her sitenin bir tesisi oluyor da kullanılmıyor, bakılmıyor. İşte takip edilmiyor bazı sorunları. Paralı oluyor falan. Aman dedik. Bizim başka bir yerde de üyeliğimiz vardı. Olsa da olur olmasa da olur dedik. Ama şimdi yapılıp bitirilince baya iyi bir şekilde yapıldı. İyi de önem veriyorlar şu anda. O zaten

evi sevmemizin yüzde 30'u yüzde 40'ı oranın faaliyette olması ve iyi bir şekilde faaliyette olması bu evi daha çok sevdirirdi bize. Bir de kapalı otopark olması çok önemli. 7-8 de otopark sorunumuz çok vardı. Burada yok. Herkesin kendine ait otoparkı var. Ekstradan 2. araba da koyabileceğin yer var. Güvenlik bir kere çok önemli. Çevre düzeni, çevre bakımı çok güzel. Umduğumdan daha iyi bir ortama geldik. Kendimi ben böyle sınıf atlamış gibi görüyorum.)

Consumers monitor gated communities in the same and in other districts, compare prices and physical dimensions before and after the ownership of the current house to normalize their own community. While evaluating alternatives, consumers analyze how they will affect their everyday practices. Factors such as being away from the city and significant others, driving long distances to work and schools eliminate the opportunities of the other gated communities as they make harder the execution of daily practices (such as socializing, driving, shopping). The amenities provided in the gated community (such as security guards and cameras, sports center, swimming pools, basketball, football and tennis courts) also eliminate most of the regular apartments in the district. In economic terms, consumers calculate the opportunity cost that is the return that they could have received if the resources were used for another alternative. Different from the economic application of the concept of opportunity cost, consumers do not evaluate the monetary gain that they could have received if those opportunities have been used elsewhere. Rather consumers evaluate based on how the alternatives will order or disorder their daily practices. For example, Saniye (37, F) describes how they had to forego a triplex villa in the suburbs with a private swimming pool, a sauna and a Turkish bath, with six rooms and two kitchens:

Saniye (37, F): They gave us a very good price discount and imagine we could buy with the same price a triplex villa instead of a 4 rooms and 1 living room

apartment in Ataköy Konaklarıyla....but the traffic was a major concern to us. One day we got stuck into traffic. Then my husband gave up.

Mahmut (37, F): Yes, traffic.

Saniye (37, F): I was concerned about the childrens' education. I will drive the children to their schools and private education centers, it would be difficult for me to drive everyday from here to Hadımköy. And my husband tells me that there are two centers in Istanbul, that's for sure Kadıköy, Bakırköy. The branches of the best private educational centers are on these two districts.

(Saniye (37, K): Fiyat olarak gerçekte çok güzel bir iskontoyla karşılaştık ve bu evin tamamında Ataköy Konaklarıyla düşün 4 oda 1 salon yerine bir triplex bir ev....bizi tek düşündüren trafik. Biz o yolda trafikte kaldık. Ondan sonra eşim vazgeçti.

Mahmut (45, E): Ya trafik.

Saniye (37, K): Beni en çok düşündüren çocukların okulu. Ben okula gidip geleceğim, dershaneye gidip gelicem, Hadımköy'den buraya gelmek. Eşimde diyoki İstanbul'da iki tane merkez var, bu bir açık. Gerçekte açık ve net Kadıköy, Bakırköy. Bütün dershanelerin en iyi şubeleri bu iki yakada ayrı merkezlerde birleşmiştir.)

Nearly one year after the launch of the brand, the construction of another gated community started in the district. Most of the households visited the sales office and observed the show homes of the newly constructed gated community to normalize their own branded house and community. Several physical dimensions make the new community an unfavorable alternative. Studio apartments (welcoming bachelors), high density, the design of the rooms (Japanese architecture and American kitchens), and fewer recreational areas normalize their own brand community. Güneş (46, F) explains the reasons for discriminating the newly developed residential community:

Güneş (46, F): Yes I went to the other gated community, not before but we have bought this house because it was then on sale. I went and saw that the location was worse than here. I expected that since I knew the location. But still I went. They showed me a couple plans about the project, since the construction had just started. The prices were really high and nearly a house in this size was priced double than the houses in this community. Even the sizes of the houses were smaller than this (refers to her own branded house). Even priced higher than

these houses (in their own gated community). Additionally, there were also studio apartments. There wasn't anything special on the house and there were small in size. The design of the houses was strange. One of them had a circle design and behind it detached was another house. I thought how could someone buy a house from there when there are such houses here.

(Güneş (46, K): Evet baktım almadan önce değil aldıktan sonra çıktı o (ayni bölgede yapılan güvenli bir site). Baktım ve oranın konum olarak burdan çok daha kötü konumda olduğunu, zaten yerini gördüğüm için anlamıştım. Ama özellikle gittim baktım. Daha baraka kurulmuştu kazılıyordu mazılıyordu birtakım projeler falan gösterdiler. Fiyat olarak çok yüksek buldum burdan işte buranın nerdeyse hemen hemen bir kat daha fazla fiyatı vardı bu büyüklükte bir ev için. Metrekare olarak bu kadar değildi daha küçüktü. Hatta bu fiyattan fazla olan evler. Artı 1+1'lerin olması. Evin içinde benim için hiçbirşeyi yoktu alan çok küçüktü. Hiç detaylı değildi evler bir garipti bir tanesi yuvarlaktı, öbürü yuvarlağın arkasında kalmış birbirine yapışmış. İnsan ordan ev alır mı yani burası dururken diye düşünmüştüm.)

Similar to Güneş (46, F), other informants also distance the new community not only because of the material dimensions that restrict the practices inside the house and the community, but also because it threatens the harmonious family life. Several households state that they are really happy since their own community does not include any studio apartments, as they often house extramarital love affairs.

Moreover, community members discriminate their branded gated community from the regular apartments in the same and other districts by employing the discourse of "old and new". Specifically, they compare old apartments with their newly constructed branded buildings. Selah (62, M) and Nur (51, F) explicate that they considered buying a house with a Bosphorus view in the *Arnavut Köy*, *Ortaköy* or *Bebek* districts. However, the high priced and aged buildings require huge renovations. Selah (62, M) further explains the significance of being the first owner and user of consumer products:

Selah (62, M): I have been driving for 32 years and I have never owned a second hand car. There is a smell in new cars, in order to feel this. God helped us otherwise we would buy a second hand one: my salary could be lower. God blessed us therefore, we never moved into a second hand apartment, we always lived in a brand new flat.

(Selah (62, E): Hiç bak 32 senedir araba kullanıyorum hiç ikinci el araba kullanmadım. Hep o bir araba kokusu varya hep onu tatmak için. Ya Allah yardım etti yoksa ikinci el de alırdık maaşımız düşük olabilirdi. Allah öyle kısmet etmiş onun için hiçbir zaman ikinci bir eve de taşınmadık hep sıfır oldu.)

Similar to the household, other informants also explain the difficulties of appropriating a used house or renovating their former home environments. Gözde (46, F) and Savaş (48, M), who used to live in a regular apartment in the same district, explain the reasons for moving into the branded gated community:

Savaş (48, M): The apartment was old anyway. It had been 20 years. We needed to make renovations. It was also a little small. We were also going to move into a new complex, to a new apartment.

Gözde (46, F): We told ourselves “instead of renovation...”

Savaş (48, M): Instead of spending money there, we borrowed some money. There is also a sports complex. We are again in Ataköy. We approved it.

(Savaş (48, E): Evde eskiydi zaten. 20 senelik oldu. Biryerine birşey yapacağımız, kapısını bacasını değiştireceksiniz. Ev de biraz ufak. Hem yeni bir yere geçiyorsunuz. Sıfır daireye.

Gözde (46, K): Yani tadilat yaptıktan sonra dedik biz.

Savaş (48, E): Oraya masraf yaptıktan sonra, biraz daha borçlandık. Tesis de var. Yine Ataköy'deyiz. Olsun dedik.)

The branded gated community not only eliminates the defects of the former home environments, but also enables various practices inside the gates. Consumers often discuss the ease of socializing with others. The new living space cultivates the interaction of community members. Halil (52, M) and Ayten (43, F) explain their

surprise when their next-door neighbors paid them a visit during the religious holiday.

Halil (52, M) explicates the reasons that enable neighborliness inside the community:

Halil (52, M): Individuals in this community year for meeting each other since everyone has moved at the same time with the same conditions. There is such an ambiance. Maybe in 5 or 10 years, they may not approve the new members in their community. But now for example you got to steam room, to the Turkish bath, to the swimming pool and everyone greets each other. Everyone is checking on the others. “Where do you live, in which apartment, how much did you pay, how many children do you have?”. Everyone is very curious. They want to meet each other.

Halil (52, E): Burada herkes aynı anda aynı şartlarda yerleştikleri için birbirleriyle tanışmak için can atıyorlar. Öyle bir hava var. Belki 5 sene 10 sene sonra dışarıdan yeni gelen bir kişiyi belki kendi bünyelerine kabul etmeyebilirler. Ama şu sn mesela saunaya gidiyorsun, bir hamama gidiyorsun, bir havuza gidiyorsun herkes birbiriyle selamlaşıyor. Herkes birbirini soruyor, soruşturuyor. “Nerede oturuyorsun, hangi dairedesin, kaçta aldın ne yaptın, kaç çocuğun var”. Çok meraklı herkes. Herkes birbiriyle tanışmak istiyor.

Community members and especially the females execute various rituals in order to socialize with their new neighbors. For example, every two weeks or monthly they perform “*Beş Çayı*” (afternoon tea gathering) or “*Altın Günü*” (gold day) rituals with their neighbors in their building. Additionally, during the month of Ramadan (often with the assistance of a hodja), they meet daily to read the Holy Koran. Furthermore, Saniye (37, F) explains that they often organize “*Hamam Günü*” rituals (Turkish bath day ritual) in the Turkish bath inside the gated community. Households also regularly have breakfast or dinner at the restaurant on the top floor of the social center. By executing social networking practices, they form, sustain and enhance ties with other community members (for example, Schau et al. 2009). In 2010, with the election of the new HOA, which is now composed only by community members (for the first 2 years developers

run the HOA), one of the members of the association organized a brunch for the medical doctors and pharmacists that live in the community. This event attempts to bring together community members of the same occupation, and to form an occupational identity within the borders of the gated community.

The literature on brand communities provides evidence that consumers oppose competing brands by delineating “what the brand is not, and who the brand community members are not” (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001; 420). The findings indicate that community members form an oppositional loyalty more towards the material rather than the symbolic properties of competing products and brands. Along with building a consciousness of kind (Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001), consumers employ the process of oppositional brand loyalty in order to cope with brand rumors and stereotypes.

In sum, consumers employ multiple strategies to fight against the conflicting brand rumors and stereotypes. Community members normalize the ownership of the branded house using the trajectory of the former home environments, by monitoring the market value of the branded house, by hiding the brand and by stereotyping the other. Consumers also normalize the branded gated community by monitoring the development of the project, and by discriminating the brand from the others. Brand rumors and stereotypes shape the formation of norms about the appropriate brand performances inside the community. Consumers, individually and collectively, both as a household and as a community, discipline community members’ and other stakeholders’ brand performances.

5.2. Negotiating Appropriate Brand Performances

The articulation of brand rumors and stereotypes set in motion community members as they experience the realization of some of these conflicting practices. Consumers feel threatened by the economic, socio-cultural, political and religious structures that jeopardize the future of the brand, and particularly the execution of consumption practices inside the gated community. Community members employ various strategies to negotiate appropriate brand performances and maintain the constructed order. The findings indicate that rather than a uniform, democratic taste structure, the brand community breeds competing taste structures. These alternative taste cultures shape the proper norms for legitimizing membership in the brand community. Along with community members' brand performances, consumers negotiate the brand performances of other stakeholders that also shape the future of the brand community. Apart from the stakeholders' role in the construction of the brand, the MHA, the developers, the HOA, and the metropolitan city and district municipalities shape the brand community over time. Consumers, individually, as a household and in consumer groups, employ various strategies to fortify the brand against competing taste structures and lobby for the protection of brand resources.

5.2.1. Fortifying the Brand Against Competing Taste Structures

Before and after the ownership of the branded house consumers and specifically, the majority of the urban, secular elites build defenses around their branded house and community. The co-existence of different taste cultures threatens the harmonious home environment inside the gates. Consumers distance the households that adopt competing habitus, and promote the brand to their significant others that share a similar taste culture. After moving in the gated community, taste differences become apparent and consumers, individually and as a household, employ various strategies to discipline the performances of others. Community members, based on their own habitus and the written and unwritten rules of conduct, define the legitimate members of the brand community.

5.2.1.1. Distancing the Other

Before becoming owners of the branded house, urban secular elites employed defensive strategies to protect their ideal home against the attack of competing taste structures. Threatened by the socio-cultural stereotypes about community members, consumers investigate their neighbors before the ownership of the branded house. Since the financial value of the branded house shapes the formation of a microcosm of upper-middle and upper income consumer groups, consumers distance possible class identity

conflicts. The origin and the religious faith of potential consumers pose a threat to the future performances within the branded house and community.

Consumers explain how a household's origin varies the execution of several practices inside the private sphere (such as cleaning, cooking and socializing). Households especially emphasize that they distanced the practices of families that have migrated from the Eastern provinces of Turkey. In contrast to the contemporary urban lifestyles, the rural origin varies the execution of cleaning (such as leaving the shoes in front of the door and shaking their clothes and carpets from the balconies or windows) and cooking rituals (heavier cuisine that causes an unpleasant smell inside the apartment and the houses). Moreover, the urban secular elites state that generally individuals coming from the Eastern provinces have more than the average number of children. Larger families, stronger family ties and their socializing practices threaten their peaceful home environments.

Consumers also ask sales representatives about the intensity of their neighbors' religious faith. Although, consumers state that they have faith in God, they detached their branded home from the households that form their identities based on religion. Holding crowd religious meetings, performing daily praying rituals, dressing in accordance with the Islamic code and avoiding the male gaze intensify the adoption of strategies for distancing the unwanted others.

Despite these distancing strategies before the ownership of the branded house, some informants failed in their attempt to control their neighbors. Since there are still houses for sale and rent in the gated community, consumers cannot fully control their

neighbors before moving in. Reyhan (49, F) describes how their next-door neighbors distracted the meaning of their family home:

Reyhan (49, F): The neighbor next door was American. He used to come once for a month every year. They sold their apartment to a conservative family from Mardin. Yes, right our opposite. There are also children. They always leave their shoes in front of their apartment, which is annoying. If we tell them, there may be a quarrel, bitterness. We told this to the HOA. Of course there are cultural differences and this disturbs me. My husband got upset. When he sees the shoes, he is annoyed. Previously the apartment complex was very well. There were no people without inappropriate behavior. They also have many guests coming in and going out, a very crowded family. Let's see what will happen in the future. For example, they may cook something with a heavy smell without turning on the fan and may make the whole building stink.

(Reyhan (49, K): Benim karşımda bir Amerikalı vardı, senede bir ay geliyordu falan iyiydi. Şimdi onlar sattı bir Mardinliler aldı, türbanlılar. Evet tam karşımız. Ondan sonra bir de çoluk çocuk var, hep ayakkabıları kapının önünde bırakıyorlar yani bir rahatsızlık. Şimdi ona söyleyecektim bir tatsızlık olacak, tartışma olacak, yasak diyeceğiz. Görevlilere söyledik... Tabi kültür farklılığı var yani insanı rahatsız ediyor. Eşim hemen üzüldü yani. Böyle görünce ayakkabı, tatsızlığı, huzuru kaçıyor. Önceden çok iyiydi hiç binada öyle bir uygunsuz insan yoktu. Yani öyle bunların gelenleri gidenleri de çok, kalabalık bir aile... Bakalım daha ileride neler çıkacak yani. Mesela çok kokulu şeyler pişirir, apartmanı kokutur, açmaz aspiratörü falan.)

Like Reyhan (49, F) other informants also feel disturbed by the practices that disorder their home and community life. The meaning of the branded house extends from the house, to home fronts and to the whole gated community. According to the informants, becoming a legitimate owner of the brand community entails competence in living in a contemporary environment, which is regulated by written, but also by unwritten yet ordinary codes of conduct. Selah (62, M) and Nur (51, F) explain that they did not look for an alternative apartment when they learned that the neighbors next door were conservatives, as they did not want to go through the selection process again. The

household often experiences tensions with their neighbors next door and prefer to change some of their daily practices in order to avoid the contact with them:

Selah (62, M): For example, the other day we took the elevator with the neighbor next door.

Nur (51, F): Didn't you talk?

Selam (62, M): I said hello, but she didn't talk. She bowed her head. She looked at the floor. What will I talk with a person that looks at the floor? I wish I had looked through the peephole. I wish she had taken the elevators before me. I thought this was, when you take negative energy. Certainly this is normal for her since she is covered. Being at the same place with a man its' very (he poses) I don't know.

(Selah (62, E): Mesela karşı ki kadınla beraber indik geçen aşağıya.

Nur (51, K): Konuşmadın mı?

Selah (62, E): Merhaba dedim, konuşmadı. Kafasını yere eğiyor. Yere bakıyor. Yere bakan insanla ben ne konuşacağım? Keşke dedim delikten baksaydım, o inseydi aşağıya, sonra ben inseydim aşağıya. Öyle içimden geldi. E karşı taraftan elektrik almayınca. Bayan bir de türbanlı olunca olay değişiyor tabi. Aynı erkekle aynı yerde inmek onun için, çok mu şey acaba (duraklayarak) bilemiyorum ki.)

Feared by the competing taste cultures, consumers promote the gated community to significant others (for example, McAlexander et al. 2002; Muniz and Schau, 2005). Several households visit the gated community with their significant others to persuade them to become owners of the brand house as well as to legitimize the ownership of their own branded house. Resul (50, M) explains the reasons for recommending the gated community to significant others:

Resul: (50, M): I like the fact that it is an organized community. Ataköy is a very nice area, both very close to the city and also can be considered out of the city. This is a very safe gated community. Safety is very important and it will be much more important in the future.

Rezan (46, F): It is a really big community, garden...

Resul (50, M): There is a social center. For this reason we recommended the community to our close friends, but also to be together, to be close to each other.

(Resul (50, E): Organize bir site olması, lokasyon olarak Ataköy güzel bir yer yani hem şehrin dışında hem şehre çok yakın. Burası güvenli bir site. Güvenlik önemli bundan sonra daha bir önem kazanacak.

Rezan (46, K): Bayağı büyük bir site yeşillik...

Resul (50, E): Sosyal tesisleri var. Ondan dolayı beraber olalım diye sevdiğimiz arkadaşlarımıza tavsiye ettik yani artı onlarla da birarada olmak için yakın olmak için.)

Resul (50, M) persuaded nearly twenty households to become members of the brand community. The homogenous community assures the maintenance of socio-cultural order as well as the maintenance of material and symbolic order. Consumers often not only welcome their significant others to the gated community, but also to their apartment. For example, Resul (50, M) and Rezan (46, M) explain that all of their neighbors except themselves are medical doctors. The similar occupation convinced households to move to the same apartment in the gated community. By welcoming significant others, consumers also attempt to minimize the realization of the stereotypes.

Despite the urban secular elites, households that adopt an alternative ideology and taste structure also employ fortifying strategies. The rising Islamist ideology in the 1980s shaped the formation of a new Islamist middle class that uses a hybrid set of resources for their identity projects (Sandıkcı and Ger, 2010). Like the wider community outside the gates, households that adopt equally powerful yet competing taste structures co-exist inside the same brand community. For example, three households with conservative values moved in the same building. Consequently, each consumer group welcomes their significant others that share a similar habitus to their own. With the move into the branded gated community, variations on consumers' brand performances

become apparent. These variations mark within community distinctions (for example, Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Sherry et al. 2001; Martin et al. 2006) and intensify conflicts inside the promised tension-free community. For this reason, consumers increasingly police the brand performances of others in order to sustain the constructed community.

5.2.1.2. Disciplining Consumers' Brand Performances

After moving into the gated community, consumers experience the competing taste cultures in the “public” space. With the manifestation of brand stereotypes about the socio-cultural position of community members, consumers individually and as a household employ various strategies to police the execution of disordered practices. Often consumers warn others and give reasons for the inappropriateness of their practices. Fikret (52, F) describes an incidence that she experienced in the swimming pool:

Fikret (52, F): I see that mothers are not conscious enough. Lacking the manners of using a swimming pool, a lot of individuals do not respect the boundaries of others. For example I experienced a very interesting incident this summer. We were swimming with a couple of friends of mine. A mother peed her 3-year-old child in grills of the swimming pool. We told her that there was a toilet and she reacted... She said, “It goes away”, I said “How is this possible. This is a swimming pool with a perpetual motion. The water from here goes to the reservoir. Certainly preparations will clean the water, but aesthetically this is unbelievable”.

(Fikret (52, K): Mesela annelerin çok bilinçli olmadığını görüyorum. Eee o anlamda, havuz kültürü anlamında insanların diğer insanların sınırlarına ee

hürmet etmediklerini görüyorum. Mesela bu çok ilginç bir şey yaşadım bu yaz: Bir kaç arkadaş vardık, yüzüyorduk. Bir anne 3 yaşında çocuk, eee şeyin (havuzun) eee ızgaralarına çocuğun çişini yaptırdı mesela havuzun ızgaralarına. “Az ileride tuvalet var” ve bunu söylediğimiz zaman da bize tepki verdi... “Gidermiş”, “olur mu?” dedim “yani bu devirdaim eee sistemli bir havuz. Şimdi buradan giden ee aşağıya denge deposuna gidecek”. “Evet oradaki eee şeylerden ilaçlardan falan arınmış olarak su gelecek ama yani bu en azından görsellik olarak gözümüzün önünde eee” bu bu dedim “olacak şey değil” yani.)

Like Fikret (52, F) other informants also believe that some consumers do not have the skills to participate in the brand community. Apart from warning, some consumers even educate community members about the proper execution of practices.

Nejat (48, M) explicates instances that he informed others:

Nejat (48, M): He gets into the steam bath with slippers. I said: “go out at once, you can not get in here wearing these. They will create bacteria, which are mobile. You can take the microbes to your home. He said: “you are right” They get into the swimming pool without taking a shower. I warn all of them. I can’t resist.

(Nejat (48, E): Terlikle giriyor buhar odasına. Dedim “hemen çıkın dışarıya dedim, buraya bununla girilmez, böyle girilmez, burada bir mikrop ürer burada üretir, böyle yerler sürekli mikrop üretir ve biz o mikrobu oradan buraya taşıyoruz. Biz oturuyoruz siz o mikrobu alıp eve götüreceksiniz, sizin bıraktığınız mikrobun üzerine de bir başkası gelecek”. Böyle “çok haklısınız” falan filan. Duş almadan havuza falan giriyorlar, hepsini uyarırım, gördüm mü dayanmam zaten.)

By educating community members, competent consumers assist in the formation of others’ cultural capital. With the dissemination of knowledge about the proper execution of practices, consumers aim to improve others’ position in the brand community in order to sustain the value of the brand.

Households usually do not want to interfere with the community members and call the security guards. Reyhan (49, F) explains that during the summer some consumers disturbed their daily life:

Reyhan (49, F): There were many children in the summer, they make a lot of noise and they do not go home until 10- 11 PM. Oh my God, my husband was very nervous and was calling the security. I am very disturbed and I can not sit in the balcony. It is very warm in the summer and the windows are open. The security would come, warn the kids. Sometimes, the kids run away once they see the security. In the end, the families must be sensitive. Of course, one can learn this with education and culture. The family is insensitive, as long as the children have good time, nothing else matters.

(Reyhan (49, K): Çok çocuk vardı yazın, çok ses yapıyorlar eve de girmiyorlar, 10'lara 11'lere kadar. Allaaah. Eşim onu da takmış kafaya devamlı güvenliği arıyordu. "Ben rahatsız oluyorum balkonda oturamıyorum", yazın sıcak camlar açık zaten. Ondan sonra hemen güvenlik geliyordu, yani onlara dikkat ediyorlar güvenlik olarak hemen uyarıyorlar, çocuklar hemen koşuyor, güvenlik geliyor kaçıyorlar. İşte yani ailelerin biraz duyarlı olmaları, tabi o da eğitimle kültürle oluyor tabi. Aile vurdumduymaz, evden gitsin de nolursa çocuk vakit geçirsin.)

Similar to Reyhan's (49, F) husband, several consumers avoid direct intervention especially when the warnings concern children. They want to prevent the unnecessary conflicts with illegitimate community members.

The HOA, run by the developers for the first two years, also disciplines consumers' brand performances. With the ownership of the branded house, developers hand to consumers a booklet about the rules and regulations to be followed inside the brand community. Apart from the common apartment rules, developers also restrict the physical modification of the exteriors of the apartments, the parking of cars in front of the building complexes, the drying of clothes in the balconies, the placement of consumer objects in the home fronts and balconies, and the display of banners. The

HOA regularly makes announcements about the rules and regulations, and the activities inside the community. For example, a few months after moving into the gated community, the HOA reminded to consumers the basic rules and regulations of the brand management plan, necessary for building good community relationships. Consider some of the rules written in the announcement:

- Do not hang laundry (even to dry) in the balconies and to the gardens so that they can be seen from outside.
- Do not shake out carpets, kilims from the windows and balconies and throw garbage.
- Do not put personal items on the home fronts that will create visual pollution like shoes, and water gallons.
- *(Kurutmak maksadi ile dahi olsa balkonlara, binalarin dış cephelerine veya dıştan görülebilecek yerlerine, bahçelere çamaşır asmamak.*
- *Bağımsız bölümlerin balkon ve pencerelerinden halı, kilim vs. şeyleri silkelememek, su vb. gibi şeyler dökmemek, çöp atmamak.*
- *Merdiven sahanlıklarına ayakkabı, damacana ve benzeri görüntü kirliliği yaratacak şahsi eşya ve malzemeleri koymamak.)*

While, the brand management plan articulates implicitly, the announcement explicitly asserts the rules and regulations by offering examples. The association also regularly posts banners both inside the apartments and the social center in order to police brand community performances. In the apartments, the HOA controls the accommodation of improper practices in the balconies (for example, drying clothes in the balconies), in the corridors of the apartments (for example, placing bicycles in the corridors), at home and the apartment fronts (for example, leaving shoes in the home fronts and parking in the apartment fronts) (Appendix 4, photographs 21-24). In the social center the HOA controls the execution of improper practices in the sports center (for example, exercise with dirty sneakers and without the use of towels). The

association often prepares these announcements and banners due to consumer complaints. For example, Yılmaz (53, M) and Melahat (49, F) criticize the execution of banned practices:

Yılmaz (53, M): Actually we have to organize some contests like the most beautiful balcony.

Melahat (49, F): Or the worst balcony.

Yılmaz (53, M): Yes we should organize such a contest. We need to encourage individuals. Some people placed their refrigerator in the balcony. The freezer in the balcony.

Melahat (49, F): Some people living in the B house type placed their old furniture in the balcony, did you see it? The apartment close to the shopping mall. She uses her old furniture in the balcony.

Yılmaz (53, M): Still people are hanging their clothes in the balconies.

Melahat (49, F): I bought a dryer as soon as we moved in. Why? Because we felt that we need it in a place like that, in a community like this I think that it is a necessity. No one has to bear your laundry, your sheets or anything else.

Yılmaz (53, M): We don't have to see her tomato paste or whatever.

Melahat (49, F): And people even shake out their clothers. We still see incidences of shaking off. I eve see people that shake out their own clothers. There is a woman in the adjacent apartment. Every morning she shakes out her sheets, her clothes, her pillows, everything. They shake out tablecloths.

(Yılmaz (53, E): Aslında bir takım yarışmalar düzenlemek lazım. En güzel balkon gibi.

Melahat (49, K): Ya da en berbat balkon.

Yılmaz (53, E): öyle bir yarışma yapmak lazım. İnsanları teşvik etmek lazım. Adam buzdolabını balkona koymuş. Derin dondurucusunu balkona koymuş.

Melahat (49, K): Onu bırak eski koltuk takımını koymuş B'lerden bir tanesi gördünüz mü? Alışveriş merkezine bakan. Eski koltuk takımını balkonda kullanıyor ya.

Yılmaz (53, E): Hala çamaşırları balkona asanlar var.

Melahat (49, K): Biz yerleşir yerleşmez kurutma makinasını koydum. Hemen yani neden çünkü böyle bir yerde bunun gerekli olduğunu, böyle bir sitede gereken şeylerden birisinin o olduğunu düşündüm. Kimse kimsenin çamaşır görüntüsünü çekmek zorunda değil veya çarşafını ya da nesi olursa olsun.

Yılmaz (53, E): Onun salçasını bilmem nesini biz seyretmek zorunda değiliz.

Melahat (49, K): Ve insanlar çarşaflarını da silkeliyorlar. Silkeleme olayları var hala. Üzerindeki giysiyi bile silkelediğini bile görüyorum etrafta. Yan tarafta bir hanımcağız var. Her sabah çarşafı silkeliyor. Üst baş silkeliyor. Yastıklar silkeliyor. Her şey silkeliyor. Masa örtüleri silkeliyor.)

By disciplining consumers' brand performances, informants categorize the legitimate brand owners (for example, Kozinets, 2001; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Kates, 2002). According to informants, legitimate brand owners show respect for the rights of others both inside the apartments and in the gated community in large. Several households express their concern for the new brand owners. As the prices have peaked, consumers increasingly unwelcome new comers and their practices, as economic capital does not generate cultural capital. Nur (51, F) and Selah (62, M) explicate the main reason for the violation of rules and regulations:

Selah (62, M): At the sports center you see signs that depict that you cannot exercise without towels and cleans sneakers. The management placed nice electronic lockers. However, and especially the women, take their bags and enter the exercise area. Oh woman why don't you go to the ladies' locker room. She puts everything on the floor, her bag; she takes off her jacket and puts it on the floor.

Nur (51, F): There are individuals that they have never been to a sports center before. Obviously there are rich people, but without any manners. Having financial resources does not always make an individual. You cannot become an individual with money. Rather it is a self-discipline, a manner. I mean that you have to adapt yourself wherever you are. If the people behave like this, you have to wear clean sneakers and you have to take your towel. You have to comply.

(Selah (62, E): Yukarda görüyorsunuz spor yapıyorsunuz yazıyor orada, havlusuz, temiz ayakkabısız spor yapmayın diye. İnsanlar ne güzel elektronik soyunma dolabı yapmış. Bilhassa bayanlar, çantasına koyuyor herşeyini, spor salonuna giriyor. Be mübarek kadın şeye girsene, bayanlar için soyunma odası yapılmış özel. Herşeyini koyuyor, alıyor çantasını koyuyor, yere mantosunu çıkartıyor.

Nur (51, K): Hayatında spor salonuna gitmemiş insan buraya gelince bir şey var yani. Açıkcası parası olan, burası için altyapısı olmayan insan çok. Her parası olan olmuyor. Parayla, insan satın alınmaz o bir altyapıdır, terbiyedir, görgüdür. İşte onu diyorum, nereye gidiyorsan uymak zorundasın. Orda onlar o şekilde davranıyorsa, ayakkabını da temiz giyeceksin, havlunu da alacaksın, uymak zorundasın.)

Some consumers also discriminate members according to the type of the apartment that they live in. Gözde (46, F) and Savaş (48, M) explicate how the consumer profile in the community differs from then one in the *Ataköy* district:

Savaş (48, M): Crowded and rich families live here and especially individuals form the East and from Diyarbakır that engage in trade. In our former neighborhood there were doctors, teachers and professors. But here (*Ataköy Konakları*) there are more individuals that engage in commerce. Most likely there are more tradesmen here. They say so. The crowded families and the crowded rich of Yeşilköy and Florya have moved here.

Gözde (46, F): For example, they live in the B and A house types...in the C and D house types live families that we are used to. There are more educated. More like us. In the C and D house types there are more individuals like us.

(Savaş (48, E): Parası olan kalabalık aileler geliyor. Bilhassa Anadolu'dan, Diyarbakır'dan ticaret erbabları. O taraf (Ataköy 7-8 Kısım'da) biraz daha doktoruydu, hocasıydı, profesörüydü. Bu taraf (Ataköy Konaklarında) ticaret kısmı biraz daha fazla. Esnaf burada biraz fazla. Büyük bir ihtimalle öyle diyorlar zaten. Yeşilköy'ün, Florya'nın kalabalık aileler, zengin kalabalıkları buraya gelmiş.

Gözde (46, K): Özellikle büyük dairelerde daha çok var. Mesela B'ler ve A'lar (ev tipleri)... C'lerde ve D'lerde (ev tipleri) yani bizim daha önceden alıştığımız insanlar. Daha çok okumuş kesim. Yani bizim gibi diyelim Bizim tarzımızda insanlar C'lerde ve D'lerde daha çok.)

Similar to Gözde (46, F) and Savaş (48, M), other informants also discuss the cryptic hierarchy inside the gated community. According to the urban secular elites, the illegitimate brand owners reside in the larger house types. The competing taste cultures and the lack of competences threaten their harmonious home environment. Apart from distancing class identity conflicts and disciplining variations and tensions on brand performances, community members also in lobby groups discipline consumers' and other stakeholders' brand performances.

5.2.2. Lobbying for the Branded Resources

Before the ownership of the branded house, consumers monitor the development of the gated community to negate brand rumors and stereotypes (section 5.1.2.1.). For example, consumers individually control the construction plans of the metropolitan city and district municipalities, and observe developers' previous residential projects. After moving in the brand community, consumers form groups to lobby for the protection of brand resources. The performances of developers, the MHA, the HOA, and the metropolitan city and the district municipalities shape the future of the brand. Competing consumer committees, differentiated by the taste structures of its members, employ collective practices for the reconfiguration of the branded house and community, and for the protection of the brand over time.

5.2.2.1. Reconfiguring the Branded House and Community

The collective policing of the brand community is initiated with the formation of a representative group of homeowners. A group of secular elite consumers, a few months after moving in, organized a welcoming party for meeting community members and discussing the future of the brand. The meeting took place at an empty room in the second floor of the social center (converted into a restaurant after one year). Although consumers organized the meeting, developers started the panel by welcoming the residents in their new home environment. In the developers' surprise, consumers raised

their voice about developers' unfulfilled promises and the threats to the maintenance of their brand resources. The consumer group terminated the meeting with the intensification of the conflicts among the developers and the consumers. The next evening consumers organized another meeting for resolving the brand tensions. Consumers voted a consumer committee to control and protect their brand resources and their ownership rights. However, this was an unofficial committee since it was voted only by a small number of homeowners, and since consumers' legal governing rights started two years after moving in. The group included competent individuals that could deal with financial, material and legal issues such as engineers, architects, financial consultants, accountants and lawyers. The committee formed an agenda about the actions to be taken: keeping track of the housing permissions, monitoring the future of the shopping mall, the planned roads and the plot that belongs to the municipality, auditing the financial accounts of the HOA, and resolving material defects.

Just before the delivery of the completed branded house, developers required from homeowners to deposit the fees for receiving the permission of residence (*iskan*). The housing fees paid to the local municipality legitimize the construction of the branded houses (according to the accepted construction codes), and also legitimize legally consumers' ownership of the branded house. Consumers could obtain the keys of their branded house only after paying the fees that ranged from 20 to 25 thousand new Turkish liras. Regularly, in this type of residential communities, developers deal with all the legal issues, and register the branded house and community by proxy. Even though developers collected the fees in advance, the branded houses were in an illegal status even 6 months after moving in. During the meeting, several community members voiced

their concerns on the use of their financial resources. Some consumers even calculated the returns collected from the financial resources. According to the current president of the consumer committee, there were two main reasons for the delay. Firstly, developers have constructed more houses than what the bid had specified. For this reason, the developers turned 4 houses into 2 duplex houses. Secondly, the municipality of *Bakırköy* required from the developers to pay the fees that they were exempted from. One of the main advantages of the developers that collaborate with the MHA is that they are exempted from paying certain fees. The problem resolved two years after moving in, during the local elections (see section 5.2.2.2.).

The transformation of the bid from a gated community with a school to a gated community with a huge five-storey shopping mall intensified consumers concerns on the future of their community. The shopping mall modified not only the landscape of the apartments close to the mall, but also threatened the order inside the gates. The elected consumer committee monitored the construction plans in the local municipality. The maintenance of public order depends on the position of the entrances of the shopping mall and of the parking lots. Consumers fear that the entrances and exits of the mall will create traffic jams and disturb the access to the traffic free community that they have paid for.

The consumer committee also policed the development plans of the metropolitan city municipality. The metropolitan city municipality planned the development of a new highway close to the northern boundaries of the gated community. A complaint reported by a member of the community and published by a columnist in a local newspaper revealed the threat to the brand:

“Even though I am against the developers’ of Florya, trusting the MHA I bought a house from Ataköy Konakları. As promised they allocated a portion of the lot for the tennis courts and the parks. However, according to a rumor we learned that these parks and the tennis courts will disappear for the construction of a road. Moreover, the developers knew about this project. Could you please inform the public and the homeowners on this issue?” (Yalçın Bayer, Hürriyet Gazetesi, April 8, 2008).

(“Ataköy Konakları’ndan Florya müteahhitleri’ne karşı olmama rağmen TOKİ’nin güvencesi olduğu için bir daire aldım. Bize taahhüt ettikleri gibi tenis kortları ve yeşil alanlar bıraktılar sitede. Nitekim aldığımız bir haberle bu yeşil alanların ve kortların yol yapımı için gideceğini öğrendik. Ayrıca bu yol projesi en başından beri müteahhitler tarafından bilinmekteymiş. Lütfen bunu kamuoyuna yansıtır mısınız, daire alanlar öğrensin” (Yalçın Bayer, Hürriyet Gazetesi, 8 Nisan, 2008).)

Consumers explain that the construction of the highway in a close distance to the tennis and football courts will enable the gaze of the others outside the gates. The committee with the assistance of the developers visited the transportation department of the metropolitan city municipality and proposed infrastructural plans for the protection of their community. Although, the municipality accepted the proposed plans with slight modifications, members of the committee feel concerned about the future of the brand community since commercial and political incentives can modify anything.

Similar concerns exist about the parcel that belongs to the metropolitan city municipality. This parcel is an important resource of the brand community, as it houses the tennis, football and basketball courts. The consumer committee and the developers negotiated with the mayor about the future of their problematic brand. The municipality agreed to rent the parcel to the developers for the next ten years. However, consumers fear about the future of the community as the developers will resign from the management of the HOA, and each local municipality election will intensify the threat to their brand resources.

Moreover, the consumer committee controlled the financial accounts of the HOA, run by the developers for the first two years. Generally in all gated communities developers manage the HOA for the first two or three years in order to establish the system that will maintain the promised order inside the gates. The high monthly payments and the total number of houses create a huge pool of financial resources. The committee by auditing the accounts inspects the HOA, and thus the developers for the efficient use of their financial resources.

The committee additionally monitored the resolution of defects and the realization of incomplete works both in their houses and in the community. With the ownership of the branded house, consumers until the construction of the gated community idealize their homes without any material imperfections. After moving into the branded house, consumers experienced material obstacles that distorted their dream home. Community members blame the MHA for the failure to control developers' actions. Specifically, consumers explain that the developers prepare the brochures that describe the technical specifications of the houses driven by their own commercial motives. The contracts indicate the visible materials (such as tiles, parquets, paints, furniture and technological appliances) used for the construction of the branded houses without specifying the brand names. Developers only define the products as "first class brands". Although consumers observe the quality of the materials at the sales office and at the show homes, the inefficiencies become apparent after moving into the community. Consumers not only express their dissatisfaction with the developers, but also visit retail stores to check whether the retailers launch these products in the marketplace. For example, although the air-conditioners are a well-known local brand, developers

customized the appliances for the gated community – they only cool and they do not heat. Hande (50, F) explains that they changed the air-conditioning system at their home, as the developers' products are not efficient even for cooling. Ayten (43, F) explicates that she is afraid of throwing accidentally anything on the floor as the tiles break down very easily. Consumers also criticize the unqualified labor employed by the developers for the construction of the gated community. Likewise, media representatives also problematize the shortage of competent workers. The branded house is a product of the mass production of home. During the mass production of home workers often do not have specified work responsibilities. Low-waged laborers, coming mostly from the Anatolian parts of the country, who live in the construction site until the realization of the project, work in each stage of the construction. Consumers easily figure out the practices that have produced the material defects, such as painting the home without covering properly the parquets and tiles, and covering tiles without checking the slope of the floor.

Apart from the material defects in the private sphere, the committee also monitored the incomplete works in the buildings and inside the community. Specifically, the committee controlled the construction of the social center, the parking lots and the storage rooms at the basement of the apartments. The committee prepared a report that outlines the material defects and the incomplete works, and handed it to the branch of the MHA in Istanbul.

Often disciplining developers' practices require the execution of more collective actions than those of the unofficial consumer committee. Petitioning is an effective mechanism for preventing developers' practices. During the fieldwork, members of the

consumer committee asked households to sign petitions against the development of a mosque and against the execution of a tennis tournament in the brand community.

One year after moving in, some consumers monitored a construction at the basement of the social center. The tiled walls revealed the construction of a place of worship. The consumer committee immediately started a petition. Consumers that accepted to take part in the petition went to the local municipality and cancelled the proxies given to the developers for receiving the legal permissions for construction and infrastructure. This petitioning practice prevented developers for taking any action in the brand community. Secular elites criticize developers since the place for worship was not included in the plans of the gated community. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter the MHA controls the material development of the brand. Even though the bid required the specification of a place of worship in the project's construction plans, developers intentionally or unintentionally neglected this requirement. When the MHA forced developers to construct a mosque, the basement of the social center was the only available space. Secular community members explain that the creation of a sacred space inside the social center would create tensions in the execution of practices. Competing practices such as worshipping, swimming, sunbathing, exercising, eating and drinking alcohol would be performed under the same roof. Consider, Güneş's (46, F) example below:

Güneş (46, F): We took some actions and I collected signatures. We prevented the construction of the mosque. Delta construction told us that TOKI forced them to take this action. But in this building there will be a restaurant on the top floor that will serve alcoholic drinks, at the ground floor individuals in bikinis will swim and right beside a mosque. I think that they would have hold religious meetings, given the size of area and the number of rooms. No one is against

religion. Of course everyone can practice religion, but we prevented the construction since the place was not appropriate. I was one of the individuals that prevented the construction of the mosque. We worked hard, but we succeeded. With our efforts, the municipality stopped the construction and the MHA stepped back. Delta Construction converted the area allocated for the mosque into a social area, even a hairdresser opened.

(Güneş (46, K): Bir birtakım çalışmalar yaptık ben imzalar falan topladım. Biz o mescidin kurulmasını engelledik. Onun içinde yani TOKI'nin böyle bir yaptırımı olduğunu, delta inşaatta onun için mecbur kalıp yaptığını söylemişti. Ama işte üste bir restoran istendiği söyleniyor orası içkili bir mekan olacak işte altta insanlar bikiniyle havuza giriyorlar birde bunların içine tamda yanbaşına bir tane mescit. Orda sohbet toplantıları yapılacak çünkü alan çok büyüktü odaları falan vardı. Hiçkimse dinine şeyine karşı değil. Herkes tabiki istediği gibi inancını şeyini yapabilir ibadetini ama mekan olarak yanlıştı onun için bizde karşı çıktık. Karşı çıkanlardan biride bendim bunun için uğraştık ama sonunda başardık. Belediyeye orayı mühürlettik, TOKI'de geri adım attı. Delta inşaat orayı mescitten çevirdi şimdi bir sosyal alan olacak orası hatta bir kısmına kuaför açıldı.)

This petitioning practice is also a reflection of the tensions between the secular and the religious taste cultures. According to the secular activists, the conservatives want to make themselves visible in the community through the accommodation of religious practices. These practices will also prevent the execution of other practices such as drinking alcohol. The secular activists state that a place of worship would also open the community to the individuals outside the gates, since none can turn back someone from the house of God. Conservative community members not only support the accommodation of worshipping, but also request the modification of existing practices and the adoption of new practices. For example, Özgür (40, M), a previous member of the consumer committee and now president of the new HOA, explained that two covered community members visited the previous president of the HOA (employed by the firm) at his home. They requested him to allocate a swimming day only for females, since they also pay the monthly fees and they want to make use of the

amenities offered in the gated community. Others, requested the HOA to develop an audio system that will announce the call of prayer, and to provide religious channels in the community's cable TV. Both the secular activists' policing practices and the developers' fear of losing new homeowners (as there are still houses for sale) restricted the transformation and adoption of practices that favored the conservative consumer group. The developers promised to the MHA to construct a place for worship inside the shopping mall.

Having developers' support, the consumer committee organized a meeting with the participation of representatives from the MHA and the community members to relieve the community. To the surprise of many community members, a countermovement by the conservative consumer group sabotaged the meeting. The conservative group attacked developers' brand construction performances, and voiced the MHAs' failure to control developers' performances. Although the accusations of this group were identical to the ones made by the informal consumer committee, this event announced the formation of a competing committee. The conservative consumer committee immediately organized another meeting to explain their position and receive the support of other community members. The leader of the conservative committee even brought his private secretary, who asked consumers to complete a form about their personal information. The agenda of the meeting included the following issues: the housing permissions, the defects and incomplete works, the construction of the shopping mall and the control of the HOA by community members. The leader of the committee appointed a presenter for the execution of the meeting. Members of the secular

consumer committee raised their voice against the presenter, who was not a member of the community. The secular consumer committee sabotaged this time the meeting.

A few days after this meeting, the conservative consumer committee organized a meeting with the MHA to make an official complaint. According to the secular committee, the competing committee takes actions with its hidden motivations to increase their impact in the brand community. The leader's private secretary called several community members and asked them to take part in the meeting that took place at the branch of the MHA in Istanbul. With the leadership of the conservative consumer committee, a group of community members visited the institution. The representative of the MHA in Istanbul explained that they have already settled these issues with the developers and the community, and that they are working on the resolution of the tensions.

The conservative consumer committee intensified their threatening performances towards the developers, the community and the brand. In the summer of 2009, to the surprise of many community members, every household received a notification from the Ministry of Finance. The institution scheduled a meeting with each homeowner to check any actions that led to a loss of tax. In an afternoon tea gathering, community members expressed their concerns about the investigation. Specifically, they felt disturbed by the questions asked. On the 7th of July 2009 a local newspaper that has a political leaning towards the conservative ideology published the news story (Appendix 4, photograph 25). The news story reported that the specialists asked the following questions:

How much did you pay for the house? How did you make the payments? Did you make the payment to the developers or to the bank? Did you take a loan? If not, where did you find the money? (Hazal Ateş, Sabah Gazetesi, July 7, 2009)

(Evi ne kadara aldınız, ödemeyi ne şekilde yaptınız, müteahhide ödemeyi elden mi banka yoluyla mı yaptınız, banka kredisi mi kullandınız, banka kredisi değilse bu parayı nasıl buldunuz? (Hazal Ateş, Sabah Gazetesi, 7 Temmuz, 2009).)

According to the report, the Ministry of Finance investigates whether developers have performed any illegal practices during the construction and the sale of the branded houses. The reporter notes that the investigation started after consumers' official complaint in the MHA. Consumers in their complaint report declare that on average they have bought their houses for 500 thousand Euros, but the developers have sold some houses only for 150-200 thousand Euros, decreasing the state's revenues. Moreover, the news story also referred to the other complaints:

The developers collected 20-25 thousand liras from each homeowner for the permission of housing. The money, approximately 15 million liras, was not in the common amount. Moreover, the shopping mall should be three storied. Extending it illegally, the shopping mall raised two more floors. This extension must be investigated (Hazal Ateş, Sabah Gazetesi, July 7, 2009).

(Müteahhit firma ayrıca iskan parası adı altında ev sahiplerinden 20-25 bin lira topladı. Yaklaşık 15 milyon lirayı bulan bu para ortak hesapta çıkmadı. Ayrıca, inşa edilecek alışveriş merkezinin 3 kat olması gerekiyordu. İmara aykırı bir şekilde kot farkından 2 kat daha eklendi. Bu fark kime gitti araştırılsın (Hazal Ateş, Sabah Gazetesi, 7 Temmuz, 2009).)

Even though the report did not reveal the community members that initiated the investigation, several secular consumers believe that the conservative consumer committee lay beneath it.

The second petition was against the organization of a tennis tournament in the gated community, open to anyone inside and outside the gates after paying a cover fee. The developers using any opportunity for financial gain allowed individuals to use not only the tennis courts, but also all of the facilities in the social center. Posters all around the community announced the tournament. Consumers immediately started a petition visiting each household and asking them to sign a cover letter against the use of the social center by non-community members. The cover letter explains the reasons for refusing the execution of the tournament inside the gated community:

Hundreds of individuals will enter our community for the tennis tournament and will affect not only our everyday life, but they will also make use of our private spaces such as the Health-Club and its additions. These benefits are granted only for commercial purposes and our beautiful community is sold in return for 25 or 40 new Turkish liras.

(Sitemiz dışından yüzlerce insan turnuva kapsamında sitemiz icerisine girerek hem yaşantımızı etkileyecekler, bu da yetmezmiş gibi bizim özel alanlarımız olan Health-Club ve eklentilerinden yararlanacaklardır. Bu yararlandırma tamamen ticari amac taşımakta olup, sitemizin güzelliğini 25 veya 40 YTL karşılığında satın almış olacaktır.)

With this petition consumers distance non-community members and reject the use of brand resources by non-homeowners (see for example Kozinets, 2001). The commoditizing practices of the firm enable financial gain both from the collected fees and the promotion of the brand community to potential members through news stories. Despite the consumer petition, the developers still carried out the tournament as planned.

Regardless of developers' commercially driven practices, the HOA restricts the access of non-community members to the sports center and the swimming pools with

the application of a fingerprint system in the entrances. Consumers enter their personal code and place their finger on the electronic screen, which identifies members. However, in 2008, the opening of the open swimming pool created an intrusion of outsiders. Apart from the entrance of the sports center, consumers access the open swimming pool also from a gate in the garden. By entering the swimming pool from the garden, individuals can also to access the social center and use also the other facilities (the sauna, the Turkish bath and the gym). The HOA in order to control this new entrance delivered an electronic card to community members. However, since the card did not provide any information that could identify community members, outsiders could easily access the swimming pool. Nejat (48, M) and his daughter explain how the HOA failed to control the social center:

Seçil (22, F): Also, for example it is very wrong to use the card system in the swimming pool. I went to the school and my friends told me that our social center was very nice. If you consider the whole summer, I didn't go even 10 times. Everyone said that they liked the sports center and that the Turkish bath was such and such.

Nejat (48, M): I told this to the general management. I said "Thank you very much for making public the social center, for making accessible the social center to the public", He said "You made it accessible". I said "We? What did we make accessible" You gave a card, but did you control it?"

(Seçil (22, K): Bir de mesela havuzun kartla olması çok kötü bir şey. Okula falan gidiyorum sizin tesisler çok güzel falan, yazın toplasan 10 kere ben girmemişimdir. Herkes böyle işte salonu da çok güzelmiş, hamamınız da şöyleymiş.

Nejat (48, E): Genel müdüre söyledim. Dedim "çok teşekkür ederim halka açmışsınız, canım halkımıza tesislerinizi açmışsınız", "siz açtınız" dedi. "Biz" dedim "ne açtık? Kalktın kart verdin kontrol ettin mi?"

With the opening of the brand community to the "public", consumers individually and through the consumer committees made complaints about the use of

their resources by outsiders. In the summer of 2009, the HOA decided on the use of pictured identification cards in order to restore the privacy inside the community. The announcement notes:

After your intensive requests in order to prevent the intrusion of outsiders, this year pictured cards will be used for the swimming pool. For this reason, eligible community members should come to the public relations department, take their digital photographs and cards in person.

(Bu yıl sizlerden gelen yoğun talep üzerine, havuza, yabancıların girmesini önlemek amacıyla, resimli havuz kartları kullanılacaktır. Bu nedenle; havuz kartları, size sakinlerimize halkla ilişkiler bölümünde, dijital ortamda fotoğrafları çekilerek verileceğinden, hak sahiplerinin kart almaya, bizzat kendilerinin gelmesi gerekmektedir.)

In 2010 with the election of the new HOA that received the majority of the homeowners' votes, the association took action for the resolution of consumers' illegitimate brand performances. With the season turn to spring, several households performed their yearly spring-cleaning ritual. Everyday one could observe housewives and their cleaning ladies shaking out their carpets and *kilims* from the windows and the balconies. Carpets and *kilims* are a common scene of several balconies in the gated community. The HOA immediately published an announcement that reminded to consumers the basic rules and regulations of the brand management plan. However, still households did not follow the rules and regulations about the appropriate performances in the balconies. For this reason, just one week ago, the HOA photographed some examples of inappropriate practices and created a poster that illustrated several balconies. The copy read "No comment, *Ataköy Konakları*" (*Yorumsuz, Ataköy Konakları*) (Appendix 4, photograph 26). The president of the HOA stated that if these

illegitimate practices would continue, the next step would be to create a poster that reveals the apartment numbers of these households. Consequently, the HOA, as the voice of the majority, disciplines brand performances in order to impose the urban lifestyle.

Overall, consumers in lobby groups reconfigure their branded houses and community in order to restore, maintain and protect their brand resources. Consumers collectively monitor stakeholders' performances and take actions for the resolution of tensions. However, rather than forming a homogenous community for the lobbying of brand resources, the brand community breeds tensions by discriminating consumers based on their taste structure. Competing groups inside the brand community, sharing conflicting ideologies and taste cultures, act collectively to legitimize the commonalities of their identity projects. Along with the reconfiguration of the branded house and community, consumers also lobby for the protection of the brand in the long term.

5.2.2.2. Protecting the Brand over Time

The tensions between the competing consumer committees intensified during the local municipal elections in 2009 and the resolution of the developers' HOA in 2010. The elections of the new mayor and the new HOA formed new platforms for the legitimization of the committees' ideologies and taste cultures. Consumers employ strategies to authorize their dominance inside the community, and to protect and manage the brand in accordance to their own norms and values.

During the political campaign, the candidates of each political party arranged meetings in the gated community. Community members showed their political stance by participating in the meeting of the candidate that they support. Each candidate expressed their fond of the gated community and discussed their plans about the future of the district. During the meetings of the two main political parties JDP and the Republican People's Party (CHP from now on) supporters as well as opponents of the political parties participated in the meetings. Since the candidate of the Justice and Development party was not elected before, consumers could not negate his declarations. The candidate criticized the works of the present mayor (member of CHP) and discussed the changes that his election would bring to the district. One of the consumers asked the candidate whether he could grant to community members the land that locates the tennis and football courts. He preferred to resolve this problem upon his election. The meeting dissolved after the attack on the candidate about his collaboration on the construction of a gated community in another district. A community member of that gated community expressed his criticisms on the material defects. Members of the conservative committee immediately voiced that it was a planned action by the secular consumer committee.

During the meeting of the mayor, who was re-elected as the candidate of CHP, the conflict between the groups intensified further. The HOA announced days before not only the meeting, but also the resolution of the expected legal issues. The announcement notes:

On the 23rd of March at 20:30, our municipal Mr. Ateş Ünal Erzen will hold a meeting and announce the goods news about the issue of our housing permissions.

(Belediye Başkanımız Sn. Ateş Ünal Erzen'in 23 Mart Pazartesi akşamı saat 20:30 da sitemizde yapacağı toplantıda, iskanlarımızın hazır olduğu bilgisinin, bizzat kendisi tarafından, kat maliklerimize duyurulacağı müjdesini almış bulunmaktayız.)

The HOA announced the legalization of the ownership of the branded houses and the names of the consumer committee that have enabled the resolution of the legal problem. During the meeting, the candidate brought several official documents that legitimized the executed practices during his presidency, and illegitimatize the practices of the MHA and the previous mayor, member of DSP. For example, he explained that the MHA and the metropolitan city municipality are responsible for the sale of the lots in the district. The candidate stated that they were also not responsible for the modification of the lot in the entrance of the gated community. Rather the MHA, the metropolitan city municipality and the governor of Istanbul have transformed the lot from a school to a shopping mall. The accusations towards the mayor during the political campaign also received wide media attention. In a press conference, the mayor declared:

The municipality of Bakırköy not only requests anything, but also does not have any authority to dispose. The authority and the control of the land locating Ataköy Konakları belongs to the MHA, the municipality of Bakırköy does have any authority... The land located at the 5th district of Ataköy belongs to the MHA. The MHA made an application to the governor of Istanbul to transform the project of the lot from a school to a shopping mall. The municipality of Bakırköy objected the tranformation of the lot, however the assembly of the Metropolitan Municipality declined the objection (Ateş Ünal Erzen, Mayor of Bakırköy, www.emlakkulisi.com, May 28, 2008).

(Bakırköy Belediye Başkanlığı'nın, Ataköy Konakları ile ilgili bir talebi olmadığı gibi, tasarruf yetkisi de bulunmamaktadır. Ataköy Konakları'nın bulunduğu arsayla ilgili yetki ve planlama TOKİ'ye ait olup, Bakırköy Belediyesi'nin bir yetkisi bulunmamaktadır... Ataköy 5. Kısım'da yer alan TOKİ'ye ait arsanın,

TOKİ'nin İstanbul Valiliği'ne yaptığı başvuru üzerine, okul alanından çıkarıldığını, Bakırköy Belediye Başkanlığı'nın planlarda yer alan değişikliğe itiraz ettiğini, ancak bunun Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisi tarafından reddedildi (Ateş Ünal Erzen, Bakırköy Belediye Başkanı, www.emlakkulisi.com, 28 Mayıs, 2008).)

At the end of his speech at the brand community, the mayor announced and showed the folder that stored the permissions of residence (*iskan*). However, several consumers of the conservative committee raised their voice about the delayed provision of their ownership rights and asked for justifications. As the quarrel intensified the bodyguards took out the mayor from the room, while the two competing consumer groups started a fight that ended with the arrival of the police. The second time victory of CHP at the district of *Bakırköy* relieved many consumers both at the district of *Ataköy* and at the gated community since the center-leftist party assured the protection of their brand resources.

The resolution of the developers' HOA created a new tension in the gated community. During the elections for the formation of the new HOA, three groups announced their candidacy. The secular and the conservative consumer committees formed the two candidate groups. As there are still houses for sale, developers also announced their candidacy for the new HOA. The developers had a total of 100 out of 950 votes as well as several supporters composed of relatives and friends. Before the elections, the groups held meetings with community members in order to promote their proposed plans for the management of the brand community. Specifically months before the elections, the secular consumer committee organized a torchlight procession on the 29th of October for the celebration of the Turkish Republic. Several community members moved in an orderly fashion around the gated community holding torches and

Turkish flags, and dressed in t-shirts imprinted with the picture of the founder of the Turkish Republic and the brand logo (Appendix 4, photograph 27 and 28). A marching band accompanied the crowd playing the national hymn and marches. Community members shout slogans in favor of the founder, the nation and the constitution (for example, *Türkiye laiktir, laik kalacak* – Turkey is secular and will remain secular). The secular consumer committee held a meeting with community members at the restaurant inside the social center. In the announcement of the meeting the candidates articulated clearly their ideology:

We invite you, our thrilled and crowded community, to celebrate the Republic Holiday with us along with the marching band and torchlight procession. We believe that our gated community should be managed not by the developers but by our members.

(Bizler 29 Ekim Cumhuriyet Bayramında bando ve fener alayı eşliğinde düzenlediğimiz gecede, coşkulu kalabalık ve tek vücut olmuş site sakinlerimizi yine aynı birlik ve beraberlik içinde yapacağımız toplantıya katılımlarınızı bekliyoruz... Sitemizin müteahhitsiz, site malikleri tarafından yönetilmesi taraftarıyız.)

The candidate group distances itself both from the conservative group that poses a threat to the execution of practices inside the community, and from the developers that take advantage of any incidence that can be converted into a financial gain. During the elections the conservative members were not able to form a homogenous community. Özgür (40, M), the current president of the HOA, stated that within this consumer collectivity consumers differ on their worshipping practices. For this reason, they couldn't form a strong community that could fight against the secular consumer

collectivity. The secular consumer committee won the elections and formed the new HOA guided by the principles of the founder of the Turkish Republic.

Overall, consumers employ various strategies to control the appropriate execution of brand performances. Consumers fortify the brand against the invasion of their privacy and harmony by competing ideologies and taste cultures, and discipline consumers' performances to maintain the constructed order. Additionally, community members lobby in groups to fight against the attack on their brand resources by monitoring the performances of non-community members, the MHA, the developers, the HOA, and the metropolitan city and district municipalities both in the near future and over time.

5.3. Summary

The findings demonstrate consumers' experiences with their problematic brand community. Consumers work extensively on the resolution of brand rumors and stereotypes that surround their brand. The analysis reveals that consumers' brand practices produce additional effects.

The brand community is a microcosm of the country that embeds the economic, socio-cultural and political tensions. Consumers spatially reproduce social segregation by protecting the brand from the others that threaten the constructed order. Apart from the economic segregations, brand owners also distance community members that adopt alternative taste cultures by welcoming their significant others, by searching their

neighbors before the ownership of the branded house, and by forming consumer committees for the legitimization of their own taste culture inside the community. The findings reveal that the brand community reproduces the tensions between the secular and the conservative consumer groups. Particularly, the election of the new HOA intensified the tensions to gain control over the brand, since the triumph would also legitimize the associated taste structure. Consequently, consumers' brand practices reproduce taste struggles.

Apart from the reproduction of taste struggles, consumers as a household unit reproduce their own class position. The findings indicate that consumers employ various strategies in order to normalize the ownership of the branded house. Trajectories of the family home and specifically the struggles of enabling homeownership normalize not only the ownership of the branded house, but also normalize the households' attained class position.

Finally, consumers' experiences reveal the multidimensionality of the brand value. Consumers negotiate material, symbolic, socio-cultural, economic and legal properties before and after the ownership of the branded house. Research in different disciplines provides evidence about the significance of the house as a status object (for example, Belk, 1988; Mallett, 2004). The findings indicate that consumers hide the brand in order to avoid brand rumors and stereotypes. Consequently, in some instances the house rather than a reflection of self becomes a burden in consumers' everyday practices.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The research provides a holistic account of brand-building processes and consumers' experiences with a problematic brand, which embeds multiple tensions. The findings of the first study reveal that apart from marketers' actions towards the development of the marketing program, multiple actors shape the brand development processes before the launch of brands in the marketplace. In contrast to the existing studies on brands and branding that tend to focus on the processes of building brands after the launch of the brands by the firm, this study uncovers the multiple actors (brand stakeholders, materials, discourse and events), and the practices, which integrate resources, competences and discourses for the development of brands before and after their launch. Particularly, brand stakeholders (governmental institutions, developers, financial institutions, media representatives and consumers) and non-human actors (for example, spatial specificities, the earthquake) empower the flow of brand resources for

the realization of brands, brand competences legitimize and discipline stakeholders' brand-building performances, and discourses normalize, promote and stage the ownership of the branded house and community. Stakeholders' brand practices shape consumers lived experiences with the branded house and community. In contrast to the literature that focuses on the symbolic properties of brands, this study reveals that brand creation embeds both symbolic and material dimensions. Moreover, brand-building processes develop brands and their associated brand communities simultaneously. Stakeholders' performances and discursive practices give material and symbolic form to brands and to their associated brand communities by framing the properties and the boundaries of the community. These brand-building processes are not tension free. Conflicts within and among brand stakeholder groups discipline brand-building performances.

The findings of the second study reveal that consumers execute individual and collective (as a household and as a community) brand practices to contest brand rumors and stereotypes, and to negotiate appropriate brand performances. The branded house and community are significant for the formation of social identities inside the private sphere of home and inside the gates. Rumors and stereotypes, and community members' and the other stakeholders' conflicting brand performances form multiple tensions that consumers need to work on both before and after the ownership of the branded house. However, often tensions force consumers to conceal the ownership of the brand. Rather than evangelizing and justifying the brand, consumers hide the brand to put at a distance the negativities. This study also reveals that by staging brands, developers introduce a temporal dimension to the creation of brand value. Since consumers move in their

branded houses and community approximately three to four years after the ownership, the tensions of the branded house and community become more apparent and even intensify with the move to the brand community. Overall, the branded house, a complex and multidimensional consumer object, embraces dynamic political, social, cultural and economic tensions.

This chapter provides an abstracted discussion of the multi-actor brand development processes, and of consumers' lived experiences with the branded and highly problematic consumer product. The first section discusses actors' brand-building processes and highlights the contributions to the literatures on brands and branding (for a review see Keller and Lehmann, 2006), and the new service dominant logic in marketing (for reviews see Vargo and Lusch, 2004; Merz et al. 2009). The findings reveal the multiple actors, resources, competences, discourses and performances that shape the development of brands before and after their launch in the marketplace. The second section theorizes consumers' individual and collective brand practices and contributes to research on the development of collective identity projects, and the institutional and social structures that systematically shape consumers' experiences and practices (for a review see Arnould and Thompson, 2005). The findings reveal consumers' individual and collective actions for the transformation and protection of their brand and brand community from the tensions that arise between community members and among consumers and other brand stakeholders. Besides literatures on branding, brand communities, and consumers' identity projects, this study also offers novel insights into the understanding of home in the consumer behavior literature. The third section discusses the implications of the findings for this relatively underestimated

domain. The findings reveal that the branded house is a complex, multidimensional and dynamic consumer space, and a central and highly conspicuous component of their identity projects. The fourth and fifth sections discuss the managerial implications and the areas for future research respectively.

6.1. Brand-Building Processes

Since the early studies on brands and branding, scholars discuss the significance of the development and management of strong brands (for example, Levy, 1959; Aaker, 1996). Despite the agreement on the significance of brands for firms' success, the overview of the literatures on brands and branding (chapter, 3) indicates that branding research perspectives employ different assumptions about the nature of brands, and the processes and actors that participate in their formation. Increasingly, scholars call for the integration of perspectives in order to gain a holistic understanding of brands and branding (Keller, 2003). This study follows this call and offers such a holistic understanding. The findings of this research provide evidence for the dynamic and interrelated practices, multiple actors, resources, competences and discourses that brand-building embeds.

Contemporary perspectives on brands and branding illustrate brands are social creations (O'Guinn and Muniz, 2010) and that there are multiple sources and uses of brand meanings (Diamond et al. 2009). The latest branding perspective calls attention to the role of all brand stakeholders in the development of brands. Brands are polycentric

entities, contextually and historically grounded (for example, Holt, 2004; Schroeder and Salzer-Morling, 2006; Cayla and Arnould, 2008) and formed through dynamic stakeholder interactions (for example, Diamond et al. 2009; Merz et al. 2009). This study contributes to the literatures on marketing, and brands and branding in several ways.

First, the findings of this study indicate that brand-building processes start much earlier than the development and launch of brands by the firm. The current research on brands and branding explore the co-creation of brands by various stakeholders only after the construction of brands by the firm and their introduction in the marketplace. The literature treats the processes and actors that take part in the development of the brand offerings as given. For example, Merz and his co-authors (2009) developed a conceptual model in the light of the service dominant logic in marketing that depicts the theorization of the brand stakeholder focus. According to the model, initially relationships between employees within the firm shape the development of brands. With the launch of the brands, dynamic network relationships among the firm, the brand community and the different stakeholders shape the development of brand value and meanings. The authors provide only a conceptual framework and do not examine the processes of brand co-creation.

Few studies acknowledge the role of various brand stakeholders in the development of brand offerings before their launch, however these processes are not examined extensively. For example, studies on new product development pay attention to the role of consumers, competitors, suppliers and the cooperation of various departments inside the firm for the development of a new product (for a thorough review

see Krishnan and Ulrich, 2001). Recent studies criticize the linear process of new product development⁸ models and argue that new products develop in complex adaptive systems (McCarthy et al. 2006). The complex adaptive systems consist of a nested and scaleable system of human actors (individuals, groups or organizations) that shape the development of brands, and adapt their practices in the presence of change (McCarthy et al. 2006). Despite the complexity of new product development processes, the studies focus on the primary internal and external actors that harmoniously form new products (departments inside the firm, consumers, competitors and suppliers). Moreover, the focus is on the development of a physical product without any symbolic properties. Similarly, studies on brand-building also focus on the primary actors that shape the development of new brands, initially with the creation of distinctive brand associations and product attributes (Ponsonby-McCabe and Boyle, 2006). Following the premises of mind-share branding, new brand development is an internal matter for the members of the firm (Aaker, 1996; Urde, 1999; Ponsonby-McCabe and Boyle, 2006).

Consumer culture theoreticians also do not account on the actors and processes of new brand development before their launch. For example, O’Guinn and Muniz (2010) developed “the social construction model of brands” that theorizes the actors (the marketer, the object, the individual consumers, consumer collectives and institutions) and the processes (accommodation/negotiation, mediated cultivation, polity, rumors and disruption) that shape the development of brands. Specifically, the authors’ conceptualization of marketers reveals the focus on the development of brands after their launch in the marketplace that is “marketers create the brand in the sense that they

⁸ Decision within a development project: concept development, supply-chain design, product design, performance testing and validation, product launch and production ramp-up (Krishnan and Ulrich, 2001).

give initial form, message, packaging, position and platform. The marketer launches the brand and tries to vest it with intended meanings in an attempt to bring about a desired consumer response” (O’Guinn and Muniz, 2010:137). Consumer culture theory – oriented studies, despite their critique of cognitive approaches to branding, similarly perceive the firm as the primary actors that negotiate with the other actors in the macro- and micro-marketing environments and accordingly, plan and execute the marketing program.

The findings of this research reveal that various interrelated and dynamic stakeholders shape brand-building processes both before and after the launch of brands. Negotiations and tensions within and among stakeholders groups form the material and symbolic properties of brands even before their introduction in the marketplace. Along with the presence of stakeholders, brand-building requires brand resources, brand competences and brand ownership discourses. Consequently, stakeholders enable or disable brand-building processes through the negotiations and tensions to take control over brand resources, to adopt brand competences, to discipline others’ brand performances and discursively to normalize the ownership of brands. As the findings explicate, consumers are also significant actors in the brand-building processes. Consumers’ previous experiences with the product, their common concerns, fears and interests shape the development of brands before their launch in the marketplace. Particularly, the house, a site of rich symbolism, reflects one of the most important decisions in individuals’ lives and it also is a critical object for the production of consumers’ identity projects (Belk, 1988; Hill, 1991). Stakeholders’ dynamic practices shape brands even after their introduction in the marketplace and continue indefinitely.

However, the configuration of human actors is contingent on contextual forces. For example, with the economic crisis in 2007, financial institutions withdrew from the development of commercial and consumer loans by increasing the interest rates. As a result, several developers undertook the role of banks by creating financial alternatives for enabling ownership and thus, for progressing the material development of projects. Contextual forces often transform the power relations within and between brand stakeholders groups and pose a threat to the execution of future brand practices: During the municipality elections in 2008, representatives of all political parties presented to community members their future plans about the district and the gated community. For many consumers the election of a municipal from the competing political party would put their brand and brand community in danger. Competing political ideologies moved from the political arena to the gated community by making the brand distinctions visible.

Second, this study shows how the conflicts among and within the brand stakeholders groups forms the brands and the execution of brand performances inside the ecosystem. In contrast to a harmonious brand ecosystem formed by the interactions of brand stakeholders (Bergvall, 2006), this study illustrates how tensions shape brands. Research findings elaborate on how stakeholders legitimize and discipline brand-building performances by controlling the adoption of branding competences to deal with tensions that arise within and between brand stakeholder groups. For example, the findings of this research illustrate how adopting practices of other brand stakeholders groups distract the “brand ecosystem”. Rather than “a positive blending of social and material relations” (Miller, 2001: 115), this research illustrates the dynamic blending of

material, economic, political/legal, social and symbolic distinctions that occur at the intersection of the brand and its multiple creators. Rather than drawing distinctions freely without any restrictions (Giesler and Luedicke, 2006), the study reveals that often brand stakeholders avoid drawing distinctions, since it may affect the future of the corporate brand. For example, developers keep away from commenting on the “invisible” interests that define the results of the treasury land bids. Drawing distinctions about the economic, social and political interests between the ruling party and the developers that collaborate with the MHA pose a threat on the execution of future brand-building practices (such as difficulties in receiving legal permissions as the conservative party runs most of the municipalities) and consequently, on the maintenance of the corporate brand in the marketplace.

Third, this study provides a holistic account of brand-building processes (before and after the launch of) and does not narrow the study of brands only on few stakeholders. Most of the studies on brands and brand communities focus mainly only on the immediate human actors that give form to brands after their launch, leaving significant processes and actors unexplored (for example, Gregory, 2007; Diamond et al. 2009; Schau et al. 2009). For example, even though Diamond and her co-authors (2009) call for a holistic understanding of brands through the examination of as many brands creators as possible, still the analysis is limited on the firm derived brand myth and two different multi-generational consumer communities that evolve around the brand. Rather than a positive blending of stakeholders’ polysemous and anti-phonal brand meanings (Diamond et al. 2009), the findings of this study illustrate that brand stakeholders hardly ever easily accommodate conflicting brand meanings. Rather they continuously work on

the resolution of tensions and conflicts both before and after the launch of brands and continue indefinitely.

Fourth, the findings of this study conceptualize brand stakeholders as the human actors that shape the development of brands. Driven by the premises of practice theory and theories on materiality (Reckwitz, 2002; Miller, 2005; Warde, 2005), the findings indicate that along with human actors, materials, discourse and events give form to brands. In contrast to the symbolic preoccupation of the literatures on brands and branding that theorize the accommodation, appropriation, transformation or subversions of firm based brand meanings (for example, Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Holt, 2004; Schau et al. 2009), this study show how brands emerge from the relationships among subjects, objects, discourses and events. Increasingly, consumer culture theoreticians also call for the study of brands both as symbolic and as material properties (for example, Luedicke, 2006a,b; Mühlbacher and Hemetsberger, 2008; Kravets and Öрге, 2010). This study supports and extends the materiality of brands. The findings elaborate on how urban space structures the creation of brands and how brand stakeholders' brand-building processes structure urban space. The material properties of the land (spatial specificities such as the size of the lot and the near home territories) structure the material development of brands and consequently, structure consumers' experiences with the branded house and community. The findings also illustrate how the earthquake, a significant event, gives form to the development of gated communities. Newly imported construction technologies and their application enable the development of brands, and their acceptance and adoption by consumers.

Fifth, stakeholders' brand-building practices enable the simultaneous development of brands and their associated brand communities. Brand stakeholders enable or disable the flow of brand resources, the adoption or rejection of branding competences, and the normalization and transformation of ownership discourses. These practices give form both to brands and their associated brand communities. For example, the initiation of the mortgage system reproduces social class differences, and the material properties of the brands (such as the size of the houses and the social activities incorporated inside the gated community) reproduce economic and socio-cultural distinctions. Studies on brand communities' reveal the dynamic negotiations between consumers and firms on brand meanings and on legitimate community members (for example, Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Brown et al. 2003). Apart from the firm and the consumer collectivities, this analysis also reveals the multiple actors that shape the creation of brand communities even before the launch of brands.

Sixth, this study also shows how brand stakeholders construct the ownership of the branded house and community. By executing discursive practices for the normalization of brands, stakeholders inscribe brand ownership through transforming and promoting cultural meanings and narratives on the meaning of home. The findings illustrate that each brand stakeholder group employs different strategies for the normalization of the branded house and community. For example, the MHA uses the discourse of morality, municipalities use the discourse of planned urbanization, financial institutions use the discourse of homeownership, and developers use the discourse of the self-sufficient contemporary communities. Narratives and representations of gated

communities also reinforce the transformation of the meaning of home towards the ownership of the branded house and community.

Overall, supporting Diamond's and her co-authors' (2009) notion of brand epistemology and using the premises of practice theory, this study provides a holistic account of the multiple actors, and the resources, competences and discourses that enable or restrict the execution of practices for the development of brands and their associated brand communities, before and after their launch, and indefinitely.

6.2. Consumers' Individual and Collective Brand Practices

Studies on brand communities provide valuable insights on the collective consumer behavior inside consumer collectivities. This literature often theorizes the markers and mechanisms that give form to consumer collectivities (for example, Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Kates, 2002; Brown et al. 2003; Muniz and Schau, 2005). The study confirms and extends the current theorizations on consumer collectivities in several ways.

First, consumer research often highlights the co-existence of multiple consumer collectivities within the same brand community (for example, Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; Kozinets, 2001; Brown et al. 2003; Cova et al. 2007). Despite the theoretical contributions, these studies do not explain the strategies that consumers employ in order to overcome the tensions that arise from the co-existence of alternative consumers collectivities within the same brand community. For example, Cova and his co-authors

(2007) illustrate that on the global scale brand communities in different cultural contexts form alternative brand meanings. However, the authors do not elaborate on whether consumer collectivities perceive these oppositions, and if they do, how they respond. Only few studies elaborate on the tensions within the same brand community, but they fail to explore extensively how consumers cope with these tensions. For example, Martin and her co-authors (2006) examine how female Harley bikers engage in the hyper-masculinity of biker culture, and show how gender manifests in the adoption and transformation of the hyper-masculinity ethos. Yet, the authors do not discuss how the hegemonic masculine brand communities respond to the formation of these multiple feminine communities.

In contrast to Muniz and O’Guinn (2001: 421) who assert, “brand communities generally seem more democratic and inclusive than many traditional face-to-face communities”, this study shows that brand communities are hardly ever democratic. The findings of this research reveal the formation of competing consumer collectivities within the same brand community, and the countervailing strategies that they employ in order to protect and/or transform the brand and the constructed order inside the brand community. Consumers lobby in different communities to fight against the tensions that arise from the competing consumer collectivity (within the same brand community) and other brand stakeholders (developers, the MHA and the municipalities). Consequently, apart from protecting the brand against the firm’s commercially driven actions (for example, Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Brown et al. 2003), competing consumer collectivities within the same brand community act “jointly” (but in different communities) against the multiple and conflicting actions of various brand stakeholders.

Supporting, O'Guinn and Muniz (2005), strong brand communities form out of challenges, which give community members a reason to exist and preserve. However, the forms of the challenges are greater and more diverse than the ones already reported: "low market share (Saab and Macintosh), difficulty of use (Jaguar), derision and ridicule (Volkswagen Beetle), marketplace abandonment (Apple Newton), or a strong rivalry (Coke versus Pepsi, Apple versus Wintel, Pocket PC versus Palm)" (O'Guinn and Muniz, 2005: 265). "Tension is crucial to maintaining cohesiveness" (O'Guinn and Muniz, 2005: 265), but tensions also arise out of socio-cultural, political and economic reasons. Consequently, apart from the firms' actions, this study reveals how consumers act towards the different conflicts that originate from community members' and other powerful stakeholders' brand performances.

Second, studies on brand communities provide evidence that consumers perform impression management practices to create favorable associations about the brand community to non-community members (Schouten and McAlexander, 2005; Kozinets, 2001; Kates, 2002; Muniz and Schau, 2005; Schau et al. 2009). This literature suggests that consumers execute these practices in order to negate the stigmas that surround their brand community, and to establish the superiority of the brand over competing brands (defined as oppositional brand loyalty by Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001). For example, Schau and her co-authors (2009) theorize impression management practices as consumers' actions towards the promotion of brands (defined as evangelizing practices), and their motivations for allocating time and effort to brands (defined as justifying practices). The findings of this research illustrate how consumers cope with multiple brand rumors and stereotypes over time (both before and after becoming members of the

brand community). Rather than examining consumers' impression management practices at the individual or at the community level (Kozinets, 2001; Muniz and Schau, 2005; Schau et al. 2009), the study explicates the individual and collective (at the household and at the community level) strategies employed for the resolution of brand rumors and stereotypes. For example, contesting brand rumors and stereotypes at the individual level, consumers in their everyday lives distance rumors and stereotypes by concealing the ownership of the branded house. At the household level, families normalize the ownership of the branded house by constructing the discourse of "We Deserve", and by stereotyping non-members that circulate these negative brand meanings. At the community level, consumers normalize the brand community by monitoring the material development of the brand community, and by discriminating the community from the other communities and from the regular unbranded products.

Moreover, this study also illustrates that consumers often hide the brand to avoid brand rumors and stereotypes and to enable the fair execution of marketplace performances. Kozinets (2001) also suggests that some consumers hide or cover over and minimize their identity as Star Trek fans due to social obstacles. The Trekkie stereotypes associate Star Trek community members as fanatics, immature, passive, addicted, obsessed with consumption and unable to distinguish between fantasy and reality. However, the findings of this study show that apart from the stereotypes against community members, rumors also circulate about the material and symbolic properties of the brand. For example, rumors about developers' close ties with the Islamist party in charge embrace the brand with political and socio-cultural tensions. Without doubt, these rumors also form stereotypes about the consumers living inside the gates (for

example, “new generation Islamists”). Consequently, community members negotiate multiple tensions about the brand community. The literature suggests that consumers experience social (Kozinets, 2001), financial and physical obstacles (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995). The findings of this research illustrate that consumers experience multiple socio-cultural, financial, economic and political obstacles both before (during the decision-making process) and after the ownership of the brand. Therefore, from the beginning -sometimes even before the ownership of the branded product and the material development of the project- consumers have to cope with the obstacles that shape their problematic brand.

Third, the impression management practices legitimize consumers’ identity projects with the most central consumption object in their lives. Previous research on legitimacy in the consumer culture theory literature has explored the acceptance of brands by consumer collectivities pointing to the role of market actions (Kates, 2004), cultural scripts (Holt, 2002) and discourses (Thompson, 2004) in the formation of consumer identities. Recently scholars theorize further the relationship between legitimization and institutional structures, and elaborate on the role of market-oriented behaviors in consumers’ legitimization processes (Coşkuner-Ballı and Thompson, 2009; Humphreys, 2009; Luedicke and Giesler, 2009). This study also provides evidence that by contesting brand rumors and stereotypes and by negotiating appropriate brand performances, consumers, both at the household and at the community level, attempt to form, legitimize and protect both their family and community identity. Extending the literature on the creation and legitimization of an individual identity (for example, Kozinets, 2001; Kates, 2002; Muniz and Schau, 2005), gender identity (Kates, 2001,

2004; Martin et al. 2006; Coşkuner-Ballı and Thompson, 2009; Diamond et al. 2009) and social identity (for example, Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001; McAlexander et al. 2002; Diamond et al. 2009; Schau et al. 2009), this research illustrates the extensive identity work on the simultaneous creation and legitimization of two central social identities, becoming a family and a community member. Moreover, the identity work at the community level embraces the tensions among the community and the other stakeholders that shape the future of the brand community, as well as the tensions within the competing consumer collectivities in the same brand community. Consequently, this study also shows how legitimacy is constrained or enabled by micro and macro structures.

Fourth, along with actors' discursive practices on the ownership of the branded house and community, consumers engage in the construction and performance of brand ownership. The findings of this research explicate how consumers, at the individual, household and community levels, develop and experience the ownership of the branded house and community. For example, at the household and at the community level, consumers create and normalize the ownership of the branded house and community with the use of multiple resources (for example, retail spectacles, scale models, show homes, brochures and catalogues, the home in rough construction, industry related websites), with the adoption of multiple skills (for example, become familiar with the technologies used for construction, read construction codes, evaluate payment options and forecast the future market value of the community) and with the adoption and transformation of discourses (for example, place attachment, the meaning of home in a branded gated community). Consumers engage in ownership performances to negotiate

the current and future brand performances of consumers and other stakeholders. Specifically, findings illustrate that households perform and experience the ownership of the branded houses and their membership in the brand community even before the material development and actual use of the brand. For example, households often visit the sales office, meet and often socialize with their future neighbors, and idealize their dream home with the use of catalogues.

Fifth, the literature on brand communities theorizes the socialization process inside consumer collectivities. For example, Muniz and Schau (2005) state that community members welcome new comers by providing guidelines on the use of community resources. As consumers adopt new and increasingly complex community practices, members' status and legitimacy increases respectively (Schau et al. 2009). Apart from consumers' brand practices, which create value and whose effects evolve over time (Schau et al. 2009), the findings of this study reveal that stakeholders' brand practices also shape the temporality of brand communities and their associated practices. Developers create a relationship between time and brand value through staging sales and prices. Each sales stage decreases product availability and increases prices. Consequently, developers prompt homeownership by controlling the timing of ownership. Media representatives also discursively encourage consumers to buy a branded house in the early phases of the project. For consumers, there is also a temporal dimension to the creation of brand value. Specifically, the nature of practices reveals the temporality of brand value, since consumers undertake some practices before and/or after ownership, while others before and/or after moving in. For example, the impression management practices intensify after the ownership of the branded house, as

consumers experience brand rumors and stereotypes even before moving into the gated community. However, they severely contest these negative associations after the ownership of the branded house and community. Moreover, consumers discipline community members' brand performances after move, since they cannot observe the practices of others before moving in. Even though, some households distance the households with competing taste culture during the decision-making process, still the tensions intensify after moving in and sharing the same brand community.

Sixth, the temporality of brand value addresses one of the gaps in understanding brands and brand management that Keller and Lehmann (2006) identify in their article. The authors question the effects of brand tangibles and intangibles on brand equity and choice: "Are intangibles attributes formative (causes) or reflective (constructed) reasons for equity of choice? That is, are they considered a priori or "constructed" after experience with the brand" (Keller and Lehmann, 2006: 741). This ethnographic research illustrates how the symbolic properties of brands intensify after moving into the gated community. Although consumers consider several brand properties (mainly material, symbolic, financial and legal) prior to selection, the symbolic dimensions and their effects on the execution of everyday practices (especially outside the gates) become evident with time. For example, during shopping for home, consumers encounter others' brand associations that pose a threat on the fair execution of marketplace performances. Moreover, given the transformation of the sales system, the experience of the branded house starts earlier than the actual move into the gated community. Therefore, the ownership of the branded house intensifies consumers' experiences with the symbolic properties of brand even before moving in. Employing

Keller and Lehmann's (2006) conceptualization both intangibles and intangibles affect brand equity and choice, however their effects develop over time through the engagement in different practices.

Overall, the research elaborates on the practices that consumers individually and collectively execute to form and legitimize their ownership of the branded house and community, and to protect their brand from the internal and external threats on their brand community. Competing consumer collectivities and stakeholders' practices threaten brand resources and brand performances within the community, creating a rather non-democratic and non-harmonious community. The temporality of the brand also intensifies existing tensions and creates new tensions. Finally, the ownership of the branded house and community are central for the creation, legitimization and enactment of individual and collective identities.

6.3. The Meaning(s) of the Branded House

Different streams of research in marketing use the concepts of house and home. The studies can be classified into three main categories: the household decision-making, the consumption behavior inside the house, and the phenomenology of home.

The first research stream uses the house only as a setting in which different decisions take place including the acquisition of a new house (for example, Hempel, 1975; Park, 1982; Qualls, 1987; Wilk, 1987; Morgan, 1989). The second research stream uses the house also as a setting, in which consumers form and confirm their

identities (for example, Belk, 1988; Oswald, 1999), perform consumption rituals (for example, Rook, 1985; Wallendorf et al. 1991) and a place where various possessions find or lose meaning (for example, Curasi et al. 2004; Lastovicka and Fernandez, 2005; Ahuvia, 2005). Although, multiple consumption practices occur at the house, the material and highly symbolic consumer object takes little notice in both of the first two research perspectives.

The third research stream investigates the phenomenology of home (McCracken, 1989; Claiborne and Ozanne, 1990; Hill, 1991; Belk, 1988; Venkatesh, et al. 2001, 2003). These studies focus mainly on consumers' lived experiences with the house. While some studies focus on the harmonious construction of the family home (for example, McCracken, 1989; Claiborne and Ozanne, 1990), others focus on the barriers that restrict the practice of home (Belk, 1988; Hill, 1991; Venkatesh et al. 2001, 2003). However, these studies decrease the multidimensionality of the consumer object by focusing only on consumers' lived experiences with the house, and their interactions with the other consumers that share the same home environment. Moreover, the consumption space is treated as given that "it is not easily alterable... and it is likely to change less frequently during the life course of the family" (Venkatesh et al. 2003: 27). Finally, these studies focus mainly on consumers' accounts on what a house is, and do not examine how other actors shape the meaning(s) of home (except Hill, 1991). Despite its relevance to consumption, research tends to narrow the study of the highly symbolic, material and social, and financially expensive consumer object.

This study provides several theoretical contributions on the meaning(s) of home in marketing. First, by employing the practice theory the study reveals the actors,

processes, resources, competences and discourses that shape the meanings of home as well as the practices inside the private sphere (home and community). The branded house is an integrative practice (Schatzki, 1996) that is a process that is constituted of various macro and micro practices. Each practice shapes the brand and the meaning(s) of the home. Moreover, the practice and thus the meaning(s) of the branded house are not static, but subject to change. The branded house embeds and is formed by actors' dynamic brand performances not only inside, but also outside the private sphere of home, as well as inside and outside the community. This research provides a holistic account of the development processes of the branded house by approaching the house as a multidimensional object. The house forms a series of connections between the consumer and the community in large that is, connectedness with people, connectedness with the place, and connectedness with the past and the future (Dovey, 1985; Lawrence, 1987). In this research context, the house becomes synonymous with the brand community. The house and thus the brand community are process-oriented and constantly becoming.

Second, the findings illustrate how actors transform and promote the cultural meaning of home towards the ownership of the branded house. Increasingly, the house takes not only a symbolic, but also a particular material form (gated and walls, security guards, social and leisure activities). The findings of this research explicate how multiple stakeholders execute discursive practices for the normalization and promotion of the branded house and community. Therefore, apart from consumers, other brand stakeholders shape the meaning(s) of the branded house, both as a material and as a symbolic consumer object.

Third, in contrast to the house as a static physical object, this analysis reveals how the trajectory of home environments (Hill, 1991) normalize the ownership of the branded house and community, and form the meaning(s) of the branded house. Moreover, rather than focusing only on consumers' lived experiences inside the house, this study illustrates that consumers "lived" experiences start earlier than the act of moving and living inside the house. Consumers imagine and idealize the dream branded house using various resources (the retail spectacles, scale models, show homes, catalogues and brochures, houses in rough construction). The home is not only a metaphor for living (Venkatesh et al. 2001), but also for imagining and dreaming (Hill, 1991). The dream house is an idealized notion that interacts and contradicts with the actual lived experience (Chapman and Hockey, 2001). The findings illustrate that the tensions intensify after moving into the house and the community. Consumers individually and collectively (as a household and as a community) attempt to resolve the tensions in order to recover the dream home that they have idealized for.

Fourth, the analysis also reveals the complex politics of the branded house as a consumer space. Previous retailing literature has shown the role of place or brand retail spectacles in forming consumer experiences by providing cultural resources for the development of identity projects and thus, in cultivating consumers' involvement in the co-creation of these spectacles (for example, Kozinets et al. 2004; Hollenbeck et al. 2008). In a recent study, Borghini and her co-authors (2009) investigate how brand ideology manifests in the materiality of the retail environments and argue that "one of the hallmarks of an ideology is that it not only makes a particular view of the world seem natural, but it makes seem desirable, complete, and perfect" (Borghini, et al. 2009:

370). The findings of this study illustrate that the branded house as a space incorporates contradictory ideologies originating by different brand stakeholders rather than only by the firm. For example, competing political ideologies and competing taste cultures shape the present and future practices inside the brand community. This analysis particularly extends the notion of place theorized particularly in the retailing literature and uses the construct of space instead, since space embeds not only ideology, but also power and knowledge that produce it (Lefebvre, 1974). The branded house is a microcosm of the society embracing political, social, cultural and economic tensions. The resolution of tensions, if they are ever resolved, turns the branded house into a home.

6.4. Managerial Implications

The processes of brand-building are significant to brand managers, since brands increasingly depend on the dynamic relationships among the firm and its various stakeholders (Merz et al. 2009; Jones, 2005). This research suggests that brand managers should also consider the relationships between the firm and its stakeholders before the launch of the brand in the marketplace, as they significantly shape the development of brands. Rather than focusing on the identification of key brand stakeholders (Jones, 2005), this study proposes the identification of key practices that give form to the development, control and growth of brands. With the identification of key practices, firms will be able to control the multiple actors (brand stakeholders, materials, discourses and events), performances, resources, competences, discourses and

representations. The findings illustrate that non-human actors shape the development of brands. For this reason, marketers should pay attention to how non-human actors also shape the material and symbolic properties of brands. Rethinking brands in terms of stakeholders' and consumers' brand practices will also make firms more receptive to the macro-environmental factors, which the present conceptual models treat as peripheral factors that shape brand stakeholders' relationships (Jones, 2005) and consumers' perceptions with brands (Keller and Lehman, 2006). Marketers must remember that they manage complex properties embedded with ideology (and often conflicting ideologies) and power that continuously evolve brand values and meanings.

The findings indicate that stakeholders' brand-building practices form brands, but at the same time form brand communities. Specifically, by enabling the flow of brand resources, by legitimizing and disciplining brand-building performances, and by constructing brand ownership, stakeholders shape the boundaries of the brand community. Stakeholders' brand practices form the symbolic, material, economic, socio-cultural and legal properties of the brand community. Therefore, even though firms are not the owners of brands (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2005), stakeholders' brand practices shape the characteristics of the brand community and thus, shape consumers' present and future performances inside the community. For this reason, marketers should continuously control how other stakeholders' brand practices may shape the development of the brand community, even before their introduction in the marketplace.

This study also reaffirms the role of consumers as active actors in the brand-building processes. Consumer collectivities foster collective practices for the maintenance of brands in the marketplace (Schau et al. 2009). The findings show that

marketers may benefit from encouraging consumers to execute brand practices by providing resources to build the family and the community. Increasingly, consumers do not simply buy or use a brand, but engage in complex practices in which they interact both with marketers and other stakeholders. Consequently, marketers will benefit from projecting consumers' brand practices in the development of a new product.

Moreover, this study suggests that marketers should take an active role in the provision of resources for facilitating ownership experiences, and for the management of rumors and stereotypes. Research findings demonstrate that developers use various resources for the materialization of the brand before its construction. These resources assist consumers during the decision-making process. Additionally, consumers use these resources to idealize and experience the practices that the ownership of the branded house and community will enable. By providing alternative resources that will cultivate consumers' ownership experiences, firms can differentiate brands that develop under the same cultural myth.

Finally, rumors play a significant role in the development of brand meanings, and consumers take actions in order to overcome the threads towards their brand (Muniz and O'Guinn, 2005). The findings of this study show that often consumers face difficulties in negating both brand rumors and stereotypes. Marketers should assist consumers in negating rumors and in normalizing and legitimizing the community by tracking word of mouth and providing resources for justification. Given the dynamic stakeholders that shape brand-building processes, managers more than ever should monitor brands in order to identify and control threats on the execution of present and future brand performances.

6.5. Future Research and Conclusion

Despite the theoretical contributions, this study shares some limitations that provide opportunities for future research. First of all, the findings relate to the urban and secular upper-middle class homeowners and their individual and collective brand practices. Since the conservative consumer collectivity was emerging during the data collection process, time restrictions did not allow the in-depth investigation of this consumer collectivity. However, participant observations and informal conversations with conservative consumers revealed the community's taste structures and their performances for gaining visibility inside the brand community. Follow up research will investigate the following issues. Islamism and secularism, modernity and tradition, urban and rural lifestyles make brands and their performances the site of conflict. This future research will explore how the conservative community contests brand rumors and stereotypes, and how they negotiate appropriate brand performances. Sharing the same community with the predominant secularists, forms obstacles for the performance of their religion based identity projects inside the community. Whether the conservative community employs any other strategies for distancing the opposing community members as well as other stakeholders needs to be investigated further. Future research will also look at the internal community struggles within each consumer collectivity. The research reveals that different worshipping behaviors shape the formation of conflicts within the conservative community. Whether competing cults shape the future of the brand community or not remains to be studied. Moreover, the findings indicate that tenant households are also part of the brand community. Tenants are responsible for

looking after the house and paying the rent (Somerville and Steele, 1999), but often tenancy conditions create feelings of insecurity and vulnerability (Kearns et al. 2000). Apart from the property, in the gated community context, tenants are also responsible for the protection of order inside the community. Future research will also explore how tenants experience the problematic brand, their interactions with homeowners, and whether the branded house and community create feelings of insecurity and vulnerability.

Second, this study explicates the negotiations and tensions that exist within and among brand stakeholder groups. Even though the analysis reveals the tensions within developers, governmental and financial institutions, the findings indicate that tensions arise also within the firm. The planning of the project brings together employees with different skills namely architects, interior designers, engineers, financial analysts, market researchers, advertising agents and strategists. Differences in know-how form aesthetic, functional, material, symbolic and financial tensions. Rather than focusing on building an internal brand identity that guides the execution of the marketing program within the firm (for example, Urde, 1999; Aaker and Joachimsthaler, 2000; de Chernatony and Segal-Horn, 2001; Schulz and de Chernatony, 2002), future studies should also look at the internal brand building conflicts that shape the development of brands and their brand communities before their introduction in the marketplace.

Overall, the contributions of this study are also extended to other brands in different product categories. First, nearly the same configuration of actors (stakeholders, materials, discourses and events) shapes the creation of other branded consumption spaces such as shopping malls, hotels and business complexes. Developers,

governmental and financial institutions, media representatives and consumers give form to brands. However, the types of consumers that shape brand-building processes are different for each spatial product category. For example, in the shopping mall context there are two different types of consumers. First, individual consumers visit the shopping mall for shopping and entertainment purposes. Second, different types of retailers compete for gaining a retail space inside the shopping malls. On the one hand, retailers through their own retail environments give form to the shopping mall and shape consumers' shopping experiences. On the other hand, they negotiate with developers in order to gain and sustain a competitive retail space inside the branded consumption space.

Second, this study reveals that multiple actors shape the development of brands both before and after their launch. Although, the same configuration of actors may not apply to all product categories, this study shows that depending on the product category different groups of actors will always influence the development of brands both before and after their launch, and indefinitely (such as suppliers, retailers, intermediaries, etc.). Increasingly, this study also presumes that due to globalization multiple actors travel across cultures and form more complex configurations of human and non-human actors, and give form to more problematic brands.

Finally, this study unites the distinction between the material and symbolic focus of brands. Similar to the branded gated communities, brands in all different product categories are both material and immaterial (Kravets and Öрге, 2010). Depending on the product category and on the contextual structures, brands take different forms such as

more material or more symbolic, but they always embed both material and symbolic forms.

In conclusion, the processes of building strong brands embrace multiple and dynamic stakeholders, multiple resources, competences, discourses and performances that begin before the introduction of brands in the marketplace and continue forever. Stakeholders' brand practices form and transform brand community resources, enable and restrict brand performances and continuously shape the present and future of brands. Specifically, consumers collectively work on the protection of their brands, as the branded house is a significant component of their identity projects. Competing consumer collectivities reconfigure the branded house and community to restore the family home and community to the ideals reflected in the popular, but also global sayings "there is no place like home" and "home sweet home".

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWS GUIDES

1. Developers

Demografik Özellikler

1. İsim, Soyadı
2. Yaş
3. İş ünvanı
4. Çalıştığınız şirketi anlatabilir misiniz? Yabancı ortak var mı? Kaç yıldır faaliyet gösteriyor? Kaç kişi çalışıyor?
5. Bu şirkette ne kadar zamandır çalışıyorsunuz?
6. Çalıştığınız Endüstriyi anlatabilir misiniz?

Proje Oluşumu ve Özellikleri

1. Proje nasıl başladı ve nasıl gelişti?
2. Projenin planlamasında kimler rol aldı ve nasıl?
3. Bölge nasıl seçildi? Neler göz önünde bulunduruldu?
4. Hangi izinleri almanız gerekti? Hangi zorluklarla karşılaştınız?
5. Hangi mimarla/mimarlarla çalıştınız? Nasıl seçtiniz?
6. İç ve dış tasarımlara nasıl karar verildi? Sosyal alanlarda, kullanılacak malzemelerde ve özellikle teknoloji ürünlerinde, mutfak ve banyolarda kullanılan markalara nasıl karar verildi? (her biri için soru sor)
7. Kontratı anlatabilir misiniz? Site sakinlerinin uyması gereken kurallar ve kısıtlamalar var mı? Nelerdir?
8. Site içinde toplam kaç adet ev ve blok bulunmaktadır?
9. Kaç çeşit ev vardır? Her evi anlatabilir misiniz?

10. Evler arasında ne gibi farklılıklar/benzerlikler var? (fiyat, dizayn, oda sayısı, manzara, sunulan avantajlar mesela mutfak, jakuzi, klima...)
11. Böyle bir site de ev sahibi olmak ne ifade ediyor?
12. Bu sitenin vaad ettiği yaşam tarzı nedir?
13. Öteki sitelerle ne gibi farklılıklarınız/benzerlikleriniz var? (şehir içinde ve şehir dışındaki siteler)
14. Buradaki evlerin şehirdeki evlerle karşılaştırıldığında ne gibi benzerlikleri/farklılıkları var? (Probe for apartments and villas in different regions)
15. Yurtdışındaki benzer projelerle kıyaslandığınızda ne gibi benzerlikler/farklılıklar var?
16. Buna benzer başka konut projeleriniz var mı? Onları anlatabilir misiniz? Bu siteyle karşılaştırıldığında ne gibi benzerlikler/farklılıklar var?

Tüketici Profili ve Pazarlama Stratejileri

1. Siteler olan konut talebi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
2. Bu tip sitelere olan talep devam eder mi? Eğer ederse, hangi nedenlerden dolayı eder?
3. Müşterilerinizin böyle bir sitede ev satın alma sebepleri nelerdir?
4. Hedef kitlenizi anlatabilir misiniz (yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim, meslek, sosyal sınıf)?
5. Şu anki site sakinleriniz hakkında bilgi verebilir misiniz (yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim, meslek, sosyal sınıf)?
6. Hedef kitlenize nasıl ulaşıyorsunuz? (değişik medya kanalları)
7. Hangi reklam şirketiyle çalışıyorsunuz? Reklam stratejisini kim belirliyor? Verilmek istenen mesaj ne? Reklam da nelere değindiniz? Evi ve siteyi nasıl tanıttınız? Mesajınızı hangi görsel imajlarla desteklediniz? Oluşturmak istenen marka kimliği nedir?
8. Potansiyel müşterileriniz satış ofisinize geldiğinde sitenizi nasıl tanıtıyorsunuz? Hangi tanıtım araçlarını kullanıyorsunuz? Tanıtım aşamalarınızı anlatabilirmisiniz? (süreç: maket, kapı, parke, mutfaklar, örnek evler...)
9. Örnek evinizi/evlerinizi anlatabilir misiniz?
10. Müşteriler size neler soruyor?
11. Müşterilerin kaygı duyduğu konular var mı? Neler? Bu kaygıları gidermek için neler yapıyorsunuz?
12. Ödeme koşullarınızı anlatabilir misiniz?
13. Satın alma kararından sonra müşterileri nasıl bir süreç bekliyor?
14. Proje ne kadar süre içinde bitti?
15. Müşterilerinizle bu süreç içinde bir araya geliyor musunuz?

Cemiyet

1. Müşterilerinizi bu sitede nasıl bir hayat bekliyor?
2. Sitenin ismini anlatabilir misiniz? Kimler karar verdi? Hangi nedenlerden dolayı bu ismi seçtiniz?

3. Sitelerdeki yaşamın komşuluk ilişkilerini öldürdüğü söyleniyor, siz ne düşünüyorsunuz?
4. Sizce bu tip sitelerde insanlar komşuları ile iletişim kuruyor mu?
5. Sizce site sakinlerini bir araya getirerek birbirleriyle tanışmalarını, iletişim kurmalarını sağlamak site yönetiminin görevi mi?
6. Site sakinlerine özel sosyal faaliyetleriniz var mı? Ortak kullanıma açık olan bölgeler var mı? Anlatılabilir misiniz? (spor merkezleri, alışveriş merkezleri, restoranlar...)
7. Sitede sosyal/kültürel faaliyetler düzenlenecek mi? (partiler, özel günlerde aktiviteler...)
8. Sitenin yönetimini anlatabilir misiniz? Kimlerden oluşuyor?
9. Sitenin yönetiminde katkılarınız oluyor mu? Ne gibi?
10. Sitede uygulanması gereken kurallar var mı? Nelerdir?
11. Site sakinlerine aidat ve giderleri ortalama olarak ne kadar öngörüyorsunuz?
12. Giderler hakkında (aidat) müşterilerinizin her hangi bir talebi var mı?

Gelecekteki Evler

1. Gelecekteki konut projeleri sizce nasıl olur?
2. Gelecekteki evler nasıl olur? Şimdiki evlerden ne gibi farklılıkları olacak? (büyüklük, dizayn, bölge, olanaklar...)

2. Municipalities

1. Proje oluşumunda belediyelerin rolü nedir?
2. İlçenizde konut projelerinin oluşumunu destekliyorsunuz? Hangi nedenlerden dolayı?
3. Proje belediyeler tarafından nasıl onaylanıyor? Hangi aşamalardan geçiyor?
4. Belediyeler arasında ruhsatlama sürecinde farklılıklar var mı?
5. İmar planları nasıl oluşuyor? Kimin tarafından? (İlçe Belediyesi, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, TOKİ ve KİPTAŞ)
6. Geliştiriciler hangi maliyetlere tabidir (KDV, harçlar, emlak ve damga vergisi, vs.)?
7. TOKİ iştirakiyle oluşan bir proje bütün maliyetlere tabi midir?
8. İmar tadilatları kim tarafından onaylanır ya da red edilir (İlçe Belediyesi ve İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi)
9. Belde belediyelerin birleşmesi, gayrimenkul sektörünü ve belediyeleri nasıl etkiler?

3. Financial Institutions

1. Türkiye’de konut kredilerinin gelişimi hakkında bilgi verebilir misiniz?
2. Gayrimenkul finansmanı hakkında bilgi verebilir misiniz?
3. Eski versus yeni mortgage yasası

4. Mortgage dalgası Türkiye'yi nasıl etkiledi?
5. Şirketlerle anlaşmalar nasıl yapılıyor?
6. Sat – Yap Dönemi: Tapu olmadığı halde banka kendisini korumak için/kendi riskini azaltmak için ne gibi önlemler alıyor?
7. Faizleri hangi faktörler etkiler?
8. Bankalar arasında faiz oranları neden farklı?
9. Faizlerin şu an yükselmesi sizin sektörü ve gayrimenkul sektörünü nasıl etkiliyor?
10. Geliştirici firmaların bu dönem de bankalardan ne gibi beklentileri oluyor?
11. Şu an var olan projeler sıfır faizli ödemelerden bahsediyor ya da şimdi bir peşinat ödeyin bir sene sonra ödemeye başlayın gibi. Bu konu hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
12. Geliştiricileri anlaşmalı olduğu bankalardan kredi almak sizce daha mı avantajlı? Dezavantajları var mı?
13. Konut kredisi almak isteyen bir müşteri hangi prosedürlerden geçiyor? Banka hangi konuları araştırıyor?
14. Sabit faizli ve değişken faizli borçlanma arasında ne gibi farklar var?
15. Merkez bankasının belirlediği kurallar var mı? Nelerdir?
16. TOKİ ve Kiptaş bankalardan nasıl daha uygun fiyatlı faiz oranı alabiliyorlar?

4. Media Representatives

1. Medyanın emlak sektöründeki önemini anlatabilir misiniz?
2. Nasıl değişti ve ne tür değişiklikler oldu? Hem üretici hem de tüketici tarafından?
3. Ekler, dergiler ne zaman ortaya çıktı? Nasıl ortaya çıktı? Hangi nedenlerden dolayı?
4. Hitap ettiğiniz kesim? (Dergi, gazete ve internet sitesi)

5. Consumers

Demografik Özellikler

1. İsim, Yaş, Doğum Yeri, Eğitim Durumu, Meslek, Çalışılan Kurum:
2. Eşin, İsmi, Doğum Yeri, Eğitim Durumu, Meslek, Çalışılan Kurum:
3. Kaç sene evli:
4. Çocuk: Çocukların öğretim gördüğü yer:

Hayat Tarzları

1. Boş zamanınızda neler yaparsınız?
2. Dışarıda yemek yer misiniz? Hangi sıklıkla? Nerelere gidersiniz? Hangi sıklıkla?
3. Hangi mutfakları seversiniz?
4. Başka hangi mekanlara gidersiniz? Nerelere? Hangi sıklıkla?

5. Arkadaşlarınızla buluşuyorsunuz? Hangi sıklıkla? Neler yaparsınız? Nerelere gidersiniz?
6. Sinemayı ya da sahne sanatlarını takip eder misiniz? Hangilerini? Hangi sıklıkla?
7. Modayı takip eder misiniz? Nerelerden takip edersiniz? Hangi sıklıkla giyim kuşam alışverişine gidersiniz? Nerelerden? Hangi sıklıkla? Tercih ettiğiniz markalar var mı? Kullanmadığınız markalar var mı?
8. Yiyecek alışverişini siz mi yaparsınız? Nerelerden? Hangi sıklıkla? Yiyecek ve içeceklerde tercih ettiğiniz markalar var mı? Kullanmadığınız markalar var mı?
9. Türkiye de olmasını istediğiniz markalar var mı? Hangileri? Giyim kuşam, yiyecek, içecek.
10. İnterneti kullanır mısınız? Hangi siteleri takip edersiniz?
11. Üye olduğunuz kulüpler var mı? Hangileri? Hangi sıklıkla katılırsınız? Neler yaparsınız?
12. Spor yapar mısınız? Uğraştığınız spor dalları var mı? Hangi sıklıkla spor yaparsınız?
13. Hangi gazeteleri takip edersiniz? Hangi sıklıkla? Takip ettiğiniz köşe yazarları var mı? Hangi gazeteleri/köşe yazarlarını takip etmezsiniz?
14. Hangi dergileri takip edersiniz? Okumadığınız dergiler var mı?
15. Hangi tv programlarını/dizileri seyredersiniz? Seyretmediğiniz programlar var mı?
16. Kitap okur musunuz? Ne tür kitaplar okumayı seversiniz? En son okuduğunuz kitap nedir? Sevdiğiniz yazarlar?
17. Müzik dinler misiniz? Hangi müzik türlerini seversiniz? Sevmediğiniz müzik türleri var mı? En sevdiğiniz sanatçılar?
18. Seyahat etmeyi sever misiniz? Hangi sıklıkla? Tatillerde nereye gitmeyi seversiniz? En sevdiğiniz şehirler?

Başlangıç Sorusu

Sizce ev nedir? Ev deyince aklınıza neler geliyor?

Evin Anlamı

1. “Evim, evim güzel evim”. Bu söze katılıyor musunuz? Evi güzel yapan nedir? Bu “güzelliği” sarsabilecek unsurlar nelerdir?
2. “Ev gibisi yoktur”. Bu söze katılıyor musunuz? Evin yerini alabilecek başka bir yer olabilir mi?

Aile'nin Daha Önce Yaşadığı Evler, Bölgeler ve Mahalleler

1. Buraya taşınmadan önce nerede oturuyordunuz?
2. Ne kadar zaman orada oturdunuz?
3. O evin sahibi miydiniz?
4. Evinizi anlatabilir misiniz?
5. Taşınma kararını kim verdi?
6. Hangi nedenlerden dolayı taşındınız? (ev, mahalle, bölge)

7. Şimdiki evinizle daha önce yaşadığınız ev arasında farklılıklar/benzerlikler var mı?
8. O evde özlediğiniz şeyler var mı? Özlemediğiniz şeyler nerelerdir?
9. Oradaki komşuluk ilişkileri nasıldı? Şimdiki komşulukla farklılıklar/benzerlikler var mı?

Satın Alma Süreçleri

1. Bu siteden nasıl haberiniz oldu?
2. Nasıl bu evi satın almaya karar verdiniz?
3. İnşaat şirketi (satış danışmanları) evi/siteyi size nasıl tanıttı? Örnek ev nasıldı? Ne düşündünüz? Kimlerle dolaştınız? Satış danışmanı size örnek evi nasıl anlattı?
4. Maketten seçmek ne gibi kolaylıklar/zorluklar yarattı?
5. İlk gördüğünüzde ev ve site hakkında ne düşündünüz? Beğendiğiniz/beğenmediğiniz yönleri nelerdi?
6. Şirket hakkında bilgi aldınız mı? Nerelerden? Kimlerden?
7. Bu evi satın almadan önce başka siteleri de gezdiniz mi? Hangilerini? Onları anlatabilir misiniz?
8. Baktığınız öteki evler/sitelerle sizin eviniz/siteniz arasında ne gibi farklılıklar/benzerlikler vardı? Beğendiğiniz/beğenmediğiniz özellikleri var mıydı?
9. Satın alma kararını vermeden önce başka kişilere danıştınız mı? Kimlere? Kararınızı nasıl etkilediler?
10. Bu sitenin TOKİ tarafından desteklenmesi kararınızı etkiledi mi? Nasıl? Neden?
11. Ev ne zaman satın alındı? Ev hangi aşamadaydı?
12. Daireniz nasıl satın alındı? Tip, yön, kat? Kim kararı verdi? Kararı etkileyen nedenler.
13. Ödemeyi nasıl yaptınız? İnşaat şirketinin gösterdiği ödeme seçenekleri nelerdi? Kredi kullanıldıysa hangi bankayla anlaşma yapıldı? Hangi nedenlerden dolayı o banka seçildi? Bankanın koşulları nelerdi? Kredi kullanmadan önce birilerine danıştınız mı? Kimlere? Kararınızı nasıl etkilediler? İnşaat şirketi konut kredisi üzerine size yardımcı oldu mu? Nasıl?
14. Tapu işlemleri nasıl yapıldı? Kimin tarafından yapıldı? Her hangi bir zorlukla karşılaştınız mı? –tapu da yazılan fiyat ve ödenen fiyat arasında bir fark var mıydı? Tapu kimin üzerine?
15. Teslim öncesi dairenizle ilgili vermeniz gereken başka kararlar var mıydı? (seramikler, parkeler, mutfaklar, boya renkleri...) Her hangi bir zorlukla karşılaştınız mı? Beğendiğiniz/beğenmediğiniz şeyler var mıydı? Karar verirken birilerine danıştınız mı? Kimlere? İnşaat şirketi her hangi bir öneride bulundu mu?
16. Kontratta dikkatinizi çeken şeyler var mıydı? (kanun ve kurallar)

Markalı Evleri

1. Ne zaman taşındınız?

2. Evinizi anlatabilir misiniz?
3. Hangi odayı hangi amaçla kullanıyorsunuz? Evinizde kaç oda, kaç banyo var? Kaç metrekare? Odalarının büyüklüğü hakkında olumlu/olumsuz düşünceleriniz var mı? Odaların büyüklüğünü ya da sayısını değiştirme imkanınız olsaydı nasıl olmasını isterdiniz?
4. Şimdiki evinizde sevdiğiniz/sevmediğiniz özellikler var mı?
5. Evin içinde ya da dışında değişiklik yaptınız mı? Neleri değiştirmek isterdiniz?
6. Evin dekorasyonunu anlatabilir misiniz? Eşyaları yerleştirirken nelere dikkat ettiniz? Buradaki eşyalar ve dekorasyonu daha önce yaşadığınız evlerle karşılaştırabilirmisiniz? Farklılıklar/benzerlikler?
7. Satın aldığınız yeni eşyalar var mı? Neler? Nereden? Kim karar verdi?
8. Eşya seçiminde ya da dekorasyon hakkında yardım aldınız mı? Kimlerden?
9. Eski evinizden getirdiğiniz eşyalar var mı? Neler?
10. Değiştirmek istediğiniz/satın almak istediğiniz eşyalar var mı?
11. Hangi eşyaları kesinlikle değiştirmeyi düşünmüyorsunuz?
12. Evinizde olmasını istemediğiniz eşyalar var mı?
13. Elektronik ve beyaz eşya aldınız mı? Nereden? Kim karar verdi? Hangi markaları tercih ettiniz? Hangi nedenlerden dolayı o markaları tercih ettiniz?

Cemiyet İlişkileri

1. Daha önce böyle bir sitede yaşadınız mı?
2. Neden böyle bir sitede oturmayı tercih ettiniz?
3. Bu sitede sizce genel olarak kimler yaşıyor? Kimler böyle bir sitede yaşamak istemez?
4. Komşularınız var mı?
5. Bu sitede ne gibi sosyal aktiviteler yapılıyor? Bu aktivitelerere katılıyor musunuz? Hangi sıklıkla, kimlerle?
6. Şimdiki evinizin önceki evinizle farklılığı/benzerliği?

Markalı Konutun Anlamı ve Etkileri

7. Sizin için Ataköy Konakları neyi ifade ediyor? İsmi beğeniyor musunuz? Neden? Sizce nasıl olmalıydı?
8. Evinizin bir markası olması sizce önemli bir şey mi?
9. Markalı bir evde mi yaşamak istersiniz markasız mı? Neden?
10. Yaşadığınız sitenin adını söylemediğiniz durumlar var mı? Ne zamanlar? Hangi nedenler?
11. İnsanlar Ataköy Konakları hakkında ne düşünüyor?
12. Reklam
13. Şu an yaşadığınız ev hayalinizdeki ev mi?

APPENDIX B

PROFILE OF INFORMANTS

Table 1: Profile of Developers

Firm	Type of firm	Brand name	Type of gated community	Job title(s) of informant(s)
Maya Construction	Corporate Brand	Mayavera; Maya Residences	Villas; Apartments	R&D Manager; Marketing Manager
Tepe Construction	Corporate Brand	Narcity	Apartments	Sales Manager; Sales Manager Assistant
Alarko Holding	REIT	Alarko RIVA	Villas	Sales and Marketing Manager
KC Group	Corporate Brand	Sarıköy	Apartments	Sales and Marketing Manager
Öztaş, Artaş and Doğu Consortium	Joint Venture + MHA	Avrupa Konutları TEM	Apartments	CEO; Sales Manager

Table 1 (cont'd)

Delta Construction	Joint Venture (new comers & corporate brands) + MHA	Ataköy Konakları	Apartments	General Director
Hektaş Construction	REIT + MHA	Idealist Kent	Mixed Villas and apartments	Advertising and Public Relations Manager
MIMART Construction	Corporate Brand	Armina Evleri	Apartments	Marketing Manager
Dumankaya Construction	Corporate Brand	Vizyon; Konsept Istanbul; Trend	Residences; Mixed-Villas and Apartments; Apartments	Marketing and Sales Director; Marketing Manager
Yapı Kredi Koray	REIT	Mor Ada (the project was cancelled)	Apartments	Sales Manager
KKG Group	Joint Venture (Corporate Brands)	Pelican Hill Malikaneleri; Pelican Hill Residences	Mansion; Apartments	Interior Architect Director; Advertising and Public Relations Manager
Sur Construction	Corporate Brand	Mahalle Istanbul	Apartments	Business Development Manager
SOYAK Construction	Corporate Brand + MHA	SOYAK Olympiakent; SOYAK Mavişehir (İzmir); SOYAK Evreka	Apartments; Apartments; Apartments	Marketing Manager Assistant
Y&Y	REIT	INNOVIA	Apartments	General Manager
Eroğlu Construction	New Comer	OksiZen	Villas	CEO

Table 1 (cont'd)

KİPTAŞ	Public Firm	Yeşil Vadi Konakları	Mixed-Villas and Apartments	General Manager Consultant
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Note. Brand name = refers to the projects examined during the data collection process.

Table 2: Profile of Municipalities

Municipality	Job title(s) of informant(s)	Political party
Municipality of Bahçeşehir	Media Adviser	CHP
Municipality of Beylikdüzü	Deputy Mayor; Personnel from the Permissions Department	AKP
Municipality of Ümraniye	Personnel from the Permission Department	AKP
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality	Urban Transformation Director	AKP

Table 3: Profile of Financial Institutions

Financial institution	Job title(s) of Informant(s)	Financial products
İş Bankası	Supervisor of Commercial Loans	Variable and fixed interest loans
Yapı Kredi Bankası	Supervisor of Private Banking; Supervisor of Consumer Loans	Variable and fixed interest loans

Table 4: Profile of Media Representatives

Institution	Job Title	Media Sources
Hürriyet Emlak	Advertising Sales Director	Newspaper, Magazine, Website

Table 5: Profile of Consumers

Pseudonym	Age	Education	Occupation	House type	Family life-cycle	Number of children
Melek, Resul	45, F 50, M	University, MBA	Retired, Retired	A	Full nest	2
Ayşe, Veli	72, F 72, M	High school, High school	Housewife, Retired	A	Empty nest	2
Esin, Selçuk	58, F 65, M	High school, High school	Housewife, Own business	B	Empty nest	2
Ayşin	39, F	High school	Housewife	B	Empty nest*	2
Gülsüm, Kaya, Musa	42, F 46, M 17, M	High school, University, High school	Housewife, Accountant, Student	B	Empty nest*	2
Neslihan, Akın	52, F 56, M	High school, Primary School	Housewife, Own business	B	Empty nest	2
Zehra	47, F	University	R&D Manager	B	Full nest	2
Faruk, Fulya	37, F 39, M	University, MS	Project Manager, General Manager	B	Full nest	1
Candan	42, F	High school	Housewife	B	Full nest	3
Güneş	46, F	University	NPO	B	Full nest	1

Table 5 (cont'd)

Hande, Ahmet	50, F 57, M	University, University	Housewife, Own business	C1	Full nest	2
Ayten, Selim	72, F 79, M	High school, MD	Housewife, Retired	C2	Full nest	-
Gözde, Savaş	46, F 48, M	University, University	Engineer, Retired	C1	Full nest	2
Saniye, Murat	37, F 45, M	High school, University	Housewife, Own business	C1	Full nest	3
Melis	53, F	High school	Own business	C2	Full nest	-
Nur, Selah	51, F 62, M	High school, University	Housewife, Retired	C2	Empty nest*	2
Reyhan	49, F	High school	Housewife	C2	Full nest	1
Sevim, Umut	49, F 58, M	University, University	Housewife, Retired	C2	Empty nest	2
Selen, Demir	45, F 49, M	High school, University	Housewife, Own business	C2	Full nest	1
Ferah, Nejat, Seçil	48, F 48, M 22, F	High school, University, University	Housewife, Own business, Student	D	Full nest	1
Aysu	56, F	MD	Own business	D	Empty nest*	2
Leman Furkan	55, F 60, M	High school, University	Housewife, Own business	D	Empty nest*	2
Ebru Erkan	32, F 38, M	University, University	Own business, Own business	D	Full nest	-
Fikret	52, F	University	Housewife	D	Full nest	1
Melahat Yılmaz	49, F 53, M	University, University	Own business, Own business	D	Full nest	1
Jale	73, F	High school	Housewife	D	Empty nest	2

Table 5 (cont'd)

Ayten Halil	43, F 52, M	High school, University	Housewife, Own business	D	Full nest	2
----------------	----------------	-------------------------------	-------------------------------	---	-----------	---

Note. Empty nest* = one child lives with the parents. C1 = 4 rooms and 1 living room. C2 = 3 rooms and 1 living room. Aysu and Jale – widows.

APPENDIX C

PROJECTIVE PHOTOELICITATION TECHNIQUES

Advertisement 1

TOPLU KONUT
(TOKİ)

Ataköy Konakları
TOKİ Kaynak Geliştirme Uygulamaları Kapsamında Yapılmaktadır.

Prestijli bir yaşam için kaçırılmaz 3 fırsat!

Hayallerinizdeki o seçkin yaşam yineli size Ataköy Konakları'nda 3 adım daha yakındır. Müstahkem sahil manzarası, benzersiz mimarisi ve geniş sosyal tesisleriyle Ataköy Konakları, lüksü ve prestijü size gerçek anlamda %50 indirimle, ya da parka aracıyla, Delta İpotek'ten %50'ye pesin 0 faiz ve 18 ay taksitle ödeme imkanıyla sunuyor. İhtisak ile her satışı sonuna kadar davetlerinizle birleştirebiliriz. İhtisakla yaşam.

Ataköy Konakları'ndan evinizi bugün alın, hayallerinize başın!

- PESİN ALINDI **%10** İNDİRİM!
- DELTA İPOTEK'TEN **0 FAİZLE** 18 TAKSİT İMKANI!
- İLK KEZ SATIŞA ÇIKAN **ÖZEL DAİRELER!**

delta
Ataköy 6. Etap, Beşiköy
Tel: 212 661 87 51-52-53
Faks: 212 661 87 54

www.atakoykonaklari.net

MAKSİMUM
KONUT

Advertisement 2

 **Ataköy Konakları**
TOKİ Kaynak Geliştirme Uygulamaları Kapsamında Yapılmaktadır.

Sahil boyu prestij

Her sabah martıların kahkahaları ile uyanacağınız, kahvaltınızı mis gibi deniz kokusu ve muhteşem manzara eşliğinde yapabileceğiniz bir yer düşünün. Şehrin kalbine kolaylıkla ulaşabileceğiniz, eve döndüğünüzde tenis kortunda, havuzda ya da spor salonunda stres atabileceğiniz, huzur, güven ve mutluluk dolu bir yer. Tamamı inşa edilmiş Ataköy Konakları, işte böyle prestijli bir yaşamın müjdecisi.

Gelin, bu yaşamı paylaşan birçok seçkin aile arasına siz de katılın.

Ataköy Konakları'nın satışta olan son etap dairelerinden birini bugün alın, yarın taşıyın.





Türk Hamamı

Spor Salonu

Sivri Teraslar

Açık-Kapalı Havuz

Geniş Yeşil Alanlar

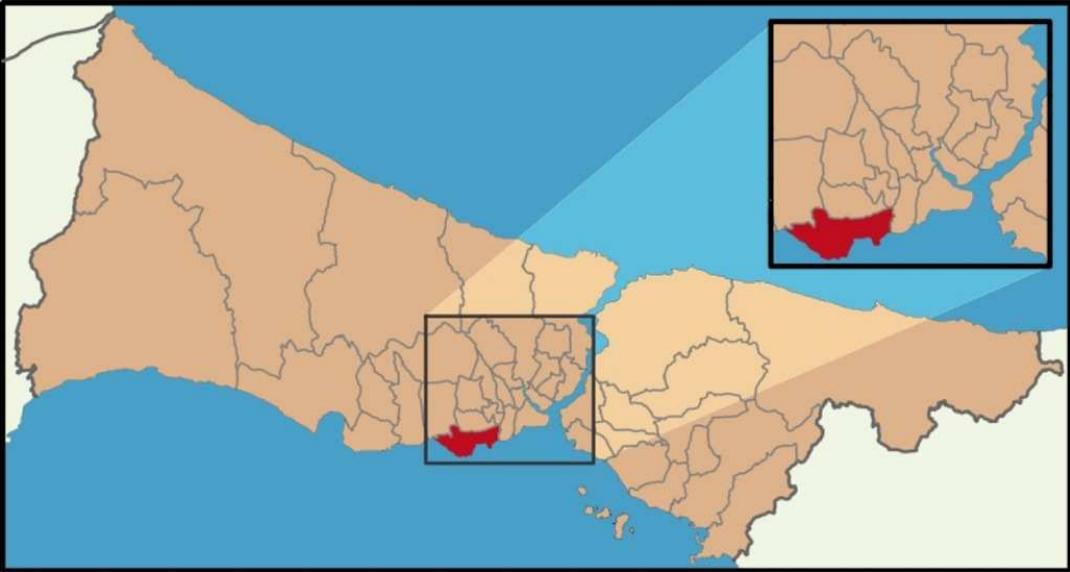
delta
PROJE İNŞAAT YATIRIM SANATİ VE TİCARET ANONİM ŞİRKETİ VE ORTAKLARI

Ataköy 6. Kısım Bakırköy
Tel: 212 661 87 51-52-53 Faks: 212 661 87 54
www.atakoykonaklari.com

Banka kredisine uygun.
Özellikle, Finansbank, Koçbank, Denizbank, Akbank ve Vakıfbank ile Ataköy Konakları'na özel geliştirilmiş banka kredisi mekanları beliriyor.

MAKSİMUM
GÜVENİ

Photograph 2: Map of Bakırköy, Ataköy



Photograph 3: Ataköy Konakları



Photograph 5: Announcement of bid for a treasury land



**EMLAK
KONUT**
GAYRİMENKUL YATIRIM ORTAKLIĞI A.Ş.
T.C. Başbakanlık TOKİ İştirakidir.

İSTANBUL ATAŞEHİR

ARSA SATIŞI KARŞILIĞI GELİR PAYLAŞIMI İŞİ İHALE İLANI

- **İŞİN ADI:** İstanbul Ataşehir Doğu Bölgesi 2. Etap Arsa Satış Karşılığı Gelir Paylaşımı İşİ.
- İhale, "Arsa Satış Karşılığı" yapım işi olması ve bu iş için bütçeye ödenek konmaması nedeniyle, 2886 sayılı Devlet İhale Kanunu'na ve 4734 sayılı Kamu İhale Kanunu'na tabi olmayıp, "Emlak Konut GYO A.Ş." Gayrimenkul Satış, Kiraya Verme ve Arsa Satış Karşılığı Gelir Paylaşımı İhale Yönetmeliği'ne uygun olarak **Açık İhale (Kapalı zarf teklif alma ve Pazarlık - Açık artırma) Usulüne göre iki oturum halinde yapılacaktır.**
- **İhale 1. Oturumu 22.02.2010 Pazartesi günü saat 14:30'da yapılacaktır.**
- İhaleye, yerli veya yabancı gerçek veya tüzel kişi veya bunların oluşturdukları ortak girişim grupları teklif verebilecektir. Ancak, bu ihale uluslararası bir ihale değildir. Konsorsiyum olarak verilen teklifler kabul edilmeyecektir. Yabancı İstekliler, 4734 sayılı Kamu İhale Kanununda belirtildiği şekilde ihaleye katılabilirler.
- İhaleye konu parsel, TEM Ataşehir kavşağında, FSM Köprüsüne 10 km., Boğaziçi Köprüsüne 5 km., E-5 Karayoluna 1 km. mesafede olup, İstanbul Anadolu Yakası Ataşehir Projesinin Merkezinde yer almaktadır. Taşınmazın yakın çevresinde Toplu Konut yapıları ve İstanbul Finans Merkezi Alanı bulunmaktadır.

İhale Konusu İşin Yapılacağı Taşınmazın Ada / Parsel Bilgi Tablosu

İli	İlçesi	Mahallesi	Ada No	Parsel No	Arsa Alanı (m ²)	Yapı Cinsi	Emsal	İnşaat Alanı (m ²)
İstanbul	Ataşehir	Küçükbakkalköy	3386	1	99.108,08	Merkezi İş Alanı	1,50	148.662,12

Hmaks = serbest olup, 148.662,12 m²'lik emsale esas inşaat alanına ilave olarak, 1. bodrum katın çekme mesafeleri içindeki tamamı (en fazla 79.274,00 m²) ve 2. bodrum katın da %50,00'si (en fazla 39.637,00 m²) iskân edilebilecektir.



Detaylı Bilgi İçin : www.emlakkonut.com.tr'yi ziyaret edebilirsiniz. İrtibat Telefonu: 0216 444 36 55 (Pbx)

Photographs 8 and 9: TV Series *Aşkı-Memnu* – Lagün, SINPAŞ Construction



Photograph 10: Scale Model



Photograph 11: Scale Model – Consumers and Sales Representatives



Photographs 12 and 13: Images of a sample home – *Trend, Dumankaya Construction*



Photographs 14 -18: The trajectory of *Ataköy Konakları*, *Delta Construction*







Photograph 19: Construction plan – Ataköy Konakları, Delta Construction



Photograph 20: Plan of house type A – Ataköy Konakları, Delta Construction



Photographs 21 – 24: Illegitimate practices in the branded house and community





Photograph 25: Threats to homeowners – News story

Türkiye'nin en iyi gazetesi

SABAH

9 77301 579052

SALI 7. TEMMUZ 2009 HAFTA İÇİ 50 KURUŞ

ATAKÖY'DE

ÖZEL HABER

BIT YENİĞİ

Ataköy Konakları'nda bazı kişilere çok ucuza ev satıldığı iddia edilirken, Maliye konut sahiplerini sorguya çekiyor

50 lira kuyruğu

FORUM Ankara Outlet, "Kriz Varsa Çare de Var" kampanyası çerçevesinde, her sabah alışveriş merkezine gelen ilk 100 kişiye 50 TL hediye çeki dağıtmaya başladı. Ağustos'un sonuna kadar sürecek uygulamanın ilk gününde, 100 kişiye değil, sıraya giren herkese çek verildi. 9'DA

NEREDEN BULDUNUZ?

MALİYE, ev sahiplerinden ödeme dekontlarını istiyor ve "Kaça aldınız? Kredi kullandınız mı? Bu parayı nereden buldunuz? Elden ödeme yaptınız mı?" sorularını yöneltiyor.

MÜTEAHHİDİ ŞİKÂyet

KONAK sakinleri de müteahhidi TOKİ'ye şikâyet etti: "İlk 100 ev, bazı kişilere 150-200 bin euroya satıldı. Böylece müteahhit TOKİ'ye vereceği payı azalttı."

HAZAL ATEŞ'İN HABERİ 20'DE

Hoca bire 10 aldı

ATAKÖY'DE 5 yıl önce 8 bin metre-karelik arazi alan müteahhin Karabıyık, sonunda rezidans inşaatı için izin aldı. Arazinin değeri 5 milyondan 50 milyon TL'ye çıktı.

Etter Karabıyık

AROURGRAHMAN SIMSEKİN HABERİ 20'DE

Photograph 26: HOA's poster on community members' illegitimate practices



Photographs 27 and 28: October 29 in Ataköy Konakları





APPENDIX E

ADVERTISEMENTS

Advertisement 1: Developers turn into financiers, *Gül Construction*

Gül gibi mortgage!

Açıkçası biz 'mortgage'ı bekleyemedik. Ne yaptık ettik, keyfinizce yaşarken dilediğiniz gibi ödeyebileceğiniz, 5 seneye kadar vadeli, özel bir ödeme tablosu oluşturduk. 25 yıldır İstanbul'un çehresini değiştiren bir firma olarak bize de bu yakıştırdı. Şimdi dikkatiniz dağılmadan aşağıdaki projelere ve ödeme tablolarına bir göz atın... Siz en iyisi gelin, bi'kahvemizi için, sizler için neler yaptığımızı kendi gözlerinizle görün, hak ettiğiniz yaşama kavuşun.



Vista Residenza 1 / Beykent

Mimaris, manzarası ve konforuyla yepyeni bir yaşam tarzı sunan Vista Residenza'da 186 lüks daire sizleri bekliyor. Modern kent yaşamının tüm ihtiyaçlarını karşılayan rahatlığı Vista Residenza'da...



Vista Residenza 3 / Beykent

8 blokta toplam 48 dairenin bulunduğu Vista Residenza 3, mimaris ve çevre düzenlemesiyle büyüklü bir atmosfer. Vista Residenza 3, doyumsuz manzarasıyla sizi uyanmak isteyeceğiniz bir rüyaya davet ediyor...



Costa Residenza / Albatros

10 bin metrekare alan üzerine konumlanan Costa Residenza'daki 7 blokta 3 farklı tipte 74 daire bulunuyor. Arzının doğal yapısına uygun olarak tasarlanan Costa Residenza'da her dairede göz kamaştırıcı bir deniz manzarası sizi bekliyor...



Villa Mare / Güzelce

Güzelce sahilinde denize sıfır, 300 metrekare özel bir kumsalda konumlanan Villa Mare, 2 farklı tipte 'Town House' tarzında 58 dubleks daireden oluşan çok özel bir proje. Uçsuz bucaksız Marmara Denizi, martılar ve yekâmör hayatınızın merkezi olacak...



Evinizi ve ödeme şeklini seçin; formalitesiz, masrafsız, en kolay yoldan, yepyeni bir yaşamın kapılarını açın...

1-15 Ay	15-30 Ay	30-45 Ay	45-60 Ay
%30 Peşin	%30 Peşin	%30 Peşin	%30 Peşin
%0 Faiz	%0 Faiz	%0.75 Faiz	%1.20 Faiz
%5 İndirim			

Kampanyamız 31 Ekim'e kadar geçerlidir.

Bütün Projeler
2017 teslim

Satış Ofisleri
Vista Residenza 1 : 0212 871 09 59
Vista Residenza 3 : 0212 871 09 59
Costa Residenza : 0212 880 49 19
Villa Mare : 0212 868 37 83
Merkez Ofis : 0212 573 03 19
www.gulinsaat.com.tr



GÜL İNŞAAT

25 yıldır hayatımızda

Advertisement 2: Financial Products – Garanti Bank



**MORTGAGE
UZMANI
GARANTİ**

UZMANINDAN SINIRSIZ ÇEŞİTTE MORTGAGE

Mortgage Uzmanı Garanti, farklı istek ve ihtiyaçlarınızı can kulağıyla dinledi. Üstünde uzun uzun çalıştı. Size en uygun mortgage seçeneklerini, özenle, birer birer hazırladı. Aşağıdaki mortgage seçeneklerine bir göz atın. Sonra, ilk fırsatta Uzman'ın size en yakın şubesine bir uğrayın. Mortgage Uzmanı Garanti. Yapsın sizi ev sahibi.



DEĞİŞKEN FAİZLİ MORTGAGE

"Faizlerde düşüş bekliyorum, bu yüzden kredi faizim düzenli olarak güncellen sin. Arada sırada faiz dalgalanmaları olursa da, beni rahatsız etmez" diyenlere...



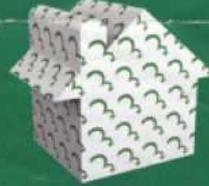
ÖNCE SABİT, SONRA DEĞİŞKEN FAİZLİ MORTGAGE

"İlk birkaç sene kredimin faizi sabit kalsın, sonraki dönemde faiz hareketlerine göre değişsin" diyenlere...



ESNEK VADELİ MORTGAGE

"Faizim güncellen sin ama taksit tutarım değişmesin. Kredimin vadesi kısalsın ya da uzasın" diyenlere...



DÜŞEN FAİZLİ MORTGAGE

"Faizler düştükçe kredimin faizi de düşsün ama faizler çıkarsa çıkmassın" diyenlere...



İNDİRİMLİ MORTGAGE

"Kredi faizimin bir kısmını baştan ödesem de, daha düşük faizli kredi kullansam, taksit ödemelerimde rahat etsem" diyenlere...
Bir miktar birikimi olanların ve aileden ufak çaplı yardım alabileceklerin tercihi.



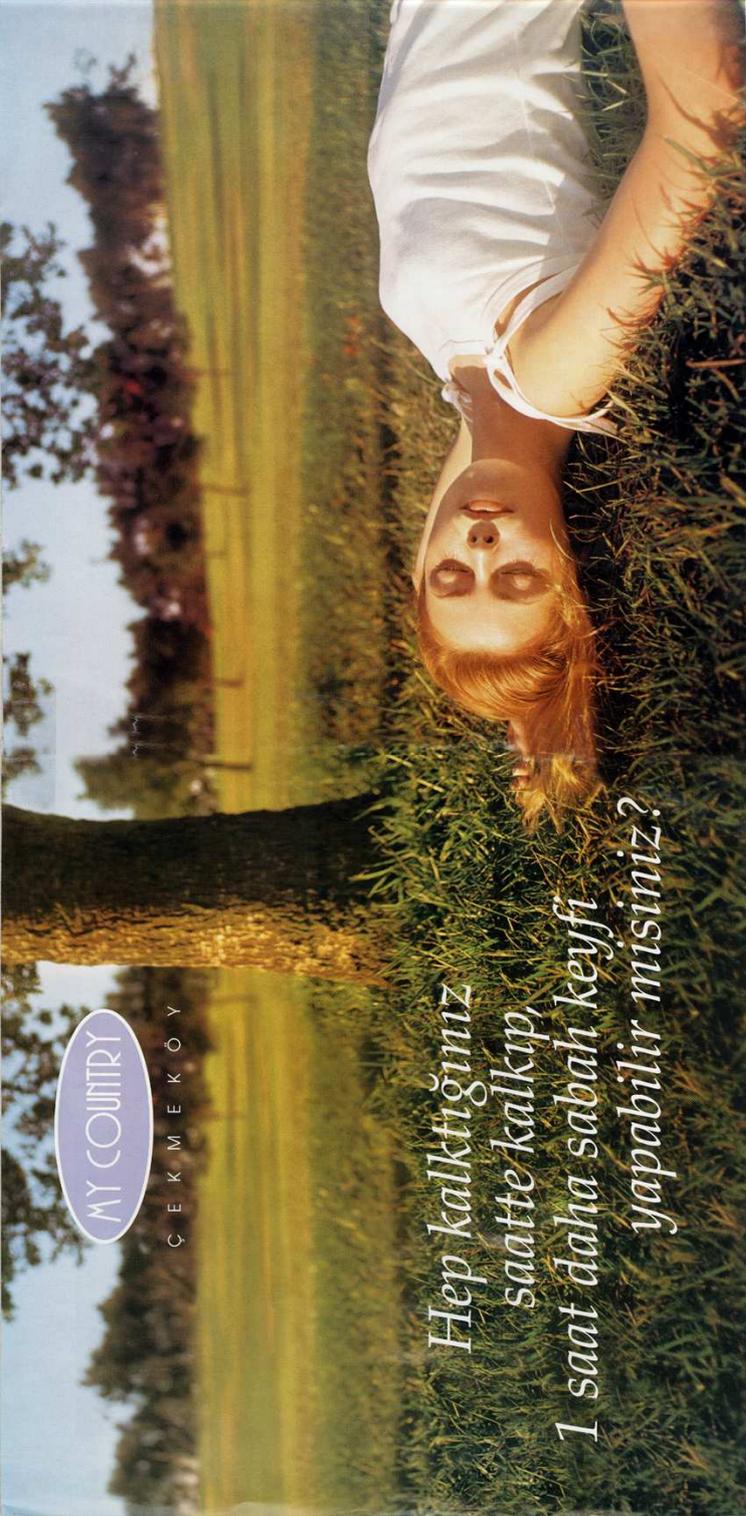
EVİNİ GÖSTERENE MORTGAGE

"Sahip olduğum evi teminat göstererek, mortgage gibi yüksek tutarlı, uygun faizli ve uzun vadeli kredi kullansam" diyenlere...
Çocuğuna güzel bir düşün yapmak, evini yeniden döşemek, kısacası hayallerini gerçekleştirmek isteyenlerin tercihi.

Diğer mortgage ürünlerimiz hakkında bilgi için:
Garanti Şubeleri / 444 EVİM - 444 3846 / garantimortgage.com



Advertisement 3: Natural Environment – Aġaoġlu My Country, Aġaoġlu Construction



MY COUNTRY
Ç E K M E K Ö Y

*Hep kalktiġınız
saatte kalkıp,
1 saat daha sabah keyfi
yapabilir misiniz?*

Aġaoġlu
Yaşam Mimarı

My Country doğasında günler, siz hazır olduğunuz zaman başlar.
Yani "uyanmadan güne başlamak", zorunda kalmaz, uykunuzu iyidirsiniz. Yine de, isterseniz binlerce metrekaare ortak yeşil alandaki ya da 600 metrekaareye varan size özel bahçenizdeki çimlere uzanıp sabah şekerlemesine devam edebilirsiniz. Bu keyfi tamamen size kalmış...
Yüzlerce meyve ağacı ve kiraz bahçesinin renklendirdiği kır ortamında, hafta sonundakini aratmayacak uzun bir kahvaltı, sadece göz gezdirilen değil okunan gazeteler, hatta beki bir havuz keyfi... Sonra otoyoldan kısa sürede iş yerine. İşleri zamanında bitirirsiniz; ki akşam My Country'ye geç kalmayın. Burada haftalar 8 gün, günler 36 saatmiş gibi yaşanır, ömrünüz uzar... Şimdi yola çıkarsanız, 1 saat önce burada olursunuz. Bekliyoruz.



www.agaoglu.com.tr | 0216 642 03 53 - 54

Advertisement 5: Earthquake – InCity, Dündar Construction

www.incity.com.tr

incity istanbul/apartments//lofts

UBC Amerikan Deprem Şartnamesi'ne uygun inşa edilen proje, InCity.

Incity®



Dündar İnşaat | Daha detaylı bilgi ve ilgi için: 0216 315 60 70 (Pbx)

Color calibration bar: blue, red, yellow, black

Advertising 6: Sociability – Lagün, SINPAŞ Construction

Dubai'de ne işin var Ayşe?



Şehirde yaşayıp dilediğinde göl manzaralı havuzunda yüzmek, at binerek günün stresini atmaksız istegin, Lagün senin için en doğru yer. Göl kenarında eşin ve çocuklarınla yürüyüş yapabileceğin, avantajlı konumuyla otomobiline atlayıp kolayca tiyatroya, davetlere, çocuklarının okul gösterisine gidebileceğin masal gibi bir yer burası.



Ayrıca Lagün Club Otel, Zen Club ve Binicilik Kulübü'nün VIP konforuyla şehri olmanın tüm ayrıcalıklarını şehirden uzaklaşmadan yaşayabileceksin Lagün'de... Üstelik böyle bir yaşamı Kozyatağı'na sadece 10 dakikalık mesafede...

Şimdi tekrar soruyoruz: "Ne işin var Dubai'de Ayşe?"

Mutluluğu uzaklarda aramayın, gelin siz de gölleri, adaları, iskeleleriyle Sinpaş'ın Anadolu yakasındaki yeni yaşam kültürü Lagün'ün heyecan verici ayrıntılarını keşfedin.



Lagün Akademi Villalar Wellness Salonu
* 209 m²'den 749 m²'ye villalar; Lilyum, Iris, Lotus, Minusa, Anemon
* 384.200 YTL'den 1.672.000 YTL'ye, 202.000 €'den 880.000 €'ya kadar değişen fiyatlar
* Sinpaş müşterilerine özel avantajlı ödeme koşullarıyla...
www.sinpas.com.tr Satış Ofisi: (0216) 311 40 93-311 49 07



Sinpaş Lagün'den, Kozyatağı-Carrefour sadece 10 dakika
www.sinpaslagun.com



Advertisement 7: Children's Socialization – IdealistKent, Hektaş Construction



İdealist Kent
TOKİ İşbirliği Emlak Konut GYO A.Ş. Kaynak Geliştirme Uygulamaları Kapsamında Yapılmaktadır.



EMLAK KONUT
Emlak Konut GYO A.Ş.
Etiler - Beşiktaş / İstanbul

İdealist okul servisi



164.000 YTL'den başlayan fiyatlarla

İdealist kentte bulunan biri özel toplam üç okul, çocuklarınız için yürüme mesafesinde. Çocuklarınız İstanbul trafiğinde boğulmadan, okullarına yeşillikler içinde yürüyerek gidecekler. Kalan zamanlarında ise doya doya çocukluklarını yaşama şansı bulacaklar.

%0.45'den başlayan konut kredisi imkânlarıyla

Çocukların çocukluklarını doya doya yaşaması için.













İDEALİNİZDEKİ İSTANBUL'DA YAŞAMAYA DAVETLİSİNİZ!

Villa tipi evleri ve az katlı apartmanlarıyla arazi üzerinde dikey değil, yatay olarak yayılan İdealist Kent, sadece bir ev değil, ideal bir yaşam alanı sunuyor size. İdealist Kent'te her şey, Kent sakinlerinin sağlıklı ve huzurlu bir yaşam sürdürebilmesi, çocukların ise güvenli alanlarda oynayabilmesi için tasarlandı. Haydi öyleyse... İdeal İstanbul'a hoş geldiniz.

İdeal Ödeme Planı		
Vade (Ay)	Peşinat	Faiz Oranları
12	% 35	0.45
30	% 30	0.95
60	% 25	1.20

330 Dönüm Arazi
250 Dönüm Yeşil Alan
250 Villa
606 Apart Daire
Biri Özel, Toplam Üç Okul
Kreş
Alışveriş Merkezi
Sosyal Tesisler
Spor Kompleksi
Akıllı Ev Sistemi

Kapalı ve Açık Yüzme Havuzları
Yürüyüş ve Koşu Parkurları
Yapay Gölet
Çocuk Parkları
Açık ve Kapalı Otoparklar
Helikopter Pisti
Sağlık Tesisi
Dini Tesis
Klima Altyapısı

48. YIL

HEKTAŞ İNŞAAT
ŞİRKETLER GRUBU

"Hayallerinizi inşa ediyoruz."

0216 365 65 75

www.idealiskent.com

Satış Ofisi
Esenşehir Mahallesi Alemdağ Caddesi No:942
Çekmeköy Ümraniye / İstanbul

idealist

İstanbul'da ideal olan ne varsa...

Advertisement 8: Theming – Bosphorus City Istanbul, SINPAŞ Construction

Boğaz'a kardeş geldi.

BAŞLADI! 3. ETAP SATIŞLARINIZ

Rakamlarla İstanbul'da 2. Boğazlı

- Mülke - 10.000
- Yüzölçümü - 246.000 m²
- Rakım - 30 m
- Bölge - 26.000 m²
- Uzunluk - 720 m
- En geniş yer - 70 m
- En dar yer - 20 m
- Kaptılar arası mesafe - 330 m

BANKA KREDİSİZ 72 AY VADELİ DEVRİMCİ ÖDEME PLANI

ÖZELİTİ	BAŞLANGIÇ	AYLIK MİKTAR	AYLIK MİKTAR	AYLIK MİKTAR
100.000 TL	1.981.720	1.790	21.470	16.660
200.000 TL	2.972.700	1.900	22.760	21.470
300.000 TL	3.963.680	2.000	24.050	26.280
400.000 TL	4.954.660	2.100	25.340	31.090
500.000 TL	5.945.640	2.200	26.630	35.900

1. Makaradeli fonların 800, altın, altınbono ve diğer borsal DİMİDİM
2. Makaradeli ödeme planları için aylık tutarlar 0,12 yıl vadeli dövizler, portföyler (DİE) ve diğer araçlarla yapıldığı takdirde ödemelerdeki farklılıkların sorumluluğu yatırımcıya aittir.
3. Bu hesaplar 11:31 Ekim 2008 tarihleri arasında geçerlidir.

SINPAŞ GYO

İstanbul'un yeni yerleşim alanları için en kaliteli mülkleri geliştirme ve yönetimi için kurulmuş bir şirkettir. Marmara'nın 1500'den fazla mülküne sahiptir. Marmara'nın en büyük mülk geliştiricilerinden biridir.

Bosphorus City İstanbul

Bosphorus City İstanbul, Boğaz'ın en değerli bölgesinde, İstanbul'un en prestijli ve en gelişmiş bölgelerinde yer almaktadır. Boğaz'ın en değerli bölgesinde, İstanbul'un en prestijli ve en gelişmiş bölgelerinde yer almaktadır. Boğaz'ın en değerli bölgesinde, İstanbul'un en prestijli ve en gelişmiş bölgelerinde yer almaktadır.

SINPAŞ GYO
BOSPHORUS CITY
İSTANBUL

www.bosphoruscity.com.tr
www.sinpasya.com.tr

Advertisement 9: Occupational distinction – Arkeon Evleri, Yapı Konut

BEYİN GÖÇÜ

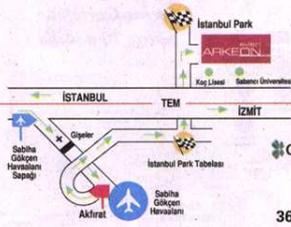
Üniversiteyi birincilikle bitirdim. Daha mezun olmadan Türkiye'nin sayılı şirketlerinden iş teklifi aldım. Direktörüm, benim bir dahi olduğumu düşünüyor ve her fırsatta buralarda yaşamamam gerektiğini söylüyor. Hayat standardı yüksek, çocukların bahçede oyunlar oynadığı, etrafında ırmakların aktığı ve göletle hayranı olacağım bir

yerden söz etti. "Ne yani, İsviçre'ye mi gideyim?" dediğimde güldü. Meğer onun kastettiği yer Arkeon Evleriymiş. Önce beyin göçüne karşı olan birinin en iyi elemanını neden yurtdışına göndermek isteyeceğini anlayamamıştım. Sonra öğrendim ki gerçek beyin göçü Arkeon Evleri'ne yapılmış.

Arkeon Evleri'nde yaşamaya karar verenlerin %75'i lisans, %16'sı yüksek lisans mezunu. Beyin göçü için sizi de bekleriz.



Arkeon'da hayat çoktan başladı. Üstelik ilk öğrencileriyle birlikte İrmak Arkeon Anaokulu da hizmete açıldı. Ankastr ürünlerle döşeli sınırlı sayıda ki villalarımızla tanışarak siz de yeni bir hayata başlayabilirsiniz.



Garanti, YapıKredi, Marmarum, TÜRKİYE BANKASI'ndan Arkeon Evleri'ne özel konut kredisiyle.

%40 peşinat ile
36 ay vadeli ödemelerde
dövizde SIFIR FAİZ!
30 Mart 2007'ye kadar.

YTL	% 0,86
USD	% 0
EURO	% 0
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yapı konut
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Hergün 10.00-18.00 saatleri arasında hizmetinizdeyiz.
www.ym.com.tr www.arkeonevleri.com
www.fabtek.com.tr

Advertisement 10: Brands linked to global cities – Avangarden, SINPAŞ Construction

Amsterdam İstanbul'a geliyor!



Sinpaş'ın "En Avrupai İstanbul" projesi başlıyor!



Burada anlattıklarımız,

Avangarden'da göreceğinizin yanında sadece küçük birer ipucu. Eğer hayatın her alanında yeniliklere açkınsanız, İdealleriniz ve yaşam tarzınızla öncüsünüz, alışmış değil daima yeni ve farklı olanı arıyorsanız; Avangarden'da yeriniz hazır. En Avrupai İstanbul Projesi Avangarden'i mutlaka keşfedin. Siz de "A Kalite Yaşam Pasaportu" nuzu alın. Bekliyoruz...

Bilirsiniz; tarihte göz kamaştırın tüm medeniyetler su kenarına kurulmuştur. Bu gerçekten ilham alan Sinpaş; suyla bütünleşen ve artık birer marka olan Marenebro, Sealybria, Aqua City, İstanbul Palace gibi pek çok "Yeni İstanbul" projelerine bir yenisini daha ekliyor: Avangarden.

Tüm zarıflığı ve çekiciliğiyle Çekmeköy'ün hemen girişinde yer alan Avangarden'in avangart özelliklerini gelin beraber keşfedelim.



Avangarden'da yaşam kalitesini artırmanın temel kuralı, sağlıklı ve konforlu yaşamaktır. Bu nedenle Sinpaş bu projede, A Club, Adrenalin Campus, Techno-Comfort ve London Eye'in sunduğu olanakları; Amsterdam Yalitan, Paris Residence ve Londra Tower'in olağanüstü mimarisiyle bileştirtiyor ve size avangart bir kent konsepti sunuyor. Tabii ki, en iyile mutlu obalenler için.

Avangarden'da en küçük evin 176 m² ve her evin minimum 2 araçlık kapalı otoparkı olduğunu bir kenara not edip, evlerin özelliklerine biraz daha yakından bakalım.



AMSTERDAM M YALILARI

Avangarden vadisinin doğal eğiminde oluşturulan doğal havuzdaki Amsterdam Yalitan, bahçe katları ve terasa yalılar olarak inşa edilmiştir. Bahçe Yalitan bahçe katları ve saundalarıyla, çok amaçlı kullanımlarıyla katlı katlıya eşyeni bir yaşam sunuyor.



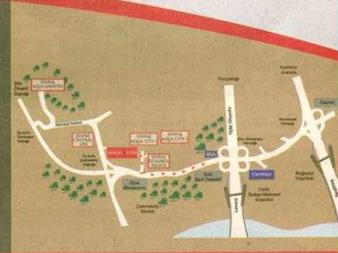
PARİS RESIDENCE

Paris Residence; penthouse, bahçe katları ve çağdaş standartları ötesinde normal katlarına size 3 terası sunuyor. Dev terasındaki yazma masasıyla penthouse'lar, bahçesinde dev verandaları ve havuzlarıyla bahçe katları keşfetilmeye değer.



LONDRA TOWER

26 katlı Londra Tower'deki evler, büyüklüğüyle bir villa konutunu tek katlı sunuyor ve öznel olarak 100' parçaları manzara keyfi katlarından bahçelere kadar yapıyor. Bu avangart yapıların Tower in 26. katındaki London Eye Restorant & Club'da ve A Club'in özel teraslarında da hissediliyor.



Avangarden Satış Ofisi
(0216) 612 52 15-16 / 612 29 32

www.sinpas.com.tr
www.sinpasavangarden.com

SINPAŞ
AVANGARDEN
ÇEKMEKÖY

Advertisement 11: TV Series in Pelican Hill, KKG Construction



PELICAN HILL RESIDENCE

AYRICALIKLI YAŞAM İSTEYENLERİN BULUŞTUĞU TEK ADRES

Bugüne kadar birçok diziye ev sahipliği yapan
Pelican Hill, seyrettiğiniz güzellikleri yaşayabilmeniz
için size fırsatlar yaratıyor.

**195.000 TL'den başlayan
FİYATLARLA**

**%20 Peşin 48 Ay Sıfır Faiz ile
EV SAHİBİ OLMANIN KEYFİNİ YAŞAYIN**



*Deniz ve göl
manzaralı!*



30 Nisan 2009 tarihli görüşlerdir.

Pelican Hill Residence, TEM'e 1 km E-S 5 km mesafesiyle bu güzel kenti ulaşım sorunu olmadan doya doya yaşamaz ve zamanınızı trafikte değil hayata geçitlerinde, sevdiğinizlerle ayrılmaz için tasarlandı...

Ayrıca standartları ve yönetmeliklere uygun inşa edilmiş dairelerde sevdiğinizlerle birlikte güven dolu bir yaşam.

Diğerine dayanamaz fore kazık sistemi, radyo general ve tıbnal kalıp sistemi uygulamaları ile kusursuz altyapı.

Pelican Hill Residence'in 25 000m² büyüklüğündeki Rekreasyon Alanı'nda Hobi bahçeleri, Mini anıt Theatre, Bisiklet ve yürüyüş parkurları, Spor Alanları, Hamak gülleriyle konsepti bir yaşam sizi bekliyor...

Pelican Hill Residence'in içerisinde oluşturulan Alışveriş Merkezi her türlü ihtiyaçlarınızı karşılayacak. Marketler, Peş-shop, farklı tatlar sunan restoranlar, Eczane, Kuru temizleme, Pastane, Kuaför ve çeşitli mağazalar yaşamınızın merkezinde olacak.

Açık-kapalı yazma havuzları, kapalı spor merkezi, SPA Center, Fitness, Sauna, Türk hamamı, Tenis kortları, Voleybol ve Basketbol sahaları...

Pelican Hill Residence, Verona, Siena, Messina, Coruna, Lenda, Almonde, Sevilla, Wiltonia, Valencia, Granada ve Capri olmak üzere toplam 11 blokta, standart alanları 100m²'den 200m²'ye kadar çeşitli büyüklüklerde ultra lüks 686 daireden oluşuyor...

Residencelere ait her mobilyadan giriş-çıkış sağlandığı, son derece güvenli kapalı devre kamera sistemi ile 24 saat izlenen ve güvenlik görevlileri korunan huzurlu ve keyifli yaşam alanları...

Örnek dairelerimizi görmemiz için
sahıs ofisimize bekliyoruz!

Göl Mevkii, Alman Lisesi yolu üzeri, 218 / 4 Büyükçekmece - İstanbul
0212 886 54 95 www.pelicanhilllevleri.com
www.pelicanhillresidence.com



KKG Kalesoğlu,
Kameroglu
Göl İnşaat ortak
gruplarıdır.

Advertisement 12: "How to make the right home selection in ten questions" – *Eltes Güneşi, Ağaoglu Construction*

10 soruda 'Doğru Ev' seçimini nasıl yaparsınız?

01 Satın alacağınız evin ödeme koşullarının nasıl olmasını istersiniz?

a) Paramı biriktirip peşin satın almak isterim.
b) Finansal sıkıntım yok. Ödeme koşulları benim için çok da önemli değil.
c) Düşük peşinat, düşük faiz, optimum vade olanaklarıyla prosedürsüz, kefihsiz esnek ödeme koşullarını tercih ederim.

04 Satış sonrası destek, ev alımında seçiminizi etkiler mi?

a) Etkilemez.
b) Bu sektörde böyle bir hizmet olduğundan haberdar değilim.
c) Evinde yaşamaya başladıkten sonra çıkabilecek olası problemler karşısında yalnız bırakılmayacak olman ve bu sorunların kısa sürede çözüleceğini bilmem, ev seçiminizi önemli ölçüde etkiler.

07 Sizin için evinizin teknolojik altyapısı ne kadar önemli?

a) Ev evdir sonuçta. Ne kadar teknolojik olabilir ki?
b) Teknolojiden pek anlamam, dışı güzel olsun yeter.
c) Yakın geleceğin teknolojisini olan IP TV, VOIP, 100 megabit internet erişim hızı ve fiberoptik altyapı sayesinde ulaşabileceğim daha birçok yenilik ile tanışmak isterim.

02 Satın aldığınız eve ne kadar sürede taşınmayı hedeflersiniz?

a) Ev bana teslim edilsin yeter. Ne zaman taşınacağım önemli değil.
b) Firmamın taahhüt ettiği ev teslim süresini beklirim.
c) Anında anahtar teslim almayı ve hiç vakit kaybetmeden taşınmayı isterim. Çünkü kirada yaşadığım için bosu boşuna kira ödemeye devam etmek istemem.

05 Yaşadığınız sitenin geniş sosyal, kültürel ve sportif imkânlarla sahip olması sizin için ne kadar önemli?

a) Pek önemli değil.
b) Benim için önemli olan evimin rahatlığı.
c) Güvenli bir sitede, kendim gibi insanlarla beraber yaşayabilmek ve komşuluk ilişkileri kurabilmek benim için önemli. Ayrıca günümüzde çocuk oyun alanı, spor tesisleri, sinema, buz pisti gibi sosyal imkânların bulunması gerektiğini düşünüyorum.

08 Ulaşım kolaylığı sizin için ne kadar önemli?

a) Önemli değil, İstanbul'un trafiği bitmez.
b) Umutsuzum. Ama en azından evime arabamla rahatça ulaşabilmek isterim.
c) Ömrümün yarısı trafikte geçiyor. Bu yüzden evime, günümüzün en kolay ve hızlı ulaşım yolu olan metroyla ulaşmak isterim.

03 Evinizi satın alacağınız firma sizin için önemli mi?

a) Önemli değil. Nasıl olsa hepsi aynı seyleri söylüyor.
b) İsimlere dikkat ederim. Ama bu öncelikli değildir.
c) Benim için çok önemli. Yaşayacağım evi inşa eden firmamın geçmişini ve sunduğu imkânları kesinlikle bilmeliyim. İsmi güven vermeyen bir firmayla asla alışveriş yapmam.

06 Nasıl bir semtte ev almayı düşünüyorsunuz?

a) Semt benim için önemli değil. Evin içi önemli.
b) Kesmekeşine rağmen lüks bir semtte oturmayı tercih ederim.
c) Hızla gelişen ve çok değerleneceğinden emin olduğum, yatırıma uygun bir semtte ev almayı düşünürüm.

09 Yaşadığınız evin tapu kaydı olmaması sizin için bir sorun teşkil eder mi?

a) Çok sorun değil. Nasıl olsa koskoca apartmanı yıkamazlar.
b) Olsa iyi olur. Olmazsa da çok dert etmem.
c) Tapu kaydı, inşaat ruhsatı ve diğer herhangi bir resmi evrağı eksik olan hiçbir evi, hiçbir şartta satın almam.

10 Yaşadığınız evin çevresinde alışveriş merkezi bulunmalı mı?

a) Ev seçiminizi etkilemez.
b) Bulduğum semtteki esnaftan alışveriş edebilirim, bana yeter.
c) Yaşadığım evin yakınında tüm ihtiyaçlarımı karşılayacak nitelikli alışveriş merkezleri kesinlikle bulunmalı.

a'lar çoğunluktaysa:

Doğru ev seçimini yapmayı bildiğinizi söyleyemeyiz. Son zamanlarda hızla gelişen semtlerde kurulan, ulaşım kolaylığı ve sosyal tesisler gibi bir çok özelliğe sahip yeni sitelere gözünüz kapalı. Artık, kolay ödeme koşulları ve geniş yaşam imkânları sunan güvenilir firmaların varlığından haberdar olmanızın zamanı geldi.

b'ler çoğunluktaysa:

Doğru ev seçimi yapmak konusunda az çok fikir sahibisiniz. Fakat bildiğiniz doğruları aramakta ısrarcı değilsiniz. Oysa, yakın geleceğin teknolojik altyapısıyla kurulmuş bir sitede, ailenizle mutlu bir yaşam kurabilirsiniz. Ayrıca çok kazançlı yatırım fırsatları da yakalamış olursunuz.

c'ler çoğunluktaysa:

Ne istediğinizi çok iyi biliyorsunuz. Kazançlı yatırım fırsatlarını değerlendirmek ve nitelikli bir ortamda yaşama şansını yakalayabilmek için son derece bilinçlisiniz. Ağaoglu'nun özenle tasarlanmış, ihtiyaç ve beklentilerinizi karşılayacak projelerini değerlendirebilirsiniz. Şimdi Eltes Güneşi tüm avantajları ile bir seçenek olarak önünüzde.

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APPENDIX F

ABBREVIATIONS

ANAP: Motherland Party

CHP: the Republican People's Party

DYP: True Path Party

FP: Virtue Party

GYODER: Real Estate Investment Companies

HOA: Homeowners Association

JDP: Justice and Development Party (AK Party in Turkish)

KIPTAŞ: Housing Association of Metropolitan City Municipality

MHA: Mass Housing Association

MHF: Mass Housing Fund

MHP: Nationalist Movement Party

REIT: Real Estate Investment Trust

RP: Welfare Party

SHP: Social Democratic Populist Party