

MEASURING NEIGHBORHOOD ATTACHMENT AND URBAN-RELATED IDENTITY AMONG RESIDENTS OF GATED COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY IN MAVIŞEHİR

Bahar KABA

Ege University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Geography, Izmir, Turkey
baharkaba@outlook.com

Abstract

The aim of this research was to investigate the level of neighborhood attachment and urban-related identity among the residents of a gated community in a Turkish big city named Izmir. The field research was conducted in Mavişehir located in the Karşıyaka district of Izmir province. The sampling of the research consisted of 225 participants who were selected by the quota sampling method. The Place Attachment Scale of Lewicka (2010) and the Urban Identity Scale of Lalli (1992) were employed in order to measure participants' level of neighborhood attachment and the urban-related identity regarding Izmir. The results indicate that participants' attachment to Mavişehir is high. Length of residence in the neighborhood, homeownership, and spatial satisfaction are the significant variables that affect the development of neighborhood attachment. On the other hand, the residents of Mavişehir still have a strong relationship with the city of Izmir. This relation is higher in terms of attachment, but lower in terms of familiarity and continuity.

Keywords: *Gated communities, Place attachment, Urban-related identity*

1. INTRODUCTION

Increased spatial mobility in the urban area has become a hallmark of contemporary society (González, 2017: 32). During the recent decades, gated communities have been one of the residential settlements in which spatial mobility tends towards, in the urban areas. Similarly, the popularity of the gated communities as residential areas has been increasing among the urban elite in Turkish big cities. Especially with the 2000s, apart from Istanbul and the capital city of Ankara, the city of Izmir, with a population of 4.3 million, is also one of the metropolises of Turkey in which gated communities pop up at diverse locations year by year. However, despite a growing body of research associated with gated communities in Istanbul, the same cannot be said for the research on Izmir. Even though considerable research has been devoted to understanding the reasons for preference of gated communities; little has been addressed to residents' relation with the gated communities and the urban context in which the gated community is located. Specifically, this article examines the relation of residents of a gated community both with the gated community itself and with the urban context, Izmir.

Gated communities are residential areas with restricted access in which previous public spaces are privatized and also they have security developments established with designated perimeters, usually walls or fences and controlled entrances that are intended to prevent penetration by non-residents (Blakely and Synder 1997:2). These residential areas include a variety of private physical and social amenities for a collective use between residents, such as shopping mall, streets, green areas, swimming-pools and tennis courts. Despite the general use of the concept as a gated community, “edge cities” (Garreau, 1991), “fortified enclaves” (Calderia 1996), “enclosed neighborhoods” (Landman 2000), “enclosed housing developments” (Glasze 2003), “gated enclaves” (Grant 2003) are other terms to call these residential areas (Tümer and Dostoğlu 2008). Gated communities, as reflections of globalization and neoliberal policies on the urban landscape, have led to social and spatial segregation. Considering its social and spatial isolation from the rest of the city, it is important to understand how residents of gated communities are attached to both their neighborhood –the gated community- and to the rest of the city. Thus, the research was intended to examine detailed characteristics of its residents (*Who prefers gated communities?*), their reasons for preferring to move gated communities (*What are the push and pull factors to move?*), and place attachment at neighborhood level and urban-related identity.

Several concepts were used to define people’s relations with places: “topophilia” (Tuan 1974), “rootedness” (Relph, 1976), “place identity” (Proshansky 1978), “urban related identity” (Lalli 1992), “sense of place” (Hummon 1992), “place attachment” (Low and Altman 1992), “sense of community” (Sarason 1974), “community attachment” (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974) (Low and Altman 1992, Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001) however, Göregenli (2010) emphasizes that mainly the two concepts, “place attachment” and “place identity”, were employed in the previous studies. Place attachment is mostly perceived as the emotional ties that people develop with places (Lewicka 2010). Places vary greatly in size; an armchair by a fireplace is a place, but so it is a nation-state (Lima 2014:81, after; Tuan 1985). Residence like dwellings or neighborhoods, as well as places visited for recreational purposes: landscapes, forests, lakes, wilderness or summer houses are among the place that people develop an attachment (Lewicka 2010). This bond between people and the places is formed through cognitions, judgments and decisions (Riley 1992). On the other hand, place identity is a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of broadly conceived cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives (Proshansky et al. 1983:59). At the heart of this psychological structure lies a sense of belonging, for ‘place-belongingness is not only one aspect of place identity, but a necessary basis for it (Dixon and Durrheim 2000:29).

During the past several decades, the issues of “place attachment” and “place identity” have been improved by an interdisciplinary approach with various studies from diverse perspectives, including human geography, psychology, sociology, anthropology, architecture, landscape architecture, social ecology and urban planning (Göregenli et al. 2014). The increased interest in these issues within the disciplines derives from various reasons. According to Scannell and Gifford (2010:1), this interest stems from the awareness that person–place bonds have become fragile because globalization, the increased mobility, and encroaching environmental problems threaten the existence of our connections with the places important to us. In addition to this, development of emotional bonds with places helps overcome identity crises and gives people the sense of stability they need in the ever-changing world (Lewicka 2008). According to geographers and environmental psychologists, question of ‘who we are’ are often intimately related to the question of ‘where we are’ (Dixon and Durrheim 2000:27). As such, “place-based theories and research on

place attachment, and place identity” have immensely contributed to understanding people’s relationships with the place (Ramsawmy 2017: 20).

1.1 Social-Spatial Consequences of Gated Communities

Gated communities have had unfavorable effects on urban life such as socio-spatial segregation, fragmentation, exclusion and the lost sense of city-driven identity etc. Furthermore, these settlements have negative impacts on adjacent community; with the privatized the public realm, and the face turning away from the city (Ghonimi et al 2010:2). For example, gated communities often provide high-quality facilities to create a sense of community among inhabitants such as swimming pools, sports fields, playgrounds, green areas, shopping malls, hospitals and schools. Although these facilities allow for a sense of community within the site, they also result in a separation from the other half of the city and lead the inhabitants to isolate themselves more from public places (Geniş 2009). In this context, some authors claim that gated communities provide an opportunity for the development of place attachment or sense of community. For instance, according to Bengisu’s (2014) research findings, residents in gated communities have higher level of place attachment. In a similar way, a research by Edgü and Cimşit (2011) revealed that gated communities, which have isolated characteristics in themselves, strengthened place dependency and group identity. Similarly, a previous research by Lu (2016) showed that gated communities in China emphasize the private provision of public goods and community services rather than self-governance, which identifies residents’ preferences for private governance and living experiences as consumption-oriented and intensively shapes the place attachment in gated communities. Bekleyen and Yılmaz-Ay (2016) also found that the feeling of place attachment is strong in gated communities. This type strong attachment in gated communities can lead to the extinction of common elements that form urban identity resulting in loss of an urban-related identity. For example, Land and Danielsen (1997:867) stated that a sense of community within gated communities comes at the expense of a larger identity with the region outside the wall. Similarly, Akçal (2004:19) indicated that gated communities have become more limiting in terms of urban identity as they provide a complete neighborhood for the inhabitants.

On the other hand, community members can forge strong relations based on class and cultural homogeneity, but segregation alters their experience of others and induces fear and suspicion towards the outside world (Geniş 2007: 792). In addition to this, gated communities which have been built both in the urban area and isolated from the urban, bring about a loss in the city space collective meaning because through exclusion and separation, places and spaces that are considered public become private (Carvalho et al. 1997). Moreover, these residential areas, which are separated from the rest of city by wide walls and security systems, deepen the distinction between “inside” and “outside” (Geniş 2009). For instance, Blandy and Lister’s research (2005) demonstrated that there is a danger of a “them and us” attitude developing both amongst residents of the gated communities, and of the surrounding neighborhood. In a similar way Mantey’s (2017) research on gated communities in Poland, revealed that there is a tendency of the newly emerging middle class in Poland to mark social status through fencing off the residential space, which increases the belief of social divisions, among both the residents of gated communities and those living outside. Additionally, there are few claims that gated communities bring on lack of place attachment. In a study by Wilson-Doenges (2000) it was indicated that high-income gated community residents reported a significantly lower sense of community. Similarly, Lewicka (2010) and Zaborska and Lewicka (2007) in their studies carried out in several closed housing

estates and their open counterparts in Poland demonstrated that although gating seemed to contribute to a general sense of security, it neither affected or even decreased the attachment through a number of mediating factors such as shorter residence time and weaker neighborhood ties (Lewicka 2011:210). Also, a study by Mantey (2017) confirmed the findings of the researches that have revealed the negative impact of fencing off on social bonds, the sense of community and attachment to the area beyond the housing estate.

1.2 Gated Communities in Turkey

The emergence of gated communities as a spatial phenomenon in Turkey dates back to late 1980s. Turkey's involving into the neoliberal global policies (Kurtuluş, 2011) have led to emergence of gated communities in Turkey's big cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. However, gated communities became a remarkable social and spatial phenomenon in the 1990s and 2000s (Pérouse and Daniş, 2005; Kurtuluş, 2011). Substantial work has addressed the gated communities phenomenon in *Istanbul* (Pérouse and Daniş 2005; Geniş 2007, 2009, Gülümser and Beycan-Levent 2007, Berköz and Tepe 2008, Berköz 2008, Cekiç and Gezici 2009, Edgü and Çimşit 2011, Kurtuluş 2011, Aksoylu 2015), *Ankara* (Akçal 2004, Güzey and Özcan 2010, Sanlı and Sönmez 2016, Ataç 2016). According to these, preference of gated communities in Turkey depends on various reasons such as *security* (Sipahi 2011), *prestige* (Pérouse and Daniş 2005), *privilege* (Berköz and Tepe 2008), *social and cultural facilities* (Bektaş 2011), *lifestyle* (Güzey and Özcan 2010), *desire for a life in a more natural environment* (Berköz 2008, Akyol-Altun 2011).

Parallel to these major cities of the country, the concepts of "privacy", "security" and "separation" have started to be included in the description of luxury housing in Izmir (Bal and Akyol-Altun 2016). Indeed, the emergence of gated communities in Izmir differs from Istanbul and Ankara. Gated communities arise from the mass house, produced in the middle of the 1950s, in order to meet increasing population and house needs in Izmir. On the other hand, a large amount of summer house tradition (secondary residences) in Izmir provides a basis for the emergence of low-rise gated communities in these areas (Akyol-Altun 2011). In this context, gated communities have been built in the summer resort of the 1950s, such as Sahilevleri, Narlıdere, Guzelbahçe, Seferihisar, Zeytinalanı, Çeşmealtı, Urla, etc. Today gated communities with high-rise or low-rise have dramatically occurred not only in the metropolitan fringes but also in the central neighborhoods of Izmir as Folkart Narlıdere, Folkart Mavişehir, Soyak Mavişehir, Park Yaşam Mavişehir and Folkart Bayraklı. Despite the increasing number of gated communities, there has been little research focusing on this issue in Izmir (Akyol-Altun 2011, Bengisu 2014, Bal and Akyol-Altun 2016). According to Akyol-Altun (2011), aspiration for a living in a garden house and nature is the main determinant of the preference for gated communities in the Izmir urban periphery.

Izmir has undergone a multifaceted change like other big cities of Turkey; through internal migration, the city population has increased strikingly, as a result of this the residential area of the city has gradually expanded. (Sudaş 2018). For instance, the total population of Izmir, which was 531, 579 in 1927, increased to 768, 411 in 1950. After the 1950s, the city experienced a rapid population growth as a result of internal migration (Işık 2009). As a result of this, the total population of Izmir reached 1 million for the first time in 1960, 2 million in 1980, 3.4 million in 2000, 3.9 million in 2010, and 4 million in 2012 afterwards. By the end of 2017, the total population of Izmir was almost 4.3 million. Thus, the city of Izmir represents a striking urban context in which we can examine residential mobility to gated communities and people's

relationship with their structured environment. Below, the research area, in which this relationship is examined, is presented.

1.1.1. Research area: Mavişehir

The field research was conducted in Mavişehir neighborhood, which is located north of İzmir (Figure 1). Mavişehir was selected as a field research area because it is one of the oldest examples of gated communities in İzmir. Furthermore, Mavişehir is one of the areas where gated communities can intensively be seen in İzmir (Bornova in the east, Narlıdere in the west, Mavişehir in the north) (Bengisu 2014). Mavişehir neighborhood was established with 1st Etape which was opened to settlement in 1995 (Figure 3). After Mavişehir 1st Etape, Mavişehir 2nd Etape was built in 1998 (Figure 5), Albatros Blocks (Blokları) was built in 2001 (Figure 4), and Mavişehir Villaları (Villas) (Figure 6) and Mavi Ada were built in 2005. Today, with 13.796 (7.619 females, 6.177 males) populations Mavişehir has transformed into a gated community area (2017 TUIK). Gated communities in Mavişehir are protected by a variety of security measures such as wires, security cameras, security guards, and gateways. Besides, they have many features such as shopping malls, sports centers, parking, education institutions, playgrounds, green areas (Figure 2).

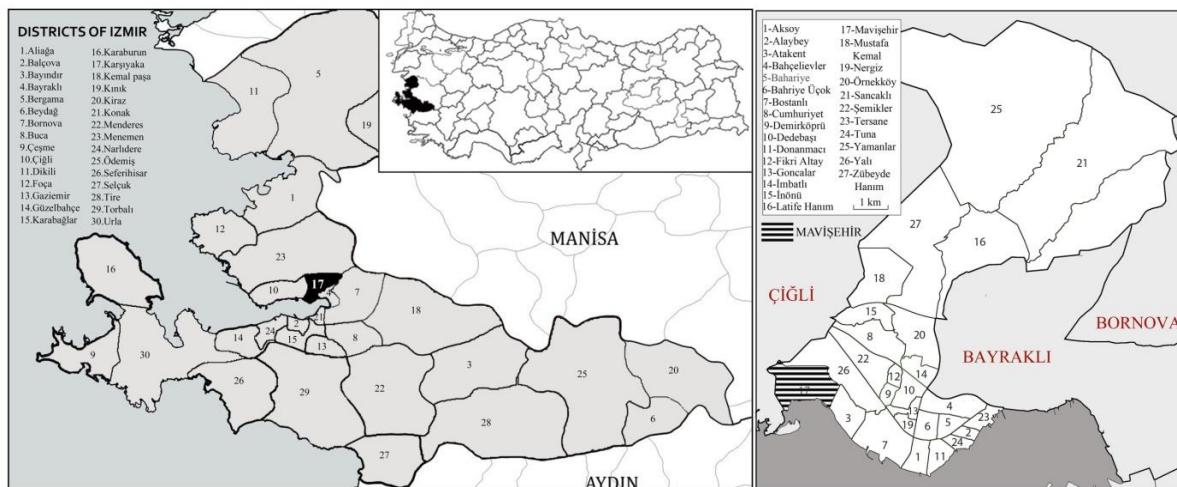


Figure1: Location of İzmir, Karşıyaka and İzmir

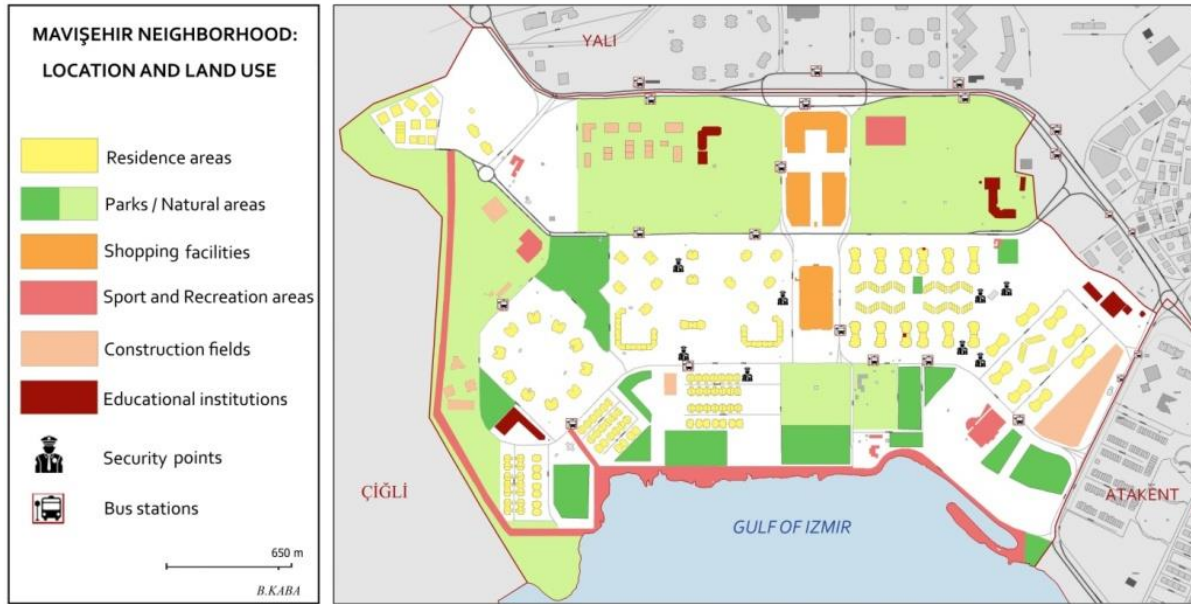


Figure2: Location of Mavişehir and Land use



Figure 3, 4: Views from Mavişehir Neighborhood: Mavişehir 1st Etape (left figure) and Albatros Blokları (right figure)



Figure 5, 6: Views from Mavişehir 2st Etape (left figure) and Mavişehir villages (right figure)

2. METHODOLOGY

The article presents the results of a survey conducted in October, November and December 2015 in Mavişehir. The first part of the survey includes questions to evaluate the participants' characteristics in terms of sex, age, education, income, and place of birth, etc. Secondly, questions related to motives to move to Mavişehir, and push factors about the old neighborhood were included in the survey. Besides, Place Attachment Scale of Lewicka (2010) was used to measure participants' attachment level related to the neighborhood. The scale includes 12 items-nine positively framed and three negative buffers and all items were rated on five-point scales (1: definitely don't agree, 2: don't agree, 3: I don't know, 4: agree, 5: definitely agree.). The participants were asked to mark these items that accorded with their feelings. The internal reliability of the scale (Cronbach's Alpha) was 0.84 in this study. In addition, Urban-Related Identity Scale developed by Lalli (1992) was applied in order to measure the participants' urban identity related to the city of Izmir. The scale has five sub-dimension; evaluation, familiarity, attachment, continuity, commitment. The scale consists of 20 items, and participants indicated their agreement or disagreement with statements relevant for each sub-dimension, on a 5-point scale (1: definitely don't agree, 2: don't agree, 3: I don't know, 4: agree, 5: definitely agree). This scale's reliability and consistency were tested by Göregenli (2005) in Turkish literature. In this study, the internal reliability of the scale was calculated using Cronbach's alpha, and the score was found as 0.94.

The survey was answered by 225 (124 female, 101 male) participants. The participants were selected by the quota sampling method. To participate in the survey, respondents had to be at least eighteen years old and be a Mavişehir resident. The data were analyzed through SPSS. Independent sample t-tests and one-way analysis of variance were performed to determine the differences according to various variables

3. RESULTS

Results of the research will be presented in four parts. Firstly, the characteristics of participants will be initiated. Secondly, the results of push and pull factors will be given. Thirdly place attachment scale's results will be presented. Lastly, the results of urban-related-identity will be demonstrated.

3.1. Characteristics of the Participants

Table 1 primarily indicates frequencies and percentages of the participants' characteristics used in further analyses. The sampling consisted of 55.1% females and 44.9 % males participants. The distributions of respondents' age are as follows: 15.6% for the 18-to-30 age group; 37.3% for the 31-to-49 age group; 47.1% for the 50-to-older age group. The participants mean age was 48 years old. Regarding education, 28.9% of the participants were seen to have a high school and less than high school degree, 58.7 % had a postsecondary education below bachelor's degree and bachelor's degree, 12.4 % had a postgraduate education level. A majority (72.3%) of the sampling were married, while 27.7% were single. Concerning household size, 38.2% of the participants were seen to be living in a household of one or two people, 37.3% in a household with three people, and 24.4% in a household with four and more people. In the sense of income, 32.1% of the participants are in 5.000 and under income group, 50.9% are in 5.001 to 10.000 income group, 17.0 % are in 10.001 or more income group. Additionally, 79.6% of the participants are homeowner, 20.4% are

renter. Concerning place of birth, 48.0% of the participants were born in Izmir, 51.8% were born in out of Izmir. In terms of length of residents, 25.3% of participants have lived in Mavişehir for 5 years and under, 26.7% for 6-10 years, 20.9% for 11-15 years and 27.1% for 16-20 years.

Table 1: Characteristics of participants

FREQUENCY %			FREQUENCY %		
SEX			MARITAL STATUS		
<i>Female</i>	124	55.1	<i>Married</i>	162	72.3
<i>Male</i>	101	44.9	<i>Single</i>	62	27.7
AGE			HOUSEHOLD SIZE		
<i>18-30</i>	35	15.6	<i>1-2 people</i>	86	38.2
<i>31-49</i>	84	37.3	<i>3 people</i>	84	37.3
<i>50 and older</i>	106	47.1	<i>4- 6 people</i>	55	24.4
INCOME			LENGTH OF RESIDENTS IN MAVISEHIR		
<i>5.000 and under</i>	70	32.1	<i>5 and under</i>	57	25.3
<i>5.001-10.000</i>	111	50.9	<i>6-10 years</i>	60	26.7
<i>10.001 and more</i>	37	17.0	<i>11-15 years</i>	47	20.9
OWNERSHIP			<i>16-20 years</i>	61	27.1
<i>Homeowner</i>	179	79.6	BIRTHPLACE		
<i>Renter</i>	46	20.4	<i>Izmir</i>	108	48.2
EDUCATION			<i>Out of Izmir</i>	116	51.8
<i>High school and less than high school degree</i>	65	28.9			
<i>Postsecondary education and bachelor's degree</i>	132	58.7			
<i>Postgraduate</i>	28	12.4			

3.2 Push and Pull Factors

Diverse driving factors influenced the participants' moving from the previous neighborhood (Figure3). The average scores (scores on a scale from 1 to 5) indicated that participants expressed *heavy traffic* (2.93), *noisy urban environment* (2.92) and *perceived crowdedness* (2.78) as the most important driving factors. Other important driving factors were *no playing area for children* (2.74), *insufficient recreation areas* (2.70), and *unsafe neighborhood* (2.08). On the other hand, *no respect for the right of privacy* (1.95), *it's not a place where live people like me* (1.83), *neglected and dirty neighborhood* (1.79), *distance to workplace* (1.51), *distance to shopping centers* (1.40), *distance to educational institutions* (1.38), *distance to places of entertainment* (1.38), *distance to health institutions* (1.34), *weak social ties* (1.29), and *insufficient public transportation* (1.28) are the low-level significant factors that stated by participants.

There are varieties of pull factors that have an influence on the participants' preference for Mavişehir. *Silent atmosphere* (4.76) is the most important pull factor that indicated by participants. *The possibility of green areas* (4.71), *implementation of works such as cleaning, dues, etc. by site management* (4.62), *availability of sports areas* (4.56), *beautifies of the landscape* (4.50), *well-kept streets, sidewalk* (4.46), *availability of playground* (4.44) are found another fundamental pull

factors that related to a spatial organizations. Besides, *the availability of security guard* (4.49), *inspected entrance to Mavişehir* (4.47), *availability of security camera* (4.36), and *safe for the children* (4.24) are the important pull factors that related to security. The factors related to social homogeneity and difference such *Residents of Mavişehir look like each other* (4.35), *respect to the right of privacy* (4.31), *exclusive part of Izmir* (4.27), *prestigious place* (4.24), *people who live here are esteemed* (4.20) are other significant pull factors indicated by participants. The items which related to relative location or accessibility such as *easy transportation to Mavişehir* (4.18), *proximity to shopping centers* (4.03), *proximity to Karşıyaka* (3.63), *proximity to healthy institutions* (3.55), and *proximity to education institutions* (3.24) are found as secondary pull factors. The items which related to relative location or social bonds such as *proximity to the workplace* (2.56), *having friends in Mavişehir* (2.10), *having relatives in Mavişehir* (2.20) are the low-level significant pull factors that reported by participants. On the other hand, *having lived in Mavişehir previously* (1.84) is found as the least important factor that emphasized the social bond.

3.3 Place Attachment

Table 2 presents the mean scores of place attachment scale items. The item which has the highest average score is “I feel secure in Mavişehir,” whereas the item which has the lowest average score is “I don’t like Mavişehir.” After the items directions are cycled, the total average score is obtained from the place attachment scale is 48.5. The lowest total score that is obtained from the scale is 20; the highest total score is 60.

Independent sample t-tests and one-way analysis of variance indicated that there were statistically significant differences in the mean scores of the scale in terms of the length of residence in Mavişehir [$F(5.048) = 0.002$ $p < .05$], homeowner status [$t(223) = 4.583$ $p = .000$], residential satisfaction from the house [$F(17.479) = 0.000$ $p < .05$] and neighborhood (Mavişehir) [$F(30.658) = 0.000$ $p < .05$]. According to the results of the Scheffe multiple comparison test, the participants having lived in Mavişehir for five years and under had a lower place attachment mean score ($M = 44.6$ $S = 9.925$) than others having lived for 6-10 years ($M = 49.6$ $S = 8.103$), 11-15 years ($M = 50.3$ $S = 8.733$) and 16-20 years ($M = 49.7$ $S = 8.896$). Additionally, the homeowners had a higher place attachment mean score ($M = 49.9$ $S = 8.663$) than the renters ($M = 43.2$ $S = 9.278$). Scheffe multiple comparison tests also demonstrated that the participants who had very high satisfaction level from the house reported a higher place attachment mean score ($M = 50.8$ $S = 8.066$) than the participants who had the middle satisfaction from them ($M = 38.8$ $S = 10.94$). Similarly, the participants who had very high satisfaction level from the neighborhood reported a higher place attachment mean score ($M = 51.0$ $S = 7.737$) than the participants who had the middle satisfaction from them ($M = 34.8$ $S = 8.541$).

Table 2. Place attachment scale

ITEMS	MEAN SCORE
I feel secure in Mavişehir	4,74
I would not like to move out from here	4,46
I want to be involved in what is going on here	4,28
I know Mavişehir very well	4,16
I defend Mavişehir when somebody criticizes it	3,96
I miss Mavişehir when I am not here	3,86
I am proud of this place	3,76
I am rooted Mavişehir	3,55
Mavişehir is a part of myself	3,35
I have no influence on its affairs.	2,97
I leave Mavişehir with pleasure	1,47
I don't like Mavişehir	1,16

3.4 Urban-Related Identity

Table 3 present the mean scores of urban-related identity scale items. The total average score of the scale is 85.3.

Table 3: Urban-related identity scale

DIMENSIONS	ITEMS	MEAN
EVALUATION	In other towns, Izmir is seen as possessing prestige	4,51
	As compared with other towns, Izmir has many advantages	4,56
	Izmir can only be recommended for tourists	4,40
	There are many things here which are envied by other towns	4,48
ATTACHMENT	I have got native feelings for Izmir	4,49
	I see myself as a person from Izmir	4,51
	I feel really at home at Izmir	4,68
	Izmir is like a part of myself	4,55
CONTINUITY	Lots of things in Izmir remind me of my own past	3,86
	I cannot imagine living in a different town because I would give up too much of myself	3,75
	I have had so many experiences in Izmir that I have become intimately bound up with the town	4,18
	I know Izmir so well that I would recognize the town on a photograph taken at any time	3,42
FAMILIARITY	When I amble through Izmir I feel very strongly that I belong here	4,11
	Izmir is very familiar to me indeed.	4,09
	I experience this town very intensively every day	3,81
	Izmir is very important for my daily life	4,42
COMMITMENT	I would like to stay in Izmir indefinitely	4,33
	I am looking forward to witnessing Izmir's future development	4,49
	Izmir plays an important role in my future plans	4,36
	My personal future is closely tied up with Izmir	4,34

Independent sample t-tests and one-way analysis of variance showed that there was statistically a significant difference between the mean score of the scale and some socio-demographic variables such as length of residence in Mavişehir [F (8.616) = 0.000 p > .05], place of birth [t (198) = -6.183 p = .000], and home ownership [t (58) = 2.153 p = .036]. According to the tests findings, the respondents having lived in Mavişehir for five years and under had a lower urban identity mean score (M.=76.7 S=20.74) than the respondents having lived for 6-10 years (M.=90.3 S=11.23), 11-15 years (M.=87.6 S=13.85) and 16-20 years (M.=86.7 S=13.92). Similarly, the home owners reported a higher urban identity score (M.=86.7 S=14.64) than renters (M.=79.9 S=20.10). Also, the respondents who were born in Izmir had a higher urban identity score (M.=91.6 S=11.35) than the respondents who were born out of Izmir (M.=79.4 S=17.67). As mentioned before, urban-related identity scale has five sub-dimensions: evaluation, attachment, continuity, familiarity, commitment. In this context, the total average scores that are taken from the *evaluation* sub-dimension is 17.9, *attachment* sub-dimension is 18.2, *continuity* dimension is 15.2, *familiarity* dimension is 16.4, and *commitment* dimension is 17.5, by participants.

4. DISCUSSION

The focus of this research was to describe the characteristics of those who prefer to move gated communities. Generally speaking, Mavişehir has quite a homogeneous population in the aspect of education and income, which refers to a relatively higher social class. Majority (81%) of Mavişehir residents were seen to be residing in their own house. In terms of education, residents of Mavişehir represent a group who has the high level of education. Household size (2.8) is relatively small compared to the size in Izmir (3.1) province and to in Turkey (3.6).

Another question examined in this research was the factors that pushed people from the previous residences and those pulling them into gated communities. The findings generated from the research revealed that *heavy traffic*, *noisy urban environment* and *the perceived crowdedness* were the most significant driving factors to move from the previous neighborhood in the city. On the other hand, *silent atmosphere*, *the possibility of green areas*, and *implementation of works such as cleaning, dues, etc. by site management* items that related to the **spatial organization** were found to be the key pull factors. The findings suggest that first of all Mavişehir residents escape from an insufficient a spatial organization or disadvantages of urban life and look for a spatial organization. Secondly, **security**, and **prestige** offered by these residential areas and the desire to live within a homogeneous group which has similar socioeconomic characteristics have become important motivations for the preference of gated communities in Izmir. In this context, the research findings showed similar results to the earlier work done by Sipahi (2011), Pérouse and Daniş (2005), Berköz and Tepe (2008), Berköz (2008), Akyol-Altun (2011).

The increase in the number of gated communities in large and medium-sized cities and its arising as a widespread phenomenon have revived the question of whether a neighborhood attachment or a sense of communities that develop in a traditional neighborhood can develop in these residential areas. The literature on gated communities has demonstrated that there are two widespread opposite ideas on whether gated communities enable high place attachment (Akçal 2004, Edgü and Cimşit 2011, Bengisu 2014, Bekleyen and Yılmaz-Ay 2016, Lu 2016) or less (Wilson-Doenges 2000, Mantey 2017). In our research, the residents strongly expressed attachment to Mavişehir. In this context, the research supports previous studies that emphasize the fact that gated communities enable place attachment and sense of community, such as Bengisu (2014), Sipahi (2011), Edgü and Cimşit (2011), Akçal (2004). According to Brown et al. (2003),

place attachment is high for individuals who perceive fewer incivilities in their block and property, who have the lower fear of crime, and higher sense of neighborhood cohesion and control. Similarly, physical features of the residence place such as quiet areas, the presence of aesthetically pleasing buildings, and the presence of green areas are positive predictors of neighborhood attachment (Lewicka 2010). When the findings associated with preference reasons for Mavişehir are taken into account, it can be concluded that the residents' attachment to Mavişehir is related to the fact that it arouses a sense of security and have positive features as a gated community.

A research by Brown et al. (2003), which examines the level of attachment to a house and a neighborhood, found that home owners had a highest level of attachment to both them. In a similar way, our research findings showed that *homeownership* is a striking factor that leads to neighborhood attachment: for example, homeowners had high-level neighborhood attachment than renters. In addition to this, *the length of residence in neighborhood* was found to be another significant variable that positively affects neighborhood attachment. So, the research confirms the findings of the other research which indicated that place attachment increases as the length of residence increases in one place (Shamai and Ilatow 2004, 2010 Göregenli et al. 2014, Gingjiu and Maliki 2013). The research also indicated that *residence satisfaction* has major effects on neighborhood attachment. For instance, the participants who had very high level of satisfaction from the house and the neighborhood reported higher attachment than the participants who had middle satisfaction from them.

Pelin Tan (2008) mentioned that, as the number of gated communities in Istanbul increases, the concepts of public space, privatization, urban community, security, identity and citizenship have taken on new meanings, and therefore belonging to the city has been replaced by belonging to the gated communities (Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu 2015:11). On the contrary, in this research, the presented results of urban-related identity scale show that the residents of Mavişehir still have maintained relationships with the city of Izmir. In others words, Mavişehir residents' Izmir-related identity is at a high level (85.3). In this context, the research confirms a previous research finding of Südaş's (2018) indicating that gated community residents have a strong (88.4) Izmir-related identity. Moreover, *place of birth*, *the length of residence in neighborhood* and *homeownership* were found to be the significant variables that affect the development of urban-related identity positively. For example, this identity was higher among the participants born in Izmir than others. Similarly, the homeowners had a higher urban-related identity than renters. Lastly, it can be concluded that this identity is higher in terms of attachment, but lower in terms of familiarity and continuity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article is based on the findings of my master thesis titled "Human-Place Relation in Gated Communities: The Case of Mavişehir (Izmir)", accepted at the Ege University, Institute of Social Sciences, Human and Economic Geography Master Program in 2017.

REFERENCES

- Akçal, A. 2004. Place Attachment in Gated Communities: A Case Study in Bilkent Housing Settlements. *Master Thesis*. Bilkent University.
- Aksoylu, S. 2015. Development of the Urban Periphery and Issues Related to Urban Landscape Due to Gated Communities. *Journalism and Mass Communication*: 5(8): 415-427.
- Akyol-Altun, D. 2011. İzmir’de Konut Pratiğinin Dönüşümü ve Kapalı Konut Sitelerinin Ortaya Çıkışı. *Ege Mimarlık*: 77: 26-31.
- Ataç, E. 2016. A Divided Capital: Residential Segregation in Ankara. *METU JFA*: 33(1): 187-205.
- Bal, E., Akyol-Altun, D. 2016. İzmir’de Neoliberal Kentleşme Eğilimleri Kapsamında Lüks Konut Üretiminde Yeni Yaklaşımlar: Folkart Konut Projeleri. *Planlama*: 26(1): 65-80.
- Berköz, L., Tepe, E. 2008. Gated Residential Areas in Istanbul: Private Cars versus Public Transport Systems. 48. ERSA Congress, University of Liverpool, Liverpool.
- Bengisu, E. 2014. Place Attachment and Gated Communities: The Case of Soyak Mavişehir, İzmir. *Master Thesis*. Yaşar University.
- Berköz, L. 2008. İstanbul’da Korunaklı Tek-Aile Konutları: Konut Kalitesi ve Kullanıcı Memnuniyetinin Belirlenmesi. *İTÜ Dergisi / a Mimarlık, Planlama, Tasarım*: 7(1):110-124.
- Bektaş, B. 2011. Kapalı Siteler Üzerine Yerel Bir Değerlendirme: Mersin Örneği. *Toplum ve Demokrasi*: 5(11): 97-114.
- Bekleyen, A., Yılmaz-Ay, I. 2016. Are gated communities indispensable for residents?. *Urbani Izziv*: 27(1): 149-161.
- Blandy, S., Lister, D. 2005. Gated communities: (Ne) gating community development? *Housing Studies*: 20 (2): 287-301.
- Blakely, E. J., Snyder, M. G. 1997. *Fortress America: Gated communities in the United States*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.
- Brown, B., Perkins, D. D., Brown, G. 2003. Place attachment in a revitalizing neighborhood: Individual and block levels of analysis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*: 23(3): 259-271.
- Carvalho, M., George, V., Anthony, K. 1997. Residential Satisfaction in Condominios Exclusivos (Gate-Guarded Neighborhoods) In Brazil. *Environment and Behavior*: 29(6): 734-768.
- Cekiç, T. İ., Gezici, F. 2009. “Gated communities leading the development on the periphery of Istanbul metropolitan area”. *ITU AIZ*: 6(2): 73-97.
- Wilson-Doenges, G. 2000. An Exploration of Sense of Community and Fear of Crime in Gated Communities. *Environment and Behaviour*: 32(5): 597-611.
- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K. 2000. Displacing place-identity: A discursive approach to locating self and other. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*: 39(1): 27-45.
- Edgü, E., Cimşit, F. 2011. Island living as a gated community: Place attachment in an isolated environment. *ITU J Faculty Arch*: 8(2):156-177.
- Geniş, S. 2007. Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul. *Urban Studies*: 44(4): 771–798.

- Geniş, S. 2009. Neoliberal kentleşmenin mekânda yansımaları: İstanbul’da güvenli siteleri. *Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi*: 116:121-153.
- González M. J. 2017. Planning, Urban Sprawl and Spatial Thinking. *European Journal of Geography*: 8(1): 32–43.
- Göregenli, M. 2010 (2014). *Çevre Psikolojisi: İnsan-Mekân İlişkileri*. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Göregenli, M. 2005. İzmir’de Yer Kimliği ve Kente Bağlılık. İzmir.
- Göregenli, M., Karakuş, P., Kösten, E. Y. O., Umuroğlu, I. 2014. Mahalleye bağlılık düzeyinin kent kimliği ile ilişkisi içinde incelenmesi. *Psikoloji Dergisi*: 29(73): 73-85.
- Gülümser, A. A., Beycan-Levent, T. 2009. Through The Sky: Vertical Gated Development in Istanbul. *The Urban Reinventors Online Journal*: 23(3): 1-18.
- Güzey, Ö., Özcan, Z. 2010. Gated communities in Ankara, Turkey: Park renaissance residences as a reaction to fear of crime. *Gazi University Journal of Science*: 23(3): 363-375.
- Hidalgo, M. C., Hernandez, B. 2001. Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*: 21(3): 273-281.
- Işık, S. 2009. 1995-2000 Döneminde İzmir’e Yönelik Göçler. *Türk Coğrafya Dergisi*: 52: 9-16.
- Kurtuluş, H. 2011. Gated communities as a representation of new upper and middle classes in Istanbul. *İ.Ü. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*: 44: 49-65.
- Lallı, M. 1992. Urban-related Identity: Theory, measurement and empirical findings. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*: 12(4): 285-303.
- Lewicka, M. 2008. Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: Restoring the forgotten city past. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*: 28(3): 209–231.
- Lewicka, M. 2010. What makes neighborhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*: 30(1): 35–51.
- Lima, I. 2014. Towards A Civic City: From Territorial Justice To Urban Happiness In Rio De Janeiro. *European Journal of Geography*: 5(2):77 -90.
- Low, S., Altman, I. 1992. Place Attachment. New York: Plenum.
- Lu, T. 2016. The Development And Governance Of Chinese Gated Communities: A Case Study Of Wenzhou. *Doctoral Thesis*. University College London.
- Mantey, D. 2017. Social Consequences of Gated Communities: The Case of Suburban Warsaw. *The Professional Geographer*: 69(1):151-161.
- Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., Kaminoff, R. 1983. “Place-identity: physical world socialization of the self”. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*: 3(1): 57-83.
- Pérouse, J. F., Danış, D. A. 2005. Zenginliğin mekânda yeni yansımaları: İstanbul’da güvenli siteleri. *Toplum ve Bilim*: 104: 92-123.
- Ramsawmy, S. 2017. Gated Nature and Its Role in Creating Place Attachment and Place Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa: An Analysis of Grotto Bay Private Residential Estate. *Master thesis*. University of Cape Town.
- Relf, E.1976. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited.
- Riley, R. B. 1992. Attachment to the Ordinary Landscape. In *Place attachment*, eds. I. Altman and S. Low, 13-32. New York: Plenum Press.

- Südaş, İ. 2018. Şehirli Nüfusun İzmir Çevresine Göçü. Ege Üniversitesi Bilimsel araştırma Projesi: 2013-2016. İzmir.
- Sanlı, S., Sönmez, N. Ö. 2016. Üst Gelir Grubunun Sosyo-Mekânsal Ayrışımı: Ankara Bilkent Angora Evleri Örneği. *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*: 9(42): 1140-1154.
- Sipahi, E. B. 2011. 1980 Sonrası Yeni-Liberalizm ve Küreselleşmenin Etkisinde Yeni Bir Kentsel Gelişme Biçimi Olarak Güvenlikli Siteler: Konya Örneği. *Doktora tezi*. Ankara Üniversitesi.
- Scannell, L., Gifford, R. 2010. Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*: 30(1): 1-10.
- Shamai, S., Ilatov, Z. 2004. Measuring Sense of Place: Methodological Aspects. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*: 96(5): 467-476.
- Tümer, H. O., Dostoğlu, N. 2008. Bursa’da dışa kapalı konut yerleşmelerinin oluşum süreci ve sınıflandırılması. *Uludağ Üniversitesi Mühendislik-Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*: 13(2): 53-68.