

**PLACE ATTACHMENT IN GATED COMMUNITIES:
A CASE STUDY IN BİLKENT HOUSING SETTLEMENTS**

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By

**Ayberk Akçal
August, 2004**

I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Fine Arts.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Feyzan Erkip (Principal Advisor)

I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Fine Arts.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan

I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Fine Arts.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Zuhul Ulusoy

Approved by the Institute of Fine Arts

Prof. Dr. Bülent Özgüç, Director of the Institute of Fine Arts

ABSTRACT

PLACE ATTACHMENT IN GATED COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY IN BİLKENT HOUSING SETTLEMENTS

Ayberk Akçal

M.F.A. in Interior Architecture and Environmental Design

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Feyzan Erkip

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This study brings out an analytical framework to the issue of place attachment in relation with the concepts such as place identity and environmental preferences in newly emerging communities in Turkey. With the increasing global influences, people tend to move away from the city centers to self controlled and privatized settlements with restricted access called ‘gated communities’. This research analyzes the reasons behind this shift to understand the changing nature of place attachment. To this end, an empirical study at Bilkent Housing Settlements, which is located at a recently developed suburban area in Ankara - the capital of Turkey - was carried out. This site was chosen as being a high-income neighborhood that exhibits particular characteristics of gated communities. The results indicate that there is a significant relationship between the attachment of people to Bilkent Settlements and their satisfaction from the social environment. On the other hand, the analyses revealed that there was a relationship between attachment level and length of residency.

Keywords: Place identity, place attachment, suburbanization, gated communities, Bilkent Housing Settlements.

ÖZET

ETRAFI ÇEVİRİLİ YERLEŞİMLERDE MEKAN BAĞLILIĞI: BİLKENT KONUT YERLEŞİMLERİ'NDE BİR ALAN ÇALIŞMASI

Ayberk Akçal

İç Mimarlık ve Çevre Tasarımı Bölümü, Yüksek Lisans

Danışman: Doç. Dr. Feyzan Erkip

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Bu çalışma Türkiye’de yeni oluşmakta olan yerleşimlerdeki mekan bağlılığını mekan kimliği ve çevresel tercihlerle ilişkilendirerek analitik bir çerçevede sunmaktadır. Artan küresel etkilerle birlikte insanlar şehir merkezlerinden “etrafı çevrili yerleşimler” olarak adlandırılan, iç denetim mekanizmasına sahip ve kısıtlı girişe olanak veren çevrelere kayma eğilimi göstermektedirler. Bu tez mekan bağlılığının değişen doğasını anlamak için insanların “etrafı çevrili yerleşimler”e olan eğilimlerinin arkasında yatan nedenleri analiz etmektedir. Bu amaçla, Türkiye’nin başkenti Ankara’da, yeni kurulmuş bir altkent bölgesi olan Bilkent Konutları’nda bir alan çalışması yapılmıştır. Bu bölge “etrafı çevrili yerleşimler” özellikleri taşıyan ve üst gelir grubuna ait bir yerleşim alanı olduğu için seçilmiştir. Yapılan çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre insanların Bilkent Konutları’na bağlılığı ile, buldukları sosyal çevreden tatmin olmaları arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulunmuştur. Diğer taraftan, yapılan analizler bağlılık derecesi ile ikamet süresi arasında da bir ilişki bulunduğunu açığa çıkartmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekansal kimlik, mekan bağlılığı, altkentleşme, etrafı çevrili yerleşimler, Bilkent Konut Yerleşimleri.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to examine the concept of place attachment in the context of gated communities where particular characteristics of Turkish urban life are analyzed in relation to cultural contexts and socio-economical issues. This research analyses the impact of living in a gated community on place attachment as it is expected to change the very nature of belongingness to home and community. It integrates the ideas about place attachment into new suburban settlements as the home has increasingly been identified with the community in contrast to the early definition of home and neighborhood.

Within the context of changing attitudes to living and dwelling trends, the concept of place attachment constitutes an ongoing debate that indicates its significance. Basic issues lying under this argument are the role of adaptation, the ambition of people to regenerate their life conditions and the effects of globalization, all of which affect the concepts of place identity and place attachment.

With the ever-accelerating developments in science and technology, distances become smaller, traveling opportunities increase, communication becomes easy, new possibilities of knowledge acquisition emerge and the products can easily be shipped from all around the world. Harvey (1989) points out that with these rapid developments spaces become more easy to be reached at or moved to, social relations can be carried

out across the lands and the experiences of people with these formations form the basic issues that builds the concept of 'space-time compression'. Thus, there exist no physical borders limiting our space, relations, communications and interactions. As Gustafson (2001) cites from Relph (1976, p.5), "with the overall transformation of people's lives, modernity and internationalization produce 'placelessness', through a lacking sense of place and inauthentic physical environments". These transformations affect the society and socio-cultural entities as well.

As each physical environment is defined by a social environment, the social context is also influential on preferences related with place. Hubbard (1996) suggests that people's environmental preferences are directed not only by their individualistic tastes, but also by their interaction with social environment. We begin to observe the disappearance of boundaries and limits as a result of the changes in social life, culture and the environments that we live in, in relation with the social descriptors and factors that form the uniqueness of that environment. The meanings and identities of spaces and places also begin to change depending on the social context by the effects of those changes (Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995). Today, the term 'place' should be defined as a concept, which is being reconstructed in social context over and over.

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) point out that distinctiveness generates the uniqueness of a personality that affects people to reach for a medium where they can have a specific relationship with their home environments. With the global influences and changing urban dynamics, people's environmental preferences shift towards private settings and,

as a process, localization begins to emerge. As a result of this phenomenon, localized neighborhoods that are independent from the governmental control and management are established with new dynamics and community patterns.

These controlled environments that are surrounded by gates or walls enable people to stay away from social problems of urban life while ignoring ‘the others’, which are outside of the community. The identities formed at these newly generated communities are explained by Blakely and Snyder (1997, pp.85-87) as the following:

“ [...] they create physical barriers to access, and they privatize community space, not merely individual space. Many of these communities also privatize civic responsibilities, such as police protection, and communal services, such as education, recreation, and entertainment. The new developments create a private world that shares little with its neighbors or the larger political system. Gated communities are part of the trend of suburbanization. [...] Driven by high costs, crime, and other urban problems, the expansion of the suburbs is likely to accelerate in the 1990s as development moves ever farther out, supported by and leapfrogging beyond the new economic centers of the edge cities”.

This privatization breaks the homogeneity of the public and brings along the notion of segregation and social inequalities. The enlargement of private spaces causes a lack in the social relationships among people and suburbanization, as a new trend, brings this separation to a point where the identities of physical environments change depending on the social context.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

This study focuses on place identity in gated communities to analyze the emerging patterns of new community dynamics and relations. Their relations to broader public is another concern.

The first chapter is introduction. The second chapter focuses on the concepts of place attachment and place identity. Firstly, different attributions of place attachment are given where the basic issues that have effect over the attachment level are introduced. Then, the formation of self identity and socialization of an individual with the physical world is explained in order to understand the development of sense of self. The self identity of an individual can be influenced by the information transmission from the environment and as the meanings in the context of place can change, self and self identity may be affected and attribute new meanings in the changing conditions of lifecycle. The information transmission from the environment to the individual where the sub-structure of self identity is composed by the cognitions such as memories, attitudes, values, preferences and conceptions, is called ‘place identity’ (Cooper, 1974; Proshansky *et. al*, 1983). Next, the properties, functions and principles of place identity are examined. By this way, the relationship between the physical environment and social environment can be analyzed. Properties and functions of place identity serve the need for some level of integration of the individual’s self-identity where the principles cover some aspects of belongingness, aversion and cognitive processes. Lastly, urban identity and cognition are explained by focusing on the changing nature of urbanization.

In the third chapter, formation of gated communities is discussed. Firstly, the notion of globalization with its impacts over the social life, suburban development and the way it brings along the term 'localization' is explained. By people's demand to live in more leisurely environments and to escape from the tension of daily life, different kinds of gated communities are formed where the gates are symbols for security and distinction. At the same time, the notion of 'security' brings out 'segregation' and as a result, the heterogeneity of the environments is negatively affected. The problems of gated communities from different points of view are also discussed in this chapter emphasizing the threats for the development of lifestyle and elite communities. Lastly, the emergence of gated communities in Ankara is discussed.

Chapter four begins with the analysis and description of the site called Bilkent Housing Settlements where the case study was conducted. The site represents a successful attempt to create the perception of a different life for some, with all the facilities required for a global urban life, so that the so-called 'future-promised environments' can be viewed and analyzed in terms of their safety, as being a kind of gated community, the challenge of the unknown new styles and high range of leisure and everyday activity patterns. In this chapter, the details of the case study and the methodology are presented. Finally, results are evaluated and discussed.

In the concluding chapter, major conclusions about the general lack of place attachment of urban people, environmental awareness of Turkish citizens and the reasons related

with the residential satisfaction, social environment, environmental preferences and their relation with place attachment are analyzed.

2. PLACE ATTACHMENT AND PLACE IDENTITY

Place attachment and identity are two interrelated concepts that should be defined and revised in specific contexts. They have various attributions that are discussed in the following sections.

2.1. Attributions and Definitions of Place Attachment

Currently, there seems to exist a consensus over the definition of place attachment. However, it should be clarified that there are many attributions and definitions of this term. In general, place attachment is defined as “an affective bond or link between people and specific places” (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001, p. 274). This link may be dependent over individual’s psychological state, environmental preferences, cultural values, demographic variables, experiences and environmental past. Hubbard (1996) defines the constituents of places as ‘activities’, ‘conceptions’ and ‘physical attributions’ where activities are the functional components and conceptions may differ as images, values or mental attributions. These notions are also effective over the attachment of individuals to specific places in relation with experiences and cognitions.

Low (1992, p.165) defines place attachment as “an individual’s cognitive or emotional connection to a particular setting or milieu” and for Shumaker and Taylor, as cited by Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001, p.274), it is “a positive affective mode or association between individuals and their residential environments”. So, the kind of involvement between people and physical environments generates closeness that turns out to be an

attachment. On the other hand, Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) claim that people can be attached to places with a smaller scale such as a house or street, as well as places with a greater scale like a city or a nation.

Low and Altman (1992) consider places as contexts where people are attached to the social relationships in addition to the physical aspects of a space. The place-based meanings can show differences in terms of socio-cultural characteristics. Hull *et. al* (1994) point out that place-based meanings are interrelated with the socialization process. Dent (1998, p.19) summarizes place attachment by using Low and Altman's definition as "an integrating concept involving patterns of attachments (including affect, cognition and practice), places that vary in scale, specificity and tangibility, different [...] social relationships and [finally] temporal aspects". Dent (1998) also indicates that there exists a relationship between personal attachment to home and its effects to the individual's attachment to other places where the opposite state called 'aversion' can also happen under negative circumstances.

Stedman (2002) suggests that symbolic meanings have an impact over the notion of place attachment. People become attached to the meanings that are attributed to the environment and the symbolic meanings derived from a physical setting can turn out to be cognitions or beliefs. These meanings can change as time passes, because place is such a notion that can be reconstructed in the social context.

2.2. Self Identity, Sense of Self and Socialization with the Physical World

Before going into the details of self-identity and its relationship with the place identifications, the terms 'self' and 'identity' should be clarified. Proshansky *et. al* (1983, p.88) describe self as "a term, which describes the individual as a total system including both conscious and unconscious perceptions of his past, his daily experiences and behaviors and his future aspirations". The function of self can be integrative such that it regulates an individual's behavior settings. Mead cited by Proshansky *et. al* (1983) suggests that the development of sense of self is occurred by beliefs, rules, values and expectancies where there is a role of social environment over the development of individual identity. On the other hand, Parsons (1968, p.10) examines the nature of identity and proposes that "identity, once firmly established through socialization, is the most stable subsystem of personality". The social and cultural forces form the basis of the process of self identity, which also have effects over the relationships between self, identity and the 'others'. Besides, "self identity differs from the general concept of self in its focus on relatively conscious, personally held beliefs, interpretations and evaluations of oneself" (Proshansky *et. al.*, 1983, p.88).

Proshansky *et. al* (1983, p.87) point out that "sense of self is a matter of first learning to distinguish oneself from others by means of visual, auditory and still other perceptual modes". They suggest that the relationship between the objects and other perceptual references all affect the patterns of self identity formation where these distinctions are directly related with spaces and places. Not only the differences between oneself and the

others, but also the differences or the relationships between oneself and the physical backgrounds emerge as the growth period of an individual begins. Physical environments beginning from the immediate surroundings in relation with the social environments where friends, families, neighborhood, community and society play effective roles constitute the general formation of self identity.

Bonnes and Secchiaroli (1995) argue about the gap in the psychological theory on the development of self-identity that can be filled by focusing on the role, which is played by the physical environment and its properties of building a more comprehensive personal identity. By this additional property, the importance and meaning of places emerge. Those meanings are discussed by Jackson (1994), as being gained through the cultural and social processes where there also exists the importance of primary functions of places. Similarly, Gustafson (2001, p.7) examines the meaning of place and stresses that “as the places are generated in relation to their surroundings, new meanings can occur over a period of time”. In relation with those, self and self identity can change and attribute new meanings in the changing conditions of lifecycle.

2.3. The Concept of Place Identity

There exist some assumptions about place identity mainly including the issues of sense of belonging, rootedness and attachment. Cooper (1974) points out that place identity is a relationship between an individual and a physical environment where there is the existence of information transmission from the environment to the individual, so that the

self-identity of the person is affected or influenced. Proshansky *et. al* (1983, p.89)

describe place identity as

“[a] sub-structure of the self identity of the person of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings and conceptions of behavior and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being”.

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) define place identity in two ways that are related to identity. The first way, which is mainly related to the expressed identification of an individual with a place, is called place identifications. In this definition, place identification is considered to be a type of social identification. So, “place can be considered to be a social category and will be subject to the same rules as a social identification within social identity theory” (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996, p.206).

These identifications can be self-descriptions derived from membership in social categories like nationality, sex, race, occupation or supporting a sports team (Hogg and Abrams, 1988 cited by Twigger-Ross and Uzzel, 1996). The other way is suggested as socialization with the physical world. What becomes obvious by these definitions is the relationship between physical and social environment. The physical and social components of environment can never be separated, since there is only a single holistic environment (Ittelson *et. al*, 1974).

The existence of a dynamic relationship between people and physical, and social environments can be analyzed through the theoretical conception of place identity.

“As an individual’s strong emotional attachment to particular places or settings, is consistent with the broader conception of place identity [...] it should become evident [...] that place identity is influenced by a wide range of person/physical setting experiences and relationships based on a variety of physical contexts that form the moment of birth until death define people’s [...] existence” (Proshansky *et. al.*, 1983, p.92).

On the other hand, negative components in place identity such as lack of belongingness can affect emotional attachments to places or settings. The reasons behind this lack can be explained by the individual’s life path, expectations, experiences, cognitions and memories.

2.3.1. Properties of Place Identity

The ‘process of cognition’, which occurs on both conscious and unconscious level of an individual is an outcome of a relationship between self and environment. Kaplan (1992, p.59) suggests that “by looking at cognition as content and cognition as process, a space is created that suggests [...] the relationship between cognition and affect”. The variety of cognitions related to past, present and physical settings bound up the ‘personal construction’ of an individual, which is another property of place identity. According to Proshansky *et. al* (1983), personal construction is occurred by a person’s experience with the physical environment. With the help of cognitive processes, the experiences with the physical environment become reorganized. The characteristic and role of

cognition process are related with the individual's situation of being aware or not aware with his or her physical and social environment. Proshansky *et. al* (1983, p.93) discuss this subject in relation with the 'not in awareness' property of place identity,

“the individual is generally not aware of the variety of memories, feelings, values and preferences that subsume and influence his or her responses to the physical world. One is simply comfortable in certain kinds of physical settings, prefers particular spaces [...]. This not in awareness property of place identity insofar as its content and influence are concerned is an important and significant feature of its role in shaping the behavior and experience of the person in given physical settings”.

Another property of place identity is the 'social component' of a physical setting although physical and social components cannot be separated from each other (Ittelson *et. al.*, 1974). It should also be taken into consideration that place identities of different groups of people according to their age, gender, ethnicity and nationality can show differences in terms of cognition of places, meanings, preferences and experiences.

However, the general characteristic of human being involves the requirement for a personal space. Proshansky *et. al* (1983) explain this kind of requirement as another function of place identity that is about 'privacy, personal space, crowding and territoriality'. They (1983, p.94) suggest that:

“each human being is also a physically defined object that occupies space, and therefore, no two of them can occupy the same space at the same time [and] norms and values about crowding, one's own space, privacy, and territoriality for a given society or culture, are also expressed as place identity cognitions of the person thereby adding still further to his or her definition of self”.

Thus, some of the identity components are directly related with the spatial requirements of people.

Farbstein and Kantrowitz (1978) claim that people's feelings about places are a kind of combination of reactions to the physical nature of the place and their condition of what happens or what has happened to them in that specific physical environment. The properties of physical settings can show a change through time periods, so that people's existing place related cognitions would not match with their initial experiences.

Proshansky *et. al* (1983) call this property of place identity as 'change in place identity'. A positive emotion may become negative or vice versa through time depending on the properties of the space or actions performed in these spaces.

2.3.2. Functions and Principles of Place Identity

Place identity serves the need for some level of integration of the individual's self-identity. Thus, one of the basic functions of place identity is the recognition function, which helps people to determine a familiarity or unfamiliarity with any physical environment and to compare environmental past against a new physical setting (Proshansky *et. al.*, 1983). Related with this function Farbstein and Kantrowitz (1978, p.19) suggest that "in people's memories, places are often transformed and their size, shape, color and layout are changed. Places are reinterpreted to better fit the way people feel things should be, or the way they wish the things had been". So, the space in the memory cannot be reduced to physical characteristics.

Another function is related with the primary functions of places, which is called the meaning function. Meaningful places may be in different spatial scale such as residence, local community, neighborhood, city, region, country, etc (Gifford, 1998). It should be taken into consideration that with new developments the speed of change increases and this affects self and place identity concepts. Massey (1994) suggests that the meaning of home in the context of place attachment has changed. Dent (1998, p.19) also states that “the meaning of home is intertwined with the physical condition and ever changing property of the built environment”. Meaning can be created at the individual or social level. It may be functional as well as symbolic.

Expressive-requirement function is related with the cognitions that express the preferences of an individual. Kaplan (1992) indicates that understanding preference involves an analysis of the relationship between cognition and affect. These preferences can be related with self-esteem. Self-esteem will be higher as people live in a place that they like. Being a part of a space or community and wanting to be a part of it increases self-esteem. Thus, the level of self-esteem may be effective over the preferences of people (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). This function goes hand in hand with claiming territories to support self-esteem such as having a bigger office in the workplace.

The skills of environmental control in changing the setting, being able to detect changes, knowing a physical setting, behavior and activity patterns of others or the individual’s own behavior are the factors of mediating chance function of place identity (Proshansky *et. al.*, 1983). Holohan (1978) examines the responds to environmental changes and

according to his findings, the adaptation of young people is easier to the new environmental settings compared to adults. This indicates that place identity increases with the time spent in an environment. Another explanation might be that older people have more habits or experiences in spaces.

Proshansky *et. al* (1983) describe anxiety and defense as another function of place identity. This function is related with the cognitions on what the threats or dangers are. They (1983, p.103) suggest that “people’s behaviors may engage or not, as a defense against the threats or dangers” from a specific place or setting. Place identity has both positive and negative processes like belongingness and aversion. So, there exists an exchange with other people where boundaries may occur in a place. For instance, the feeling of being inside of a space can become less as the restrictions disappear or the boundaries and limitations get smaller.

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) summarize the principles of place identity that cover some aspects of belongingness, aversion and cognitive processes as the following:

- distinctiveness: people’s belongingness may form the uniqueness of their personality. The distinctiveness puts out a lifestyle and establishes an individual as having a specific relationship with his or her home environment, which is distinct from any other type of relationship.
- continuity: continuity is about the relationship between past and future. It is a cognitive process that combines past experiences and memories.

- self-esteem: self-esteem depends on the ambition of an individual for being in a specific socio-physical environment. Self-esteem will be higher as people live in places that they want.
- self-efficacy: relation with the functioning of environment and carrying out many types of activity patterns in a physical environment is related with self-efficacy. It is more about the space and its functionality.

2.4. Urban Identity and Urban Cognition

People's relations to physical environments are integrated with their experiences and environment attains its symbolic meanings through social, emotional and action-related conceptions. Beside the properties and meanings of specific spaces such as residential environments or neighborhood, urban space is also incorporated into conceptions where meanings are attached to it as well (Lalli, 1998). Environmental appraisals that refer to personal impressions of urban spaces include evaluations, meanings and emotional reactions. Nasar (1989) points out that urban places can evoke emotional responses through the processes of cognition and experiences.

Today, urban planning policies have changed and the notion 'town' fails to demonstrate its symbolic meanings that have direct relationship with the social contracts. Lalli (1998) suggests that by the generation of 'satellite towns', an opportunity for the people for a comfortable living has occurred. Some negative aspects such as isolation or monotony have also risen with this new trend. It should be noted that people's experiences

including urban cognition and identity of the people living in these settlements are very important in terms of place attachment and belongingness. Nasar (1989) defines the term 'urban cognition' in relation with the imageability concept where the notion of orientation is provided to people by urban cognition. However, Lalli (1998, p.306) argues that urban identity is "a complex association between self and urban environment [...] where urban identity also fulfils the function of providing positive self-evaluations for residents [and] generates a sense of fundamental uniqueness".

The shift toward the suburban areas in planning policies can partly be explained with the effects of urban identity as one of the most important functions of urban identity is "its property of differentiating residents of a certain location from other people" (Lalli, 1998, p.307). The formation of identity in general is an outcome of differentiation between self and others. In addition to these, Nasar (1992) suggests that people's preferences and perceptions are affected by socio-demographic factors like education, occupation, life path and gender. Suburban settlements with their homogeneous population limit the urban experience, yet they help to create distinctive environment and an increasing self-esteem for their residents. The sense of belongingness is one of the major aspects that have an impact over the people's evaluations on socio-physical environments regarding urban cognition and identity. On the other hand, researches indicate that some other factors affect urban cognition such as the length of residency or the time spent at a certain area, areas and places where the childhood has passed (Fennell, 1997).

Recently emerging gated communities have become more limiting in terms of urban identity as they provide a complete neighborhood for the inhabitants. Characteristics of gated communities are going to be elaborated in the following chapter.

3. FORMATION OF GATED COMMUNITIES

3.1. The Effects of Globalization on Suburban Development

This section describes the role of globalization on the new suburban development, which emerged as gated communities. Washbourne *et. al* (1997, p.20) describe globalization as “[the] processes, which combine to increase the interconnectedness of social life at [a] level” where the entire world is affected. It should be clarified that “globalization does not have impact on sociological concepts, but it is a process in which sociological thought is an element in the overall transformation of people’s lives” (Washbourne *et. al.*, 1997, p. 34). On the other hand, as Gustafson (2001, p.5) states, “globalization brings along localization” and “the ways in which people relate to places [...] become an important expression of social stratification”.

In the sense of place attachment and belonging, home is the most significant and central focus of human existence. Its importance is expected to increase in the complex urban life of contemporary societies. People find their retreat in home environment when they feel overloaded by the complexity of contemporary urban life. On the other hand, home is increasingly identified with suburban settlements with the influence of urban dynamics such as industrial development, crowding and traffic conditions in today’s urban environments. Although suburban settlements are the products of industrial developments of the early 20th century, with the global influences, there appears a

transformation in the importance of social, cultural and spatial implications of suburban growth and the preference of people for these new residential settlements.

Dent (1998) points out that beginning from the 1980s, design movements and the agenda of architecture were affected by the urbanist approaches. She suggests that as the results of those newly generated approaches, suburban environments based on pre-World War II prototypes were formed. Fried (2000, p.198) argues that the changes “in the [context of] localization of security [...] and use of the community and the sense of alienation from unfamiliar territories [causes a shift] to social class variations in geographic orientations”.

Taking into consideration the principles of place identity, distinctiveness stands as a notion that may form the uniqueness of our personality (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). It reflects a lifestyle and establishes an individual as having a specific type of relationship with his or her home environment that is clearly distinct from any other type of relationship. Concerning this principle, analyzing human behaviors (and lifestyles) in home environments and nearby physical surroundings reflects the importance of their personal significance.

Another issue regarding the suburban development is the people’s wish to live in a self-controlled environment where they feel themselves independent from all causal problems of social life. This can be explained as an escape of people, considering the

changes in their lifestyles toward a more leisurely way. Blakely and Snyder (1997) explain and define the new suburban areas as ‘gated communities’, which are the residential areas with a limited access and become increasingly privatized.

3.1.1. Definitions and Types of Gated Communities

Gated communities are defined as “residential areas with restricted access such that normally public spaces have been privatized” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.85). These types of settlements are the reflections of a border between public and private and they require private planning, and a micro-local government. Gooblar (2002) explains the notion of gated communities similar to Blakely and Snyder (1997) and suggests that they are the developments, which focus on residential environments where there is restricted access and the public spaces are privatized. Those residential areas have impacts on the surroundings they are located. These impacts can be figured out as restricting access, causing some social inequalities, discrimination and segregation.

The concept of gated communities first appeared in the United States in the early 1980s, especially in newly generated suburban areas. The main idea of gated communities was using physical spaces for the creation of social places (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Gated communities have developed with rising social segregation, need for security, and thus, boundaries and walls were seen as the key elements for setting up the whole formation. Watson and Gibson (1995, p.9) claim that “walls – or bounded spaces occupied by specific groups – may offer protection or places of resistance”. The occurrence of

boundaries of the postmodern era is affected by the rapid development of inequalities between classes. Marcuse (1995) examines the societies and considers the cities as being hierarchical. The segmentation among the residential areas is reflected in the inequalities in the spaces that they occupy. He (1995) also suggests that with the growing effects of capitalism and industrial revolution, these inequalities become obvious in urban development.

As discussed by Blakely and Snyder (1997), one of the basic issues lying under the formation of gated communities is the rising trend of suburbanization. They (1997, p.87) suggest that “driven by high costs, crime and other urban problems, the expansion of the suburbs is likely to accelerate in the 1990s as development moves ever further out [...]”. Gated communities located at suburban areas offer a greater level of control for living spaces and gating a housing estate is a way for the developers to market these exclusive areas providing security (Gooblar, 2002). However, the research indicates that they do not guarantee security (Wilson-Doenges, 2000).

The types of gated communities differ from each other according to the issues and degrees of amenities, exclusivity and security. Blakely and Snyder (1997) classify gated communities in three basic categories that are based on the primary motivation of their residents.

1. **Lifestyle Communities:** These types of communities are the ones where the gates give the sense of security and separation for leisure activities and amenities. They were the first mass-market gated developments. Lifestyle communities attract people that want separate and private services and seeking a predictable environment. Lifestyle communities can include retirement communities and country clubs with leisure developments.

2. **Elite Communities:** At these formations, gates symbolize distinction and prestige. With the effects of both notions, a secure place on the social ladder is created and protected. Elite communities' aim is to create a homogenous neighborhood where the issues of physical and social security are provided by a controlled access mechanism. Elite communities are firstly developed for fulfilling the needs for high and middle-class people. They are criticized on the basis of their exclusive character.

3. **Security Zone:** This category is the one where “the fear of crime and outsiders is the foremost motivation for defensive fortifications [and] the existing neighborhoods are retrofitted with gates and barricades” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.89). In the security zone, residents are aimed to regain control of their neighborhood. By this way, the changing conditions do not overwhelm them. Security zone's main characteristic is that with a definite expression of boundaries, they strengthen the sense of community.

In terms of sense of community, exclusion, privatization and stability, three types of gated communities are categorized in Table 1 according to their level of significance.

Table 1 - Categories of gated communities

	Lifestyle	Elite	Security zone
Sense of community	tertiary	tertiary	secondary
Exclusion	secondary	secondary	primary
Privatization	primary	tertiary	tertiary
Stability	secondary	primary	secondary

Source: Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p.90

3.1.2. Privatization and Civil Society

Gated communities provide privatization, so that there begins a shift from governmental services to local private services in terms of public roles. Private communities can provide their own security, maintenance or management. So, the replacement of public governments and its functions become obvious with the effects of privatization (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). The control of gated communities is completely regulated by their own private organizations, where other housing settlements that are open to public access without any limitation is dependent on governmental services.

Gated communities allow people to own a significant natural resource. This means that, the desire to keep out invaders ends up with transformation of public resources such as shorelines, beaches, and parks, into private preserves. According to Schrag (1997, p.32), “gated communities privatize community space, not merely individual space. Many gated areas also privatize civic responsibilities like police protection and communal services such as street maintenance, recreation, and entertainment”. Schrag (1997) also mentions another drawback of gated communities that gates divide community into those inside and those beyond the wall. Residents identify themselves only with the community inside the gate, where their responsibility to the real community ends at the ‘gate’.

Another fundamental concern pointed by Caldeira (1996) is related to society and civic actions. She claims that gated communities violate principles of openness and free

circulation, principles that modern cities historically have advanced. This, in turn, restricts arenas for public and civic action and harms modern democratic society. According to Caldeira (1996, p.55), segregation brings social differentiation and separation, and the new fortified enclaves “no longer relates to the modern ideals of commonality and universality”. Thus, social interaction tends to disappear.

Gates and security forces, along with the land-use and new urban development policies, are being used in cities to restrict access to residential, commercial and public areas. “As citizens divide themselves into homogenous, independent cells, their place in the greater policy and society becomes attenuated, increasing resistance to efforts to resolve regional, let alone municipal, problems” (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, p. 94). This homogeneous and elite community formation causes a decay in urban areas as the powerful groups do not involve in urban core.

3.1.2.1. Community Formation and Place Attachment

‘Community’ is a notion that can be defined in two different ways depending on geographical conditions and social aspects. Wilson-Doenges (2000) suggests that the effects of social relationships, without any reference to a certain location, are considered to be in the context of ‘sense of community’. She also states that the increasing diversity among the local residential social environments causes a decline in the sense of community.

Theodori and Luloff (2000, p.40) distinguish between ‘individual-level’ and ‘community-level’ social interactions within local populations and state that:

“although individuals live and interact in localities, the aggregation of all the interactions that take place in a given locality does not constitute community interaction. Unlike individual-level interactions, community-level interaction ‘relates to shared territory, contributes to the wholeness of local social life, and seeks to improve the well-being of the local society as a whole’ (Wilkinson 1989, p.339)”.

However, Lever (1993, p.287) suggests that reurbanization with the effects of globalization seems to offer a “prospect of greater social integration, in contrast to the social polarization of the suburbanization phase”.

People’s experiences in socio-physical environments are very important in terms of place attachment and belongingness. Urban cognition is one of the crucial parts of that experience. Urban cognition refers, simply, to the concept of imageability. It gives people the knowledge and information of orientation and way finding. The importance of such environmental knowledge is self-evident and helps belonging and community formation.

The studies that examine people’s ability to adapt and modify the recently developed gated communities along with the sense of identity, attachment and meaning expressed towards these environments have been gradually expanding (Nasar, 1989). However,

there exist a need to examine how people adapt to the newly generated suburban areas by considering some important issues such as self identity, social descriptors, attachment level and meanings that are attributed by the users.

3.1.2.2. Security versus Segregation

Gated community is promoted with the feeling of security. Walls and gates are reflections of defense and protection that satisfy more than the need for physical protection. Lozano (1990) argues that the satisfaction that gates provide is mainly for a psychological reassurance. So, a space formed between gates and walls creates another 'world' that stands with its own characteristics of being isolated and thus, the walls and gates become icons that generate boundaries for psychological needs of people and communities.

It can be assumed that walls provide a sense of identity and difference in terms of providing a control mechanism. Marcuse (1995) defines types of walls and points out that 'stucco walls', which are used to shelter communities to generate exclusiveness and 'ramparts' that can be described as walls of domination are used to express social status and control and simultaneously protecting privilege and wealth.

The reasons of walls vary according to the cultural context although the basic function of excluding the others persists. In all three types of gated communities, the reasons for

spatial segregation within the city are identified by Leisch (2002, p.341) as “religion, social status, cultural and/or geographic origin”. Leisch (2002, p.341) states the reasons for walls as follows:

“What is the reason for a wall? At a first glance it is a question of security: a wall can provide privacy for people who want to be alone and do not want to meet people of another religion, culture, or social status in their living area. People are afraid of strangers and feel more secure in a homogeneous neighborhood”.

The issue of security here comes up with a primary concern. Davis (1992) mentions this concern and concludes that it is an issue that becomes a positional good defined by income access to private protective services. He (1992, p.224) also argues that security is a symbol of prestige and it has “less to do with personal safety than with the degree of personal insulation”. So, security stands as a symbolic component with both privacy and exclusivity that formulates the main demand for gated communities. It adds up to the distinctive character of an elite group. However, it is also argued that the perception of security in gated communities is a false perception in most cases (Ellin, 1997, Wilson-Doenges, 2000).

Blakely and Snyder (1997) argue that ‘gating’ is an action of separation and distinction that guarantees property values, but segmentation among the social distribution reduces the number of public spaces that people can share. They point out that metropolitan areas have become increasingly segregated in terms of race and class, so that spatial arrangements are recreated accordingly. The characteristics of gated communities in

terms of segregation is analyzed by Blakely and Snyder (1997, p.96) and they suggest that,

“gated communities are themselves a microcosm of the larger spatial pattern of segmentation and separation. The growing divisions between city and suburb and rich and poor are creating new patterns that reinforce the costs that isolation and exclusion impose on some at the same time that they benefit others. [...] Suburbanization has been instrumental in dividing up the gains and losses of economic restructuring, allowing the winners to protect their position through geographic separation and further exacerbating differentials in income and wealth”.

As discussed above, the themes such as value, security, exclusivity and escape encompass the strategies for selling gated communities while bringing separation and social segregation at the same time. Different views on the problems of gated communities are discussed in the following section.

3.1.2.3. Problems of Gated Communities

There exist many ideas concerning the formation of gated communities. Some of these are focusing on their problems in nature and some are supporting gated communities as being an integrative element in the homogeneity of a city while neighborhoods are separated. When all these discussions and complaints are made upon gated communities, there is limited evidence to face with an agenda proposing solutions and alternative settlements.

Bell (1999), who believes that gated communities are social barriers, proposes a solution where community events are still kept inside the gated communities but the whole settlement will be open to public. On the other hand, Gooblar (2002) sums up the arguments supporting gated communities and mentions that architects and critiques such as Charles Jencks, Mike Davis and Frank Gehry have a positive interpretation of gated communities because of their stealth architecture provided by boundaries.

According to Lang and Danielson (1997) (cited by Gooblar, 2002), another common argument about gated communities is their power of keeping or attracting the wealthy back to the inner city only in cases where the gated community is in the city. By this way, they believe that city becomes mixed as a whole ignoring neighborhoods. Another argument about gated communities is the issue of displacement of residents and the occurrence of a conflict between inside the wall and outside the wall (Gooblar, 2002). On the contrary to this conflict, Castell (1997) (cited by Gooblar, 2002) points out that such formation of gated communities have no negative impacts regarding segmentation and segregation.

It is important to analyze the conflict of gated communities regarding the geographical situations and contexts. The difference can lead us to generate a sense when both rapidly developed and unevenly developing countries are taken into consideration. Blakely and Snyder (1997) argue that gated communities can improve the security of inhabitants but

at the cost of their greater neighborhood safety and finally they conclude that gates, walls and barriers have no significant effect on crime and security.

Connell (1999) suggests that gated settlements are strengthening class divisions while enhancing isolation at the same time. He believes that the rise in gated communities emphasize a kind of individualism that prepares a medium for social segregation.

Similarly, Caldeira (1996) points out that gated communities destroy public spaces and enlarges private domains. As a result, eliminating the dualism between public and private becomes impossible because of the lack of social relationships occurred by the gates and suburbanization.

In terms of modern democratic societies, gated communities stand as an opposition.

Caldeira (1996) analyses how gated communities harm the modern societies by segregation and states that gated communities stand as an obstacle that violate the principles of openness and free-circulation that the modern cities historically have advanced. Beside those, gated communities brings along fragmentation and partial domination instead of a uniformly distributed homogenous society (Marcuse, 1995).

As seen above, there are different arguments concerning the existence and development of gated communities. With the emergence of these communities, people became more interested in moving to these newly generated settings that promises security, good life and many different facilities that creates a small-scale city formation in itself. Along

with the effects of globalization, the privatization and location of certain neighborhoods in the suburban areas are seen as a threat for the development of evenly formed communities. These effects are also seen in Ankara, the capital of Turkey, which is an example to the rapid urbanization of Turkey.

3.2. Emergence of Gated Communities in Ankara

Ankara was established as the new national capital of Turkey after the establishment of the Republic in 1923 with a population of about 20,000. By 1969, it had increased to 1.2 million and now it is just over 4 million, according to the last official census in 2000 (DIE, 2003). Ankara, like most metropolitan cities of the third world, encounters serious problems among which the need for shelter and hence urban residential land are more pronounced. The main reason for this problem is the rapid urbanization of Turkey particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, which resulted in an increase in population concentration in big cities. Tekeli (1998) defines the changes on urban development and scale beginning from the mid 1960s in Turkey. These changes can be put forward as social stratification within urban centers and the increase in the size of urban settlements. Throughout the 1980s, Turkish cities had a transformation from a homogeneous structure into a heterogeneous formation (Bilgin, 1988; Tekeli, 1991). This development also caused segregation among citizens living in formal apartment blocks in the city and those who live in squatter settlements at the outskirts of the city (Ayata, 1989). This duality has dominated the urban character of metropolitan cities in Turkey, mainly Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir.

However, the early squatter suburban development represents the urban poor and newcomers to the city, whereas the recent ones are developed for the upper middle and high income groups, which need to form a new lifestyle outside the city center. Istanbul, due to its historical and economic dominance over the country, has first witnessed the formation of gated communities of every kind. There are examples in the urban areas as well as the luxurious suburban settlements. Ankara is a modest follow-up with a limited number of such communities, yet definitely indicates a new trend.

With the increasing impact of recent economic crises on income distribution, there has also begun a social class differentiation that now resulted in the segregation between suburban districts and the city center. People now begin to move away from the city center and go toward the west and southwest of Ankara where there are new suburban developments and settlements. (See Figure 1 for the Ankara map indicating the new suburban development of gated communities)

The site chosen for the analysis of this research is Bilkent Housing Settlements and the characteristics of the site and research carried out in this site are given in the following chapter.

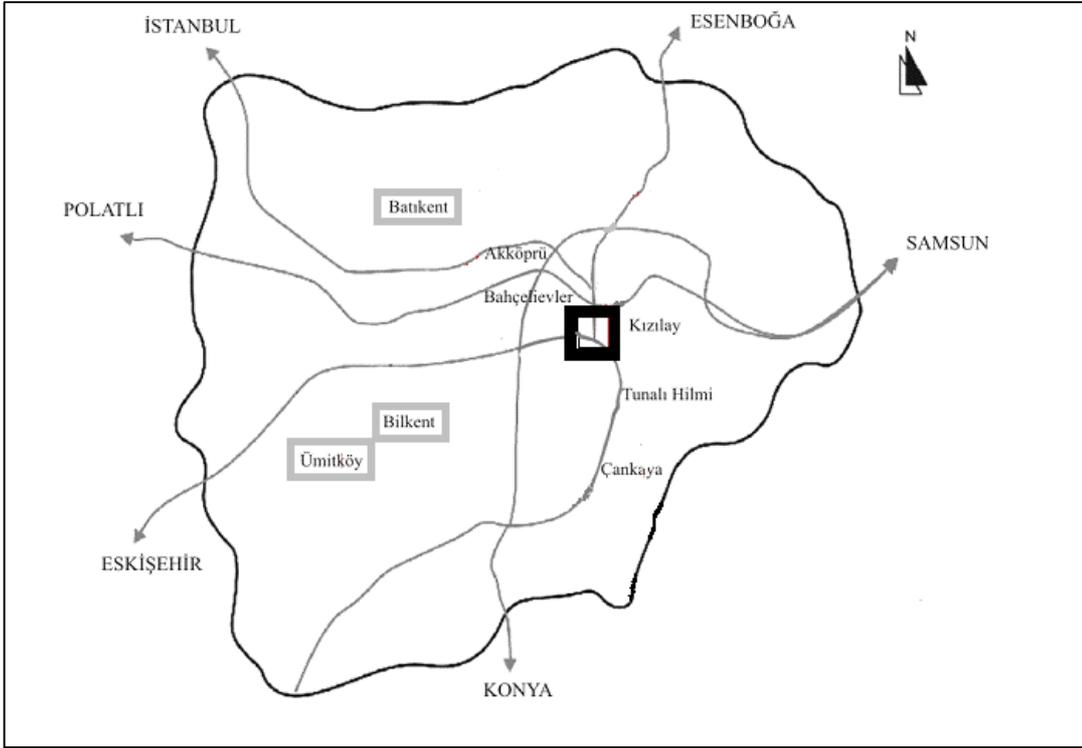


Figure 1 – Map of Ankara

4. BILKENT HOUSING SETTLEMENTS

4.1. Analysis of the Site

Bilkent, which is approximately 15 km away from the city center, is a high-middle income housing settlement in Ankara (See App. A for Fig. 1). Nearby the settlement, a private university called Bilkent University is located and the district is named after Bilkent University after the formation of it in 1984. Bilkent settlements serve for mainly the high-income people with many different offerings depending on the types of houses. Bilkent housing settlements is an example to “elite communities” described by Blakely and Snyder (1997). The housing settlements reflect basic properties of gated communities such as having a controlled access mechanism, privatized public spaces and being managed by a micro-level government (See App. A for Fig. 2a, Fig. 2b, Fig. 2c and Fig. 2d for different views from the settlement).

Bilkent has many varieties of facilities to provide people a “global lifestyle”. ‘Sports International’, which was considered to be the biggest sports center in Turkey at the time of its construction, provides different activities both inside and outside the facility. After the construction of first parts of housing settlements people, who owned a house in Bilkent were given memberships from Sports International (See App. A for Fig. 3).

Another facility located at Bilkent is the shopping mall called ‘Bilkent Center’. Bilkent Center is composed of three different parts that are ‘Real’, ‘Praktiker’ and ‘Ankuva’,

which provide shopping facilities, a movie theatre, recreational areas such as billiard and bowling centers and different eating facilities (See App. A for Fig. 4). Also ‘Odeon’, which is a music hall and amphitheatre having a capacity for 5000 people, is located inside Bilkent University for cultural activities as well as an elementary school, high school and kindergartens.

Bilkent Housing Settlements is divided into three sections according to their dates of establishment and location. Those three groups are titled as *Bilkent I Çamlık Sitesi*, *Bilkent II Park Sitesi* and *Bilkent III Settlements* (See App. B for Fig. 1a, Fig. 1b and Fig. 1c). Bilkent I was firstly constructed in 1993 and the houses were finished and went on sale through 1994 and after. Shortly after the completion of Bilkent I, Bilkent II was constructed in 1996 and then the construction of Bilkent III has taken its place back in 1999.

In Bilkent I, there are 912 housing units in 6 types of dwellings depending on its location and physical qualities, like the size or story heights of the dwellings. Bilkent I is located over an area of 125.000 m² where Bilkent II has a 170.115 m² area in which there are 9 different dwelling types with a total 1082 housing units. Bilkent III has 865 units in 6 different types of buildings. The sizes of the dwellings for flats vary between approximately 74 to 303 m², between 252 to 355 m² for the single apart dwellings for all three sections of Bilkent Housing Settlements.

Bilkent Housing Settlement provides most of the services in its vicinity and tend to be an alternative to city life and it represents a new development with its physical facilities and amenities as well as the composition of its inhabitants who are much well-off and 'global' than the average Turkish citizen. In Turkey a group emerged as a result of rapid economic restructuring in the 1980s, owed their wealth mainly to unregistered income. This group is called 'neuveaux rich' to indicate their rootedness in aristocracy, hence noble and wealthy origin. It is not surprising that most of the luxurious housing developments, including the gated communities like Bilkent Housing Settlement have targeted this group with slogans like "let the city miss you", "Californian style" etc. In the advertisements amenities are listed and not only the facilities like shopping malls, sport centers or concert halls are advertised but also schools for children where they can be socialized away from social inferiority are emphasized. Mainly Istanbul hosted this group as it is the most attractive for also the historical reasons, Ankara followed suit as a more modest example.

Bilkent Settlements is a good example of the segregation in Ankara as a socio-physical environment, which pretends to be a setting that fulfills the requirements of citizens on its own to bring out a small-scale city formation away from the city's chaos and problems. Nowadays, they propose home ownership in Bilkent Settlements with a kind of mortgage system using "do not postpone your dreams" as a new slogan. "A city life, out of the city" is another slogan they use to promote the dwellings where they promise security and satisfaction in the brochures by the statement "away from everything that disturbs you and very close to everything you need".

4.2. Research Objectives

This research focuses on the people's preferences and evaluations for their residential settings, stressing the social surroundings and attachment levels where the main factors that are affective over the preferences of people for living in suburban areas are also examined. By this way, the so-called 'future-promised environments' and 'elite communities' can be viewed and analyzed in terms of their safety, as being a kind of gated community and a high range of leisure and everyday activity patterns. According to Moore (2000), home is seen as a symbol of self-identity and a reflection of self as a cultural aspect, thus it expresses the identity of its users. The notion of 'home', while paying attention to its location; like being located at a suburban or rural area, has many different attributions as Moore (2000, p.210) indicates such as "centrality, continuity, privacy, self expression and personal identity and social relationships" (cited from Tognoli, 1987).

Home can be considered as a set of personal, social and physical meanings that are derived from the definition of place where activities, physical attributes and conceptions come together. Besides, Fried (2000, p.195) expresses the importance of community attachment that gives a wide range of "freedom of behavior, exploration, confidence and affective responsiveness within the local community". On the other hand, while there exists a communal attachment on its own, as Blakely and Snyder (1997) suggest, high range of segmentation and separation are occurred and observed at communal locations because of the divisions between city and suburb, and rich and poor.

We begin to observe the disappearance of boundaries with the changes in life, society, culture and behaviors and a shift in communities, which are caused by social discontinuities (Harvey, 1989). As a result of those changes, the meanings and identities of spaces and places also begin to change depending on the social context (Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995, Fried, 2000). The main research focus of this study suggests an analytical framework regarding the role of place identity in relation with the expectations of people moving to suburban areas. On the other hand, this study also aims to capture the issue of expectations from the place, which poses a question about the role of an environmental past on the valuation of a new immediate physical setting in relation with place attachment.

4.3. Methods Used for the Case Study and Hypotheses

For the case study, quantitative methods are used with the help of questionnaires and interviews. Random and snowball sampling methods were used together and the sample group contains people who are currently living at Bilkent Settlements. By this way, what they find after beginning to live there can be analyzed. Besides, the reasons that lead people for moving are expected to affect the level of attachment.

A total number of 60 questionnaires were distributed in the administration office at Bilkent and 40 of them were returned back. 12 of the questionnaires were handled by snowball sampling method in Bilkent I, II and III by the help of the respondents who were interviewed before (See App. C for the questionnaire form). The administration

office for inhabitants is located inside the Bilkent Housing Settlements and it simultaneously serves as a real estate agency. Additional data on the settlement was gathered also from this office as it documents official demographic data. So, this office was found appropriate to give the questionnaires to the people currently living in Bilkent. A total number of 52 inhabitants responded to the questions.

To analyze and clarify the attachments of people to gated communities considering their social attachment is one of the major aims of this study. One of the main hypotheses is that people come to Bilkent Settlements for the social environment and as they tend to stay long, they feel more attached.

On the other hand, discontinuity and life path of the respondents seem to be very important while comparing the past and present satisfaction. This kind of satisfaction can be considered as being a residential satisfaction, through which the users want all advantages of the suburban settlement like physical and especially social environment. It can be claimed that residential satisfaction is provided in Bilkent Housing Settlements. At this point, we need to observe the importance of social identity and the cultural background of users in relation with the social satisfaction. Fried (2000) suggests that one of the most important aspects of residential satisfaction is the social class position. This kind of satisfaction can be considered as a function of social position. Thus, it is hypothesized that the residential satisfaction in Bilkent has been provided and people seek the satisfaction from social position through their home environment.

Bilkent Housing Settlements can also be viewed from the angle of community satisfaction. As stated by Fried (2000, p.201), the factors that are influential upon community satisfaction are the following;

- “local residential satisfaction that deals with primary satisfaction with the neighborhood and the dwelling unit,
- local convenience satisfaction, which is about the availability of local resources and facilities,
- local inter-personal satisfaction related to neighbor relations,
- and local political satisfaction that deals with the delivery of services”.

Another issue is about homeownership and the hypothesis is that people who own a house feels more attached to Bilkent compared to the tenants in Bilkent.

The last hypothesis is that all demographic variables have an effect on the attachment level of people. On the other hand, years spent in Bilkent Dwellings and in the previous locations are also important although correlated with age. Respondents were also asked to identify the social environment that they were used to and now they experience at Bilkent.

4.4. Results and Discussions of the Statistical Analyses

The questionnaires contained the data referring to the socio-demographic properties.

Sex, age, education and other social descriptors of the individual are some of the major factors that are taken into consideration (See Table 2 for the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample group).

Table 2 – Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents

Sex	#	%
Male	28	53.8
Female	24	46.2
Age	#	%
15-25	26	53.1
26-40	12	24.5
41-55	7	14.3
56-70	4	8.2
70 +	-	-
Education Level	#	%
Primary school	2	3.8
Middle school	1	1.9
High school	22	42.3
University	17	32.1
Post-graduate	10	18.9
Occupation	#	%
Not working	1	2.0
Student	18	35.3
Working	32	62.7
Income Level	#	%
Low	2	4.0
Low-middle – Middle	28	56.0
Middle-high – High	20	40.0

Chi-square analysis was applied to analyze the factors affecting the place attachment in Bilkent Settlements (See App. D for the variable list and see App. E for the results).

Besides, frequencies are also given to point out basic issues.

The first hypothesis was about social environment and length of residency. It was hypothesized that people come to Bilkent Settlements for the social environment and as they tend to stay long, they feel more attached. According to the results, 20.2 % of the respondents have moved to Bilkent Housing Settlements for the social environment at Bilkent (See Table 3 for the reasons for moving to Bilkent). Satisfaction with the social environment was defined by being together with same income level and social class of people in Bilkent. When the satisfaction from social environment is analyzed along with the level of attachment, it was observed that there is a significant relationship between these two ($X^2 = 5.103$, $df = 1$, $p = .024$). (See App. E1)

Table 3 – Reasons for moving to Bilkent

Reasons for moving to Bilkent	#	%
Job-school	33	37.1
Noise-environmental pollution	11	12.4
Traffic-distance	9	10.1
Social environment- neighborhood relations	18	20.2
Safety	10	11.2
Relatives-recommendation	8	9.0

Social position, which people try to find and get satisfied by that, was hypothesized to be an important factor to clarify why people move to Bilkent. In relation with this issue, respondents were asked questions about their social environment at Bilkent and if they feel themselves attached to Bilkent compared to the places that they have lived before or not. To accomplish this, the respondents were asked whether their social environment was changed or not after they have moved to Bilkent (See table 4 for the frequency of change in the social environment after moving to Bilkent). It is observed that the percentage of a change in social environment is not high as expected. Chi-square analysis indicates that there is no significant relationship between the attachment level of people living in Bilkent housing settlements and a change in social environment after moving to Bilkent. (See App. E2)

Table 4 – Change in social environment after moving to Bilkent

Change in social environment after moving to Bilkent	#	%
Yes	19	37.3
No	32	62.7

Length of residence was analyzed in order to see if there are any relationships with this issue and place attachment. According to the results, 48.1 % of the respondents were living at Bilkent between 1 to 3 years where 51.9 % were living at Bilkent for 4 years or more. Concerning the first hypothesis, a significant relationship between the level of

place attachment at Bilkent and the length of residence at Bilkent is observed

($X^2 = 4.009$, $df = 1$, $p = .045$). (See App. E3)

On the other hand, planned length of residence and a probable change in the social environment of the respondents was also analyzed. The analysis revealed that there was no significant association between the planned length of residence and a change in the social environment after moving to Bilkent and 80.8 % of the respondents stated a definite time period for living in Bilkent and only 19.2 % of the respondents gave indefinite duration. (See App. E4)

The second hypothesis was about residential satisfaction. It was hypothesized that residential satisfaction is provided in Bilkent and it is dependent over physical and especially social environment. It is observed that 70.2 % of the people living in Bilkent stated that a homogeneous social environment is formed at Bilkent where they feel themselves satisfied. In other words, they feel themselves comparable to other people living in the settlement. Thus, regarding the components of place attachment, change in the social environment after moving to Bilkent was analyzed along with the respondents' feeling of being together with the same income and social class of people at Bilkent. There was no significant relationship between the subject's opinion about the change in their social environment and their beliefs about the homogeneity of it. (See App. E5)

The third hypothesis regarding the aspects of residential satisfaction in relation with social class position was that people seek the satisfaction from social position through their home environment. 93.9% of the respondents stated that the dwelling type that they live in is proper for their social status and income level where only 6.1% of them stated the opposite. On the contrary, when the satisfaction from the dwelling type is analyzed along with the attachment level of the respondents, no significant relationships were found. (See App. E6) Besides, no significant relationships were found between the respondents' opinion about living in a dwelling type proper for their social status and the attachment level. (See App. E7).

Concerning the dwelling types, 88.2% of the respondents state that they are satisfied by their dwelling types where 11.8% of them do not (See Table 5 for the reasons for choosing the current dwelling type). The respondents were also asked whether there is a dwelling type that they wish to live in or not. 52.8% of them stated a definite type different from their current dwelling where the rest stated that they do not want to live in another dwelling type.

Table 5 – Reasons for choosing the current dwelling type

Reasons for choosing the current dwelling type	#	%
Rent fee / Price	17	30.4
Size	18	32.1
Location in Bilkent setting	8	14.3
Distance to Bilkent Center	3	5.4
Environmental planning	10	17.9

In order to evaluate Bilkent Housing Settlements from the angle of community satisfaction, basic aspects regarding local residential satisfaction, local inter-personal satisfaction and local convenience satisfaction were analyzed. Local residential satisfaction that deals with primary satisfaction with the neighborhood and the dwelling unit is analyzed and regarding the neighborly relations, 52% of the respondents keep contact with their neighbors whereas 48% of them do not, although 82.4% of the respondents state that neighborhood relationships are important for them.

Related to the neighborhood relationships, local inter-positional satisfaction was also analyzed. When the respondents' opinion about the importance of neighborhood relationships was analyzed along with the attachment level, no significant relationships were found. (See App. E8)

When local convenience satisfaction, which is about the availability of local resources and facilities are analyzed and it was observed that 82.4% of the respondents can provide their needs from the facilities in Bilkent. Regarding local convenience satisfaction, when obtaining all the needs from Bilkent was analyzed along with the attachment level, no significant relationships were found. (See App. E9)

Another hypothesis was about the homeownership issue and it was hypothesized that people who own a house feels more attached to Bilkent compared to the tenants in Bilkent. Concerning this hypothesis, no significant relationships were found between

homeownership and attachment level. (See App. E10) However, a significant relationship was found between homeownership and occupation of the respondents ($X^2 = 9.744$, $df = 2$, $p = .008$). (See App. E11) When the frequencies of the respondents are analyzed, it was observed that 42.9% of the respondents own the dwelling that they live in and the rest are tenants. Respondents who do not own a dwelling in Bilkent but rent a dwelling were asked whether they wish to own a house in Bilkent or not. 83.8% of them stated that they wish to own a house in Bilkent.

Regarding the issue of self-efficacy, the respondents were asked to answer whether the location of the dwelling they live in is important or not in Bilkent setting. 86.3% of them stated that the location of the dwelling is important for them whereas 13.7% stated it is not. However, 61.5% of the respondents stated that the distance between their dwellings and Bilkent Center is not a problem for them. Concerning importance of the location of the residents, 90.6% of the respondents are satisfied by the location where the rest is not satisfied.

The last hypothesis was about demographic variables and it was hypothesized that that all demographic variables have an effect on the attachment level of people. When the demographic variables were taken into consideration while analyzing if there exist any relationship between them and the attachment level, no significant relationships were found. However, it was observed that there was a significant relationship between age of the respondents' and length of residency ($X^2 = 10.350$, $df = 3$, $p = .016$) as expected. (See App. E12) On the other hand, when education level of the respondents' was

analyzed along with the change in the social environment after moving to Bilkent, a significant relationship was found ($X^2 = 9.643$, $df = 4$, $p = .047$). (See App. E13)

These results indicate that some prominent hypotheses on gated communities are not verified in a local Turkish context. It signifies the need for specific case studies on gated communities to argue on predefined sets of biases and expectations.

5. CONCLUSION

This research aims to contribute to understand the concept of place attachment by analyzing the components of the term itself such as place identity, residential and social satisfaction, social environment and physical environment. With the global influences, people's preferences are directed towards the suburban areas in metropolitan cities and the consequences of this shift in relation with the physical and especially social factors were overviewed in this thesis. The hypotheses about the relationship between social environment and attachment level, residential and social satisfaction, social position and the effects of all demographic variables were tested and analyzed.

By this research, it was seen that people have moved to Bilkent Housing Settlements mainly for job and school related reasons, and the social environment at Bilkent. Regarding this issue, a significant relationship between the role of social environment and level of attachment supporting the claim that the social environment is a leading factor for people to move to suburban areas was found.

When the relationship between length of residence and attachment level was analyzed, a significant relationship was found. Attachment level did not appear high as expected in general. For various historical reasons, this is even more valid for Turkish urban citizens. An unplanned urban development with the lack of an awareness of historical and environmental values can be stated as the most important reason.

Another interesting finding is about the homeownership, which did not appear as an important factor for the attachment at Bilkent. The relationship between homeownership and occupation can be explained by the high student population living at Bilkent. As the population of the student group living at Bilkent is unproportional, homeownership ratio is also low and as a result of this, attachment appears to be low. It should be clarified that, in Bilkent case, the sample group is not very representative because of the high student population. It is expected that the relationship between homeownership and attachment can appear different in other gated communities.

The issues of segregation, fear of crime in urban life, global influences which promote an elite lifestyle for the urban rich provide a strong basis for the analysis of changing meanings and definitions of place attachment that constitutes one of the core concepts of environmental psychology. This concept, which is widely identified with “home”, now seems to be identified more with the social environment in gated communities. Social environment in such communities is supported by residential satisfaction from luxurious housing and self-efficacy and self-esteem provided by a modern and well-maintained community life with many facilities required by high-income citizens. Particularly when the urban center fails to satisfy the needs of citizens for a global lifestyle, it seems that the gated communities will answer the needs for those who can afford this new lifestyle.

In terms of place identity and attachment, as Gustafson (2001) claims, further empirical studies can clarify the ongoing arguments related to the issues of place, identity, meaning and globalization. Today, environmental psychologists are debating on

globalization and localization in the context of what Massey (1994, p.147-156) calls “a global sense of place”. This concept needs to be analyzed further in different local contexts, particularly in the developing countries like Turkey as they have been adapting the ready-made examples of global spaces. Potential problems have been discussed in different contexts, yet it is not clear that the Turkish case will exhibit similar tendencies. For this reason, the search on identity and attachment in localities gains additional importance. This may help to propose specific design solutions and social and community organizations by which individuals feel more comfortable and happy.

Beside the social components of an environment, physical aspects also need to be analyzed further to understand if they have any influence on the formation of communities. Further studies are also needed on the impact of gated communities on community formation and environmental awareness in Turkey.

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APPENDIX A



Figure 1. Site view of Bilkent setting. (Tepe 2004, Calender).



Figure 2a. One of the two main gates of Bilkent II.



Figure 2b. Different residential types of Bilkent II.



Figure 2c. Bilkent I, amlık Sitesi.



Figure 2d. Wired fence of Bilkent I.



Figure 3. Sports International



Figure 4. Bilkent Center

APPENDIX B



Figure 1a. Site Plan of Bilkent I

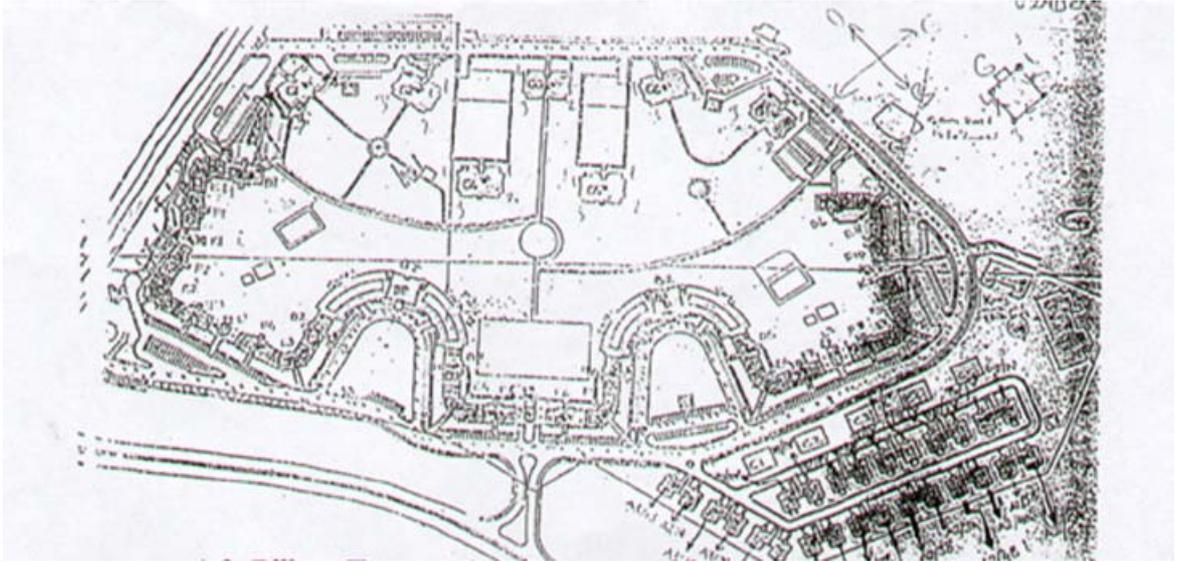


Figure 1b. Site Plan of Bilkent II

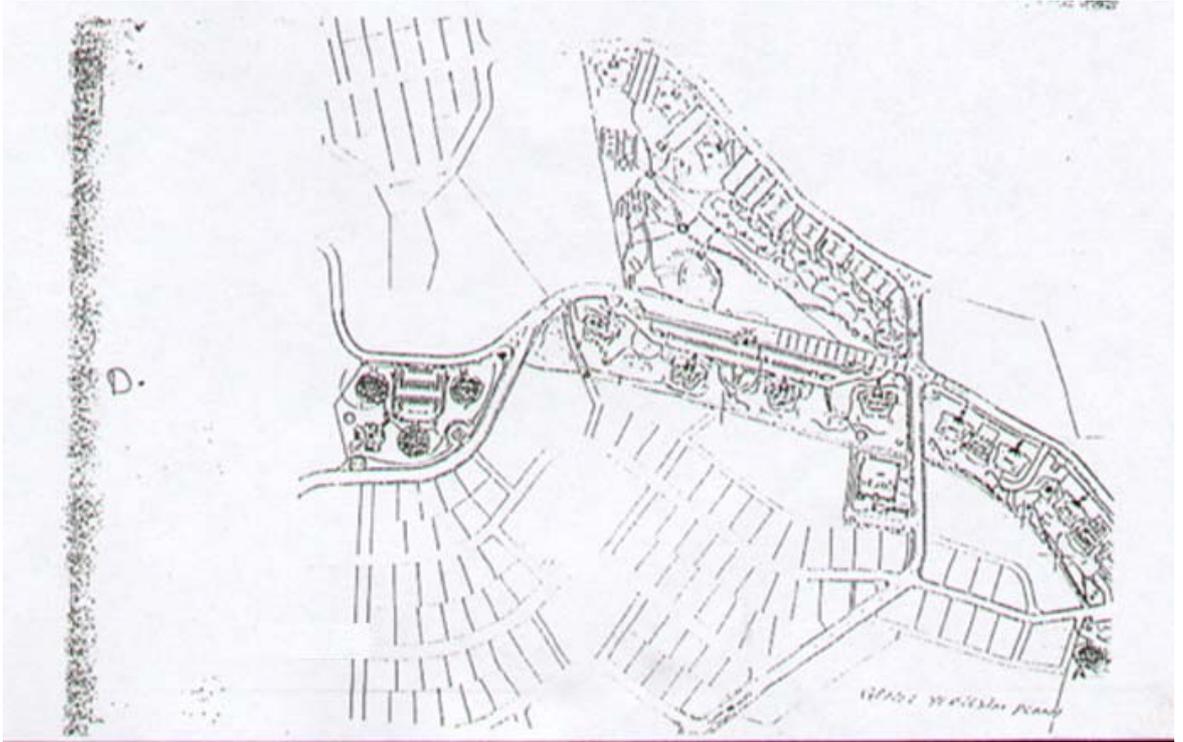


Figure 1c. Site Plan of Bilkent III

APPENDIX C

Turkish version of the questionnaire form.

Bilkent Yerleşim Merkezi için Akademik Araştırma Formu

- 1) Cinsiyetiniz: E K
- 2) Yaşınız:.....
- 3) Öğrenim durumunuz:
a. ilkokul c. lise e. lisansüstü
b. ortaokul d. üniversite
- 4) Mesleğiniz:.....
- 5) Kendinizi aşağıdaki gelir gruplarından hangisine yerleştirirsiniz?
a. alt c. orta e. üst
b. alt-orta d. orta-üst
- 6) Oturduğunuz yerleşke/blok hangisi?.....
- 7) Bilkent`de oturmakta olduğunuz konut... Size ait Kira
- 8) Kaç yıldır Bilkent`de oturuyorsunuz?.....
- 9) Kaç yıl daha Bilkent`de oturmayı planlıyorsunuz?.....
- 10) Oturmakta olduğunuz konut kira ise, Bilkent`de bir ev sahibi olmayı ister miydiniz? Evet Hayır
- Cevabınızın `Evet` ya da `Hayır` olmasının nedeni nedir?.....
- 11) Sahip olduğunuz ya da oturmak istediğiniz konutun Bilkent yerleşkesi içindeki yeri sizin için önemli mi? Evet Hayır
- 12) Oturmakta olduğunuz konutun Bilkent Center`a olan mesafesi sizin için önemli mi? Evet Hayır
- 13) Bilkent Center`a nasıl ulaşıyorsunuz?.....
- 14) Oturmakta olduğunuz konutun Bilkent yerleşkesi içindeki yerinden memnun musunuz? Evet Hayır
- Cevabınız `Hayır` ise nedenleri nelerdir?.....
- 15) Hangi konut tipinde oturuyorsunuz?..... Bu tipi seçme nedenleriniz nelerdir?
(birden fazla işaretleyebilirsiniz.)
- a. kira bedeli / fiyat
b. ölçek (büyüklük-küçüklük)
c. Bilkent yerleşim merkezindeki konumu
d. Bilkent Center`a olan mesafe
e. çevre düzenlemesi
f. diğer (lütfen belirtin)

16) Oturmakta olduğunuz konut tipinden memnun musunuz? Evet Hayır

Cevabınız 'Hayır' ise nedenleri nelerdir?.....

17) Oturmak istediğiniz bir yerleşke ya da konut tipi var mı?.....

18) Daha önce hangi şehir ve semtte oturuyordunuz? şehir semt oturma süresi
(sondan başa doğru sıralayınız.) 1-..... 2-..... 3-..... 4-..... 5-.....

19) Daha önce yaşamakta olduğunuz yerden Bilkent'e taşınmış olmanızın sebebi ya da sebepleri nelerdir?
(birden fazla işaretleyebilirsiniz.)
a. iş d. trafik f. sosyal çevre h. güvenlik j. tavsiye/reklam
b. okul e. yol-mesafe g. komşu ilişkileri i. aile fertlerinin isteği k. diğer.....
c. ses ve çevre kirliliği (lütfen belirtin)

20) Daha önce oturduğum yerlere göre Bilkent'i...
a. daha güvenli c. daha elit
b. daha temiz/bakımlı d. daha rahat/kolay
e. diğer (lütfen belirtin).....
buluyorum. (birden fazla işaretleyebilirsiniz.)

21) Oturduğum konut tipinin sosyal statüme ve gelir seviyeme uygun olduğunu düşünüyorum. Evet Hayır

22) Benim için komşuluk ilişkileri önemlidir. Evet Hayır

23) Komşularıyla görüşüyorum. Evet Hayır

24) Tüm ihtiyaçlarımı Bilkent ve çevresinden temin edebiliyorum. Evet Hayır

25) Bilkent'e taşındıktan sonra sosyal çevrem değiştiğini düşünüyorum. Evet Hayır

26) Bilkent'de kendi gelir grubum ve sosyal sınıftan insanlarla birlikte olduğumu düşünüyorum. Evet Hayır

27) Daha önce oturduğum yer(ler)e kıyasla kendimi Bilkent'e daha bağlı hissediyorum. Evet Hayır

Cevabınız `evet` ise, farklı olarak ne yapıyorsunuz?.....

- 19) What are the reasons for you to move to Bilkent?
 (You can mark more than one.)
- | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. job | d. traffic problems | g. neighborhood relations | j. recommendation/
advertisement |
| b. school | e. distance | h. safety | k. other.....
(please state) |
| c. noise and
environmental
pollution | f. social environment | i. relatives' influence | |

- 20) I find Bilkent...
 a. more safe c. more elite e. other (please state).....
 b. more clean d. more convenient and comfortable

compared to the places that I have lived before. (You can mark more than one.)

- | | | | | |
|--|-----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| 21) I think the dwelling type that I live in is proper for my income level and social status. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22) Neighborhood relations are important for me. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23) I keep in touch with my neighbors. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24) I can obtain all of my needs from Bilkent and its surrounding. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 25) I think my social environment has changed after moving to Bilkent. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26) I think that I am together with the same income level and social class of people at Bilkent. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 27) Compared to the places that I have lived before, I feel myself more attached to Bilkent. | Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If your answer is 'yes', then how do you show this attachment?.....

APPENDIX D

Variable List

Question No.	Variable No.	Description
1	00001	Sex
2	00002	Age
3	00003	Education level
4	00004	Occupation
5	00006	Income level
6	-	Address
7	00007	Homeownership
8	00008	Length of residency
9	00009	Planned length of residency
10	00010	Wish to own a dwelling in Bilkent
11	00011	Importance of location of dwelling in Bilkent
12	00012	Importance of distance of dwelling to Bilkent Center
13	00013	Ways of transportation to Bilkent Center
14	00014	Satisfaction with the location of the dwelling in Bilkent setting
15	00015	Reasons for choosing the current dwelling type
16	00016	Satisfaction with the dwelling type
17	00017	Wish to live in another location or dwelling type
18	00018	Places lived before
19	00019	Reasons for moving to Bilkent
20	00020	Comparing Bilkent to the places lived before
21	00021	Finding the dwelling type proper for social status and income level
22	00022	Importance of neighborhood relations
23	00023	Keeping contact with neighbors
24	00024	Obtaining all needs from Bilkent and its surrounding
25	00025	Change in social environment after moving to Bilkent
26	00026	Being together with same income level and social class of people
27	00027	Feeling attached to Bilkent compared to other places lived before

APPENDIX E

List of Chi-square tests

E1: Satisfaction with the social environment vs. level of attachment

E2: Change in the social environment vs. level of attachment

E3: Length of residency vs. level of attachment

E4: Planned length of residency vs. change in social environment

E5: Change in social environment vs. being together with same income and social class of people

E6: Satisfaction with the dwelling type vs. level of attachment

E7: Finding the dwelling type proper for social status and income level vs. level of attachment

E8: Finding neighborhood relationships important vs. level of attachment

E9: Obtaining all needs from Bilkent and its near surrounding vs. level of attachment

E10: Homeownership vs. level of attachment

E11: Homeownership vs. occupation

E12: Age vs. length of residency

E13: Education level vs. change in social environment after moving to Bilkent

Results of Chi-square tests

E1

Crosstabs

Var00026: Satisfaction from the social environment (Q26)

Var00027: Level of attachment (Q27)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing	Total	Percent
	Valid	N			
VAR00026 * VAR00027	44	83,0%	9	53	100,0%

VAR00026 * VAR00027 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00027		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00026	1,00	9	4	13
	2,00	10	21	31
Total		19	25	44

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5,103	1	,024		
Continuity Correction	3,707	1	,054		
Likelihood Ratio	5,142	1	,023		
Fisher's Exact Test				,044	,027
Linear-by-Linear Association	4,987	1	,026		
N of Valid Cases	44				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,61.

E2**Crosstabs**

Var00025: Change in the social environment (Q25)

Var00027: Level of attachment (Q27)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00025 *VAR00027	48	90,6%	5	9,4%	53	100,0%

VAR00025 * VAR00027 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00027		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00025	1,00	15	16	31
	2,00	5	12	17
Total		20	28	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,626	1	,202		
Continuity Correction	,939	1	,332		
Likelihood Ratio	1,663	1	,197		
Fisher's Exact Test				,236	,166
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,593	1	,207		
N of Valid Cases	48				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table.

b. 0 cells (0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7,08.

E3

Crosstabs

Var00008: Length of residency (Q8)

Var00027: Level of attachment (Q27)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases		Missing N	Percent	Total	
	Valid N	Percent			N	Percent
VAR00008 * VAR00027	48	90,6%	5	9,4%	53	100,0%

VAR00008 * VAR00027 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00027		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00008	1,00	13	10	23
	2,00	7	18	25
Total		20	28	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,009	1	,045		
Continuity Correction	2,922	1	,087		
Likelihood Ratio	4,063	1	,044		
Fisher's Exact Test				,078	,043
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,926	1	,048		
N of Valid Cases	48				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9,58.

E4**Crosstabs**

Var00009: Planned length of residency (Q9)

Var00025: Change in social environment (Q25)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00009 * VAR00025	51	96,2%	2	3,8%	53	100,0%

VAR00009 * VAR00025 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00025		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00009	1,00	26	15	41
	2,00	6	4	10
Total		32	19	51

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,040	1	,841		
Continuity Correction	,000	1	1,000		
Likelihood Ratio	,040	1	,842		
Fisher's Exact Test				1,000	,557
Linear-by-Linear Association	,039	1	,843		

N of Valid Cases 51

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,73.

E5**Crosstabs**

Var00025: Change in social environment (Q25)

Var00026: Being together with the same income and social class of people (Q26)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00025 * VAR00026	47	88,7%	6	11,3%	53	100,0%

VAR00025 * VAR00026 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00026		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00025	1,00	10	19	29
	2,00	4	14	18
Total		14	33	47

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,798	1	,372		
Continuity Correction	,320	1	,572		
Likelihood Ratio	,819	1	,366		
Fisher's Exact Test				,516	,289
Linear-by-Linear Association	,781	1	,377		
N of Valid Cases	47				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

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

E6**Crosstabs**

Var00016: Satisfaction from the dwelling type (Q16)

Var00027: Level of attachment (Q27)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00016 * VAR00027	47	88,7%	6	11,3%	53	100,0%

VAR00016 * VAR00027 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00027		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00016	1,00	1	5	6
	2,00	18	23	41
Total		19	28	47

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,612	1	,204		
Continuity Correction	,680	1	,410		
Likelihood Ratio	1,788	1	,181		
Fisher's Exact Test				,378	,209
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,578	1	,209		

N of Valid Cases 47

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 2 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,43.

E7**Crosstabs**

Var00021: Finding the dwelling type proper for social status and income level (Q21)

Var00027: Level of attachment (Q27)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00021 * VAR00027	46	86,8%	7	13,2%	53	100,0%

VAR00021 * VAR00027 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00027		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00021	1,00	2	2,00	2
	2,00	17	27	44
Total		19	27	46

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2,971	1	,085		
Continuity Correction	,979	1	,322		
Likelihood Ratio	3,667	1	,056		
Fisher's Exact Test				,165	,165
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,907	1	,088		
N of Valid Cases		46			

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 2 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,83.

E8**Crosstabs**

Var00022: Finding neighborhood relationships important (Q22)

Var00027: Level of attachment (Q27)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00022 * VAR00027	48	90,6%	5	9,4%	53	100,0%

VAR00022 * VAR00027 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00027		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00022	1,00	4	5	9
	2,00	16	23	39
Total		20	28	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,035	1	,851		
Continuity Correction	,000	1	1,000		
Likelihood Ratio	,035	1	,852		
Fisher's Exact Test				1,000	,569
Linear-by-Linear Association	,034	1	,853		
N of Valid Cases	48				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 1 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,75.

E9**Crosstabs**

Var00024: Obtaining all needs from Bilkent and its near surrounding (Q24)

Var00027: Level of attachment (Q27)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00024 * VAR00027	48	90,6%	5	9,4%	53	100,0%

VAR00024 * VAR00027 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00027		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00024	1,00	5	3	8
	2,00	15	25	40
Total		20	28	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,714	1	,190		
Continuity Correction	,840	1	,359		
Likelihood Ratio	1,692	1	,193		
Fisher's Exact Test				,251	,180
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,679	1	,195		
N of Valid Cases	48				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 2 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,33.

E10**Crosstabs**

Var00007: Homeownership (Q7)

Var00027: Level of attachment (Q27)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00007 * VAR00027	46	86,8%	7	13,2%	53	100,0%

VAR00007 * VAR00027 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00027		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00007	1,00	11	16	27
	2,00	8	11	19
Total		19	27	46

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,009	1	,926		
Continuity Correction	,000	1	1,000		
Likelihood Ratio	,009	1	,926		
Fisher's Exact Test				1,000	,582
Linear-by-Linear Association	,008	1	,927		
N of Valid Cases	46				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7,85.

E11**Crosstabs**

Var00007: Homeownership (Q7)

Var00004: Occupation (Q4)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00004 * VAR00007	48	90,6%	5	9,4%	53	100,0%

VAR00004 * VAR00007 Crosstabulation
Count

		VAR00007		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00004	1,00	1	2	1
	2,00	14	2	16
	3,00	13	18	31
Total		28	20	48

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,744	2	,008
Likelihood Ratio	10,981	2	,004
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,197	1	,002
N of Valid Cases		48	

a 2 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,42.

E12

Crosstabs

Var00002: Age (Q2)

Var00008: Length of residency (Q8)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00002 * VAR00008	49	92,5%	4	7,5%	53	100,0%

VAR00002 * VAR00008 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00008		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00002	1,00	17	9	26
	2,00	7	5	12
	3,00	1	6	7
	4,00		4	4
Total		25	24	49

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10,350	3	,016
Likelihood Ratio	12,324	3	,006
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,091	1	,003
N of Valid Cases		49	

a 4 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,96.

E13**Crosstabs**

Var00003: Education level (Q3)

Var00025: Change in social environment after moving to Bilkent (Q25)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
VAR00003 * VAR00025	51	96,2%	2	3,8%	53	100,0%

VAR00003 * VAR00025 Crosstabulation

Count		VAR00025		Total
		1,00	2,00	
VAR00003	1,00		2	2
	2,00		1	1
	3,00	11	10	21
	4,00	12	5	17
	5,00	9	1	10
Total		32	19	51

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,643	4	,047
Likelihood Ratio	11,187	4	,025
Linear-by-Linear Association	8,990	1	,003
N of Valid Cases		51	

a 5 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,37.