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Ayhan BEKLEYEN
İlham YILMAZ-AY

So ograjene skupnosti za stanovalce nepogrešljive?

Ograjene skupnosti oziroma stanovanjske soseske z omejenim dostopom so po svetu vse bolj razširjene. Raziskava se osredotoča na ograjeni skupnosti v Diyarbakirju, enem od največjih mest na jugovzhodu Turčije. V njej avtorja preučujeta stopnjo zadovoljstva in preference prebivalcev teh skupnosti. Ugotovitve kažejo visoko stopnjo zadovoljstva med stanovalci in razkrivajo, da se ljudje za življenje v teh skupnostih v glavnem odločajo zaradi varnosti in

prestiža. Rezultati poleg tega kažejo, da se dolgoletni prebivalci OS bojijo živeti zunaj tovrstnih sosesk, kar se izraža v strahu pred selitvijo.

Ključne besede: ograjena skupnost, varno območje, preference stanovalcev, stopnja zadovoljstva stanovalcev, varnost, strah pred kriminalom

1 Uvod

Ograjene skupnosti (OS) lahko najdemo v številnih mestih po svetu (Blakely in Snyder, 1997, ter Grant in Mittelsteadt, 2004). Običajno se za življenje v njih odloča višji in srednji višji sloj, saj dajejo vtis varnejšega območja (Roitman, 2005). Pri njihovem oglaševanju se zato po navadi poudarja varnost in tudi druge, z njo povezane lastnosti, kot sta prestiž in ugled (Blandy, 2006). Ni čudno, da so ta nova bivalna okolja pritegnila pozornost raziskovalcev. V zvezi z OS je bilo opravljeno že veliko raziskav, v katerih so se avtorji osredotočali na njihovo definicijo, značilnosti, vrste in preference stanovalcev. V tej raziskavi avtorja preučujeta zadovoljstvo prebivalcev OS s hišami, neposredno okolico in odnosi v soseski. Poleg tega ju zanima, zakaj se ljudje raje odločajo za bivanje v ograjenih ali varnejših skupnostih.

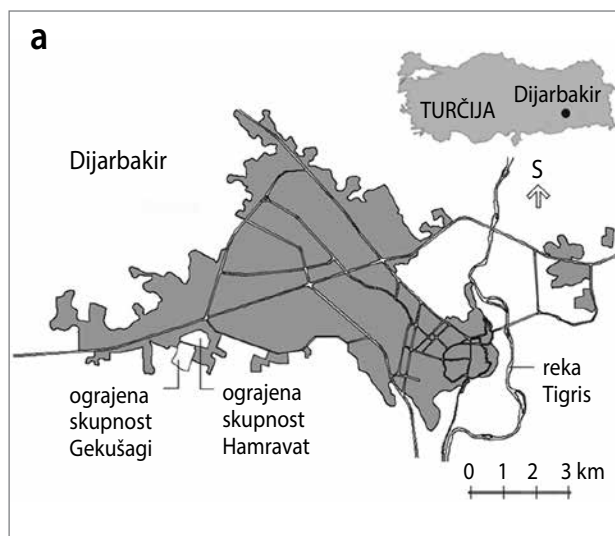
Raziskava temelji na domnevi, da zadovoljstvo stanovalcev kaže, da se bo v prihodnosti vse več ljudi odločalo za OS. Zastavljena so bila ta raziskovalna vprašanja:

1. Kakšna je stopnja zadovoljstva stanovalcev v izbranih OS v Dijarbakirju?
2. Zakaj živijo v ograjeni skupnosti?
3. Kakšne preference imajo v zvezi z OS in zakaj?

2 Ozadje raziskave

Družbene in fizične značilnosti hiše in njene okolice so kazalnik stanovanjskih razmer, zadovoljstvo s stanovanjem, eden od kazalnikov učinkovitosti stanovanj (Paris in Kangari, 2005; Adriaanse, 2007, in Andersen, 2011) pa izraža prilagojenost stanovalcev na te značilnosti (Lu, 1998). Subjektivne opazke stanovalcev razkrivajo stopnjo te prilagojenosti (Wiesenfeld, 1992; Amerigo in Aragones, 1997, in Liu, 1999). Stopnja zadovoljstva lahko razkriva tudi kakovost življenja stanovalcev (Chi in Griffin, 1980; Wiedemann in Anderson, 1985; Amerigo in Aragones, 1990; Liu, 1999; Lu, 1999; Sendi, 2013, ter Aigbavboa in Thwala, 2014). Višja stopnja zadovoljstva z grajenim okoljem lahko kaže usklajenost dejanskega položaja z želenimi stanovanjskimi razmerami, medtem ko lahko nižja stopnja zadovoljstva izraža prav nasprotno (Bonaiuto idr., 1999; Winstanley idr., 2002; Rapoport, 2004; Pevalin idr., 2008; Moolla idr., 2011; Bekleyen in Korkmaz, 2013; Tsenkova, 2014; Grum in Kobal Grum, 2015, ter Rogatka in Ramos Ribeiro, 2015). Nezadovoljstvo lahko torej povzroči željo po preselitvi drugam, kar se lahko včasih tudi dejansko zgodi (Lu, 1998, ter Opoko idr., 2015).

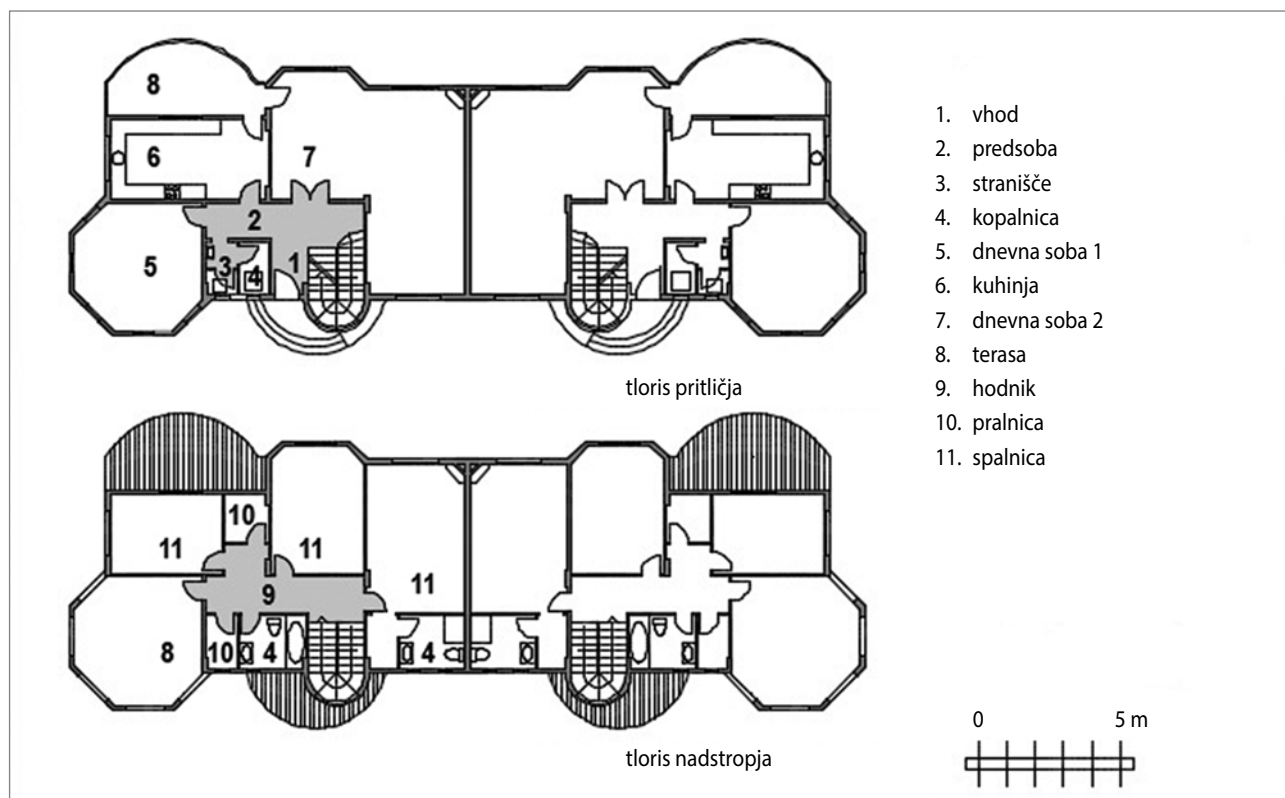
Hiša je del okolice, zato so odnosi s sosedi eden od dejavnikov, ki določajo zadovoljstvo z bivališčem, saj močne družbene vezi v soseski zmanjšajo strah pred kriminalom in željo po



Slika 1: (a) zemljevid Dijarbakirja; (b) lokacija ograjenih skupnosti ((a) ilustracija: Ayhan Bekleyen; (b) vir: internet 1)

preselitvi (Newmann, 1972; Andersen, 2008; Vera-Toscano in Ateca-Amestoy, 2008; Yau, 2012; Shrestha, 2013, in Jurkovič, 2014). Kot navaja Richard M. Carpiano (2007), lahko odnosi v soseski ugodno vplivajo celo na zdravje prebivalcev. Nadaljnja korist teh odnosov je povezana z varnostjo. Ker so prijateljski sosedje pozorni na tujce, ki bi lahko kakor koli ogrozili sosesko, ustvarjajo varno okolje (McDonell, 2006). Stopnja navezanosti na sosesko se poveča z mišljenjem, da je v dobri soseski življenje varnejše. Zaradi večje navezanosti stanovalci tudi bolj pazijo na okolje, v katerem živijo (Brown idr., 2003, ter Comstock idr., 2010). To težnjo bi morale podpirati tudi objektivne lastnosti soseske, saj fizično okolje vpliva na dožemanje kriminala in varnosti (Rollwagen, 2014).

OS kot sodobne različice starodavnih mest so se začele graditi konec 20. stoletja in kmalu so postale sestavni del sodobnih bivalnih okolij. Tovrstne skupnosti so videti kot nekakšne varnostne cone (Blakely in Snyder, 1997; Lang in Danielsen, 1997;



Slika 2: Tlorisi dvojčkov v ograjeni skupnosti Hamravat (ilustracija: povzeto po izvirnem projektu Metropol Co. Ltd.)

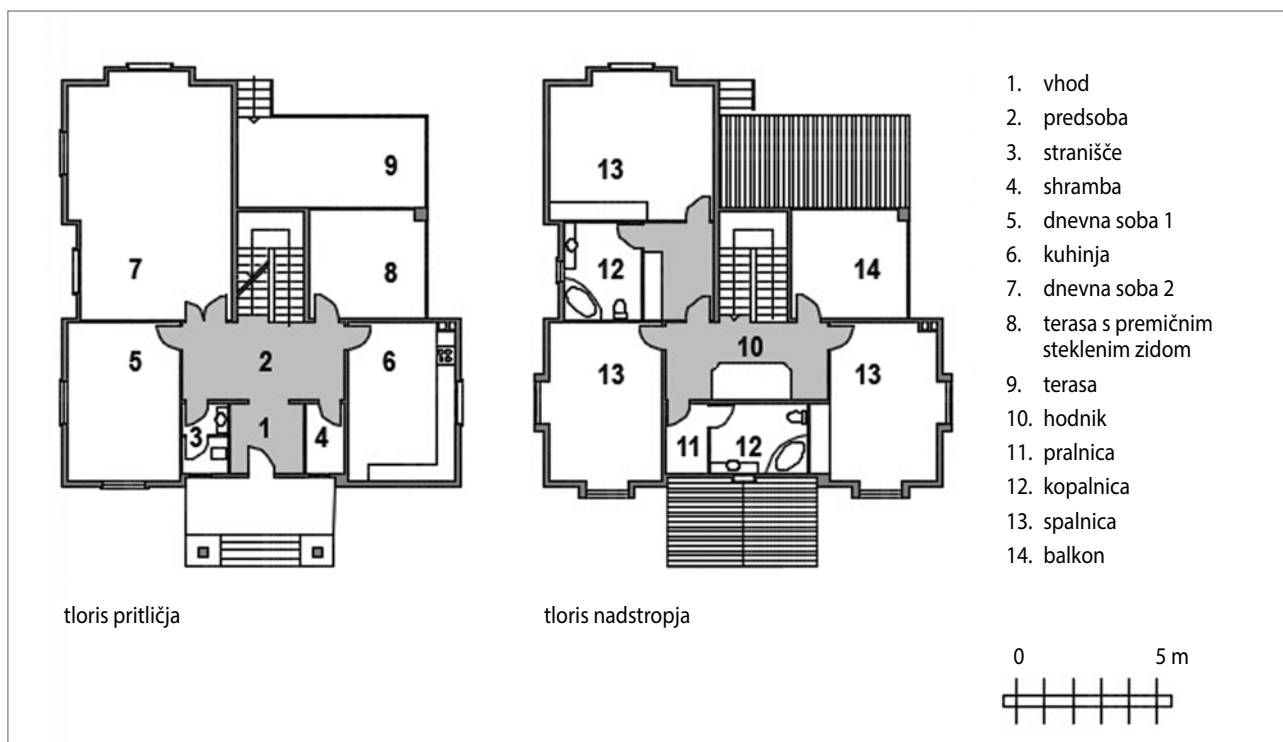


Slika 3: (a) sprednja in (b) zadnja stran dvojčkov v ograjeni skupnosti Hamravat (foto: İlham Yılmaz-Ay)

Ellin, 2001; Grant in Mittelsteadt, 2004; Bekleyen in Dalkılıç, 2011, in Yılmaz-Ay, 2013). »Uporabljajo varnostne naprave, kot so zidovi, ograje, vrata, ovire, alarmi, varnostniki in nadzorne kamere.« (Roitman, 2005: 304.) Potreba po OS lahko izvira iz »vse slabšega občutka varnosti in vse večjega strahu pred kriminalom, nesposobnosti države, da bi državljanom zagotovila najosnovnejše storitve, vse večje družbene neenakosti, pospešenega procesa družbene polarizacije in mednarodnega trenda, ki ga spodbujajo gradbeni investitorji« (Roitman, 2005: 304–305). Strah pred nasiljem in kriminalom je glavni razlog, da se ljudje preselijo v take skupnosti (Low, 2003). V primerjavi z drugimi skupnostmi imajo OS bolj homogeno

zgradbo, saj tam prevladujejo stanovalci višjega ali višjega srednjega sloja (Roitman, 2005).

Varnost je močna motivacija za posameznike, ki želijo živeti v OS (Atkinson in Flint, 2004; Asiedu in Arku, 2009, in Polanska, 2010). Raziskave stopnje varnosti v OS pa so razkrile zanimive ugotovitve. Nekatere so pokazale, da OS pritegnejo kazniva dejanja, kot so vlomi (Breetzke idr., 2014), druge pa so razkrile, da te v resnici ne izpolnjujejo varnostnih standardov. Jill Grant (2005: 282), ki je raziskovala OS v Kanadi, navaja, da v skupnostih, vključenih v preiskovalni vzorec, večina varnostnih pogojev ni izpolnjena, saj so »ograje precej nizke (1,2 m



Slika 4: Tlorisi samostojnih hiš v ograjeni skupnosti Gekuşagi (ilustracija: povzeto po izvirnem projektu Metropol Co. Ltd.)



Slika 5: (a) sprednja in (b) zadnja stran samostojnih hiš v ograjeni skupnosti Gekuşagi (foto: İlham Yılmaz-Ay)

ali nižje), varnostniki in nadzorne kamere pa so redki, razen v najprestižnejših soseskah».

Študije, ki se osredotočajo na strah pred kriminalom, kažejo, da bi bile lahko OS distopijske različice mest v prihodnosti (Atkinson in Flint, 2004). Hkrati imajo ljudje v različnih delih sveta zaradi različnih življenjskih slogov in potreb različen odnos do OS. Yasser Mahgoub in Fatma Khalfani (2012) sta na primer ugotovila, da ljudje v Katarju raje živijo v samostojnih hišah kot v OS.

OS so se najprej gradile, da bi zadovoljile varnostne potrebe stanovalcev, sčasoma pa so se kot del tržne strategije začele predstavljati kot prestižnejša in privilegirana bivalna okolja (Blandy, 2006). Pozneje so postale znane po svojem visokem ugledu (Richter in Goetz, 2007; Çekiç in Gezici, 2009, ter Almatarneh in Mansour, 2013). Ljudje so hoteli prebivati v njih, ker so si želeli lepše življenje, kar se je izražalo v več dejavnikih, na primer v »izogibanju težavam v mestu – recimo posameznikom, ki prosjačijo za denar in hrano itd. – ter iskanju družbene homogenosti, položaja in ekskluzivnosti znotraj

nekaterih družbenih skupin v kontekstu splošnega procesa obubožanja družbe» (Roitman, 2005: 305). Z drugimi besedami, z zahtevami premožnih ljudi so postajale te skupnosti po svetu vse bolj razširjene.

Čeprav družbene vezi niso glavni vzrok za preselitev v OS (Blandy in Lister, 2003), so raziskave pokazale, da tovrstne skupnosti izboljšajo medsosedske odnose (Garip in Şener, 2012). To izboljšanje je lahko posledica dejstva, da stanovalci živijo na območju z omejenim dostopom (Edgü in Cimşit, 2011). Na takem zavarovanem območju stanovalci zaradi družbenih vezi in podpore sosedov razvijejo tudi večji občutek varnosti (Grant, 2005).

3 Metode

3.1 Vzorčenje

Avtorja sta v raziskavi preučevala zadovoljstvo stanovalcev OS, pri čemer sta se osredotočila na njihove preference ter vezi med njimi in skupnostjo. Raziskavo sta zasnovala na podlagi opisne raziskovalne metode, ki se je osredotočala na ograjeni skupnosti v Dijarbakirju v jugovzhodni Turčiji. Ljudje s podeželja se v to mesto priseljujejo iz različnih razlogov, kot so pomanjkanje služb in dolgotrajni nemiri na tem območju. Prve OS so bile v mestu zgrajene po letu 2000. V raziskavi sta avtorja preučevala dve tamkajšnji OS: Hamravat in Gekuşagi. Izbrani sta bili zato, ker sta bili prvi tovrstni skupnosti v mestu in ker sta večji od drugih.

V raziskavi sta obravnavani dve OS (slika 1). Ograjena skupnost Hamravat (OSH) je bila leta 2002 zgrajena zasebno za pripadnike višjega sloja, v njej je 305 hiš in med njimi prevladujejo dvojčki (sliki 2 in 3). Ograjena skupnost Gekuşagi (OSG) je bila zgrajena leta 2007 in ima 256 samostojnih hiš (sliki 4 in 5).

3.2 Udeleženci

V raziskavi je sodelovalo 33 stanovalcev OSH in 27 stanovalcev OSG. Vseh udeležencev je bilo tako 60, od teh jih je bilo 90 % ženskega spola. Med udeleženkami je bilo 53 % gospodinj. Zaradi odnosa upravnikov in nekaterih stanovalcev je bilo anketiranje kar zahtevno. Zaradi zahtev upravnikov je lahko anketiranje potekalo samo podnevi. Moških takrat običajno ni bilo doma in še tisti, ki so bili, niso bili navdušeni nad odgovarjanjem na vprašanja; ženske so bile veliko bolj pripravljene sodelovati. Ker ženske običajno preživijo več časa doma in skrbijo za otroke, je bilo bolj smiselno anketirati njih kot moške.

Polovica anketirancev je imela univerzitetno izobrazbo in vsi so imeli hiše v svoji lasti. 52 % stanovalcev je bilo starih več kot 40 let. V 72 % hiš je živel manj kot pet gospodinjstvenih članov. V OSH so imeli stanovalci hiše v lasti povprečno več kot pet let (94 %), v OSG pa manj kot tri leta (100 %; preglednica 1).

3.3 Orodja

Podatki v obravnavanih OS so bili zbrani z vprašalniki. Za pridobitev demografskih podatkov o udeležencih je bil oblikovan poseben list z vprašanji. Glavni vprašalnik je bil sestavljen iz treh delov. Prvi del se je nanašal na zadovoljstvo stanovalcev s hišo, sosedu in sosesko. V drugem delu so bile stopnje zadovoljstva obravnavane podrobneje, saj so morali anketiranci povedati, kaj menijo o kakovosti stanovanj in okoljskih značilnostih. V zadnjem delu so anketiranci opisali, kaj menijo o svojih hišah in njihovi neposredni okolici. Cronbachov koeficient alfa je znašal 0,73. Prvi in drugi del vprašalnika je bil sestavljen iz vprašanj na štiristopenjski Likertovi lestvici (1 – zelo nezadovoljen, 4 – zelo zadovoljen), v tretjem delu pa so anketiranci lahko izbirali med dvema odgovoroma.

3.4 Analiza podatkov

Ugotovitve so bile analizirane s statističnim paketom za družboslovje. Po izračunu opisne statistike sta avtorja uporabila Mann-Whitneyjev *U*-test, s katerim sta določila razliko med neparametričnimi podatki, pridobljenimi iz povprečnih rezultatov dveh neodvisnih vzorcev.

4 Rezultati in razprava

4.1 Stopnja zadovoljstva v dveh preučevanih OS v Dijarbakirju

Konceptualni okvir za ta del raziskave temelji na klasifikaciji Marie Amerigo in Juana Ignacia Aragonesa (1997), ki sta zadovoljstvo s stanovanjem ocenjevala na podlagi treh vidikov, in sicer soseske, sosedov in hiše. Kot je razvidno iz preglednice 2, je bila v preučevanih skupnostih stopnja zadovoljstva s stanovanjem precej visoka. Čeprav primerjava teh dveh skupnosti ni razkrila statistično pomembnih rezultatov, je imela OSG višjo stopnjo zadovoljstva s hišami in sosesko, OSH pa višjo stopnjo zadovoljstva s sosedu. V primerjavi z neograjanimi skupnostmi v mestu je bila stopnja zadovoljstva v obeh OS precej visoka. Nail Mahir Korkmaz (2007), ki je preučeval stopnjo zadovoljstva s hišami v neograjeni skupnosti v istem mestu, je na primer ugotovil, da je bilo 76,7 % anketirancev zadovoljnih s svojimi

Preglednica 1: Družbeni in demografski podatki o udeležencih

	ograjena skupnost Hamravat	ograjena skupnost Gekuşagi	skupaj
	<i>n</i> = 33	<i>n</i> = 27	<i>n</i> = 60
	<i>F</i> (%)	<i>F</i> (%)	<i>F</i> (%)
spol			
moški	5 (15)	1 (4)	6 (10)
ženski	28 (85)	26 (96)	54 (90)
starost			
20–30	4 (12)	2 (7)	6 (10)
31–40	12 (36)	11 (41)	23 (38)
> 40	17 (52)	14 (52)	31 (52)
poklic			
gospodinja	19 (58)	13 (48)	32 (53)
javni sektor	9 (27)	12 (44,5)	21 (35)
zasebni sektor	5 (15)	2 (7,5)	7 (12)
izobrazba			
osnovna šola	5 (15)	1 (4)	6 (10)
srednja šola	14 (42,5)	10 (37)	24 (40)
univerzitetna diploma	12 (36,5)	13 (48)	25 (42)
magisterij	2 (6)	3 (11)	5 (8)
zakonski stan			
poročeni	29 (88)	27 (100)	56 (93)
samski	4 (12)	0 (0)	4 (7)
velikost gospodinjstva			
2	3 (9)	5 (18,5)	8 (13)
3	8 (24)	5 (18,5)	13 (22)
4	11 (33,5)	11 (41)	22 (37)
5 ali več	11 (33,5)	6 (22)	17 (28)
doba prebivanja (v letih)			
1	0 (0)	2 (7)	2 (3)
2	1 (3)	20 (74)	21 (35)
3	0 (0)	5 (19)	5 (8)
4	1 (3)	0 (0)	1 (2)
5 ali več	31 (94)	0 (0)	31 (52)
stanovanjski status			
lastnik	33 (100)	27 (100)	60 (100)
najemnik	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)

hišami. Ta stopnja pa je še vedno nizka v primerjavi z rezultati, dobljenimi v tej raziskavi (OSH = 91 %, OSG = 100 %).

Vprašalnik je vseboval tudi podrobna vprašanja o hišah in njihovi okolici (na primer o velikosti hiše in njenih prostorov; številu prostorov, kuhinji, kopalnici in vrtu; zunanjem videzu hiše; igralnih površinah za otroke; pešpoteh in športnih površinah; upravi; varnosti znotraj skupnosti; varnosti hiše; posledicah prebivanja na območju z omejenim dostopom in

prometni infrastrukturi). Iz preglednice 3 je razvidno, da je v obeh skupnostih stopnja zadovoljstva z vsem naštetim precej visoka. Nižja stopnja zadovoljstva je bila izražena samo za vodovodno napeljavo, ki je pogosto v okvari.

Primerjava obeh skupnosti je razkrila statistično pomembne razlike na določenih področjih (preglednica 3). Prebivalci OSH so bili veliko bolj zadovoljni z družabnimi dejavnostmi kot prebivalci OSG ($U = 260,00$, $p < 0,01$). Kot že rečeno,

Preglednica 2: Zadovoljstvo stanovalcev z bivalnim okoljem

	skupnost	zadovoljstvo				povprečje	odstotek zadovoljstva
		4	3	2	1		
hiša							
	OSH	11	19	3	0	3,24	91
	OSG	8	19	0	0	3,30	100
soseska							
	OSH	9	19	6	1	3,00	79
	OSG	8	16	3	0	3,19	89
sosedje							
	OSH	11	22	0	0	3,33	100
	OSG	9	16	1	1	3,22	93

Opomba: 4 = zelo zadovoljen, 3 = zadovoljen, 2 = nezadovoljen, 1 = zelo nezadovoljen; OSH = ograjena skupnost Hamravat ($n = 33$), OSG = ograjena skupnost Gekušagi ($n = 27$).

v OSH prevladujejo dvojčki, v OSG pa samostojne hiše. Stopnja zadovoljstva z razdaljo med hišami je bila v OSH precej nizka v primerjavi z OSG ($U = 312,00$, $p < 0,05$). Eno od vprašanj se je nanašalo na neposredno okolico skupnosti, in stopnja zadovoljstva v OSG je bila nižja od tiste v OSH ($U = 259,50$, $p < 0,01$). To je lahko posledica tega, da visoke stavbe v bližini OSG motijo zasebnost hiš v tej skupnosti. V Turčiji so se mesta doslej običajno gradila vertikalno, nova politika turške vlade iz leta 2014 pa gradbene izvajalce spodbuja k horizontalni gradnji. Če bodo politiko ustrezno upoštevali tudi državljani, omenjenih težav v prihodnosti ne bo.

Rezultati kažejo visoko stopnjo zadovoljstva v obeh preučevanih skupnostih, kar je lahko posledica tega, da imajo vsi stanovalci hiše v svoji lasti. Številne raziskave so pokazale, da je za lastnike stanovanj običajno značilna višja stopnja zadovoljstva (Elsinga in Hoekstra, 2005; Grinstein-Weiss idr., 2011, in Tech-Hong, 2012). Rezultati prav tako kažejo, da je 98 % anketirancev zadovoljnih z življenjem na območju z omejenim dostopom (to je v OS).

4.2 Razlogi za prebivanje v OS

V tem delu raziskave sta avtorja podrobneje preučevala, zakaj želijo ljudje živeti v OS. Analiza podatkov je razkrila različne razloge za prebivanje na teh območjih.

4.2.1 Varnost

Prejšnje raziskave so pokazale, da obstoj OS temelji na potrebi po varnosti (Blakely in Snyder, 1997; Atkinson in Flint, 2004; Grant in Mittelsteadt, 2004; Roitman, 2005, ter Asiedu in Arku, 2009). Ugotovitve te raziskave podobno kažejo, da anketiranci svoje skupnosti in hiše dojemajo kot varne (90 %

oziroma 93 %). Rezultati, predstavljeni v preglednici 3, potrjujejo, da stanovalci verjamejo, da so tovrstne skupnosti varnejše. Vprašanja glede pomanjkljivosti v varovanju pa so razkrila, da v obravnavanih OS še vedno prihaja do kaznivih dejanj. Kot je razvidno iz preglednice 4, je bilo 10 % stanovalcev priča kaznivemu dejanju v svoji skupnosti in 23 % jih je menilo, da njihove hiše niso varne pred vlomilci. Ko so bili vprašani, zakaj tako mislijo, je večina anketirancev (60 %) omenila slabo varovanje vhoda v skupnost. Skupni odstotek zadovoljstva z varnostjo pa tej ugotovitvi nasprotuje, kar je lahko posledica vpliva dobrih medsosedskih odnosov (McDonell, 2006, in Carpiano, 2007). V tovrstnih skupnostih se poveča navezanost na sosesko in težnja sosedov, da varujejo svoje bivalno okolje (Brown idr., 2003, ter Comstock idr., 2010). Zato bi lahko dejstvo, da stanovalci dobro poznajo drug drugega (92 %, preglednica 2), vplivalo na njihovo dožemanje varnosti.

Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da je bila kljub pomanjkljivostim potreba po varnosti glavni razlog za to, da so se anketiranci odločili živeti v tovrstni skupnosti. Odgovorni za varovanje bi lahko te pomanjkljivosti preprosto odpravili z uvedbo določenih dodatnih ukrepov. Ugotovitve so bile predstavljene upravnikom obeh skupnosti.

4.2.2 Prebivanje na prestižnem območju

80 % anketirancev meni, da so njihove hiše moderne, in 83 % jih verjame, da so stroškovno učinkovite (preglednica 4). Pri devnik »moderen« je tukaj uporabljen v pomenu »sodoben« in »kakovosten«. To kaže, da stanovalci dobro sprejemajo svoje hiše. Prav tako menijo, da živijo na uglednem (82 %) in prestižnem območju (78 %), in 93 % se zdi, da so del tega kraja. Opisane ugotovitve se ujemajo z ugotovitvami Sonie Roitman (2005).

Preglednica 3: Stopnja zadovoljstva stanovalcev s posameznimi značilnostmi hiše in skupnosti

	skupnosti	zadovoljstvo				povprečje	odstotek zadovoljstva	skupni odstotek zadovoljstva
		4	3	2	1			
velikost hiše								
	OSH	8	25	0	0	3,24	100	97
	OSG	8	17	2	0	3,22	93	
število prostorov								
	OSH	8	22	3	0	3,15	91	92
	OSG	8	17	2	0	3,22	93	
velikost prostorov								
	OSH	10	23	0	0	3,30	100	95
	OSG	7	17	3	0	3,15	89	
kuhinja								
	OSH	10	20	2	1	3,18	91	83
	OSG	8	12	7	0	3,04	74	
kopalnica								
	OSH	5	22	4	2	2,91	82	80
	OSG	9	12	6	0	3,11	78	
vrt								
	OSH	9	19	4	1	3,09	85	88
	OSG	10	15	2	0	3,30	93	
vodovodna napeljava								
	OSH	0	8	12	13	1,85	24	28
	OSG	1	8	12	6	2,15	33	
estetski videz hiše								
	OSH	2	26	4	1	2,88	85	82
	OSG	3	18	5	1	2,85	78	
otroške igralne površine								
	OSH	5	20	8	0	2,91	76	82
	OSG	5	19	2	1	3,04	89	
vzgojanje otrok na tem območju								
	OSH	15	16	2	0	3,39	94	93
	OSG	7	18	2	0	3,19	93	
pešpoti								
	OSH	4	20	9	0	2,85	73	73
	OSG	4	16	5	2	2,78	74	
družabne dejavnosti								
	OSH	9	20	4	0	3,15**	88	70
	OSG	4	9	10	4	2,15**	48	
športne površine								
	OSH	3	25	5	0	2,94	85	83
	OSG	6	16	4	1	3,00	81,5	
uprava skupnosti								
	OSH	4	16	10	3	2,64	61	65
	OSG	1	18	6	2	2,67	70	
razdalja med hišami								
	OSH	2	16	13	2	2,55*	55	65
	OSG	5	16	6	0	2,96*	78	

	skupnosti	zadovoljstvo				povprečje	odstotek zadovoljstva	skupni odstotek zadovoljstva
		4	3	2	1			
prebivalci zunaj skupnosti								
	OSH	6	9	13	5	2,48**	45,5	35
	OSG	0	6	8	13	1,74**	22	
varnost skupnosti								
	OSH	12	17	4	0	3,24	88	90
	OSG	8	17	2	0	3,22	93	
varnost posamezne hiše								
	OSH	11	20	2	0	3,27	94	93
	OSG	9	16	2	0	3,26	93	
prebivanje na območju z omejenim dostopom								
	OSH	15	17	1	0	3,42	97	98
	OSG	11	16	0	0	3,41	100	
prometna infrastruktura								
	OSH	3	15	14	1	2,60	55	57
	OSG	1	15	9	2	2,56	59	

Opomba: 4 = zelo zadovoljen, 3 = zadovoljen, 2 = nezadovoljen, 1 = zelo nezadovoljen; OSH = ograjena skupnost Hamravat ($n = 33$), OSG = ograjena skupnost Gekušagi ($n = 27$); * $p < 0,05$, ** $p < 0,01$.

4.3 Preference, povezane z OS, in razlogi zanje

93 % stanovalcev je zelo zadovoljnih s tem, da lahko vzgajajo svoje otroke na območju z omejenim dostopom (preglednica 3), saj so zaradi varnega okolja bolj sproščeni. Dobri odnosi med sosedi (92 %) kažejo, da sta sporazumevanje in sodelovanje med njimi na najvišji ravni (preglednica 4). Zaradi tega vsi sosede opazujejo otroke in popazijo nanje. Do podobnih ugotovitev so prišli tudi William M. Rohe idr. (2013), ki so ugotovili, da v nasprotju z najemniki lastniki hiš običajno v isti soseski stanujejo dalj časa in radi nadzorujejo svoje bivalno okolje. Taka kontrola pomaga pri nadzoru okolja, zmanjša pa se tudi raven zaskrbljenosti med prebivalci (Rollwagen, 2014), saj v soseski ustvari sekundarno varnostno območje.

Ob zagotavljanju varnega in prestižnega življenjskega prostora ustvarjajo OS tudi občutek navezanosti na kraj. Zanimivo je, da se 40 % anketirancev boji živeti zunaj OS (preglednica 4). Odstotek je višji v OSH (54,5 %) kot v OSG (22 %; $U = 301,50$, $p < 0,05$) in ga je najverjetneje treba pripisati temu, da prebivalci OSH na tovrstnem območju prebivajo dalj časa.

Na podlagi ugotovitev raziskave lahko sklepamo, da je obstoj OS, ki veljajo za varna in prestižna življenjska okolja, odvisen od občutkov, ki jih dajejo svojim prebivalcem (to je da so privilegirani in varni pred kriminalom). To dokazujejo ti-

sti prebivalci, ki se bojijo živeti zunaj ograjene skupnosti. Ker so tovrstne skupnosti zaščitene in varne pred kriminalom, so stanovalci navezani na kraj in si na tem območju ustvarijo svoj svet. Hkrati občutek privilegiriranosti pomeni, da se bo vrednost njihove nepremičnine v prihodnosti še povečala (Le Goix, 2005). Močen občutek navezanosti na kraj prav tako nakazuje, da bo mobilnost ostala majhna (Andersen, 2011).

Občutek privilegiriranosti stanovalcev se izraža v njihovem mnenju, da živijo v ugledni in prestižni soseski, ki je vredna svojega denarja. Pozneje lahko ta občutek vodi v povečanje vrednosti celotnega kraja. Edward J. Blakely (1999) ter Douglas S. Bible in Chengho Hsieh (2001) so napovedali, da se bo vrednost stanovanj v OS povečala. Jill Grant in Lindsey Mittelsteadt (2004) sta ugotovili, da je premožnim družinam, ki živijo v teh skupnostih, všeč, da imajo sosede s podobnim družbenim ozadjem. Z drugimi besedami, premožnost drugih prebivalcev je še ena od značilnosti prebivanja v prestižni soseski. Ugotovitve različnih raziskav kažejo, da se bo v prihodnje še več ljudi odločalo za življenje v teh skupnostih (Ellin, 2001; Webster, 2001; Stoyanov in Frantz, 2006; Roitman, 2010, ter Ūlkü in Erten, 2013), nedvomno pa se bodo s tem dvignile tudi cene nepremičnin v OS (Blakely, 1999, ter Bible in Hsieh, 2001).

Preglednica 4: Mnenja stanovalcev glede hiš in neposredne okolice

vprašanje	skupnost	F (%)	
		da	ne
Ste bili na območju, kjer živite, že kdaj priča kaznivemu dejanju?			
	OSH	3 (9)	30 (91)
	OSG	3 (11)	24 (89)
	skupaj	6 (10)	54 (90)
Čutite pripadnost temu kraju?			
	OSH	31 (94)	2 (6)
	OSG	25 (93)	2 (7)
	skupaj	56 (93)	4 (7)
Je vaša hiša vredna denarja, ki ste ga plačali zanjo?			
	OSH	29 (88)	4 (12)
	OSG	21 (78)	6 (22)
	skupaj	50 (83)	10 (17)
Bi vas bilo strah živeti zunaj ograjene skupnosti?			
	OSH	18 (54,5)*	15 (45,5)
	OSG	6 (22)*	21 (78)
	skupaj	24 (40)	36 (60)
Menite, da je vaša hiša varna pred vlomi?			
	OSH	27 (82)	6 (18)
	OSG	19 (70)	8 (30)
	skupaj	46 (77)	14 (23)
Poznate svoje sosede?			
	OSH	30 (91)	3 (9)
	OSG	25 (93)	2 (7)
	skupaj	55 (92)	5 (8)
Menite, da je vaša hiša moderna?			
	OSH	25 (76)	8 (24)
	OSG	23 (85)	4 (15)
	skupaj	48 (80)	12 (20)
Menite, da živite v ugledni soseski?			
	OSH	29 (88)	4 (12)
	OSG	20 (74)	7 (26)
	skupaj	49 (82)	11 (18)
Menite, da živite v prestižni soseski?			
	OSH	28 (85)	5 (15)
	OSG	19 (70)	8 (30)
	skupaj	47 (78)	13 (22)
Menite, da so vhodi v ograjeno skupnost ustrezno varovani?			
	OSH	12 (36)	21 (64)
	OSG	12 (44)	15 (56)
	skupaj	24 (40)	36 (60)

Opomba: OSH = ograjena skupnost Hamravat ($n = 33$), OSG = ograjena skupnost Gekušagi ($n = 27$); * $p < 0,05$.

5 Sklep

Ugotovitve predstavljene raziskave kažejo razmeroma visoko stopnjo zadovoljstva stanovalcev preučevanih skupnosti v zvezi z njihovimi hišami, sosedi in sosesko. Manjši vzroki nezadovoljstva, kot so vodovodna napeljava in visoke stavbe v okolici, te stopnje ne znižujejo. Razlog za prebivanje v ograjeni skupnosti, ki so ga navedli stanovalci, je podoben tistemu, ki ga navajajo stanovalci drugih OS po svetu: želja po prebivanju na varnem in prestižnem območju. Ugotovitve prav tako razkrijajo močen občutek navezanosti na kraj.

Zaradi prebivanja na varnem območju z omejenim dostopom in vzgajanja otrok v okolju brez kriminala se med prebivalci spremeni dožemanje varnosti. Zaradi odmaknjenega življenjskega sloga so ločeni od zunanjega sveta, in pozneje postane ta življenjski slog nepogrešljiv del njihovega življenja. V obravnavanem okolju se poleg tega obdržijo močne medsosedske vezi. Ko prebivalci enkrat izkusijo tak življenjski slog, si pogosto ne znajo več predstavljati, da bi živeli v hiši zunaj OS, saj na podlagi svojih prejšnjih izkušenj dojemajo samostojne hiše kot nevarne. Glede na trenutne okoliščine po svetu se zdi, da se bo z gradnjo še več tovrstnih skupnosti težnja po prebivanju v premožni in homogeni skupini nadaljevala. Kot je bilo že omenjeno, so številne raziskave pokazale, da se bo splošna vrednost OS v prihodnosti povečala, saj ugodno vplivajo na svoje prebivalce in visoko stopnjo zadovoljstva. Z drugimi besedami, na podlagi tega, kar vemo o OS, lahko upravičeno napovemo, da bodo v prihodnosti za stanovalce postale nepogrešljive.

Ayhan Bekleyen
Dicle University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture,
Dijarbakir, Turčija
E-pošta: ayhan.bekleyen@gmail.com

İlham Yilmaz-Ay
Dicle University, Institute of Science, Dijarbakir, Turčija
E-pošta: y.ilmah@hotmail.com

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Ayhan BEKLEYEN
İlham YILMAZ-AY

Are gated communities indispensable for residents?

Gated communities (GCs) – that is, residential areas with restricted access – have recently become widespread around the world. This study focuses on two GCs in Diyarbakır, one of the largest cities of southeast Turkey. The purpose of the study was to determine the satisfaction levels and preferences of residents of these communities. The findings, which revealed high resident satisfaction levels, show that residents chose to live in these

communities mainly because of safety and prestige. The results of the study also indicate that long-term residents of GCs have a fear of living outside this kind of arrangement, which is reflected in a fear of moving.

Keywords: gated community, safe area, resident preferences, resident satisfaction levels, security, fear of crime

1 Introduction

Gated communities (GCs) can be found in many cities around the world (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004). They are mostly preferred by the upper class and upper-middle class, and they offer the perception of a safer zone (Roitman, 2005). Therefore, their marketing generally emphasises safety in addition to other characteristics of their construction, such as high status and distinction (Blandy, 2006). Not surprisingly, these new living spaces have attracted researchers' attention. There is a wide array of research related to GCs, including their definitions, characteristics, types and resident preferences. This study examines residents' satisfaction levels in GCs with regard to the houses, their immediate environment and neighbourhood relations. In addition, the study also focuses on why residents prefer living in gated or safer communities.

This study is based on the proposition that residents' satisfaction indicates that GCs will be increasingly preferred in the future. The following research questions were asked in the study:

1. What are residents' satisfaction levels in the two GCs in Diyarbakır?
2. What are their reasons for living in a gated community?
3. What are their preferences related to GCs and what are their reasons?

2 Research background

The social and physical characteristics of a house and its milieu are indicators of housing conditions. Housing satisfaction, one of the indicators of housing performance (Paris & Kangari, 2005; Adriaanse, 2007; Andersen, 2011), reflects residents' adaptation to these features (Lu, 1998). Residents' subjective comments indicate the levels of this adaptation (Wiesenfeld, 1992; Amerigo & Aragonés, 1997; Liu, 1999). Residents' life quality can also be represented by their satisfaction levels (Chi & Griffin, 1980; Wiedemann & Anderson, 1985; Amerigo & Aragonés, 1990; Liu, 1999; Lu, 1999; Sendi, 2013; Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2014). Higher satisfaction levels pertaining to the built environment may show a harmony between residents' actual situation and their preferred housing conditions, whereas lower satisfaction levels could indicate the opposite (Bonaiuto et al., 1999; Winstanley et al., 2002; Rapoport, 2004; Pevalín et al., 2008; Moola et al., 2011; Bekleyen & Korkmaz, 2013; Tsenkova, 2014; Grum & Kobal Grum, 2015; Rogatka & Ramos Ribeiro, 2015). Hence, dissatisfaction may create a desire to move, which sometimes leads to actual movement (Lu, 1998; Opoko et al., 2015).

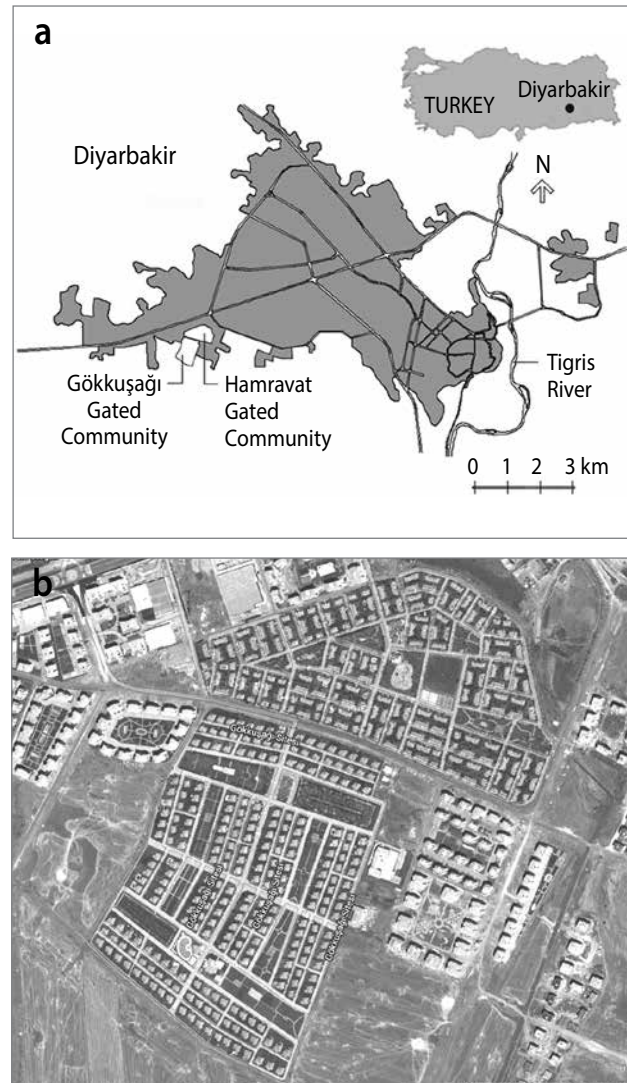


Figure 1: a) map of Diyarbakır; b) location of gated communities (a: illustration: Ayhan Bekleyen; b: source: Internet 1).

A residence is regarded as part of its surroundings. Accordingly, the relationship with neighbours is one of the determiners of housing satisfaction because strong social bonds within the neighbourhood reduce both the fear of crime and the desire to move (Newmann, 1972; Andersen, 2008; Vera-Toscano & Ateca-Amestoy, 2008; Yau, 2012; Shrestha, 2013; Jurkovič, 2014). As stated by Richard M. Carpiano (2007), neighbourhood relations may even have a positive effect on residents' health. Another benefit of these relations is related to security. Because friendly neighbours are on alert against any threat from strangers, a secure environment is created (McDonnell, 2006). Neighbourhood attachment levels are enhanced with the perception that a good neighbourhood makes the residence a safer place. This enhancement will also lead residents to keep an eye on their environment (Brown et al., 2003; Comstock et al., 2010). The objective characteristics of the neighbour-

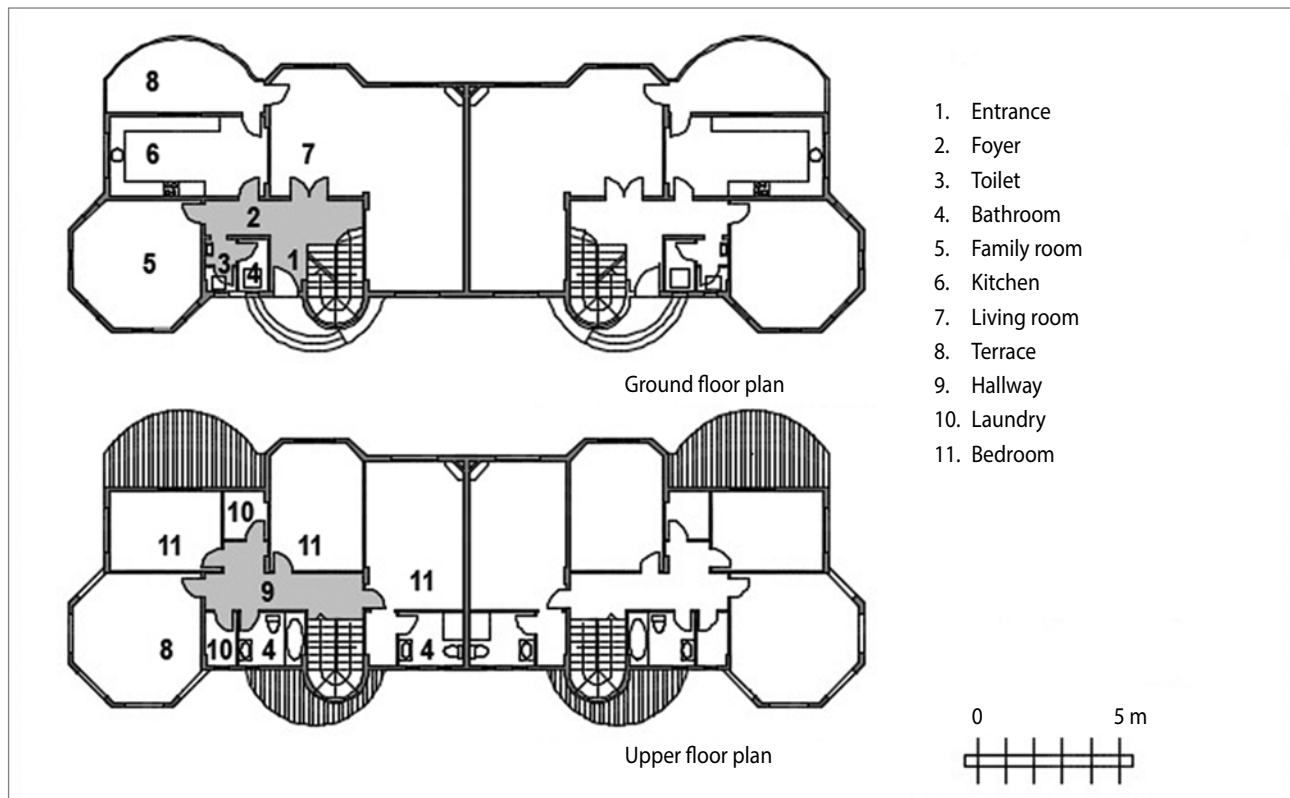


Figure 2: Floor plans of duplexes in the Hamravat Gated Community (illustration: adapted from the original project by Metropol Co. Ltd.).



Figure 3: a) front and b) back views of duplexes in the Hamravat Gated Community (photo: İlham Yılmaz-Ay).

hood should also support this tendency because the physical environment has an effect on shaping perceptions of crime and safety (Rollwagen, 2014).

Gated communities (GCs), the modern version of an ancient city form, were first built at the end of the twentieth century and soon became symptomatic of modern living spaces. These communities are more like security zones (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Lang & Danielsen, 1997; Ellin, 2001; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004; Bekleyen & Dalkılıç, 2011; Yılmaz-Ay, 2013). “They have security devices such as walls, fences, gates, barriers,

alarms, guards and Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras” (Roitman, 2005: 304). The need for GCs may stem from “the rise of insecurity and fear of crime, the deficiency of the state in providing basic services to citizens, increasing social inequalities, the advancing process of social polarization, as well as an international trend encouraged by developers” (Roitman, 2005: 304–305). Fear of violence and crime is the main reason why people move to these communities (Low, 2003). Compared to the heterogeneous structure of other communities, GCs reflect a more homogenous structure with residents from the upper or upper-middle class (Roitman, 2005).

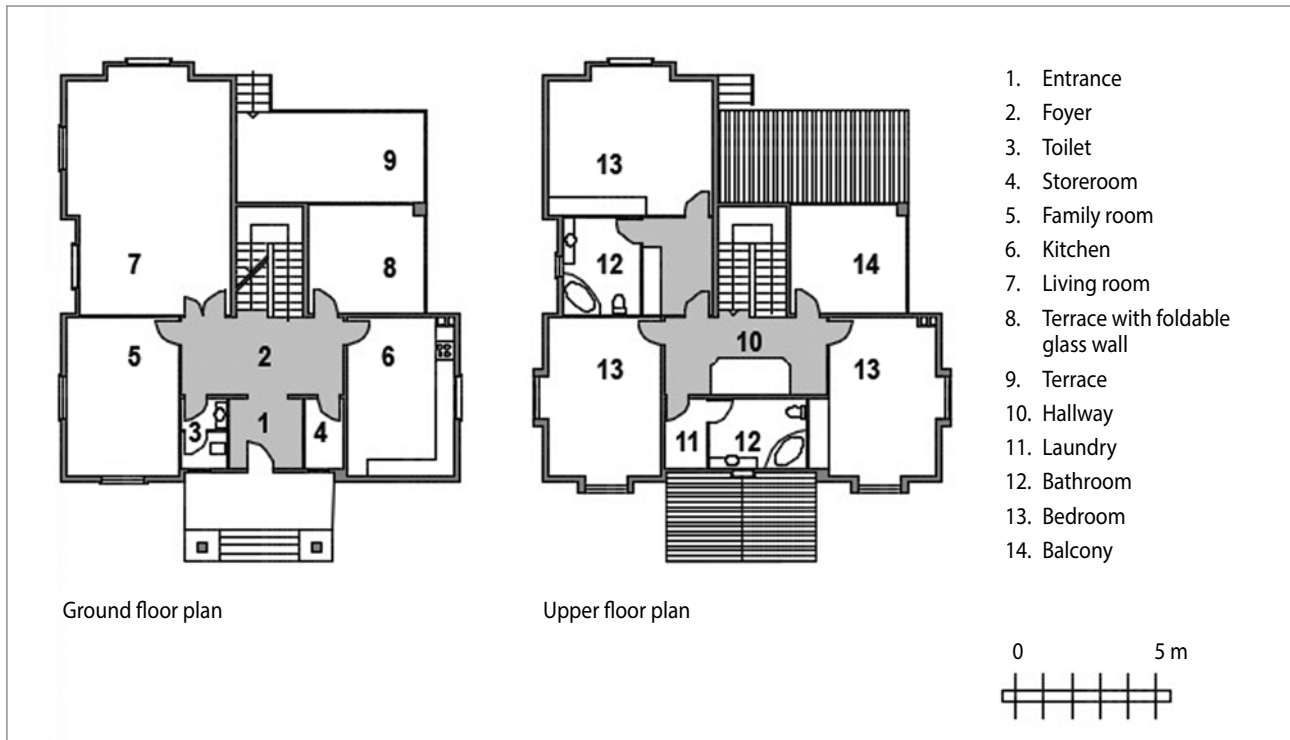


Figure 4: Floor plans of detached homes in the Gökkuşuğu Gated Community (illustration: adapted from the original project by Metropol Co. Ltd.).



Figure 5: a) front and b) back views of detached homes in the Gökkuşuğu Gated Community (photo: İlham Yılmaz-Ay).

Security is a strong motivator for those that want to live in GCs (Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Asiedu & Arku, 2009; Polanska, 2010). However, studies examining the security levels of GCs have revealed interesting findings. Some studies indicate that GCs attract criminal behaviour such as burglary (Breetzke et al., 2014), and some others show that they do not truly meet security standards. For instance, in a study about GCs in Canada, Jill Grant (2005: 282) indicates that most security conditions are not met in the sample communities because “fences are quite low (1.2 m or less) [and] guards and video surveillance are rare, except in the most exclusive projects”.

Studies focusing on the fear of crime imply that GCs may be dystopian reflections of future cities (Atkinson & Flint, 2004). On the other hand, people in various parts of the world have diverse attitudes towards gated communities because of their lifestyles and needs. For example, Yasser Mahgoub and Fatma Khalfani (2012) have observed that people in Qatar prefer living in detached homes rather than in gated communities.

Although GCs were first developed to meet residents’ security needs, they were presented as more prestigious and privileged living spaces over time as a marketing strategy (Blandy, 2006).

Later, these communities became well known for their high status (Richter & Goetz, 2007; Çekiç & Gezici, 2009; Almatarneh & Mansour, 2013). People had a desire to live in GCs because they wanted to have a better lifestyle, represented by several factors such as “the avoidance of the problems in a city, e.g. people asking for money and food; and the search for social homogeneity, status and exclusivity within some social groups in the context of a general process of impoverishment of the society” (Roitman, 2005: 305). In other words, these communities became widespread around the world with the demands of opulent people.

Although social bonds are not the main reason for moving to GCs (Blandy & Lister, 2003), it has been observed that this community type improves neighbourly relations (Garip & Şener, 2012). The reason for this improvement may stem from the fact that the residents live in a restricted area (Edgü & Cimşit, 2011). Within this protected area, social bonds and neighbours’ support also help residents develop a sense of safety (Grant, 2005).

3 Method

3.1 Sampling

This study examined residents’ satisfaction levels in GCs and focused on their preferences and the bond between them and the community. A descriptive research method was used in the design of the study, which focused on two GCs in Diyarbakır, a city in southeast Turkey. This city has attracted migration from rural areas for various reasons, such as the lack of job opportunities in the area and the drawn-out conflict in the region. The first GCs in the city were built after 2000. Two GCs in the city of Diyarbakır – the Hamravat Gated Community and Gökkuşuğu Gated Community – were examined as part of this study. These communities were selected because they were the first GCs in the city and they are larger than the others.

The study involves two GCs (Figure 1). The Hamravat Gated Community (HGC) has 305 houses, most of which are duplexes (Figure 2 and 3). It was privately built in 2002 for members of upper class. The Gökkuşuğu Gated Community (GGC), which was completed in 2007, has 256 detached homes (Figures 4 and 5).

3.2 Participants

Thirty-three residents from HGC and twenty-seven from GGC agreed to take part in the study. The total number of participants was sixty and 90% of them were female. Among the female participants, 53% were housewives. Administer-

ing the questionnaires was rather challenging due to attitudes displayed by the community administrators and some residents of the GCs. Because of constraints by the community administrators, the questionnaires could only be administered during the daytime. Male residents were not usually at home during that time, and those that could be found were not as eager as women to answer the questionnaires. Because women traditionally spend more time within the residence and take care of the children, it made more sense to administer the questionnaires to women rather than men.

Half of the respondents were university graduates and all of them owned their houses. Fifty-two per cent of the residents were over forty. There were fewer than five household members in 72% of the houses. The average time of home ownership was more than five years in HGC (94%) and less than three years in GGC (100%; Table 1).

3.3 Research instruments

A questionnaire technique was used to collect data in the two GCs selected. A demographic information sheet was prepared to obtain background information about the participants. The main questionnaire consisted of three parts, the first of which was related to residents’ satisfaction levels pertaining to the residence, neighbours and neighbourhood. The second part examined residents’ satisfaction levels in detail, asking for opinions about housing quality and environmental features. Finally, opinions related to the house and its immediate environment were examined. The Cronbach alpha coefficient of the research instrument was found to be 0.73. The first and second parts of the questionnaire consisted of four-point Likert-type questions with a scale ranging from *very satisfied* to *very dissatisfied*, and the third part consisted of two options.

3.4 Data analysis

The findings were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. After the descriptive statistics were calculated, a Mann–Whitney *U* Test was administered to determine the difference between the nonparametric data obtained from the average scores of two independent samples.

4 Results and discussion

4.1 Satisfaction levels in the two GCs in Diyarbakır

The conceptual framework for this part of the study was formed based on the classification by Maria Amerigo and Juan Ignacio Aragonés (1997), who evaluated residential satisfac-

Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of the participants.

	Hamravat Gated Community	Gökkuşluğu Gated Community	Total
	<i>n</i> = 33	<i>n</i> = 27	<i>n</i> = 60
	<i>F</i> (%)	<i>F</i> (%)	<i>F</i> (%)
Sex			
Male	5 (15)	1 (4)	6 (10)
Female	28 (85)	26 (96)	54 (90)
Age			
20–30	4 (12)	2 (7)	6 (10)
31–40	12 (36)	11 (41)	23 (38)
> 40	17 (52)	14 (52)	31 (52)
Occupation			
Housewife	19 (58)	13 (48)	32 (53)
Public sector	9 (27)	12 (44.5)	21 (35)
Private sector	5 (15)	2 (7.5)	7 (12)
Education			
Primary education	5 (15)	1 (4)	6 (10)
Secondary education	14 (42.5)	10 (37)	24 (40)
Bachelor's degree	12 (36.5)	13 (48)	25 (42)
Master's degree	2 (6)	3 (11)	5 (8)
Marital status			
Married	29 (88)	27 (100)	56 (93)
Single	4 (12)	0 (0)	4 (7)
Household size			
2	3 (9)	5 (18.5)	8 (13)
3	8 (24)	5 (18.5)	13 (22)
4	11 (33.5)	11 (41)	22 (37)
5 or more	11 (33.5)	6 (22)	17 (28)
Length of residence (years)			
1	0 (0)	2 (7)	2 (3)
2	1 (3)	20 (74)	21 (35)
3	0 (0)	5 (19)	5 (8)
4	1 (3)	0 (0)	1 (2)
5 or more	31 (94)	0 (0)	31 (52)
Tenure status			
Owner-occupied	33 (100)	27 (100)	60 (100)
Rented	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)

tion by considering three aspects: the neighbourhood, neighbours and house. As seen in Table 2, the residential satisfaction levels were quite high in the two communities. Although no statistically significant results were found when the two communities were compared, GGC had higher satisfaction levels in terms of the house and neighbourhood, but HGC had a higher result for neighbours. Compared to non-gated communities in the same city, the satisfaction levels of the residents in the GCs were quite high. For example, Nail Mahir Korkmaz (2007), who examined house satisfaction levels in a non-gated community in the same city, found that 76.7% of

participants were satisfied with their houses. This finding is low compared to the result obtained in this study (HGC = 91%, GGC = 100%).

The questionnaire also asked detailed questions about the house and its environment such as the size of the house and its rooms; the number of rooms, kitchen, bathroom and garden; the external appearance of the residence; play areas for children; pedestrian routes and sports areas; management; community security; home security; the effects of living in a restricted area; and transport facilities. Table 3 shows that

Table 2: Residents' satisfaction levels related to living area.

	Communities	Satisfaction				Mean	Percentage of satisfaction
		4	3	2	1		
House							
	HGC	11	19	3	0	3.24	91
	GGC	8	19	0	0	3.30	100
Neighbourhood							
	HGC	9	19	6	1	3.00	79
	GGC	8	16	3	0	3.19	89
Neighbours							
	HGC	11	22	0	0	3.33	100
	GGC	9	16	1	1	3.22	93

Note: 4 = very satisfied, 3 = satisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 1 = very dissatisfied; HGC = Hamravat Gated Community ($n = 33$), GGC = Gökkuşuğu Gated Community ($n = 27$)

the satisfaction levels for all of these items were quite high in both communities. The only item that lowered the satisfaction levels was the one asking about plumbing systems, which had often failed.

When the two communities were compared, some statistically significant differences were found in certain areas (Table 3). The residents of HGC were significantly more satisfied with social activities compared to the residents of GGC ($U = 260.00$, $p < 0.01$). As already stated, HGC consists of duplexes whereas GGC is mainly composed of detached homes. Residents' satisfaction levels concerning the distance between houses were quite low in HGC compared to GGC ($U = 312.00$, $p < 0.05$). Another question asked about the immediate environment of the communities. The satisfaction level in GGC was lower compared to HGC ($U = 259.50$, $p < 0.01$). This may stem from the fact that tall buildings near GGC violated the privacy of the houses in the community. In Turkey, cities have so far generally been developed vertically. However, the new policy of the Turkish government, introduced in 2014, urges developers to build horizontal cities. If followed properly by citizens, this policy may prevent similar problems in the future.

Summing up the results, it can be concluded that the satisfaction levels were found to be high in the sample communities. The high satisfaction levels may be connected to the fact that all of the residents were homeowners. A number of studies have indicated that homeowners generally have higher house satisfaction levels (Elsinga & Hoekstra, 2005; Grinstein-Weiss et al., 2011; Tech-Hong, 2012). It was also found that 98% of the participants were satisfied with living in a restricted area (i.e., in a gated community).

4.2 Reasons for living in a gated community

Various reasons were obtained as a result of the data analysis performed for this study. This part of the study explores the underlying reasons for residents' desire to live in a GC in depth.

4.2.1 Security

The results of previous studies have indicated that the existence of GCs is based on a need for security (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Atkinson & Flint, 2004; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004; Roitman, 2005; Asiedu & Arku, 2009). Similarly, the findings of this study show that the participants think their communities and houses are safe (90% and 93%, respectively). These results, presented in Table 3, prove that the residents find this community type better in terms of security. However, when the participants were asked about shortcomings in security, it was found that there were still some examples of crime in these GCs. As shown in Table 4, 10% of the participants witnessed crime in their communities and 23% did not find their houses safe against burglars. When asked about the cause of this perception, most respondents (60%) mentioned security weakness at the entrances of the communities. The total percentage of satisfaction with security contradicts this finding. This contradiction can be explained by the effect of the good relations between neighbours (McDonell, 2006; Carpiano, 2007). Such restricted communities increase neighbourhood attachment and the tendency of neighbours to protect their living spaces (Brown et al., 2003; Comstock et al., 2010). Accordingly, the fact that the residents know one another closely (92%, Table 2) may have an effect on their perception of safety.

From the results of this study, it is possible to conclude that the main reason the participants preferred these communities was

Table 3: Residents' satisfaction levels related to the house and community characteristics.

	Communities	Satisfaction				Mean	Percentage of satisfaction	Total percentage of satisfaction
		4	3	2	1			
Size of house								
	HGC	8	25	0	0	3.24	100	97
	GGC	8	17	2	0	3.22	93	
Number of rooms								
	HGC	8	22	3	0	3.15	91	92
	GGC	8	17	2	0	3.22	93	
Sizes of rooms								
	HGC	10	23	0	0	3.30	100	95
	GGC	7	17	3	0	3.15	89	
Kitchen								
	HGC	10	20	2	1	3.18	91	83
	GGC	8	12	7	0	3.04	74	
Bathroom								
	HGC	5	22	4	2	2.91	82	80
	GGC	9	12	6	0	3.11	78	
Garden								
	HGC	9	19	4	1	3.09	85	88
	GGC	10	15	2	0	3.30	93	
Plumbing system								
	HGC	0	8	12	13	1.85	24	28
	GGC	1	8	12	6	2.15	33	
Aesthetic appearance of residence								
	HGC	2	26	4	1	2.88	85	82
	GGC	3	18	5	1	2.85	78	
Child play area								
	HGC	5	20	8	0	2.91	76	82
	GGC	5	19	2	1	3.04	89	
Raising children here								
	HGC	15	16	2	0	3.39	94	93
	GGC	7	18	2	0	3.19	93	
Pedestrian routes								
	HGC	4	20	9	0	2.85	73	73
	GGC	4	16	5	2	2.78	74	
Social activity								
	HGC	9	20	4	0	3.15**	88	70
	GGC	4	9	10	4	2.15**	48	
Sports areas								
	HGC	3	25	5	0	2.94	85	83
	GGC	6	16	4	1	3.00	81.5	
Management of community								
	HGC	4	16	10	3	2.64	61	65
	GGC	1	18	6	2	2.67	70	
Distances between houses								
	HGC	2	16	13	2	2.55*	55	65
	GGC	5	16	6	0	2.96*	78	

	Communities	Satisfaction				Mean	Percentage of satisfaction	Total percentage of satisfaction
		4	3	2	1			
Population outside community								
	HGC	6	9	13	5	2.48**	45.5	35
	GGC	0	6	8	13	1.74**	22	
Security of community								
	HGC	12	17	4	0	3.24	88	90
	GGC	8	17	2	0	3.22	93	
Home security								
	HGC	11	20	2	0	3.27	94	93
	GGC	9	16	2	0	3.26	93	
Living in a restricted area								
	HGC	15	17	1	0	3.42	97	98
	GGC	11	16	0	0	3.41	100	
Transport facilities								
	HGC	3	15	14	1	2.60	55	57
	GGC	1	15	9	2	2.56	59	

Note: 4 = very satisfied, 3 = satisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 1 = very dissatisfied; HGC = Hamravat Gated Community ($n = 33$), GGC = Gökkuşuğu Gated Community ($n = 27$); * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

the need for safety in spite of the weaknesses. Those responsible for security could easily solve these problems by taking some additional measures. These findings were presented to the managers of both communities.

4.2.2 Living in a prestigious area

Eighty per cent of the participants regard their residences as modern, and 83% think they are good value for money (Table 4). Here, the word *modern* is used in the sense of 'up-to-date' and 'of good quality'. This shows that the residences are accepted by the residents. Moreover, the participants think that they live in a respectable area (82%) and a place of high status (78%), and 93% feel themselves to be part of this living area. These findings are consistent with the findings of Sonia Roitman's study (2005).

4.3 Preferences related to GCs and reasons

Ninety-three per cent of the residents are very satisfied with raising their children in a restricted area (Table 3) because a safe atmosphere makes them feel at ease and less anxious. The good relations among the neighbours (92%) show that dialog and cooperation are at the highest level among neighbours (Table 4). This allows the neighbours to keep an eye on children. Similar results were found by William M. Rohe et al. (2013), who stated that, unlike tenants, home owners tend to stay in the same neighbourhood for a long time and

have a tendency to control their living area. Surveillance not only helps control the environment but also decreases the level of anxiety among residents (Rollwagen, 2014) by creating a secondary security zone within the community.

In addition to providing a safe and prestigious living space for residents, GCs also create an attachment to place. One interesting finding of the study is that 40% of the participants are afraid of living outside of a GC (Table 4). The percentage is higher in HGC (54.5%) than in GGC (22%; $U = 301.50$, $p < 0.05$). This may be due to the fact that the residents of HGC have been living in a restricted area for a longer period of time.

Based on the findings of this study, it is possible to conclude that the existence of GCs, which are considered safe and prestigious living spaces, depends on the feelings they give to their residents: being privileged and far from crime. At least for some residents, this is proved by a fear of living outside of the gated community. Considering that the communities are defendable and far from crime, they feel an attachment to the place and create their own world in this restricted area. On the other hand, the feeling of being privileged implies another factor: it shows that the value of their real estate will increase in the future (Le Goix, 2005). This feeling of attachment indicates that mobility will be at a minimum (Andersen, 2011).

Residents' perception of being privileged can be reflected by their opinion that the neighbourhood where they live is re-

Table 4: Residents' opinions related to houses and immediate environment.

Question	Community	F (%)	
		Yes	No
Have you observed any crime in your living area?			
	HGC	3 (9)	30 (91)
	GGC	3 (11)	24 (89)
	Total	6 (10)	54 (90)
Do you feel that you belong to this place?			
	HGC	31 (94)	2 (6)
	GGC	25 (93)	2 (7)
	Total	56 (93)	4 (7)
Is your house worth the money you spent?			
	HGC	29 (88)	4 (12)
	GGC	21 (78)	6 (22)
	Total	50 (83)	10 (17)
Would it frighten you to live outside the gated community?			
	HGC	18 (54.5)*	15 (45.5)
	GGC	6 (22)*	21 (78)
	Total	24 (40)	36 (60)
Do you think that your house is safe against burglary?			
	HGC	27 (82)	6 (18)
	GGC	19 (70)	8 (30)
	Total	46 (77)	14 (23)
Do you know your neighbours?			
	HGC	30 (91)	3 (9)
	GGC	25 (93)	2 (7)
	Total	55 (92)	5 (8)
Do you think that your house is modern?			
	HGC	25 (76)	8 (24)
	GGC	23 (85)	4 (15)
	Total	48 (80)	12 (20)
Do you think that you live in a respectable neighbourhood?			
	HGC	29 (88)	4 (12)
	GGC	20 (74)	7 (26)
	Total	49 (82)	11 (18)
Do you think that you live in a high-status neighbourhood?			
	HGC	28 (85)	5 (15)
	GGC	19 (70)	8 (30)
	Total	47 (78)	13 (22)
Do you think that the entrances to the gated community are controlled properly?			
	HGC	12 (36)	21 (64)
	GGC	12 (44)	15 (56)
	Total	24 (40)	36 (60)

Note: HGC = Hamravat Gated Community ($n = 33$), GGC = Gökkuşluğu Gated Community ($n = 27$), * $p < 0.05$

spectable and high status, and worth the money they paid. Later, this attitude may lead to an increase in the overall value of the place. Studies by Edward J. Blakely (1999) and Douglas S. Bible and Chengho Hsieh (2001) predicted that the housing value of GCs would increase. Moreover, as stated by Jill Grant and Lindsey Mittelsteadt (2004), wealthy families living in these communities are content with the comfort of having neighbours from similar social background. In other words, the wealth of the other residents is also an indicator of living in a prestigious neighbourhood. To sum up, these communities may be favoured even more in the future based on implications in various studies (Ellin, 2001; Webster, 2001; Stoyanov & Frantz, 2006; Roitman, 2010; Ülkü & Erten, 2013). Without doubt, this will also lead to an increase in the property value of the GCs (Blakely, 1999; Bible & Hsieh, 2001).

5 Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that residents' satisfaction levels pertaining to house, neighbours and neighbourhood are rather high in the sample communities. Minor causes of complaints, such as the plumbing system and high buildings around the communities, do not outweigh the high satisfaction levels. Residents' reason for living in a gated area is similar to that of other residents of GCs around the world: the desire to live in a safe and prestigious area. The findings also reveal that the feeling of place attachment is strong.

Living in a safe and restricted area and raising children in an atmosphere that is far from crime changes residents' perception of security. This secluded lifestyle isolates them from the outside world and later it becomes an indispensable part of their lives. In addition, strong relations with neighbours continue to exist in this restricted environment. After experiencing this lifestyle, residents may even find it intolerable to live in a house outside a GC because they envision detached homes as risky and unsafe based on their previous experiences. Considering the present situation in the world, it seems that the tendency to live in a wealthy and homogenous group will continue with the construction of more communities of this type. As mentioned above, many studies have stated that the overall value of GCs will increase in the future due to the fact that they have a positive effect on their residents and high satisfaction levels. In other words, what is known about GCs justifies the prediction that they will be indispensable for residents in the future.

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Ayhan Bekleyen

Dicle University, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture,
Diyarbakır, Turkey
E-mail: ayhan.bekleyen@gmail.com

Ilham Yilmaz-Ay

Dicle University, Institute of Science, Diyarbakır, Turkey

E-mail: y.ilham@hotmail.com

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