

## **The loss of trust/security in everyday life: rising walls, the disintegrating city, the gated community, the melting state**

**August 2014**

According to a study made by a group of urban planners in 2010, and what they could determine from satellite images, 2,290 gated community projects were completed or in construction at the time.<sup>1</sup> It is enough to have a glance at the surface of the city to be able to confirm that this number has increased at least two-fold in the time that has elapsed since then, as of June 2014. Looking at this surface, one sees a different type of development; the implementation of gated communities has been moved from the city's periphery towards the centre. The secure gated communities and the high rise residences that are constructed in more cramped areas as vertical "secure living" spaces and appear as a type of suburban city planning practice, cause the modern city to lose the quality of an integrated socialisation space attributed to it. Garden walls and gates that have been there for eternity rise and lose their transparency. As they rise in the city they appear not as the "civil" call to permission/invitation law, but as indicators of introversion and unfounded fear, the justification for which cannot be explained.

The most important characteristic of the gated communities that have been built in Istanbul during the last 10 years is that each of them resembles a small town. The gated communities rise all over the city as gigantic living spaces, wall to wall, closed off to neighbours. Their common characteristics are the facts that they are accumulation points, preferably shopping areas surrounded by high rise blocks, with as many people as can fit, in an as economical manner as possible and stowed away in an area built and dedicated to them. The extremely regulated and secure "public" shopping/meeting space in the middle or underneath residences is reserved mostly for brands with global characteristics that are inevitably known by everyone. Much could be said about these living spaces. However, the first thing that comes to mind is that they present a uniform, homogenous and standard life style as the most

---

<sup>1</sup> Çare Olgun Çalışkan, Kumru Çılğın, Uğur Dünder ve Murat Cemal Yalçınan, "İstanbul Dönüşüm Coğrafyası", <http://istanbuldonusumcografyasi.wordpress.com/bildiri-tam-metni/>, 2010

desired and special thing in the world. The most basic justification for this life style is the need for security. The need for security has two related justifications: Living with those similar to yourself and the desire to secure your life style.

So, are secure gated communities as secure living spaces as we think? In what sense do people buy security when they move to gated communities? In what sense do they open their doors to new dangers? What is more, is an urban space made up of secure gated communities really secure for everyone? Does an urban-social landscape dominated by gated communities really mean security in a secure urban life?

Even though secure gated communities quickly spread in all corners of the world, neither in the geographic sciences, nor in the urban research literature is it possible to come across studies that speak positively of urban living being organised in this manner. On the contrary, virtually all research done, within the framework of different methods and disciplines, show that gated communities make already existing ethnic, religious, economical, political segregation even more visible. There is consensus that this kind of segregation makes the parties more vulnerable to one another, hence increasing the feeling of insecurity. (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, Davis, 2006, Low, 2003; Baageen and Uduku, 2010). As a matter of fact, Marcuse and Van Kampe (2002) who question secure gated communities and the fact that they are becoming more and more dominant in the urban area, propose that globalization both diversifies and deepens the urban segregation process and that secure gated communities have become a physical expression of this tendency. According to them: the relationship networks established between global cities lead on the one hand to wealth accumulating in particular places, and on the other hand to an increased and irrevocable exclusion of especially the middle classes from these accumulation areas. In this global landscape, secure gated communities surface as the everyday places and mechanisms of this exclusion. In as much as these gated communities, with their architectural structures and with the message they give to the city, embody the divisions between the winners and the losers of the global economy, on the one hand they allude to the impossibility of upward mobilisation of the lower classes, on the other hand they turn the fall into its most fearsome form possible.

Hence, secure gated communities do not only embody the divisions of all forms of discrimination, but at the same time also make the communication between the back spaces of these divisions impossible. This impossibility results in urban life becoming even more insecure. Despite the need for security being of central importance, in a city in which the architectural landscape is defined in rigid, embodied impossibilities in this manner, the rigidity and embodiment of these impossibilities in question become unsatisfactory in proportion. In other words, when the need for security is of central importance in the organization process of urban life, it also makes this need ineradicable.

The need for security stands out as a reference point used often in order to legitimize Istanbul's urban transformation politics. This means that the need in question is provoked by all actors, big and small, of the construction industry as well as the country/city administration.<sup>2</sup>

### **Rising walls; an indicator of what?**

Wendy Brown points out that all over the world nation states have the tendency to mark national borders with walls against outside dangers; actually more against the migrants and traffic of crime that might come from the neighbours.<sup>3</sup> According to her, the main factor that pushes nation states to mark hegemonic spaces with walls is the quick erosion of the political sovereignty construct as regards the state of affairs of the state: "Walls signify, inter alia, desires for containment and security, responding

---

<sup>2</sup> Although the demolition of the informal living spaces of the city and the historical neighbourhoods, and the construction of gated communities and residences on empty pieces of land, have been adopted as central urban politics, this view is not yet reflected in statistics and projections related to the city. Hence, we do not know how many gated communities there are in Turkey and Istanbul, what proportion of the population live in these gated communities or the total size of the area meter of the cities that these gated communities cover. In fact, there are quite a few problems arising from the fact that the walls of these gated communities do not appear on city maps, and that the physical topography created by these walls is not taken into account in the implementation of public transportation, infrastructure etc. However, as I am about to explain, urban administration viewing and executing urban infrastructure as urban fragments where services have been privatized, in fact creates a place in the market for this problem.

<sup>3</sup> Yükselen Duvarlar, Zayıflayan Egemenlik, Çev: Emine Ayhan, Metis, 2011

especially to the powers that declining political sovereignty has unleashed, those of capital and religiously legitimated violence.” (p.88)

It can easily be said that the rising walls in the city centres and tightly locked gates, or gates made impassable by security guards, resemble the construct of political sovereignty to which Brown draws attention, and signify it on the urban level. The middle and upper middle classes live their lives behind walls in order not to be subjected to the violence and crime legitimized by the political identities (religion, ethnicity, ideological belonging etc.) taken on by the poor as they get poorer and poorer.<sup>4</sup> It can be said that this choice, that has virtually been compelled through the criminalization of poverty in the hands of the middle classes, the construction industry and the state, originates in two points of insecurity related to the state’s political hegemony construct (in effect the axiom legitimizing it); The first is the lack of confidence in the nation state’s social peace keeping mission. This erosion that takes place in the hegemonic justification turns into a very stratified and symmetric geography of mistrust. In this new construct, the middle classes do not trust that the state will be able to protect their possessions (lives, goods, futures etc.) As the poor do not trust that the state will be able to provide them minimum welfare conditions, they find it legitimate to seek out violence and crime. The second one is the mistrust of the security organisations. As the state does not see itself as the authority/responsible for resolving these security matters, they leave the market to the players to be resolved in the framework of the supply and demand relationships of the security space. In other words they resort to privatization of security, this most basic function of the hegemony construct.

Hence, the walls rising in the city can be seen just like the walls rising on national borders, as everyday reflections of the erosion in the hegemonic construct of the state. In this new construct there seems to be one common characteristic between the state, the middle class that wants to secure itself and the poor that see it as

---

<sup>4</sup> The repetitive cross-examination of the state of affairs between poverty-crime-violence in the middle and upper-middle classes, and among the poor and in state bureaucracy, being repeated as a relationality to the point at which it becomes impossible to question, is not at all a new phenomena. On the contrary, in historical narratives in the history of world urbanism related to firstly the ghettos in the industrial cities, followed by the surfacing of suburbs, this causality might be read as transformation practices of everyday life practices, of different degree of importance, in different forms.

legitimate to take to violence if necessary for survival: The state is no longer the guarantor for the continuity of life. If we were to take Lefebvre's proposition (1991; 46-46) related to the production of the urban landscape as a point of departure, it is clear that the discontinuity created by the walls, is actually an indicator of the economic, political and social crises taking place in the state of affairs of the state, and in a sense the discontinuities, predicaments and dilemmas taking place in all areas. Hence, society is actually going through a confidence crisis proportionate to the exclusionism and deterrence symbolized by the height of these walls, the sharpness of the razor wire covering them and the security at the gates. Trust is the basis of the existing market mechanism and social relationships. It is necessary to further explore this kind of political and social landscape, where security is such an important central matter, and mistrust has become so apparent, and how and what common present experiences and future imaginations it can produce.

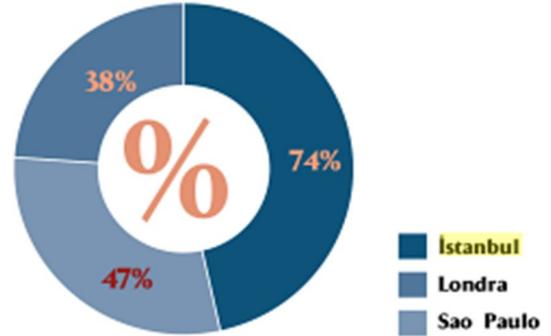
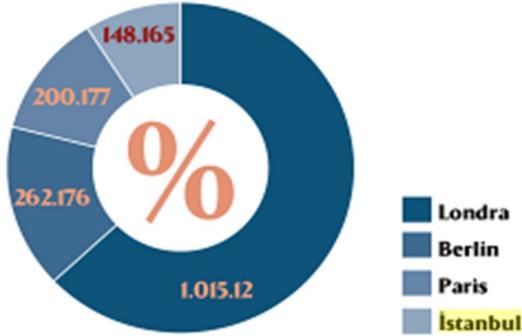
### **(In)security as an illusion**

As stated above, those who live or would like to live in gated communities and secure residences, found in all large cities in the world, motivate this preference primarily in terms of the need for security. The situation is no different in Istanbul (Bartu-Candan, Kolluoğlu, 2008; Genis, 2007)

However, according to data from 2010, compared to London and Paris, Istanbul appears as a metropolis where crime against public order is quite low. As can be seen in the figure, in 2010 1,015,012 public order cases were reported in London, 262,176 in Paris, 200,177 in Berlin and 148,163 in Istanbul. However, despite of a relatively low number of cases against public order in Istanbul, a metropolis surfaces in which the fear against these crimes is even more widespread than in London and Sao Paulo, cities where these crime rates are very high.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> İhsan Bal, Mehmet S. Güçer, Dilek Karal and Elvan Baydemir, "İstanbul Kent Güvenliği Raporu", Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırma Kurumu, 2012



On the other hand, one can argue that these data related to some specific crimes have a frightening quality about them. For instance, according to a study carried out on global metropolises of this size by the United Nations' Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in 2009, Istanbul appears as one of the cities in which the most murders are committed.<sup>6</sup>

Data from Istanbul Police Department show that the situation is quite bleak, however much the institution has explained the situation within the framework of public relations. According to data from Istanbul Police Department the number of murders committed in Istanbul fell from 256 in 2010 to 242 in 2011. In 2010 4,772 vehicles were stolen, in 2011 4,139. In 2010 there were 6,556 incidents of pick pocketing, and in 2011 that number fell to 4,622.<sup>7</sup> Even though this change that occurred within a year is perceived as a success by Istanbul Police Department, it is clear that the number of robbery cases expressed in the thousands have a frightening quality about them.

<sup>6</sup> Bülent Danişoğlu, "Meğer İstanbul En Güvenli Şehirmiş" , Bianet, <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/6yasam/144164-meger-istanbul-en-guvenli-sehirmis>.

<sup>7</sup> "İstanbul'un Suç Haritası Çıkarıldı" , <http://www.istanbulajansi.com/haber/120/Istanbulun-suc-haritasi-cikarildi.html#.U6WIB6iT4qQ>

As these quite confusing, usually inconsistent data stated above are used for the marketing of urban projects or used as legitimisation tools, it is necessary to point out that the data or any analysis using these data as a basis are security problems per se, far from eliminating the fear of crime, they can be seen as reasons for provocation. For example, the oft-cited Istanbul Kentsel Güvenlik Araştırması (Istanbul Urban Security Study) consists of information compiled in order to realize the government project of making the city the financial centre of the Middle East and the Balkans. The data that Istanbul Police Department demonstrated as a measure of success in the struggle against crime during the years 2010-2011 are in contradiction with the previously mentioned UNODC data from the same years.

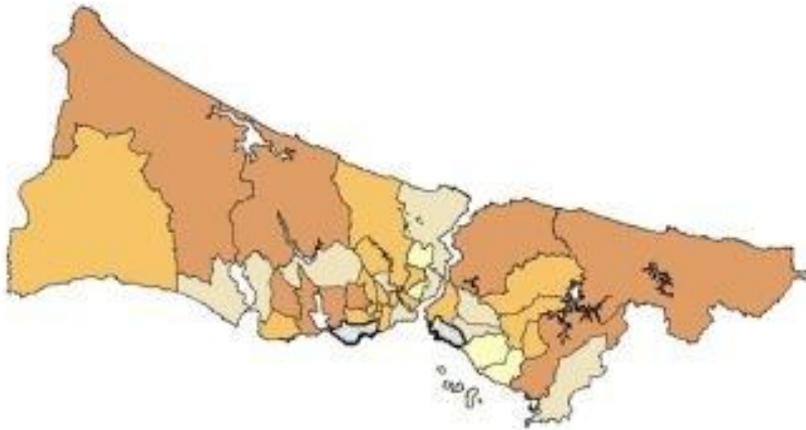
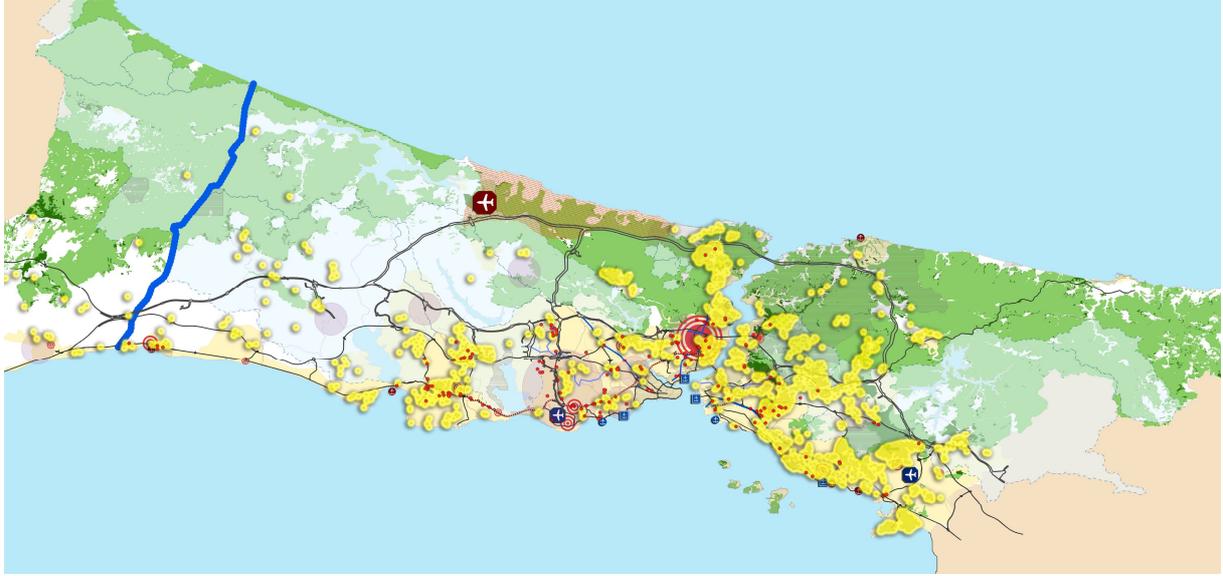
Ülke	Şehir	100.000 kişiye düşen cinayet	Cinayet Sayısı
Japonya	Tokyo	0,4	55
İspanya	Madrid	1	32
İtalya	Roma	1,1	30
Almanya	Berlin	1,1	37
Avustralya	Sidney	1,1	49
Yunanistan	Atina	1,3	45
Hindistan	Mumbai	1,3	217
Kanada	Toronto	1,5	84
Fransa	Paris	1,6	35
Britanya	Londra	1,6	119
Güney Kore	Seul	2,4	249
Arjantin	Buenos Aires	3,9	119
Hollanda	Amsterdam	4,4	33
Rusya	Moskova	4,6	481
Türkiye	İstanbul	4,7	596
ABD	New York	5,6	471
Meksika	Meksiko	8,4	747
Brezilya	Brasil	10,8	4557

Hence, we can easily conclude that not only these data, but the ways in which the data are used and the inconsistency between the data are a part of the legitimisation of the security need or fear of crime stated as reasons for moving to a gated community.

Even though the crime statistics are contradictory and inconsistent, provided that they are kept in mind, it will be meaningful to see if the fear of crime is eliminated or

not by moving to a gated community. In the map below, the areas coloured in yellow indicate the areas in which there is a concentration of gated communities.<sup>8</sup>

The second map illustrates the responses given to one of the questions in a study conducted on fear of crime by a group of academics at Yildiz Technical University. When evaluating these two maps together, the picture that surfaces suggests that moving to a gated community is not enough to eliminate the fear of crime.<sup>9</sup>



---

<sup>8</sup> Çare Olgun Çalışkan, Kumru Çılgın, Uğur Dünder and Murat Cemal Yalçın, "İstanbul Dönüşüm 8 Coğrafyası" ,

[http://istanbuldonusumcografyasi.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/2\\_kapalc4b1site\\_kume.jpg](http://istanbuldonusumcografyasi.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/2_kapalc4b1site_kume.jpg)

<sup>9</sup> "İşte İstanbul'un En Korkulan İlçeleri", <http://www.tnhaber.net/iste-istanbulun-suc-haritasi/> 9

Despite the fact that the contrary is stated in the analysis, statistics based on the survey made by research fellow Ömer Bilen, Prof. Ayşenur Ökten and Prof. Ali Hakan Büyüklü do not show that the fear of crime is lower in areas dominated by gated communities than in the integrated urban fabric, areas that have not yet been

Dereceleri	En Düşük	En Yüksek
Sorular		
Evden uzak olduğunuzda evinizin güvenliğinden ne kadar endişe ediyorsunuz?	Bakırköy (2.79)	Küçükçekmece (3.29)
	Kadıköy (2.88)	Çatalca (3.27)
	Adalar (2.89)	Bağcılar (3.26)
	Maltepe (2.92)	Arnavutköy (3.25)
	Kartal (2.97)	Pendik (3.25)
	Şişli (2.98)	Esenyurt (3.24)
	Ataşehir (2.99)	Avclar (3.23)
	Sarıyer (2.99)	Beykoz (3.22)
	Beşiktaş (3.03)	Şile (3.21)

fragmentised. In the map above, the colour gets darker as fear of crime increases.

When comparing the areas where fear of crime is increasing to the map of gated communities above, it is clear that the quantitative decrease in fear of crime achieved by moving to a gated community can easily be neglected. According to the data published by the Istanbul Police Department, in a survey that asked participants to specify on a scale of five the worry they feel as regards to the security of their home, an average of 3.03 points were given to Besiktas where most burglaries take place, while in Küçükçekmece, Esenyurt and Beykoz, the districts in which secure gated communities are taking over the urban landscape at an ever increasing pace, the insecurity level could go up as high as 3.29. In this evaluation it is possible to argue from the point of departure that the entirety of Küçükçekmece, Esenyurt and Beykoz

do not consist of secure gated communities and that most likely a large proportion of the participants do not live in secure gated communities.

On the other hand, in the fieldwork we conducted in Esenyurt,<sup>10</sup> the fact that gated communities were not referred to as a security element but on the contrary as an insecurity element, can be seen as another indicator that the fact that one's living space is enclosed by walls does not increase one's feeling of security. In our encounters with residents from various neighbourhoods in Esenyurt, some said the gated communities were being used by criminal groups for gambling, drug trafficking and trafficking of women; that police reports were easily avoided through the private security arrangement by being tipped off beforehand; they expressed that because of this, these areas had eradicated the security perception of the district in general.<sup>11</sup>

It is far beyond the scope of this article, but at this point fear of crime is beyond spatial enclosure, and rather about a general suspicion of the effectiveness of the public order and justice mechanisms. In other words, attention needs to be drawn to the fact that much data has been found as regards to the lack of confidence being related to the public order and justice mechanisms. Among these data, the most important is probably in particular burglary crime remaining unsolved. According to data of the Interior Ministry only 23% out of 405,405 reported burglaries were solved between 2008-2012. Approximately 50% of the cases in question occurred in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir where gated communities are becoming more and more common.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, in our encounters in Esenyurt, almost all segments perceived the police force far from providing security, but rather as providing a threat towards the sustainability of urban life. In some accounts, this threat is explained by the police interrupting the continuity of civil life by using unproportional force. In some accounts the distrust in urban life is exemplified by the unfairness of bureaucratic institutions and the shaking of confidence of different segments living in the same district through

---

<sup>10</sup> Mayıs 2014'te Hale Akay ile Esenyurt ve Bahçeşehir'de yapılan görüşmeler...

<sup>11</sup> In another fieldwork study I conducted in Başakşehir in 2011, in a gated community where mainly religious middle class families lived, I heard complaints related to the lack of security in the gated community based in the prejudice that tenants living in the same gated community as landlords were not on the same income level, and that probably due to their poverty they would have a design against the wealth and children of the well-to-do families.

<sup>12</sup> "Hırsızlık son 4 yılda yüzde 63 artışla dudak uçuklattı"

<http://gundem.bugun.com.tr/dudak-ucuklatan-rapor-haberi/859571>

the unfair and unequal practices used by the police towards different segments (Turks against Kurds, Kurds and Turks against Syrians). In the accounts above concerning the relationship between gated communities and crime, it seems like the city is becoming more insecure due to the incompetence of the security forces to deal with “real criminals” and due to the state not fulfilling its duty to protect social life and personal security.

### **Gated communities and housing estates as the basis of privatisation**

The space that gated communities take up in the city plan, in other words, in an administrative sense; the space of every gated community, has a quality that destroys the integrated structure of the city. Every gated community is built on land leased long-term from the state by the company that constructs the gated community or on pieces of land of large dimensions collected from private companies. Hence, this piece of land creates an exception area as large as its administrative landscape. For starters, the profit of these large pieces of lands that are privatized by the Housing Development Administration (TOKI) and the Privatization Administration, municipalities and other public institutions, is used mainly for high-density construction projects for the purpose of favouring the private sector. In some situations, especially in the housing estates at the periphery of the city designed for the lower-middle classes, the construction and the administration of the settlement process are in the hands of TOKI. However, the administration of these housing estates, has quite a different quality compared to that of the existing neighbourhoods. In these areas, where the mukhtar and even the district municipality have been inactivated and relieved from responsibility, it is necessary to establish a gated community management responsible for the administration of the gated community and the delivery of services. The establishment of such a building complex management means not only privatization of the administrative authority of the state, but also privatization, to some extent, of municipal responsibilities/services like energy, security and infrastructure.

The areas marked in orange on the map below indicate the cities with housing managed by Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş. Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş, the arbiter of housing

mostly constructed by TOKI, has turned into a profit-oriented company with ten thousands of compulsory customers country wide.<sup>13</sup>



This management in the area of housing estates and gated communities, the smallest one consisting of thousands of people, should theoretically be constituted of administrators selected by the people who move here. However, where both the landlord and tenant circulation is fast, where players like the construction companies or KIPTAS; the construction company of TOKI and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, are not very keen to facilitate the realization of such a management organization, a serious administrative void is created. In order to fill this void, created in the hands of the state, but established as a profit oriented company, the size of the domain of Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş. and the way in which it interprets its right to administrate make it clear that such a void represents a new type of profit oriented public administration.

That is to say: As soon as the construction of a housing estate conceptualized as a project by TOKI finishes, the gated community management company Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş. that was established by the collaboration of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and KIPTAŞ, is hired as the management, not only in Istanbul, but all

---

<sup>13</sup> Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş.'nin yöneticisi olduğu sitelerin bir listesine şu linkten ulaşılabilir. [http:// 13www.bogaziciyonetim.com.tr/TR/SITELER/index.php](http://13www.bogaziciyonetim.com.tr/TR/SITELER/index.php)

over Turkey. Despite the fact that Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş. is a profit oriented company, this operation does not go out to tender or election. In all these areas where the municipality would normally provide pavement repairs, rubbish collection, street lightning, water and canalization services, these services are financed by the maintenance fees collected from the people living in this housing and distributed through Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş. Hence, in fact all these services that should be provided as public services by the state are bought by the owners of the housing in exchange for the maintenance fee. Of course, these maintenance fees are collected in such a way that they cover the personnel expenses of Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş. There is no need to mention that the residents of the gated communities have no saying whatsoever in the selection of this personnel. Hence, municipal services are privatized by the state to a monopolized company established according to market conditions, without a tender process, without an election and not in the position of a public official.

The situation is more complex when it comes to large gated communities built by private companies targeting mainly the middle and upper-middle classes. Due to the construction company's share in the land, it has the continued administrative power over the whole project. In some projects, the gated community maintenance fees exceed 2000 lira per month and are spent on monopolized urban services created by or contracted with the construction company. In fact, the construction companies plan the projects with the hope of making a profit of, not the construction, but the monopolized cleaning, security and gardening once life has started in the housing areas, and for that matter, the nurseries, kindergartens and even primary schools, that even though they may appear one at a time at the moment, are estimated to become a widespread tendency in the future

As can be seen, under these conditions, in living spaces apart from the city's integrated structure, some extremely vital services are privatized in a controlless and ruleless manner while the housing is still at the construction stage; hence from the price and quality point of view, the continuity of these services is also left to the companies doing the construction. It is necessary to take into consideration the possibility that the prices created in the market conditions, at the housing sales stage may change in the framework of the monopolistic authority that the construction company has in the housing area as the housing is appropriated. However, the void

and uncertainties harboured in the legal regulations of this space, and even more important the practical obstacles that stand in the way of the residents of high circulation housing estates and gated communities becoming organized and taking over the administration of the gated community, give construction companies more saying in the administration of the city.

Apart from the naïve expectation that the construction companies will act in a fair manner when it comes to the amount of the maintenance fees and the quality of the services, it is also clear that the companies will create a security soft spot in the future of these housing projects related to their future uncertainties. Hence, In a 150 thousand-unit housing project directed towards lower-middle class families, like Kayabaşı, the charges pressed against Boğaziçi Yönetim A.Ş. and TOKI by the owners of the housing related to the management problems, could be the first signs that the social proceedings related to the urban living spaces that have been commercialized by means of privatization to profit oriented companies created by the state, will be harsh. Furthermore, no standard legal procedures have been defined to solve the problems that may surface when the budget of a middle class family is not sufficient for the basic maintenance fee-based service in the event of an economical crisis, which is common occurrence in world economy.

### **Discrimination free from fault**

A news article published on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April in the Evrensel newspaper provides a painful example of how, with the gated community logic, the discrimination practices of the reconstructing and organizing city that are constantly increasing openly while simultaneously in a way becoming normalized, might become radicalized. According to the article, SAF GYO Kentsel Hizmetler (SAF GYO Urban Services) that is in charge of the gated community management of the Akasya Acibadem gated community on the Anatolian side of Istanbul, relayed a written document to the ring shuttle driver to provide all “housekeepers” information and for them to sign. The document included the following:

“Dear employees, As you all know the ring service was arranged following demand from the gated community residents and is a service that is only offered for their use. The residents have to stand up during rush hours, and this has become a reason for

discontent. Due to this we kindly ask employees working as “housekeepers” in the flats not to use the evening rush hour shuttle at 4 pm, 6 pm and 7 pm.”<sup>14</sup>

As this incident became news as the document was obtained, we do not know if the above regulation became widespread or not. However, it is clear that especially the gated communities enclosed by walls in the shanty towns at the periphery of the city, symbolically negate the hopes promised by the modern city, in which there are profound differences between economic classes and where class mobility becomes more and more impossible.

The walls of the gated community do not only separate the rich from the poor. If necessary for their marketing strategies, gated communities and construction companies will set into play identity politics with a clientelist pragmatism. By separating society into already existing divisions; from Turks to Kurds, from religious to secular, from Alevi to Sunni, from those from Erzurum to those from Edirne, from refugee to local, these become even more visible and all groups are made more vulnerable to one another.

When these free from fault discrimination regulations are added to the atmosphere of insecurity based in the fear of crime and administrative choices summarized above, every rising gated community wall can be described as a barricade in the urban space created by the culture of fear.

This administrative construct that connects the continuity of urban services; for which the state bills urban residents a second time via the monthly maintenance fee; to the justice and fate of the construction companies, first and foremost makes the life quality in the city susceptible to economical fluctuations. The housing areas that are built on large pieces of land, some in the size of a medium-sized or even large town, carry with them uncertainties for the landlords and tenants of the housing too, because they move into a legal ground that is focused on the investment promotion of construction companies. With their enclosing walls, these living spaces resemble the feudal property of the Middle Ages, on the other hand with their construction and organizational processes, these living spaces, dependent on the continuity of the

---

<sup>14</sup> “Çalışanlar Binmesin”, <http://www.evrensel.net/haber/74862/dikkat-halk-otobuse-binmesin-vatandasa-yer-kalmiyor.html>

consumer power of the housing residents, are quickly becoming widespread as very stratified places of insecurity and worry.

**Ayşe Çavdar**

## **Bibliography**

Bagaeen, Samer and Uduku, Ola (ed. by) (2010), *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments*, Earthscan, London.

Bartu-Candan, Ayfer and Kolluoglu, Biray (2008), "Emerging Spaces of Neoliberalism: A Gated Town and a Public Housing Project in Istanbul", in *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No: 39, pp. 5-46.

Blakely, Edward James; Snyder, Mary Gail (1997), *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Brown, Wendy, *Yükselen Duvarlar, Zayıflayan Egemenlik*, Çev: Emine Ayhan, Metis, 2011

Davis, Mike (2006), *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*, Verso, London and New York.

Genis, Serife (2007), "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 44, pp. 771-798.

Lefebvre, Henri (1991), *The Production of Space*, Wiley-Blackwell.

Low, Setha (2003), *Behind the Gates: Life, Security and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*, Routledge, New York.

Marcuse, Peter and van Kempen, Ronald (2000), "Introduction", in *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order*, ed. by P. Marcuse and R. van Kempen, Blackwell.