

Landscapes of Homogeneity?

Experiencing the Gated Suburbia in Istanbul and Buenos Aires

Thesis by
Dipl. Arch. Alejandro Martin Rodriguez
Supervisors
Dr. Gülden Erkut
Dr. M. Reza Shirazi



Technische Universität Berlin
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Fakultät VI- Planen Bauen Umwelt

Berlin, Germany

contact: amrzarchitect@gmail.com

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“One of the most important elements in democratic societies is respect for and maintenance of Heterogeneity”

(Blakely and Snyder, 1997. In Ellin, N, 1997, p.98)

“Landscape and peoples are homogenized to facilitate large-scale production and consumption”

(Dear and Flusty, 1999. In Featherstone and Lash, 1999, p.81)

“The flaneur has a feel for passages because he has a feel for heterogeneity”

(Stavrides, 2010, p.77)

STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Alejandro Martin Rodriguez". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, decorative flourish at the end.

Alejandro Martin Rodriguez
Berlin, 29th January 2014

ABSTRACT- Interfacing the Global Typology with the Local Landscapes

Gated Suburban Enclaves have been extensively reviewed as a globalized American typology and not as a spatially glocalized model. One may argue that this trend is generally based on the analysis of secondary data with a simplified understanding of the model without experiences in each site. Through this trend the debate on the subject has been taken to theoretical spaces where gated enclaves have been treated as isolated entities beyond the “suburban structure” and classified without giving the necessary relevance to “location” as an essential variable. Even so, it is possible to argue that the landscapes proposed worldwide by the proliferation of this typology could have certain similarities for being under the presence of stereotyped products; particular interactions; cultural backgrounds; political situations and environmental aspects under the container of “locality” modify that certain “homogeneity” in the landscape. Therefore, research through the analysis of particular patterns in distant locations such as Istanbul and Buenos Aires, in the districts of Sariyer and Escobar, elucidates differences and similarities under the production of landscapes by the extensive proliferation of gated stereotyped products. Thus, research builds up an understanding of particular gated suburban landscapes, reviewing the macro-national scenarios that have given birth to gated suburbia before becoming immersed in the micro-level of analysis experiencing a real pattern inside the gated suburban landscape in both cities. This research opens a dialogue between the production of global and local spaces and puts the debate on the theoretical figure of spatial glocalization beyond the one-dimensional cultural perspective. The “threats” to these particular locations by the proliferation of enclaves are interpreted as part of the intrinsic characteristics of the theoretical gated suburban model and the mutations of those fixed categories by the local scenarios are widely analyzed. Therefore, criminality issues, micro-economies dependent on gated enclaves, cultural features related to the figure of public space, suburban fears and community considerations related to the environmental assets being threatened are part of the factors discovered that modified the fixed categorization of the threats generating particularities in the local landscapes. The comprehension of those spaces created in both locations was addressed by the perspectives of the residents constituting the landscapes and also from another less tangible force that shapes the man-made environment: the mass media specifically seen through developers’ advertisements. The last dimension contributes to feed the comprehension between the local and the globally produced landscapes or at least the convergences and differences between both distant scenarios. The research arises as an opener of blocked variables for understanding contextually the phenomenon of gated suburban enclaves in developing countries and it gives methodological recommendations for further studies on the topic. Finally, within a contributive purpose the document purports to be a referential pragmatic study of suburban worldwide situations in which urban managers, urban planners, architects and landscape architects could be embedded in their daily practice.

Key words: *gated communities, gated suburban enclaves, suburban threats, suburbia, urban sprawl, globalization, glocalization, suburban landscapes.*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY.....	iv
ABSTRACT- Interfacing the Global Typology with the Local Landscapes	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF BOXES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
PREFACE- An Experience.....	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Topic and Rationale for this Study	1
1.2 Research Objectives.....	4
1.3 Hypothesis and Research Questions.....	5
1.4 Methodology.....	5
1.4.1 Project Phases	5
1.4.2 Selection Criteria for the Case Study and Limitations embedded in the Selection Process.....	6
1.4.3 Techniques for Research	9
1.4.3.1 Secondary Data Collection	9
1.4.3.2 Primary Data Collection.....	9
1.5 Outcome- Possible Findings	13
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: GATED SUBURBAN ENCLAVES AND THE LANDSCAPE PROPOSED	17
2.1 Gated Suburban Enclaves	17
2.1.1 Gated Suburban Enclaves. Definition, Debate and Scope.....	17
2.1.2 Historical Review. From the Anglo-American Suburbia to the Gated Suburban Enclaves.....	18
2.1.2.1 Debate on the Origins and Early English Suburbia	19
2.1.2.2 The American Suburbia	24
2.1.2.3 L.A. ,The Consolidation of the Exclusionary Model	26
2.1.3 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Developing Countries .Global drivers, Local Drivers and the embedded individual.	28
2.1.4 Gated Suburban Landscape. Everywhere and No-Where.....	31
2.2 Homogeneity in the Gated Suburban Landscape.....	33
2.2.1 HGSL Defined by its Central Characteristics	33
2.2.2 Threats Under The Theoretical Figure of the HGSL.....	34
2.2.2.1 Social Aspects	34
2.2.2.2 Physical Particularities in the Landscape.....	35
2.2.2.3 Environmental Aspects.....	38
2.2.3 HGSL as a Stereotyped Environment.....	39
2.2.3.1 The Individual Attracted by the Stereotyped Product.....	41
2.2.3.2 Experiencing the Contract with the Product	44
2.2.3.3 Thus, Experiencing the Meaninglessness of the Product	46
2.2.4 Summary	47
CHAPTER 3: LANDSCAPES OF DEPENDANCE AND CULTURAL DISSOLUTION IN ISTANBUL	48
3.1 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Istanbul.....	48
3.2 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Sariyer	50
3.2.1 The Selected Area of Sariyer	55
3.2.1.1 Ariköy, the Gated Suburban Enclave	56
3.2.1.2 Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy – The Immediate Vicinity.....	60
3.3 The Threats	63

3.3.1 Social and Physical Threats	63
3.3.2 The Environmental Threat-The Situation around the Belgrade Forest	63
3.3.2.1 2B Lands	65
3.3.2.2 Ambiance in the Mass Media-Developers Advertisements	67
3.3.2.3 New Projects in the Area, The Third Bridge and The Airport	70
3.4 Experiencing the Threats.	71
3.4.1 Experiences from Residents of Ariköy -The Gated Suburban Enclave. Including perceptions from Zekeriaköy and Rummelifeneri.	71
3.4.2 Experiences from villagers of Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy	74
3.5 Summary of the Findings	75
3.5.1 About the Threats	76
3.5.2 About the Experiences from Residents and Villagers	77
CHAPTER 4: LANDSCAPES OF ABSENCE AND FEAR IN BUENOS AIRES.....	79
4.1 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Buenos Aires.....	79
4.2 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Escobar District.....	84
4.2.1 The Selected “Pattern” in Escobar	87
4.2.1.1 El Aromo, the Gated Suburban Enclave.	89
4.2.1.2 The Surroundings. The Settlement along “Los Fresnos” and the Hazardous pattern of Loma Verde.	92
4.3 The Threats	98
4.3.1 Social and Physical threats	98
4.3.2 The Environmental Threat-Wetlands and Associated Ecosystems	101
4.3.2.1 Generalities around Wetlands	101
4.3.2.2 Particularities around Wetlands.....	102
4.3.2.3 Ambiance in the Mass Media-Developers Advertisements	104
4.4 Experiencing the Threats	107
4.4.1 Experiences from Residents of “El Aromo”- The Gated Suburban Enclave	107
4.4.2 Experiences from residents of the settlement around “Los Fresnos” and from the hazardous pattern in the immediate surroundings.	109
4.5 Summary of the Findings	113
4.5.1 About the Threats	113
4.5.2 About the Experiences from residents from Gated enclaves and Residents from the Vicinity.	114
CHAPTER 5: REACHING THE GENERAL FINDINGS - ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	116
5.1 Understanding Levels / Dimensions of Comparison	116
5.2. Reviewing Macro Similarities of the Phenomenon	117
5.3 Reviewing the Threats. Environmental, Physical and Social	119
5.4 Reviewing the Experiences from Residents in the Patterns Selected	121
5.4.1 Motivations	121
5.4.2 Physical and Social Threats	122
5.4.3 Environmental Threats.....	122
5.4.4 Fears.....	123
5.5 Reviewing the role of Mass Media through Developers’ Advertisements in both locations.....	123
CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	126
REFERENCES.....	129
ANNEXES	134
ANNEX – A - LISTS OF INTERVIEWEES	134
ANNEX - B - RESPONDENTS.....	135
ANNEX - D - QUESTIONNAIRES FOR RESIDENTS OF THE IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS	139
ANNEX – E - INTERVIEWS WITH SPECIALISTS.....	140

LIST OF BOXES

Box. 01 Conceptual Diagram for the Research	14
Box. 02 Sampling Resume	15
Box. 03 Primary Data Analysis.....	16
Box. 04 Final Comparison Matrix.....	116

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure. 01 Gated Enclaves in Buenos Aires and Istanbul- Analyzing Northern Areas	3
Figure. 02 "Visitors" and "Owners"	8
Figure. 03 Protests in Istanbul during the Fieldwork.	11
Figure. 04 The Ambience in Clapham Common	21
Figure. 05 Class Distribution in Manchester 1850	23
Figure. 06 The Gated Victoria Park	24
Figure. 07 General Plan of Riverside.Olmsted, Vaux & Co. Landscape Architects 1869.....	25
Figure. 08 LA. Gated Communities Proliferation	27
Figure. 09 Gated Suburbia, drivers and interactions	31
Figure. 10 From the Road.....	37
Figure. 11 Security Controls	38
Figure. 12 Development in Istanbul Suburbia, The Idealized Contact with the Nature.....	43
Figure. 13 The Contract.....	45
Figure. 14 Gated Villa Towns in Istanbul.....	49
Figure. 15 Urbanization Trends in Sariyer.....	49
Figure. 16 The Axis for Suburban Development	52
Figure. 17 Public Transport to the Suburbs	53
Figure. 18 Repressions to the Public Space in Sariyer.....	53
Figure. 19 Public Space in Sariyer	54
Figure. 20 The Selected Area of Sariyer	55
Figure. 21 Amenities in Ariköy..	57
Figure. 22 Typologies in Ariköy	58
Figure. 23 Expanding the Typology	58
Figure. 24 Security Issues Gated in the Gated	59
Figure. 25 Individualization Patterns..	60
Figure. 26 Zekeriaköy.	62
Figure. 27 Gümüşdere.....	66
Figure. 28 Agriculture in Gümüşdere.....	67
Figure. 29 Promotion of 5 projects in the Area	69
Figure. 30 Scenario for Suburban Development-The Axis and interrelations.....	81
Figure. 31 A-Gated Communities in Buenos Aires B- Urban Trends in Escobar.....	86
Figure. 32 Selected Area in Escobar District	88
Figure. 33 Amenities of "El Aromo"	91
Figure. 34 Houses. Different Styles in "El Aromo"	92

Figure. 35 Agriculture in the Hazardous Pattern – “Quintas”	93
Figure. 36 “Casas Quintas”	94
Figure. 37 Actual Dynamics-The Subdivision of Plots	95
Figure. 38 Floriculture	96
Figure. 39 Shops in the Area	97
Figure. 40 Lack of Sidewalks	99
Figure. 41 Unpaved Streets.....	100
Figure. 42 Tracking the Changes in 10 years.....	103
Figure. 43 Promotion of Gated Developments in the Area	106
Figure. 44 Impressions in the Site	112

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMBA

Area Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires . Tr. *Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires City.*

BUENOS AIRES CITY

Buenos Aires agglomeration taking into account the CABA and the AMBA.

CABA

Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires . Tr. *Autonomous City of Buenos Aires.*

CBD

Central Business District.

GSL

Gated Suburban Landscape.

HGSL

Homogenized Gated Suburban Landscape.

İTÜ

İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi (İTÜ) Tr. *Istanbul Technical University (ITU).*

L.A

Los Angeles.

OPSD

Organismo Provincial para el Desarrollo Sostenible. Tr. *Provincial Agency for Sustainable Development.*

TMMOB

Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği. Tr. *Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects*

PREFACE- An Experience

Before entering into the specific research, I want first to relate one personal event that occurred to me on 18th April 2012.

*“I took the shuttle from Istanbul Ataturk Airport in direction to Taksim Square; I was not alone as myself and others were going to do fieldwork in connection with Taksim Square and the phenomenon that was taking place in connection with the projects for that central location of the city .It was my first time in Istanbul, the driver after some rounds ended up in the beautiful and flowerful Rauf Orbay Avenue. Looking from my window a succession of indefinite wall and fences come into my sight. Behind the gates I could distinguish some signs of luxurious residential complexes...Arrived at the hotel, maybe one hour later, those images were still in my head, that man-made landscape of extreme segregation. It was not the first time that I have experienced this. I thought, this was somehow familiar to my mind. Yes, it reminded me of some areas of my home city, like a *deja vú*, it reminded me of a particular suburban landscape of Buenos Aires ”*

This image was one of the crucial motivations to enter scientifically into the world of gated suburban enclaves with the purpose to understand the landscape proposed and the resulting threats to local areas within these distant locations, addressing two empirical case studies. Moreover, being an ambience that have strongly conditioned my practice as an architect and urban planner the thesis has given the space to reflect theoretically about the phenomenon and expanded vastly my knowledge of what suburban expansion represents with this type of developments. In addition to this, I got involved in the research with the purpose of bringing to the light the variety of aspects that should be triggered to manage those complex scenarios. This thesis has expanded my knowledge not only on the phenomena of gated suburban enclaves; it has given me a practical experience on dealing with neighbors in distant parts of the world under different cultural backgrounds understanding what represents the changes in their landscapes including the interrelation between the local communities and the residents of the gated enclaves.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Topic and Rationale for this Study

“An urban enclave is a clearly defined area where general law is partially suspended and a distinct set of administrative rules apply”

(Stavrides, 2010, p.35)

Istanbul and Buenos Aires are two global cities; ranked as Alpha cities¹, enormous cultural centers and the most relevant agglomerations of their countries in terms of population share almost fourteen million² inhabitants in their territories. Both world cities are in developing countries experiencing the phenomena of gated suburban enclaves as a model proposed for the city to grow³. Consequently, these locations are suffering from the proliferation of the exclusionary typology of “gated suburban enclaves” due to the fast urban changes attributed to the lack of a pertinent land management and to complex political scenarios with a strong influence of private investments in the decision making process. Basically, an uncontrolled market oriented process that left the “planning” capacities to private investments exclusively oriented to upper-middle and high income groups. The problem has a macro-national reason to occur; their histories are characterized by neoliberal processes experienced in the last decades of the twentieth century with strong cultural influences to both cities. Therefore, the proposed constructions reflect the mass culture as part of the daily life in their urban environments; accordingly, big malls, supermarkets, highways and gated enclaves from all varieties proliferate in the urban scene. These stereotyped constructions are not just a cultural fact, they are the results of a complex phenomenon that is gated suburban enclaves among others materialized sprawling typologies within this man-made landscape. At the macro level; followed governance approaches seems to be chief instigator for such an atmosphere; in Buenos Aires there is a strong decentralization of planning capacities where municipalities take seemingly random planning decisions without a central organization of a metropolitan planning office. Needless to say, there has been a historical process from dictatorial times related to the loss of a framework for the city to conduct a planned growth

¹ According to the study of Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network from the Department of Geography at Loughborough University measuring world cities in terms of networks of services and connectivity with other cities.

² Population in Istanbul 13.854.740 persons according to Turkstat December 31, 2012 .Population in Buenos Aires 13.530.000 persons according to United Nations- Department of Economic and Social Affairs- Population Division in 2011.

³ Needless to say, the suburban model has been possible for being grounded in a particular binomial suburbia-inner city; in the sense that the inner city especially in those global nodes is still a significant source of entertainment, cultural activities, jobs and special services. Even though there are exceptions related to the phenomenon of gated cities or suburban areas that have reached a strong level of autonomy; the city still remains as a pole of attraction.

(Pírez,2002; Libertun de Duren, 2006). On the other hand, in the case of Istanbul, even if there is a vision related to how the city should grow with an established metropolitan planning office, the strong top down approach in the decision making process strips away any kind of planned growth. Both cities have continued changing with those premises through to the present day, thus the gated suburban landscape has been increasing and with it many threats have been appearing in those distant locations.

To put dates to the events, the gated environment has been being increasing with different intensities in these cities over the past thirty years, taking today vast areas of their territories. The situation is reaching the “enclavization of the region”: a type of homogenization in the environment in physical and social terms. Being a particular “regular” landscape proposed a reflection should be made in those terms. There are mass identities promoted for the new residents in both distant Metropolis. Therefore, the proliferation of the gated suburban enclave typology is beyond our particular scenarios; it is generating a particular landscape worldwide no matter the place where is reproduced and generating a stereotyped suburban environment based on the proliferation of “suburban products”. Furthermore, as part of the dynamics in the suburban environment this expansion generates tensions and generally particular poor relations between locals and new residents migrating from the city.

The exclusionary and expanded surface composed of gated suburban enclaves has reached in the case of Buenos Aires according to Pírez (2002, p.149) one point six the surface of the inner city⁴ and in the case of Istanbul looking through satellite images, analyzing studies from scholars, and perceptions in the site has reached also a significant magnitude (see Figure. 01). Beyond this surface; the individuals embedded in the gated suburban landscape and the interrelations being constructed should be of particular concern. Urban planners, urban managers, landscape architects and architects as well are dealing with the phenomenon directly or indirectly in their daily professional practice particularly in the concerned suburban areas of Istanbul and Buenos Aires. Therefore, further investigation is needed on the subject as gated suburban enclaves popularly known under the terminology “*gated communities*” has been widely analyzed and discussed from a theoretical perspective generally focalized upon lifestyles and repressions in the urban environment within the USA. Beyond that, the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves produces an ambiance of different threats to the environment that should be studied. Further understanding of gated suburban enclaves could become crucial at the time of dealing as urban managers with this pattern in international contexts where in some cases it is possible to find extreme polarities, tensions and complex scenarios for participatory planning.

⁴ Considering inner city the City of Buenos Aires without its metropolitan area.

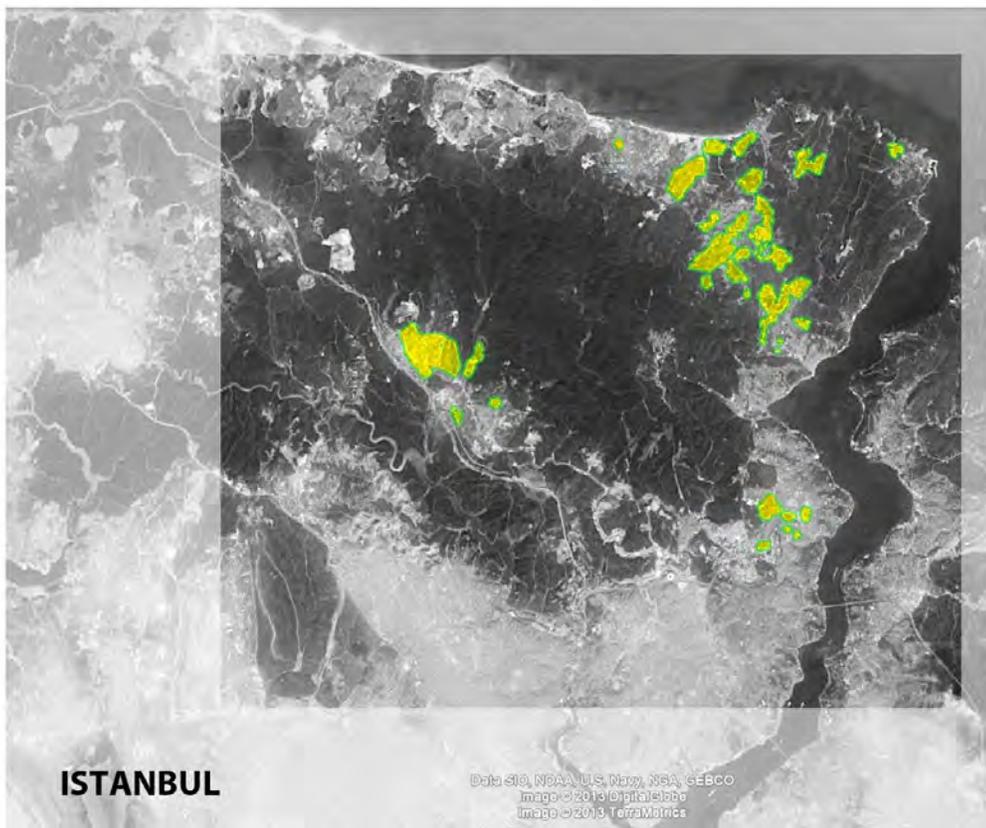
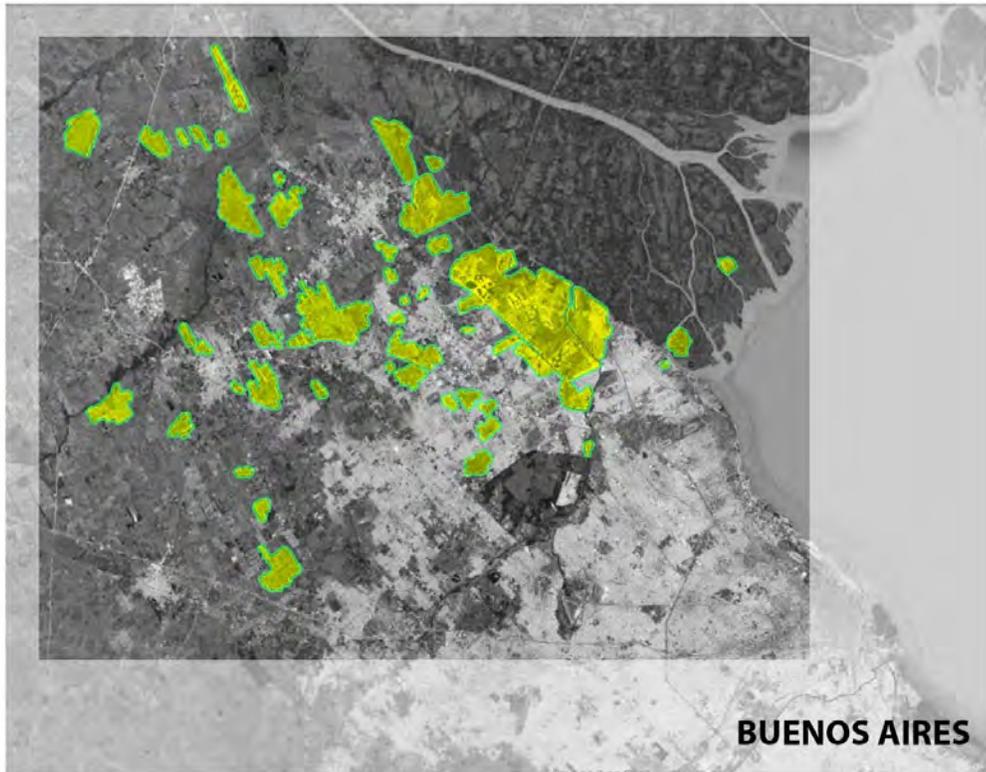


Figure. 01 Gated Enclaves in Buenos Aires and Istanbul- Analyzing Northern Areas.

Graphic by the Author

There have been many theoretical assumptions related to the threats of the proliferation of gated enclaves, resident's reasons for choosing gated enclaves to live there and also about the relationship between enclaves and their surroundings. Despite this, the main idea to conduct this type of global research in distant locations is to analyze, in both cases, specific areas in the neighborhoods with strong proliferation of gated suburban enclaves, to gain two patterns of *real empirical cases* of interaction between gated suburban enclaves and their surroundings. Somehow adopting an attitude described by Relph (1976) as behavioural insideness; "*Behavioural insideness consists of being in a place and seeing it as a set of objects, views, and activities arranged in certain ways and having certain observable qualities.*" (Idem p.53). The idea is to go beyond what has been theorized about *gated communities* generating an understanding from different perspectives about the threats proposed by the gated suburban landscape in these distant scenarios. This is the main reason for the research to get immersed within these relationships; to consider motivations of residents of gated enclaves to live there; to compare the experiences related to social, physical and environmental threats in different target groups (*residents from gated enclaves to residents from the immediate surroundings*); and to assess the role of the mass media in connection with developers' advertisements. Nevertheless, this immersion would be carefully made without losing contextual parameters that determined the settings that the author would be experiencing.

1.2 Research Objectives

The following objectives were set out for this research:

a. Global-Theoretical Level

Analyzing the global phenomenon of gated suburban enclaves, the landscape proposed by the proliferation of the typology; the threats of the landscape proposed; and the individual embedded in this ambience.

b. Local Level

Analyzing the threats of the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in these particular locations beyond the theoretical construction from multiple perspectives in the site and addressing the role of the mass media through developer's advertisements in the creation of those spaces.

c. Interfacing the assumed Globalized Form with the Local Experiences

Verifying /Finding similarities and differences between both case studies in different levels of analysis from a macro-national perspective to the inhabitant embedded beyond a theoretical construction.

1.3 Hypothesis and Research Questions

At the beginning of this research, there were set out a main question and following supporting ones to address this complex phenomenon in the suburban milieu. With regard to the area of inquiry; the questions were narrowed to a specific typology under the varieties of gated enclaves that could be found worldwide. The restricted character of the analysis went beyond the typology; selecting the area of analysis in certain neighborhoods with a strong predominance of gated suburban enclaves and isolated from the urban ambience in both locations. At the time of formulating the research questions there was a preliminary consciousness from part of the author in relationship with certain homogenous characteristics of the landscape proposed by the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in distant locations. Thus, it could be argued that the questions were developed under a hypothesis of a supposed “commonality”, being those directed to understand “particularities” and “specificities”, as a form to test and trigger what is hypothetically supposed homogeneous, uniform or similar.

.Main Questions

.What are the social, physical and environmental threats of the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in these particular locations? How do residents from the enclave and the immediate surroundings experience those threats?

. Supporting questions

. Is there a consciousness about natural and social landscapes being modified by gated developments in any target group?

. Are there contradictory values in connection with the natural environment?

. Is there a complete agreement with the values of the residents and the ones promoted by developer’s advertisements?

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Project Phases

The research was divided into five phases performed in three different countries with different purposes. This strategic approach towards research is described in the following lines.

Phase 1: Germany (March 2013 - mid July2013)

The first phase was dedicated exclusively for the literature review. The objectives were to understand the gated suburban enclaves as an exclusionary typology; review its historical roots by authors focused on western suburbanism, and understand the landscape proposed by the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves. Finally, there was a particular

interest in understanding the proliferation of the model in distant locations, drivers of the phenomenon and theoretically define its threats. Moreover, there were also addressed generalities related to the locations of the case studies.

Apart from the literature review; there were resolved operational issues in this phase. It was managed the possibilities to combine the two case studies in distant locations in relation with time, budget and possibilities to gain entrance into gated suburban enclaves with particular characteristics to conduct research were also managed during this time.

Phase 2: Turkey–Case Study (Mid July 2013- beginning of September 2013)

The literature review continued in this phase but now focused upon the case study of Istanbul. In this phase it was recognized the area of the proliferation of gated enclaves, the district of Sariyer. A survey was conducted in the selected gated enclave and its immediate surroundings. Interviews with specialists in gated suburban enclaves and researchers from Istanbul were also made. At the same time; the writing process of the Case Study was started focused upon the notes and observations made during the fieldwork.

Phase 3: Germany (Beginning of September 2013)

Review of the Istanbul case study until the chosen time of departure onto the next phase and adjusting the details for the Buenos Aires case study.

Phase 4: Argentina- Case Study (Mid September 2013- Mid October 2013)

The literature review continued in this phase but now focused upon the case study of Buenos Aires. In this phase, the district of Escobar was recognized as a relevant of proliferation of gated suburban enclaves. The survey was made in the gated enclave selected and its immediate surroundings. Apart from that, Interviews with specialists in gated suburban enclaves were conducted; and started also the writing process of the Case Study focused upon the notes and observations made during the fieldwork.

Phase 5: Germany (Mid October 2013- - Mid December 2013)

In the last phase; there was a review of the particular findings of each case study and it was performed the general comparison matrix to reach the general findings of the whole research. Consequently, it was finalized the writing of the Master Thesis.

1.4.2 Selection Criteria for the Case Study and Limitations embedded in the Selection Process

As it was explained, Istanbul and Buenos Aires are two global cities with a proliferation of enclaves from different types and distributed all along their territories. There were selected “patterns” for the analysis of gated suburban enclaves in both peripheries. Patterns that consist of a gated suburban enclave and the immediate settlements in the surroundings,

analyzed in an area of approximately three kilometers ratio to understand the possible interactions with the residents in the surroundings and people working in the area. The selection of the pattern was not hazardous; it was first selected the districts in both cities with an extensive proliferation of gated suburban enclaves, this meant considering the typology consisting of low density residences without apartment blocks. According to Akgün and Baycan (2012,p.97-98) these detached or attached single unit residences with a private garden for medium-high income families could be considered *gated villa towns*. Thus, “gated villa towns” was the first typological figure taken into account for the selection of the case study. This was the first difficulty in the macro-analysis for the selection. There were also other considerations taken into account in the regional scale; the areas selected were in the districts with strong characteristics of geographical isolation from the urban agglomeration and with a strong contact with the natural environment. In the case of Istanbul in the Belgrade Forests and in Buenos Aires near an area of Wetlands.

In relation to the gated suburban enclaves were discarded the “*gated cities*”, suburban enclaves that have almost every facility .Thus the individual need not to leave the enclave, having shops, restaurants, gasoline stations and cinemas among other facilities. The second parameter was choosing gated suburban enclaves without nautical facilities or golf because this lifestyle is really different from the “regular” enclaves. Thus the priority was to choose gated suburban enclaves with a “club house”, swimming pool and sport facilities such as tennis and football, not more than that, to have similar target groups in terms of “lifestyle”. In terms of size, there is huge variety from really small gated enclaves of 5 ha to gated cities of around 2000 ha. “Medium size” gated enclaves were chosen, between 10-100 Ha⁵, not more than 1500 households (generally after that number the amenities broke the “regular” stereotype). Gated suburban enclaves of less 50 households were also discarded as generally they do not have amenities and the possibility to interact in the “private-public” spaces. This restricted approach had made finding out the appropriate case studies even more difficult.

It is commonly known that residents of gated suburban enclaves have a strict sense of private life which makes difficult to conduct research inside these “communities” and the residents generally do not want “intruders” to ask them about motivations to live there, relationships with the other or to make a request for personal information. Apart from this, it is not possible to get freely inside gated suburban enclaves due to the strong security issues that strictly allow to enter just residents or special guests. “Visitors” have to show their documents to the security guard and their cars are inspected before entering the gated enclave (see Figure.02); even making a survey in the surroundings was a hard task due the paranoia under security systems and the real situation of crime in the case of Buenos Aires. Therefore, it was impossible to get inside the enclave without an internal “contact” of each enclave, whose compromise represented a risk for them as they get exposed for letting an outsider enter the enclave. Thanks again to both contacts who greatly contributed to make this research a reality.

⁵Taking the model of sampling scales described graphically to understand gated suburban enclaves in Buenos Aires by Penacini, Natalia (2009) .*Gated Communities from Garden-City to Private City* in Angéilil , M.;Sires, C.; Varas, J (2010, p.177 and p.187). *Archipelagos, A Manual for Peripheral Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, Universidad de Palermo.

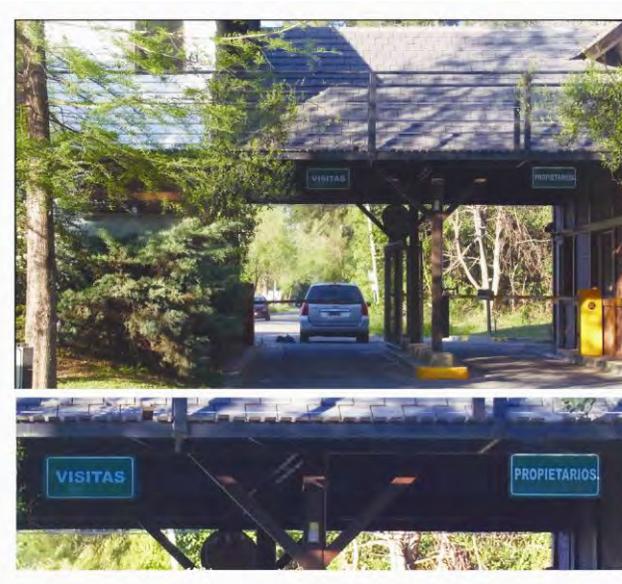


Figure. 02 "Visitors" and "Owners"

Photograph by the Author. October 2013.

Recognizing all these considerations, which had conditioned the selection of suitable sites, the gated suburban enclaves chosen fulfilled most of the research requirements. In Istanbul, the enclave selected was Ariköy with a surface of 75 ha, a gated villa town in Sariyer - one of the districts with more gated suburban enclaves in contact with the Belgrade Forests. It has around 500 constructions which at the beginning were semi-detached, the exact figure of households could not be determined⁶ as people are buying the semi-detached parts to convert into a single villa motivated by market requirements, a singularity that would be addressed. In Buenos Aires, the enclave selected was “El Aromo” a gated villa town in Escobar with 45 ha, one of the districts with more gated suburban enclaves. It has 250 villas as mainly permanent residences. Both cases have similar lifestyles and middle-high income groups living inside; both cases fulfil most of the conditions explained above and are immersed within the natural environment with a strong proliferation gated suburban enclaves in the surroundings, both in patterns “disconnected” from the urban milieu.

To summarize the selection criteria and priority in relationship with the parameters. *(See sampling resume in Box.02)*

a. Selection Criteria for the Area of Analysis

1. In Districts with more gated enclaves in both Global Cities *(Regional Approach)*
2. In Districts in the Suburbs *(Regional Approach)*
3. Proliferation of the Typology of gated villa town *(Regional Approach-Typological Approach)*
4. Grade of Isolation and connection with the Natural Environment. *(Regional Approach)*

⁶ Theoretically the gated enclave could have 1000 households.

5. Pattern with a proliferation of the model. Analyzing the area of approximately in a ratio of three kilometer around the enclave. (*Local Approach*)

b. Selecting the Gated Suburban Enclave in the Area of Analysis.

1. Not Gated Cities. (*Typological Approach*)

2. Similar lifestyle conditioned by the amenities (*Typological Approach*).

3. Possibility to access and talk openly with the residents and to explore the surroundings. Parameter that substantially conditioned the selection of the gated suburban enclave in both locations. In Buenos Aires City, security issues for the researcher to analyze the surroundings also conditioned the selection. (*Real Feasibility-Pragmatic Approach*)

4. Medium Size. Less than 100 Ha. Less than 1500 households. (*Typological Approach*)

1.4.3 Techniques for Research

1.4.3.1 Secondary Data Collection

The Secondary data collection was essential to understand the history of these kind of exclusionary developments; their typified characteristics; and motivations for the migration of different populations to the outskirts of the city. Consequently, there was a necessity to understand generalities about the landscape that is proposed by the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves and theoretically the “threats” divided into three categories: *social; physical and environmental*. “Social Threats” in terms of limiting interactions between inhabitants; “Physically” concerning repressive patterns of uniformity and “Environmental” as a typified consequence of urban sprawl damaging forest, wetlands and associated ecosystems. But besides the landscape proposed; there was an individual embedded in those gated suburban enclaves and a relationship consumer-product that needed special attention.

1.4.3.2 Primary Data Collection

Case study research was initially designed as a mixed method approach. The idea was to conduct questionnaires and then continue with unstructured interviews to gather more information not included in the questionnaires; the motivation to use this methodology was based on a “pragmatic” approach taking into consideration the possible contingencies that could appear during the fieldwork. This “pragmatic approach” went further still as the collaboration and relevant information given by both target groups in the unstructured interviews in both locations were more than expected. The phenomenon would be explained in the following lines. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) there is a kind of typification of the methodology adopted under the mixed methods approach “A researcher collects data using a quantitative survey instrument and follows up with interviews with a few individuals who participated in the survey to learn more detail about their survey responses” (p.11). However at the time to weight up the approaches in the

triangulated data analysis , the qualitative approach has significant relevance for this research as there was an unexpected collaboration in the survey, especially in the case of Buenos Aires; situation that going beyond the fixed definition. Finally, it was necessary to adopt other techniques to answer the research questions; such as using direct observation; visual content analysis and semi structured interviews with specialists were all crucial to reaching the objectives.

Direct Observation

It was the main aim of this research to understand the pattern in which gated enclaves are embedded within their particular suburban context, not as isolated entities and not as an exclusive issue of secondary data. There was a need of a further contextualization. Therefore, the researcher travelled around the districts in both selected locations; recognizing patterns of urbanization and dynamics in the site. Thus the connection/disconnection of the city with its suburbia was experienced by travelling through the axis of development and reaching the districts with a high proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in both cities. Trying to reach three scales of observation, from the districts to the enclave, the researcher got in the immediate surroundings as well to finally change the perspective, gaining access to a unit to analyze it. Those experiences were used to relate the phenomena and are documented within photographs.

Particular threats by the proliferation of gated enclaves were experienced by the researcher while on the site; thus it was possible to complement the general understanding based on secondary data with those impressions and photographs taken during the fieldwork and with interviews as well.

Fixed Startup Questionnaires for Two Target Groups

The short multiple options questionnaires were made with the purpose to identify crucial trends and threats in terms of the landscape proposed by gated suburban enclaves in both target groups (residents from gated enclaves and residents from the immediate surroundings). The reasons for adopting such a technique were based on the possibility to gather the specific data in a reasonable time understanding the critical ambience in which the research was going to be developed.

Before going into the field to carry out the research; it was realized the presence of a complex environment in Istanbul for such task with the ongoing debate around urban issues due to the violent episodes of Gezi Park which started on the 28th of May and the continued protests against the National Government with repressions of students still in July 2013 (see Figure.03). That situation was also part of the personal experience of the researcher who with the colleagues of the Urban Management Group had collected data in the site weeks before the violent episodes. In this supposed ambience with a topic of research associated with unplanned decisions and also with the idea to perform fieldwork in one district with the controversy around the Third Bridge, the researcher was prepared to find a hostile ambience with inhabitants frightened and distrustful to participate in any kind of interview, with naturally strong police controls as well. These realistic expectations were found to be true. On the other hand for the case study of Buenos Aires, an ambience around

criminality and fear was also expected in the surroundings of the enclaves. This last ambience surprisingly was of an unexpected magnitude in the site.



Figure. 03 Protests in Istanbul during the Fieldwork. Kadiköy -July 2013. Photograph by the Author.

Prior to going to a site to conduct research within gated enclaves, the possibility of a complex environment within the site was assumed. The researcher was going to deal with questions around “private life” and “relationship with the others”, understanding both as sensitive aspects for the residents who live in a gated enclave. Therefore, the short questionnaires were a technique to gather the basic data in both target groups (twenty residents of gated enclaves and twenty residents from the immediate surroundings in both case studies) and identified strong trends according to a specific time frame. However, in practice they were used as a startup tool to conduct further unstructured interviews to gather additional relevant data. Many interviewees get engaged with the topic and agreed to exchange more data, others agreed/disagreed and argued about some standardized options giving more information; notes were taken from those experiences and as routine after the fieldwork the preliminary findings were entered into a Word document. It was generally regarded as a negative to be recorded and also in some cases inappropriate to be seen as a foreigner “collecting private information” in the villages⁷; as an intruder in the “private life” of the residents of the gated communities; making the interviewees nervous; or for security reasons; it was preferred collecting the data in the sense of taking notes over the questionnaires⁸.

Unstructured Interviews

Unstructured interviews post questionnaires were conducted with the residents from gated enclaves and residents from the immediate surroundings randomly chosen. More than a half of the respondents collaborated and gave further

⁷ Situation that in one case involved the author in a complex scenario of refusal by suspicious locals.

⁸ See them in the CD annexed.

information. However, not all of responders contribute to response to all the preliminary topics. The unstructured interviews for the residents of the gated enclave in both locations were focused on the following topics which were embedded in the questionnaires as well: *a. Motivations to live in the gated enclave; b. Lifestyle: consuming, points for entertainment, and jobs; c. Relationship between residents from gated enclaves, residents from the surroundings; d. Threats Generalities-Impressions; e. Security systems; f. Environmental Issues; g. Similarity between developments, commonalities in the area.* The unstructured interviews for the residents of the immediate surroundings were focalized on the same points. Needless to say, that the interviews inside the gated enclave in Istanbul were conducted in English as the interviewees demonstrated proficiency in the language; breaking the supposed language barrier. The place for conducting those interviews was generally the restaurant inside both gated enclaves; however few residents invited the researcher to conduct the interviews in their homes in both case studies. On the other hand for visiting the villages in Istanbul, it was necessary to have the support of interpreters to conduct the interviews. Urban studies professionals as Seda Hayal from ITU (Istanbul Technical University)⁹ and Barış Göğüş from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University¹⁰, helped to ensure a clear interaction with dwellers. Thanks again to both friends and colleagues. Casual interviews conducted with passer-bys in the surroundings of the enclave and with workers inside the gated enclave was another technique to gather information about the area of study and also to recognize the internal dynamics. These casual social interactions were only possible in Buenos Aires for being in the native language of the researcher.

Semi Structured Interviews

There were conducted semi-structured interviews with specialists in the topic of gated suburban enclaves and with other researchers in Istanbul and in Buenos Aires as well. They were of a great support to understanding the phenomena and its particularities in both cities. In the case of Buenos Aires it was also possible to contact a developer who explained the consolidation of the gated enclave in the Case Study.

Visual Content Analysis

In both areas selected there is a presence of on-going gated suburban enclaves in different stages and those are advertised through the mass media especially in the Internet. Consequently, a visual content analysis was made to decodify the message embedded in those advertisements in relationship with the values promoted and the representations connected to the natural environment through images and commercial logos. With respect to the sampling, there were selected five developments for each area of study. The information obtained from the visual analysis was triangulated with the data related to residents' motivations to live in gated enclaves and the threats found in those areas.

⁹ Original in Turkish: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi (İTÜ)

¹⁰ Original in Turkish: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi

Data Analysis

The triangulation and interpretation of the primary data accessed was performed following a certain order. The interpretation of the data obtained by the questionnaires was analyzed considering the polarized results and cross-checked with the further opinions made in the unstructured interviews. In some cases the data by the unstructured interviews has brought to the light more dimensions not included in the questionnaires. This form of analysis was performed for the data given by both target groups; residents from gated suburban enclaves and residents from the immediate surroundings. After that; both interpretations were crossed-checked. Needless to add, there was another cross-checking between the visual content analysis and the motivations from residents to live in the gated enclave considering the data from questionnaires and unstructured interviews. The same methodology was applied for both case studies. Consequently; having the findings of Istanbul and Buenos Aires; these were planned to be crossed in two dimensions. The first one related to the experiences of residents of gated enclaves and residents from the immediate surroundings; while the second one related to the experiences from the mass media-developers advertisements (see Box.03). Even though, this methodology was performed; after finalizing the fieldwork in both cities and having got immersed in particular literature from each location, multiple interesting dimensions were found and compared. Those were considered as an opportunity to enrich and improve the data analysis. Thus a *final comparison matrix* was designed to attend those multi-dimensional findings that were not exclusive from the primary data analysis. This analysis would be explained within Chapter 5.

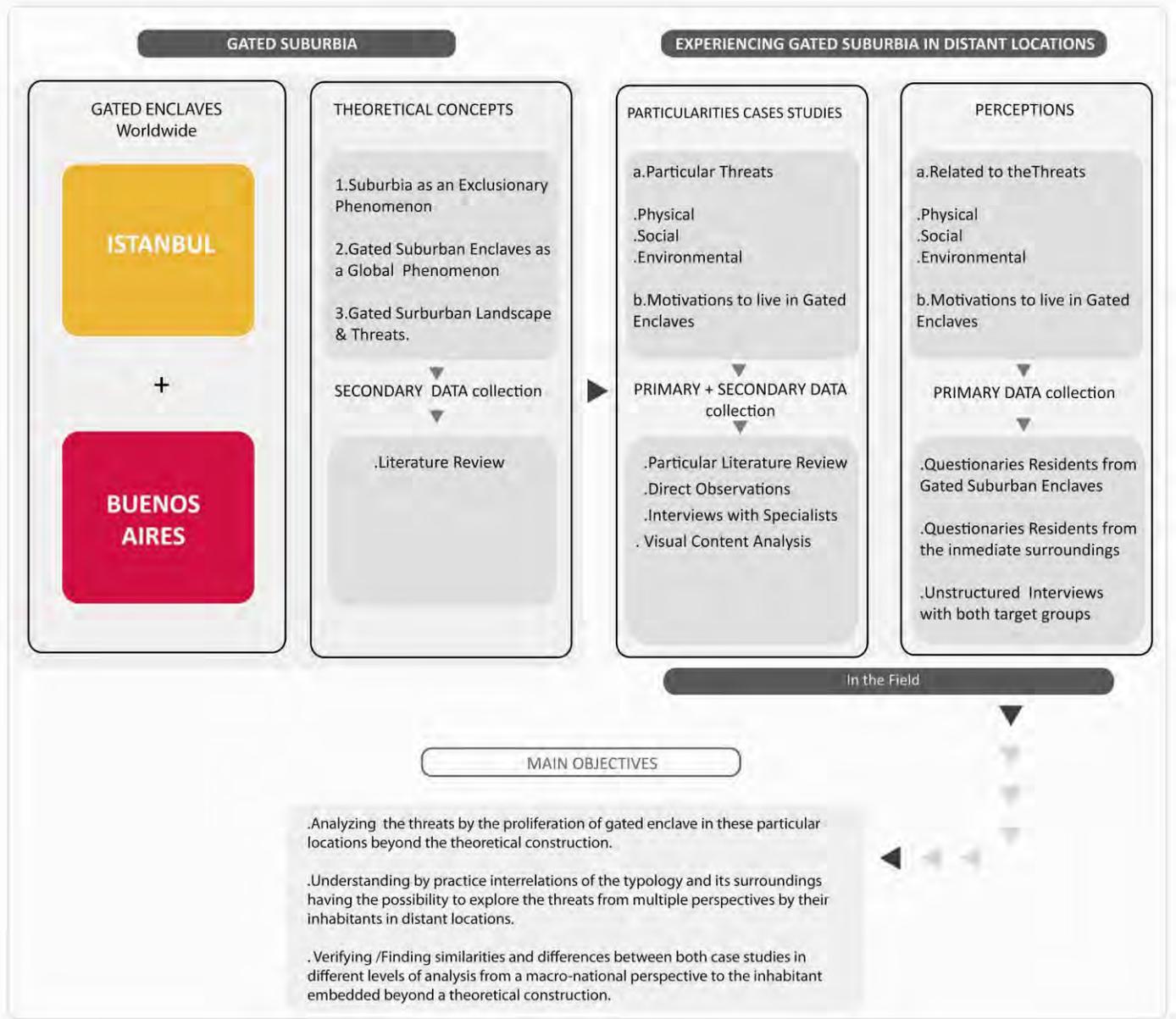
1.5 Outcome- Possible Findings

The main outcome is related to go further from theoretical constructions about gated suburban enclaves commonly defined under the terminology "*gated communities*" and to create awareness with the production of this document about a phenomenon experienced worldwide in which urban planners; urban managers; urban designers and architects have to deal directly or indirectly in their daily practice of their professions. Thus, this document analyzes interactions and inhabitants dealing with the threats that could be found by the proliferation of enclaves in distant locations. The research was planned itself as a reference of a study of the suburban model in distant locations essentially with experiences in the site. Thus, by the experience itself demonstrating that theoretically assumed threats can reach different dimensions and interrelations inside those patterns addressing unexpected dimensions. The study set out possible findings related to the production of this document.

. Possible findings related to the multidimensionality of the threats.

. Possible findings of contradictory values and crashing points of view between the target groups related to the suburban environment and the threats to it.

- . Possible findings related to similarities in terms of lifestyles by understanding the identities promoted by developers in remote locations even if cultural backgrounds are totally different.
- . Finding similarities and differences between both case studies beyond a theoretical construction in different levels of analysis from a macro-national perspective to the inhabitant embedded.



Box. 01 Conceptual Diagram for the Research

Graphic produced by the Author

. LOCATION SAMPLING

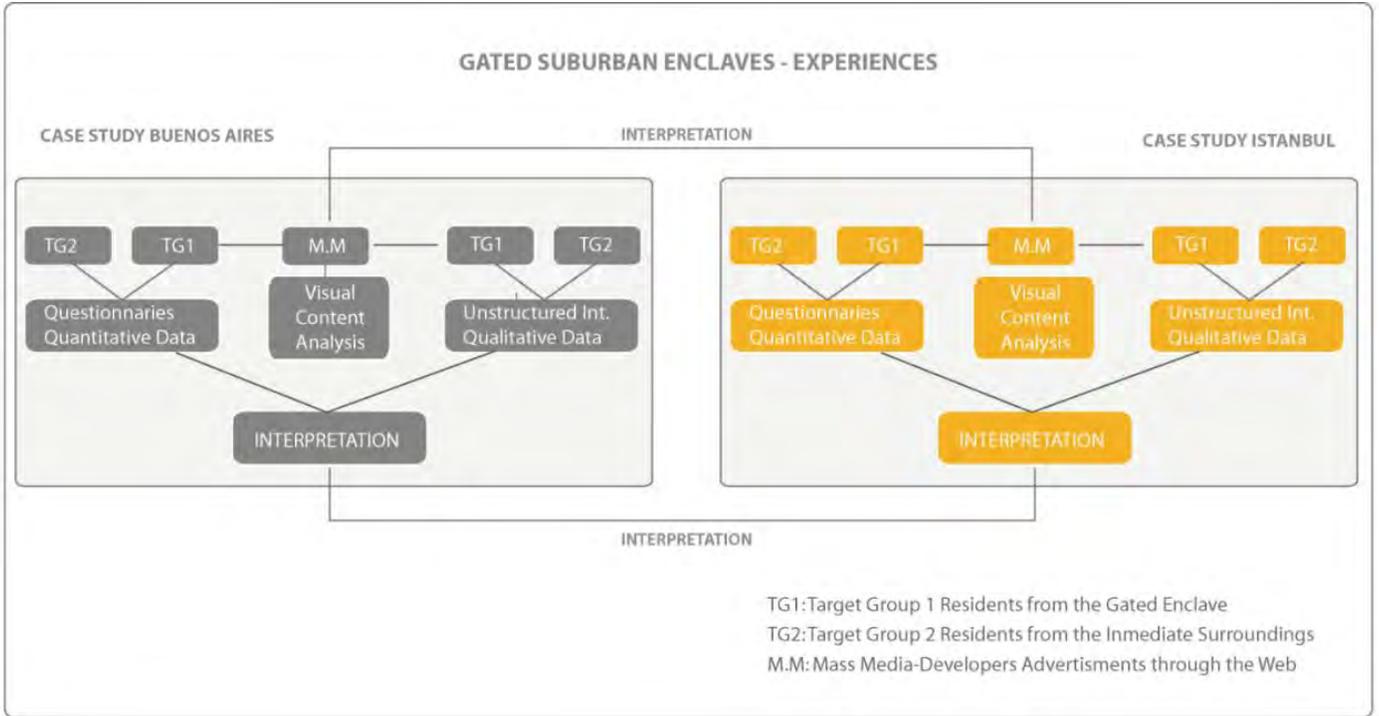
District	SARIYER-ISTANBUL	ESCOBAR- BS. AS
Type	Suburban	Suburban
Natural Environment	Belgrad Forests	Wetlands and Associated Ecosystems
Pattern Selected	Ariköy-Zekeriaköy and Gümüşdere	El Aromo - Los Fresnos and hazardous pattern in Loma Verde
Gated Enclave in the Pattern Selected	Ariköy	El Aromo
Characteristics	Middle-Upper middle Class - Lifestyle:Standard Sport Facilities. Medium Size Gated Enclave -75 Ha - 500 units (Aprox 1000 households).	Middle-Upper middle Class - Lifestyle:Standard Sport Facilities. Medium Size Gated Enclave- 45 Ha - 250 units
Presence of other Gated Enclaves in the Area	Ormanada- Cansit Villas- Merkez- Foresta - Sharman- etc.	Haras Santa Maria- Cuatro Estaciones- San Sebastian - Barrio Loma Verde, etc.
Settlements in the Immediate Surroundings	Zekeriaköy and Gümüşdere	Los Fresnos and hazardous pattern in Loma Verde

. DATA COLLECTION SAMPLING

INSIDE THE ENCLAVE		
Questionnaires	20	20
Further Exchange of Data / Unstructured Interviews	10+4	14
SURROUNDINGS		
Questionnaires	20	20
Further Exchange of Data / Unstructured Interviews	11	15
Developers'Advertisements	5	5

Box. 02 Sampling Resume

Graphic Produced by the Author.



Box. 03 Primary Data Analysis
 Graphic produced by the Author.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: GATED SUBURBAN ENCLAVES AND THE LANDSCAPE PROPOSED

2.1 Gated Suburban Enclaves

2.1.1 Gated Suburban Enclaves. Definition, Debate and Scope

“Developers, landowners, investors, and consumers have together shaped a new genre of modern urban habitat”

(Webster et al., 2002, p.315)

The term *“gated communities”* has been popularly used to refer to certain residential/mixed use typologies whose main characteristics are connected to *social segregation* and *physical delimitation* of boundaries in the urban and suburban *milieu*. Blakely and Snyder (1997, pp.38-44) made an interesting classification in relation to the main residents' motivations to live in these enclaves. They defined that gated communities could be *lifestyle communities*, *elite communities* or *security zones*. Lifestyle communities in terms of the residents expectations of amenities, leisure activities etc. Elite communities in terms of residents looking for prestige and distinction, class segregation. Lastly, security zones concerning residents' needs of consolidation of physical boundaries generated by fear and crime. Practical experience within international contexts aid us in understanding that there are interrelations within Blakely and Snyder's (Idem) fixed definitions in resident's main motivations; also architectural typologies that satisfy a variety of needs.

There is normal association under the term *“gated communities”*, understanding them as gated suburban private neighborhoods of detached houses. This general association is acceptable as the model started growing in the Suburbia under this typological form of housing. But nowadays the repressive *“gated”* is everywhere and reaching all typologies. A better name for *“gated communities”* could be *“gated enclaves”* as there is current debate as whether or not they are *“communities”*. Blakely and Snyder (Idem) sustained that *“sharing”* becomes a substantial commonality to consider gated enclaves as gated communities. *“Sharing”* for them is related to residents being in the same territory and with identical values, among other facts. However what precisely makes the Author skeptic about considering gated enclaves as gated communities is having seen in these developments strong patterns of individualization-isolation, and consequently no sense of place from their residents. It is not a main concern for this research, on the other hand, to theorize about the

specific characteristic that Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) somehow sustained as a continued dilemma¹¹. Therefore, the term “*gated enclaves*” would be more pertinent to refer to the popularly known *gated communities*.

Another point to clarify as it was mentioned previously, is the term “*gated*” which is applicable in every urban or suburban context. Thus, a multiplicity of enclave typologies: *gated towers*, *gated apartment blocks* and *gated neighborhoods of single detached or semi-detached houses* (gated villa towns¹²); among others could receive the name. Needless to say, the variety of gated enclaves is in constant evolution depending on developers’ innovations and the consumers’ preferences, the market itself. This thesis is concerned with “*suburban gated enclaves*” referring to the gated villa town, a model extended around the globe having its roots with the Suburbia itself. The following lines shall elucidate those roots and help us to better understand the evolution of exclusionary Suburbia.

2.1.2 Historical Review. From the Anglo-American Suburbia¹³ to the Gated Suburban Enclaves

“One of my new Llano compañeros said that L.A already was everywhere.”

(Davis, 1990, p.12)

There is a common understanding that the typology called “*gated enclave*” has its origins in the United States of America specifically in Los Angeles. This statement is partly as the complete model based on family life, connection with the natural environment, leisure, social segregation of the middle/middle-high class, strong security systems and physical barriers, with a variety of amenities and with stereotyped lifestyles massively promoted reached the splendor in this city particularly after the Second War World. It is possible also to distinguish that security aspects related to the “defensive quality” of the model were specially enhanced in 1990s L.A when the cities paranoia reached a high in relation to security systems showing a variety of “*repressions in the space*”¹⁴ and a strong concern about social boundaries (Davis, 1990, p.223-259). The *gated enclave* as a suburban typology is strongly connected to the evolution of the suburban spirit; thus to understand it, it is necessary to review historically western suburbia itself including the culture proposed. However, gated suburban enclaves not only have their roots in the romantic Suburbia, the origin is a historical process that firstly concerns the mutation of the British Square enclosing its interior public space that would be followed by the apparition of

¹¹ “*Whether gated enclaves are true ‘communities’ is open to debate; indeed the concept of community generally proves contentious*” Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004 ,p.914)

¹² Terminology used in Akgün, A & Baycan, T (2012).Gated communities in Istanbul: the new walls of the city. Town Planning Review, vol. 83, no. 1, pp. 87(23).It refers to detached or semi-detached units.

¹³ Reflecting on the terminology; according to Merry Webster inc., an Encyclopaedia Britannica Company , “Suburbia” refers to “Suburbs of a City” and its origins are dated in 1895 as a New Latin of the English *suburbs*. See <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/suburbia?show=0&t=1382774282>

¹⁴ Terminology popularized coming from Davis (1990 p.223).

the Anglo American Suburbia (Raposo, 2007). There are also other older roots related to the suburban exclusionary attitude by the Italian villas phenomenon (Mumford, 1961, p.484-486; Archer, 2005), even though the villas did not show the vocation of enclosure of a group of units, they emphasized the individual exclusionary vocation in the binomial *domestic architecture - outskirts of the city*. Being the scope of the thesis to analyze the gated “suburban” enclaves makes it more appropriate to be concentrated upon the second “root” related to the *exclusionary expressions* in the outskirts of the city; however the British Square example of Raposo (2007) could be considered as an early motivation of class differentiation. Finally, it is possible to argue that gated communities could not be simplified as a L.A’s suburban question without understanding their roots neither simplified as a defensive model towards criminality.

The Los Angeles paradigm emerged after the Second World War. *“L.A became the prototypical automobile city, the model for America’s postwar Great Enterprise of building a suburban substitute for old-fashioned cities”* (Kunstler, 1993, p.212), furthermore it became a relevant model that would influence the world. In spite of this, the suburbanization process of L.A dated back to the early years of the twentieth century. It is well known that L.A was a place with extraordinary geographical conditions in terms of vast territory of agricultural land, the oil resources and the topographical possibility for expansion. Other positive aspects were receiving the economic advantages for the location of the distinguished aviation and cinema industries. Moreover, it was one of the most important cities in one of the world’s dominant countries. As it was mentioned before, the high exposition of the case of L.A could tend to understand suburbia as an exclusive American creation and even papers may sanctify this as historical fact .However, it would be appropriate to focus upon the historical roots addressed by *Mumford (1961), Rodgers (1962), Fishman (1987), Kunstler (1993), Blakely and Snyder (1997), Archer (2005) and Raposo (2007)* among other authors to arrive in a consistent manner with which to describe the L.A model and its mode of propagation. This brief travel into the history of the exclusionary suburbanism has three relevant stops: *Early English Suburbia, The American Suburbia and L.A as the Consolidation of the Exclusionary Model*.

2.1.2.1 Debate on the Origins and Early English Suburbia

“By the eighteenth century, it is true the romantic movement had produced a new rationale for the suburban exodus, and the increasingly smoky and overcrowded town provided a new incentive .But it would be an error to regard suburbanism as mere derivative of this ideology, for it had older, deeper roots.”

(Mumford, 1961, p.484)

Before discussing English cities of the eighteenth century, particularly in Manchester with its active role in the industrial revolution and London as a relevant world trade center. It is necessary to understand that living in the Suburbia was an

older aim for certain groups, even before the desire of the English bourgeoisie. Mumford (1961) sustained the existence of a “historical desire” of upper classes to be in connection with the a suburban setting that represented fresh air, a healthy place, an environment enhancing hygienist ideals and a way of escaping from the city among others facts. He gets immersed in the past of the binomial Italian villa-natural environment stressing the “lifestyle” emphasized by the Italian tratadist of the Renaissance Leone Battista Alberti; a lifestyle of escape, individualization, family life and contact with the nature (pp.482-487). On the other hand, Archer (2005) also emphasizes Alberti’s ideals related to the figure of *freedom and pleasure* materialized in the villa typology. Thus, the motivations to live in the outskirts were not something new for certain groups but *What does make the English Case so relevant?* The relevance of the English suburbia resides in the historical increase of the amount of upper income groups living in the selected environment plus the further incorporation of gates in the developments; it was not just the isolated romantic desire of an aristocrat in his fortress-villa. On the other hand, Blakely and Snyder (1997, pp.3-4) sustained that gated communities has older origins in England beyond the figure of the villa. They date the phenomena back to 300.B.C with the apparition of specific fortified settlements of Roman soldiers’ families. A concept that seems focused upon the defensive question around physicalization of boundaries rather than in the suburban complex spirit previously described materialized in the villa. Differing versions of the antique origin exist alongside diverse perspectives related to the phenomena. Despite of the unclear criterion related to the historical roots, there is a common consensus about the eighteenth century’s English Suburbia as a base point to start talking about suburban gated enclaves and considerable migrations to the outskirts of the city with exclusionary purposes.

Arriving back at the English case in the eighteenth century, Manchester and London can be described as two cities with different particularities of suburbanization. Basically, these differences are based upon one of the driving forces of the suburbanization the middle/middle-high class. This new class would differ between the cities as there were different main economic activities; even they would be different from the new rising class in America. One more globally merchant, another more industrial based on cotton industry (Fishman, 1987). The American would start as industrial to further develop in a post-industrial/service sector one. The late American class example would not defer to the one that could be found in the gated suburban enclaves in the Global Cities of Buenos Aires or Istanbul.

In the mid-eighteen century being London consolidated as a world city and with the merchant elite desiring distinction the city started experiencing a particular phenomenon. The merchant elite started separating their homes and offices moving the residences to the peripheries building their *villas* to have this highly appreciated contact with the nature and to perform the separation from other classes that were occupying the core (Idem). Different from the American Suburbia, the escape would be related to the second home (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). On the other hand, Fishman (1987, p.50-62) sustained the phenomenon as a “ process” started with the *weekend villa* but with the passing of the years it would finally be converted in the characterized *permanent residence* of the nineteenth century’s London bourgeoisie. Archer (2005) also attributes that the escapist figure in London suburbia was embedded in the society before the period

mentioned above with other complementary intentions¹⁵. Clapham and Hampstead were part of those suburban escapes (Soame Jenyns 1795 cited in Mumford 1961, p.488), and also the whole southern west part of London especially Twickenham (Archer, 2005). One of the important factors in making this change in the case of Clapham Common was the Evangelical influence in the upper middle class to consolidate even more rigid the nuclear family and its puritanical mood of isolation from the city environment (Fishman, 1987)(See Figure.04). The escapist figure of suburbia based on the elemental social group of the family albeit independent from religion, was also underlined by Mumford (1961) and could be considered a constant in the gated suburban lifestyle till our days¹⁶. Coming in back to London, before the romantic Suburb another physical manifestation of exclusionary desires was performed and should be taken into account. St.James Square in 1726 fenced its perimeter allowing the green just for a few. The British Square commodified somehow the public space (Lawrent, 2003 mentioned by Raposo, 2007, pp.8-11). Even though this was not within suburbia, a clear message of isolation from certain high-income groups was being installed in London's milieu.



Figure. 04 The Ambience in Clapham Common

Source: Ideal Homes: A history of South-East London Suburbs. Available at: <http://www.ideal-homes.org.uk/lambeth/lambeth-assets/galleries/clapham/mr-akermans-house-1790>. Last Accessed: 20th August 2013.

Unconsciously, the seeds for the uncontrolled Suburbia were just in the soil with the necessity of the outskirts for certain groups. There was a pattern in England facilitating the process in the eighteenth century. The traditional legal figures of

¹⁵ "However, the greater point is that even in the sixteenth century the "suburbs" were regarded according to an emerging range of values , with vice and pollution at one end and the other embracing healthy and beautiful landscapes." (Archer, 2005, p.83)

¹⁶ Through the retreat from the city held manifest advantages for health and family life, it was equally an attempt to achieve liberation from the sometimes dreary conventions and compulsions of an urban society : an effort , given the necessary financial means, to have life on one's own terms , even if it meant having it alone: the anarchism of the well filled purse, the heresy of the private individual's seeking to take over within the limits of a private family the functions of a whole community. (Mumford, 1961, p.485)

common lands and open fields were change to perpetuate the enclosure with the consequent subdivision and selling the plots to powerful tenants (Campagne, 2005). Land tenure controversies for selling land of the outskirts in favor of suburban developments is part of the daily situation experienced in Buenos Aires, Istanbul and every relevant agglomeration whose legal and economic conditions attract suburban unplanned growth. On the other hand, this unplanned and controversial suburbia would give architects such as the recognized John Nash, Frank Lloyd Wright and for the architects of the Case Study Houses in California; a place to experiment, to create new aesthetics for the constructions of the rising classes .Even if we go to the remote sixteenth century the outskirts has given Palladio its place for experimentation. Changing the time perspective, the same occurs today with the architectural production in Buenos Aires, with fantastic experimental works of architecture of young architects in the outskirts even in gated suburban enclaves. In that sense the subject has firstly captivated the author as student of architecture being suburbia a forced controversial place for the practice of the discipline and also a setting of artistic achievements in his home town. On the other hand these isolated vernacular masterpieces of architecture were contrasting with a huge number of kitschy constructions in such a Baudrillardian ambience of simulated typologies. Suburbia in one perspective was a symbol of freedom and on the other hand was urban damage and further threats to the environment.

Coming back to the British ambience of the first industrial cities, the process in Manchester was a bit different than in London as its potential was based on the cotton industry. The textile activity was not something new in Manchester as having a long tradition since the 14th century, but undoubtedly would be enhanced with the process of industrialization and the apparition of new markets inside the country and also in the American Islands (Tupling, 1935). The new industrial class, the commonly understood “bourgeoisie”, was not something homogenous. Rodgers (1962, pp.5-6) described till the 1850 a fragmented new class including a group of merchant and industrialized “aristocracy” and then a mass conformed by commercials and professionals. The location in the suburbia of those groups was different as the last group took the “rest” of the outskirts that were not taken by the dominant one (see Figure.05). This situation also characterize Suburbia nowadays in the Case Studies of Istanbul and Buenos Aires where it is possible to see a different territorial occupation between the middle and middle-high class with particular gated developments for each target group. The separation of Manchester’s new-class from the city could be related to a necessity of space as the industries and small houses were there (Idem).The conditions in the core for human life where insane in Manchester (Tupling,1935 ;Rodgers,1962) as in the whole British industrial cities (Cox and Hope, 1998 pp.3-4) ,and obviously with incompatible land uses. Something to add is the apparition of workers slums in the core of the city (Rodgers, 1962), that would be probably a main motivation for the new class to differentiate from the “others”.

In terms of commercial dynamics in Manchester appeared the phenomena of *speculative builders*, just building houses and making available for the market without any specific clients in subdivided plots sold by developers (Fishman 1987); basically a dynamic that could be associated with the contemporary urban sprawl. On the other hand, there were as in London different groups more powerful that could encourage bigger developments as Victoria Park (Idem); situation that also reflects the actual real state dynamics of big developers. Beyond that, Victoria park was one of the first material

attempts of a *closed residential park* in the second part of 19th century to consolidate the middle-class suburb when the working class dormitories started colonizing the outskirts of the city (Rodgers,1962, pp. 6-9).Its perimeter constituted by toll-bars demonstrates clearly the apparition of an enclave with a physicalized message of class segregation being according to Rodgers (1961) a trend in the Victorian Suburbs¹⁷.(See Figure.06).



Figure. 05 Class Distribution in Manchester 1850
Source: Modified from Rodgers (1962).

¹⁷ "Closer towards the city the effect of protection by enclosure on Victorian residential areas become progressively more marked, reaching its maximum in the parks of North Manchester" (Rodgers ,1962, p.10)



Figure. 06 The Gated Victoria Park

Source: One of the entrance of Victoria Park by Helmut Petschler Circa 1865 .Rusholme and Victoria Park Archive. Available at: <http://rusholmearchive.org/victoria-park>. Last Accessed: 20th August 2013.

2.1.2.2 The American Suburbia

In the United States of the mid-nineteenth century, the scene for suburbanization had the same and rhetoric “industrialization” plus consequently threats for the new-class as in England. It is basically the “formula” of Suburbia, a new class arising and the intention of segregation motivated by exclusionary desires, fear, ideals of individualization, etc. It is possible to distinguish cultural factors to give birth and motivate the early American Suburbia. The activity of writers, landscape architects and architects has helped to constitute an escapist home-based ideal, authors as Fishman (1987) and Kunstler (1993) reflect on that phenomenon. One of these strong cultural figures in the mid-nineteenth century was Andrew Jackson Downing; writer, gardener and landscape designer who promoted a certain *country lifestyle*; and another was the recognized landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. The first one with his colleague Alexander Jackson Davis enhanced the “villa model” turning it into a new paradigm, a typology strongly connected with the natural surroundings that despises the city; a model adopted by the American rising class that would be extended as a mass product (Kunstler, 1993). There was an aesthetic ideal enhanced by the binomial *detached house-outer greeny space*. This naïve and picturesque concept would characterize Suburbia until our days and would be constantly an argument in developers’ advertisements all around the world through the mass media; even if today they do not sell Downing’s cottages.

Continuing in the United States, it is possible to assure that the evolution of American Suburbia would be also related with the railroad infrastructure and after that with the highways at the beginning of twentieth century. Therefore the *development of technologies* has been in an intrinsic relation with the evolution of the Suburbia since those days. Without doubt, the era of the railroads enhance the binomial of the power relationship *developer-infrastructure provider*, situation that would also continue becoming part of the essence of suburban development. In the late nineteenth century in Chicago it is possible to recognize one of these *railroad suburbs* in the urbanization on the Riverside project of 1869

designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Paul Vaux (Mumford, 1961; Abbot, 1980; Fishman, 1987; Kunstler,1993; Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Olmsted always have a social concern attitude towards the creation of the build environment (Fishman ,1987; Davis,1990). In Riverside there were detailed intentions of Olmsted in connection with mixed use planning, understanding the proper functioning of a town and a consequent cautious design of visuals, pedestrian fluxes etc. (Kunstler, 1993, 48-52). But also for Kunstler (Idem) *“To protect their plan against future adulteration, Olmsted and Vaux cooked up a set of zoning controls that would become a model for suburban codes up into the next century”* (p.51). The other bad destiny of Riverside project was being a recognized big pioneer development in the American Suburbia’s history. Riverside as the golden mean between two levels of life that combined the conveniences of the city and the charms of the country was again and again declared by promoters (Abbot 1980 p.122). *Is the argument presented in that discourse somehow familiar?* There were also, during this time, fantasy mottos created for the promotion of suburban developments including in their syntaxes concepts associated with the nature (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). *“Riverside”* could be understood as one of them. It is possible to elucidate that the developers’ argument based on the *contact with the nature* in all senses has had a line of continuity in the history of Suburbia. There has been somehow an intrinsic perverse romance between the consumer-and this aspect of the product (See Figure.07). Thus, this particular relationship would be further develop along the research, especially in the second part of this chapter. Other arguments to support the Riverside project by its developers were the cheap prices in comparison with the city, the profitable place for investments, the possibility of credits and the escape from the bad sanitary infrastructures from the city (Abbot, 1980). *Could the phenomena have a correlate with our present reality? Could western suburbanism be enhancing the same attributes that now are possible to be found in the promotion of gated suburban enclaves?*

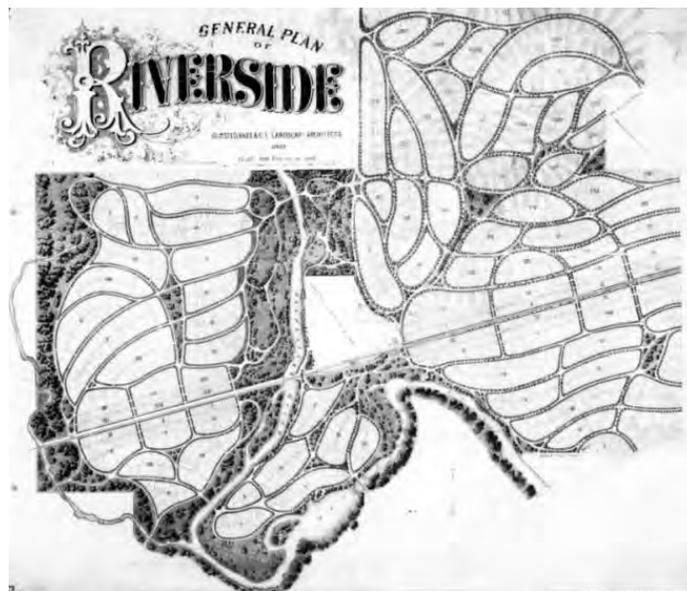


Figure. 07 General Plan of Riverside.Olmsted, Vaux & Co. Landscape Architects 1869

Source: The Frederick Law Olmsted Society of Riverside. Available at: <http://www.olmstedsociety.org/resources/maps-of-riverside/>. Last Accessed: 20th August 2013.

Another interesting fact at the beginning of the twentieth century was the apogee of the controversial models of “Garden cities” by Ebenezer Howard. The idea of a limited urbanization, a balanced society, active social life and the daily contact with the Nature were part of his model. Lewis Mumford (1961) enhances the advantages of Howards ’model of the contact with the Nature but for him the relevant contribution was that the city growth has to be under the control of the State. Nothing of this happened in the United States. These values were taken to generate *mono-class green enclaves* rather than enhancing class variety (Corden, 1977). Taking a broad national social perspective, in the twentieth century the *ethnic heterogeneity* in USA was a conditioning factor for the development of the new towns and *white suburbs*, more than in England. In addition, the *private developer* assuming the role of the creator of these towns was another remarkable difference with the British situation (Idem). These particular conditions ¹⁸appearing only in America would create the perfect soil for the Suburban model of growth and then after some years for the *gated suburban enclave*. The strong cultural tradition of private property in the U.S would also play an important role (Kunstler 1993). I would like to reach through the following part the argument that show gated enclaves as an *American suburban product* based on a long tradition of suburban migration started in England in the years of the industrial revolution.

2.1.2.3 L. A, The Consolidation of the Exclusionary Model

“Even as the walls have come down in Eastern Europe, they are being erected all over Los Angeles”

(Davis, 1990, p.228)

L.A is today the clear paradigm of the city of mass suburban housing but *Why and How did it reach the motto? How did it turn into an indefinitely collection of gated suburban enclaves?* As it was described in the introduction of the section, at the beginning of the century L.A was in an economic apogee based on citric agriculture and oil extraction. With the end of the First World War the cinema industry was installed in the city and in the 1940’s the aerospace industry follow the path maximizing L.A’s economic activities. For Davis (1990), L.A was experiencing also a strong cultural input of many disciplines; famous writers, filmmakers, philosophers and then scientists entering in the city. By the Second World War the phenomena was intensified with the arrival of many exiled European intellectuals. L.A was a World City and would become even more so. Coming back to the 20’s, not only people from the cultural ambience was in L.A, the big investments were attracted by the land of possibilities (Davis, 1990). In terms of housing development the city followed the characteristic American suburbanization based on the colonization of the territory by the *single family detached house typology*. After the First World War L.A was immersed in the speculative dynamic of growing by suburbanization, developers borrowing money to build infrastructure and then selling the land to others that obtained the plots with mortgages (Fishman, 1987 pp.161-166). In the 1930’s the single family houses were the 94% of the dwellings (Davis, 1990

¹⁸ Tensions between classes and a model of expansion based on the role of the private sector.

,p.28). An incredible number showing the pattern of *middle-class suburbanization* that would characterized partly the physical landscape of L.A through to the modern day, huge freeways and innumerable bungalows, ranch houses and neo-eclectic ones. The Landscape of the mass suburban housing begun. It is needless to say that the Depression hit L.A speculative dynamic but after the Second World War the city would be channeled again in the same path until the 1980's¹⁹ (Fishman, 1987;Davis,1990). It was not the simple mass suburban housing landscape that begun , L.A was living the roots of a global phenomenon the "*gated suburban landscape*"²⁰ where the detached house was the *vedette* of the architectural typologies. To the class segregation background of the Suburbia was added the security paranoia described by Davis (1990). Both aspects were interrelated and retrofitted with all the vices of the Suburbia²¹ described in the precedent lines and finally, Southern California gave birth to the *gated community*²² in the 1930's. The first ones were Rolling Hills and Bradbury (Le Goix and Webster, 2006, p.4). Since then, they never stopped growing and the modalities of *repressions in the urban space*²³ had been exponential²⁴ (see Figure.08).

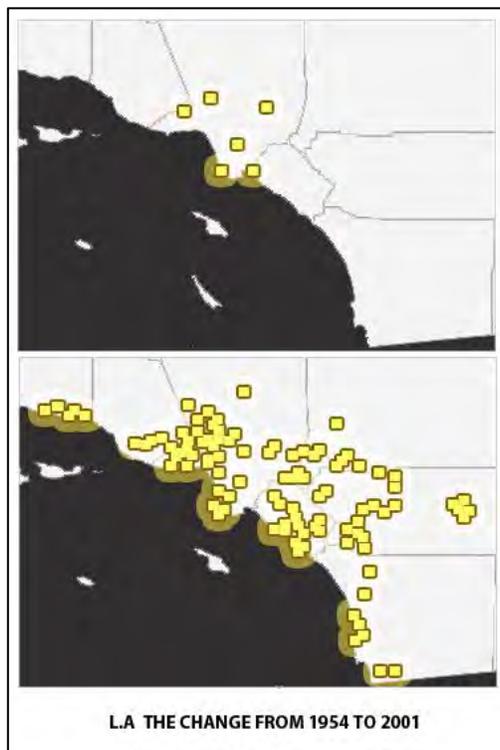


Figure. 08 LA. Gated Communities Proliferation

Source: Modified from "US Bureau of Census Boundary Files, database Gated Communities UMR. *Géographie cités* .Le Goix, 2002. In Le Goix and Webster, 2006.

¹⁹ In the 80's los Angeles would be occupied also in developing its core (Fishman, 1987) , even though Suburbia continue until these days.
²⁰ A particular landscape that would be described at the end of the section detecting their social and physical characteristics.
²¹ To summarize the vices of the Suburbia: class segregation, mono-class constitution, residents urged to escape from the city, land speculation, and the use of the automobile as a lifestyle.
²² Gated Suburban Enclaves conformed by a setting of detached or semi-detached houses.
²³ Terminology popularized coming from Davis (1990).
²⁴ Not only gated suburban enclaves, the repressions reach all the architectural typologies independent from their function and scale. Houses, shops, offices, malls, mixed-use complexes, gated suburban enclaves are part of the phenomena.

2.1.3 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Developing Countries . Global drivers, Local Drivers and the Embedded Individual.

“Extreme poverty, violence, and lawlessness occur more commonly in some parts of the world than in others, thus encouraging those with means to look for residential solutions to the threats they face. We do find, however, that gated enclaves are appearing both in rich and in poor countries, in the North and South, and in developed and developing nations”

(Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.925)

Gated Suburban Enclaves are part of the daily life in many developing countries. This distinctive model is nowadays in South America, South Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia (İnal Çekiç and Gezici, 2009). They are part of the landscape of Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Johannesburg and Istanbul between other relevant agglomerations in developing countries. In the macro scenario, there is a substantial question around the model of governance as a possible driver for the generation of gated suburban enclaves. As it was shown by Corden (1977) through the comparison of the American and British model of Post-War development, Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) also ratified somehow the different reactions in Europe and America towards development. They sustained a differentiation between nations with laissez faire attitudes and other with a historical approach connected to a strong centralized or local planning authority. It means the erection of two conceptual figures; however reality shows that fixed models are immersed in complex local situations where those attitudes could be taken indifferently by the governmental organisms shaping the suburban environment.

In Latin America there was an implementation of neoliberal policies since the 1980's which included privatization of National companies and reduction of taxes for foreign investment between other particularities (Pírez ,2002; Janoschka and Borsdorf, 2004), therefore, urbanization was clearly mobilized by the private sector without an strong figure of the State and of course with the silent of planning authorities. Buenos Aires City didn't escape to the Latin American neoliberal phenomena, a point sustained by Pirez (2002), the city reached in the mid 1980's about seventy Country Clubs (Janoschka and Borsdorf, 2004, p.311) situation that has been increasing until our days exacerbated by a decentralization process (Pírez, 2002; Libertun De Duren, 2006). The phenomena of the American suburb reached the Latin American metropolis in terms of finding a favorable ambience with weak governance aspects to proliferate. However, this is only one aspect for the reproduction of the enclaves in the region strictly related to governance. The strong cultural Influence, the American lifestyle promotion and its adoption by the middle-high classes with some vernacular mutations was another aspect. Therefore, it is possible to distinguish a process of globalization and Americanization in Latin America but these simply observation cannot justify the whole phenomena in the region neither criminality. Exceptions are Mexico D.F and Brazilian cities where higher rates of criminality are a crucial aspect for inhabitants to look for a gated refuge at the

time to choose their habitat (Janoschka and Borsdorf 2004). Needless to add that there has been a retrofitting message of fear presented in all the media generating motivations to get a house in a gated development²⁵, moreover the research of the American anthropologist Setha Low published in 2001 underlines that fear in all dimensions is a driver to live in the suburban gated environment²⁶. Even if indicators of criminality could be high or not there are dynamics around all type of media enhancing the motivations to live in gated suburban enclaves, furthermore the intrinsic human fear to the unknown and the “other” retrofits the phenomena.

In Istanbul, a distant agglomeration from the Latin American region but sharing the same classification of a megacity in a developing country, it is also noticed a considerable increasing of gated communities since the 1980's (Akgün and Baycan, 2012; İnal Çekiç and Gezici, 2005), following the same pattern as Buenos Aires City. Istanbul was conducted under the neoliberal approach of a city open to foreign capital adopted by Turkey (Çınar, C et al, 2006; İnal Çekiç and Gezici, 2005; Keyder, 2005; Karadağ, 2010) and experiencing spatial fragmentation equally to the Latin American Megacities. There were also in this case consumption patterns imported to satisfy the new middle-high class and suburban gated enclaves were part of it (Çınar, C et al, 2006; Keyder, 2005). The new class was a product of the new economy based on the service sector that includes a variety of professionals and bankers (Keyder,2005). A class generally prone to the American Suburbia standardized lifestyle. Paradoxically, once again is found in the history of suburbia the rise of a new class whose habits enhance the model. In the 1980's there were four suburban gated enclaves in comparison with the seventy in Buenos Aires at the middle of the decade²⁷ but the pattern of growth would increase considerably from the 1990's until our days accompanied by the marketing discourse and phenomena of Istanbul as a “World City”. In terms of governance, to differentiate from the Buenos Aires case, Istanbul found in the Mass Housing Law of 1984 the legal framework to make possible this kind of suburban growth (Özkan and Kozaman, 2006). The law allows the location of developments in rural areas and in safety areas from earthquakes promoting credits and foreign investment as well. It also generates a framework for the apparition of social housing and somehow middle-high class developments in the suburbia.²⁸One particularity of the law is that centralize the control in the Prime Ministry while in Buenos Aires City it is decentralized being strongly located in the Majors of the different municipalities of the AMBA (Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires city)²⁹. A broad overview, tend us to understand that both cities have different approaches to governance with both having extremely market driven outlooks with the possibilities of similar results in the physical and social milieu. These introductory matters would be further developed in Chapter 3.

²⁵Argument based on the authors' observations in agglomerations of developing countries as Turkey and Argentina, particularly in the cities of Istanbul and Buenos Aires.

²⁶ See Low, Setha (2001) .*The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear*. American Anthropologist , New Series, Vol. 103, No. 1 (Mar., 2001), pp. 45-58. Low analyzes class segregation and the implications of an extended concept of “urban fear” in inhabitants of two American gated communities.

²⁷ Data from Janoschka, M. & A. Borsdorf (2004,p.311)

²⁸ There is a strong debate in Turkey since many years around the normative and how it is used by the actual government to strongly generate a market oriented urban renewal.

²⁹ AMBA (Area Metropolitana de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires) composed by urban and rural áreas of these municipalities: Avellaneda, Lanus , Ezeiza, Florencio Varela , Tres de Febrero, San miguel, Malvinas Argentinas ,José C.Paz), La Matanza, Tigre, Escobar, Lomas de Zamora, Moron, Hurlingham , Ituzaingó , Quilmes, San Fernando , San Isidro and Vicente López.

As could be seen, the phenomenon of gated suburban enclavization has some “*global drivers*” mentioned before but the universality of the phenomenon has not to be misconstrued. There is a necessity to understand “*local drivers*” for the proliferation of gated enclaves. It means particularities of local contexts. The local factor could be variable and associated with economic and political situations as Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) maintained but there are more variables. Poverty, violence and lawlessness are also basics; it should be understood how the society is conformed. Thus, the variables could be the following : population ethnicity , immigration influxes and population dynamics, presence of racism ,slavery past and other attitudes towards oppressed sectors .The geographical aspects are also important for example: adjacency to a slum or deteriorated areas could generate gated enclavization; the physical geographical aspects could also conditioned the extension of the gated suburbia and the presence of earthquake and risk areas could be a geographical argument taken into account by developers to promote the model.

As it was observed is possible to distinguish *global drivers* affecting these Megacities in developing countries related to influence of macro-economic aspects in local context, global paradigms of governance , the mass media and generation of consumerism patterns, and the spread of dominant technologies. All these generates a typified model of expansion where gated suburban enclaves are the *star product*. In addition one could say that *local drivers* have an important role for the apparition of gated suburban enclaves in developing countries. But *global and local drivers* are not two items apart; they should be understood as interrelated components that create the fertile ambience for the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves. Besides all this, there is one dimension that should be added to describe the phenomena; and it is related to the *individual*. There has been always from remotes times behaviouristic aspects connected with *individualization and isolation* characterizing the inhabitant of the suburbia. This individualization and isolation is performed by a *consumerist attitude* in terms of security and privilege facilities independent from the inhabitant nationality, going from inhabitants of developed to developing countries. It is an intrinsic quality of the model. Other intrinsic and repetitive characteristic is the continued desire of the human being to be in contact with the nature (see Figure.09).

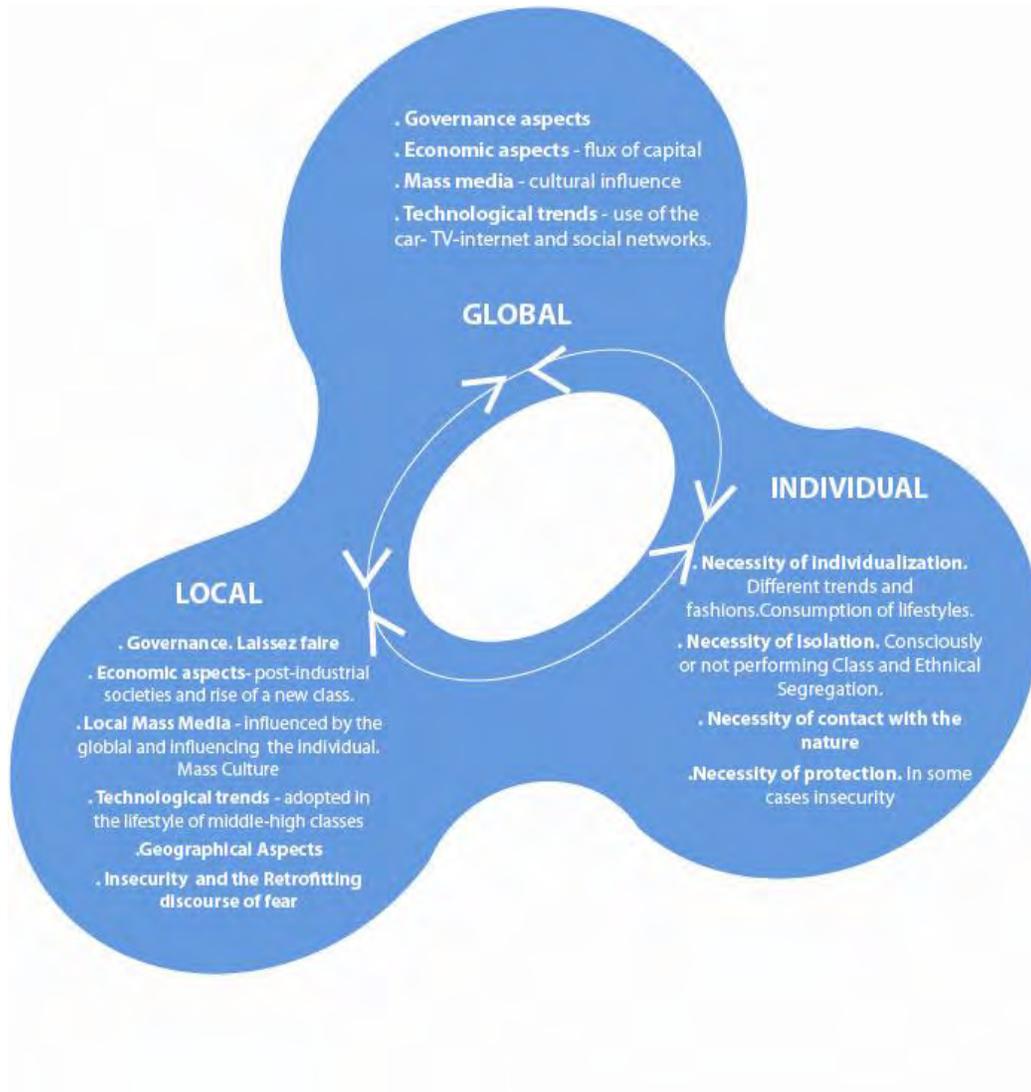


Figure. 09 Gated Suburbia, drivers and interactions
Graphic produced by the Author

2.1.4 Gated Suburban Landscape. Everywhere and No-Where.

Gated suburban developments proliferate everywhere, independent from developed or non-developed countries and independent from regions. In some cases extensively and in other with reduced manifestations. It is possible to sustain the generalized metaphor that “*L.A reached everywhere*”. The gated suburban model reached a huge number and variety of cities and as it was described having the roots in L.A. The suburban gated model is always reproduced, as it was shown in the Figure.09 there are many drivers supporting the model that elucidate its *complexity and strength*. There are intellectuals sustaining that the model of suburban growth based on the idolatry of the automobile consequently with the dependence on fossil fuels would collapse (see for example; Atkinson, 2007). Prognostics augured the peak oil situation

not so far away from our times (Idem, p.210); however the development of alternative technologies to support a mutated vehicle depending on other energies put on the debate the question. Even though It is not part of this research entering in that debate it should be mentioned as a critical point. To continue with the central argument, today it is possible to find vast territories occupied by gated suburban enclaves independent from the location. As it was shown, cities as Buenos Aires or Istanbul are suffering from this phenomenon. There is a new landscape promoted with certain stereotyped characteristics. A new landscape in the big term of the word leaving behind conventionalisms, I mean not only a "landscape" referring to physical aspects of the environment, it is something more complex. As Relph (1976) describes: "*Landscape is not merely an aesthetic background to life, rather it is the setting that both expresses and conditions cultural attitudes, and significant modifications to landscape are not possible without major changes in social attitudes.*" (Relph, 1976, p.122). Therefore, It is possible to deduce that *landscape* is a setting constructed by physical and social characteristics, furthermore there is an essential dialogue between both components, they are in full synergy involving also the cultural dimension. To add complexity to the definition, Cosgrove (2006) argued:

"Landscape and community Landscape is a connecting term, a Zusammenhang. Much of its appeal to ecologists, architects, planners and others concerned with society and the design of environments lies in landscape's capacity to combine incommensurate or even dialectically opposed elements: process and form, nature and culture, land and life." (p.51)

Landscape is perceptual and could connect variety of events under its syntax. But within this unity of the word, I would defrag the landscape promoted by gated developments in two big umbrellas that are the physical and social milieu. However, always understanding that they are completely interrelated comprising what would be called "GSL" gated suburban landscape. The main purpose of analyzing the phenomena with this methodology is to clarify, recognize and detail its characteristics³⁰.

Characteristics of the Gated Suburban Landscape (GSL):

³⁰ A kind of *bi-dimensional* observation and critic to suburban ambience not yet gated was performed by William H. Whyte in 1956 (mentioned in Fishman 1987 pp.200-201) focalized on the material uniformity of the suburbs; however without sighting any pattern of simulation and paranoia around security issues that would characterize today the gated suburbia beyond suburbia itself. According to Fishman (idem) It was made by the author an emphasis in the social uniformity related to the loss of individualization of the man working in the big organization .However socially the interpretation of the gated suburbia it is totally the opposite. The situation in the gated suburban landscape found a man involved in an environment that serves as a catalyst for the repressive desire of "individualization", making it the *leit motiv* of every single material manifestation in the gated suburban landscape. Thus, that out-dated and non-gated suburbia should not be misunderstood as the actual gated suburbia .They are shaped by the influence of different technologies , manifestations of the mass media, in fact they are part of different societies.

a) Physically ,the landscape promoted it is an extensively succession of highways; walls and other physical barriers; security systems; restricted accesses; similar houses; similar exclusionary developments; advertisements with fantasy mottos; advertisements of innovative amenities; exotic vegetation; abundance of automobiles; no public space; big lawns; and a compendium of basic suppliers for the gated entities .

b) Socially, it is mono-class; privatized lifestyle; individualism; isolation; security paranoia and residents urged to be in the natural environment.

It is possible to assure that after the apparition of GSL in L.A and in the whole Southern California Region, now L.A is everywhere and at the same time nowhere as Kunstler (1993) sustained in relation to the American case, *“There is little sense of having arrived anywhere, because everyplace looks like noplac in particular”* (p.131). The G.S.L is everywhere in terms of propagation of the model and nowhere in terms of generating landscapes of uniformity that are really similar in the local context as Kunstler (1993) perceptively cautioned for the American case. However, beyond America, the situation reached a global scale such that in remote gated suburban locations it is possible to find similarities. This question is not surprising as we are experiencing constructions of no-places, and is a question that shall be developed in the following section based on the approach of Relph (1974) and Augé (1995).

It is possible to state that a central question has been answered along the first section of Chapter 2 that concerns the drivers for gated suburban enclaves to be in distant locations. But now new questions arise, *why is the generated gated suburban landscape theoretically nowhere? And what endangers being nowhere?* The answer is related to the phenomena of the Homogenized Gated Suburban Landscape (HGSL) and would be developed in the following section as a pillar argument for the research.

2.2 Homogeneity in the Gated Suburban Landscape

2.2.1 HGSL Defined by its Central Characteristics

“Uniform products and places are created for people of supposedly uniform needs and tastes, or perhaps viceversa.”

(Relph, 1976, p.92)

An important point must now be considered: the model of the gated suburbia could be considered a *packaged product*. With places becoming mass produced products, the suburban landscape is having similar characteristics in the local and global context. Thus, it is possible to argue that we are in presence of a Homogenized Gated Suburban Landscape (HGSL). It means there is a presence of a uniform landscape in physical and social aspects as it was described before detecting the essential qualities of the GSL. Moreover, there is an intrinsic relation that perpetuate the extension of the product that

consist of an individualistic consumer and attractive product, the importance of the binomial would be explored along the section. The HGSL phenomena could be described by its characteristics shown in the following statements.

. HGSL is composed by consolidated mass products that are the Gated Suburban Enclaves.

. The HGSL is expanding as Gated Suburban Enclaves proliferate motivated by the mass media , globally and locally between other relevant actors at both levels.(see Figure.09)

. The proliferation of the HGSL is possible by the intrinsic characteristics of the individual that strengthens the relation between *consumer and attractive product*.

. The HGSL phenomena is a stereotyped environment where the individual is embedded. According to Augé (1995) there are non-places and for Relph (1976) settings of placelessness are being developed, both arguments converge on the generation of stereotyped spaces.

2.2.2 Threats Under The Theoretical Figure of the HGSL

The HGSL arise as a problem, the reason is that threatens *social aspects, particularities in the physical landscape and environmental aspects* in vast territories cities around the globe. These threats would be explained in the following lines to elucidate the essence of the problem. Even though, they have been separated to be more descriptive, they are complete interrelated as they are part of a phenomena.

2.2.2.1 Social Aspects

“The ‘citizen’ is a person inclined to seek her or his own welfare through the well being of the city –while the individual tends to be the lukewarm , sceptical , or wary about ‘common cause’, ‘common good’, ‘good society’ or ‘just society’”

(Bauman, 2000, p.36)

In social aspects, the HGSL is a phenomenon that threatens the public space and consequently the social mixture and civic dialogue. The virtues of the city: the public streets, the square, the park and the mixed-use neighbourhood are taken away. As Stavrides (2010) argues *“The apotheosis of privatization and the consumer ideologies of individualistic hedonism that accompany it, transform the practices that used to “perform” public spaces into practices of self-gratification”* (p.26) thus, the virtues of the city are taken inside of the HGSL. There is a public space that is being colonized, and everything

that is not intrinsically related to the private and thus to the individual is such a residue (Bauman ,2000, pp.39-40). Thus, there is a disintegration of the spatial units containing public space. The neighborhood as a container do not escape from the threat. Naturally, its importance resides on its particular capacity as an essential unit where the individual learns of social interaction, to manage the otherness in their daily reality (Stavrides,2010, p.96-98).To talk about the essence of what is being lost, for Sennet (1999 cited in Featherstone and Lash, 1999, p.3) the public space is a generator of an *active public* understanding it as a space for interaction between individuals based on tolerance and self-distance. Therefore, the HGSL means the impossibility of social interaction with the benefits of it in vast territories and for a huge number of inhabitants.

It is also possible to add that privatized public spaces are mobilized by particular intentions and public is somehow controlled (Stavrides, 2010). Baumann (2000) described these non-places as places of merely consumption³¹, as settings where the “art of civility”³² could not be learned because they simplified the human behaviour in consumption terms. Gated suburban enclaves could be places of consumption of typified lifestyles and a typified sociability where most people behave as though consuming the privileged lifestyles. Lifestyles that involves an individual passing his/her time almost completely inside their home. He/She is gated in the gated, thus that “art of civility” is also lost as the interactions in the public-private space are scarce. One could argued visiting a gated community that only the loneliness is in the streets, and repressive interactions between neighbors rise when somebody makes a bit noise and performs an action related to the public space like children playing etc. Activities which go against the lifestyle being paid for are totally banned and there even absurd regulations written inside the internal codes. The “lifestyles consumption” in gated suburbia basically reduces individual and social behavior around that main issue ratifying the vocation of gated enclaves as non-places. Experienced in the case study in Istanbul, a professional driver and inhabitant of Zekeriaköy village eloquently said that residents of gated enclaves in the area generally do not know villagers and even their neighbors inside the gates. To conclude the description of the negative panorama, the gated suburbia enhances an individual attenuated in participatory terms for the welfare of their regions (Blakely and Snyder, 1999). This last individual is not far away from Bauman’s one and it conforms the stereotyped individual of the HGSL, question which veracity would be experienced in the field.

2.2.2.2 Physical Particularities in the Landscape

“Materially, it embodies large scale organization and mass production, in its relentless uniformity, its use of a narrow range of designs repeated endlessly without true variation or relief.”

(Fishman, 1987, p.201)

³¹ These are practically the same spaces as Augé (1995) non-places and the spaces of placelessness for Relph (1976).

³² Terminology used by Bauman (2000, p.103)

The physical uniformity in the gated suburban landscape threatens the particularities of the city in terms of the physical consolidation of boundaries (walls, fences etc.) in vast territories and promotion of huge mono-use housing areas with stereotyped architectural typologies. The vegetation used in the developments could be also part of this uniformity seeing a preponderance in the use of palm-trees without considering vernacular species. However, the first characteristics are more distinguishable and universalized with the model. As landscape is perceptible, it is possible to argue that the uniformity of physical boundaries could be perceived from highways and as a pedestrian in the area (see Figure.10) while the architectural typologies could be perceived better in the area of the gated enclaves or being a resident as well. Physical limits are constructed around gated developments independent from their magnitude, thus it is possible to perceive the fortifications from the roads and walking routes in the surroundings: a succession of forts of meter high walls or fences. Not only is this the physical uniformity promoted by the repressions in the space, security cabins and posts with security cameras in all the gated suburban enclaves, this also makes the phenomena homogeneous (see Figure.11). At the promotional level of the architectural typologies offered, the variety of gated enclaves, in terms of use and aesthetics, a city could offer lessens. The gated environment includes projects with a huge number of mass produced houses. Some of them offer only one model for a vast territory, others offer consumers a more “kind” choice of between three to five stereotyped models for the consumers. If the development only sells plots, there are construction companies whose job is to offer these stereotyped models to the residents. Moreover, many developments that only sell plots have strict regulations that conditioned the architectural typologies in terms of surface, numbers of rooms, position in the plot, characteristics of green areas, materials on facade etc., being the result also physical uniformity. Thus, in one or in the other direction the physical uniformity is also promoted at the level of housing typologies and could be perceived as an insider or from the surroundings as well.



Figure. 10 From the Road

A- Sariyer -Istanbul; B and C, Escobar-Buenos Aires .Photographs by the Author during the fieldwork.



Figure. 11 Security Controls

A- Gated Suburban Enclave in Istanbul. July 2013, B- Gated Suburban Enclave in Buenos Aires. October 2013.
Photographs by the Author.

2.2.2.3 Environmental Aspects

The environmental issue seems to be threatened by the HGSL. Urban sprawl makes possible for gated suburban enclaves to proliferate and consequently this massification of the gated suburban typology contributes to the HGSL. As the city grows in this way, it needs physical space for the expansion and this adjacent space generally consists of rural areas and forests or other natural ecosystems; in some cases there is a patchwork of both in tension with the suburban expansion. Thus, land use regulations are put under pressure from sectors which understand that the city should grow in this manner. Generally, it is understood that responsibility for urban growth is located only on some public authorities and developers, but there is also an individual with a civic responsibility that should be included. In the case of the gated suburban enclaves and also along the history of suburbia there is an embedded individual who maintains a desire to

remain in constant contact with the nature and celebrating nature in elitist terms. The combination of some public authorities, developers and certain individuals make real the possibility of threat to rural areas and forests, as they make also possible the HGSL.

In terms of land use planning, for the environment to be threatened and for the landscape to become “homogeneously gated” there should be a normative that allows for the phenomenon to occur. Despite this, there are cases where the normative is being infringed by developers and public authorities and other cases where legal shortcuts for irregular purposes are found by some developers. In particular scenarios, there are also informal mechanisms to empty the land. They are generally used by some developers and landowners to destroy forests and then find a loophole in the land use regulations preparing the soil for the upcoming developments. In Turkey, for example, is promoted that ex-forest areas could enter in the dynamic of the market. Example of this is the item 2b in the Forest Law of Turkey that allows the dynamic described, stating in simple terms that the forest soil that yesterday was appropriated by informal settlements now is bring to the residents and that land could be sold. This kind of regulations without the appropriate controls in the territory could create also ambiances for irregularities. The last phenomena of “irregularities” in connection with the land use is generally public well-known in Istanbul and also in Buenos Aires but people normally choose not to speak out. Even though it is not the central argument of the thesis describing land use issues in specific legal terms, some exceptions should be made for explaining the case in Istanbul and Buenos Aires, to better understand the mechanisms that threat the environment.

2.2.3 HGSL as a Stereotyped Environment

“The possibility of non-place is never absent from any place”

(Augé, 1995, p.107)

As it was mentioned at the beginning of the section, the gated developments which constitute the GSL are mass-produced packaged products whose proliferation generates the HGSL problem. Therefore, there is a stereotyped environment which absorbs the qualities of the products and becomes inauthentic. In terms of authenticity of place, it is necessary to say that it is an attitude towards places in placelessness settings. Authenticity related to places is a complex phenomenological experience from the human being connected to genuine experiences with the place, that means an individual making place not adhering to fashions or stereotypes (Relph, 1976). It also refers to be an individual in a community with a natural unconsciously way to get involve with the place, thus to make place. It is also possible for authentic places to be created self-consciously but this requires a spiritual feeling to be involved³³. Authenticity rarely occurs in a pure representation; there are grades of authenticity in places; and there are also settings that in the first

³³ Relph (1976 p.66-73) argues that this case was possible in Medieval times under the Constructions of Cathedrals between other examples where the man was spiritually involved and with a strong sense of community.

instance by its physical appearance could be understood as a setting of placelessness however its social life sets them apart from that definition (Relph, 1976)³⁴. Gated Suburban Enclaves threaten authenticity of places being generally non-communities with a strong sense of individualism; and stereotyped consumerist lifestyles with manifestations in the physical environment.

Settings of *placelessness* and *non-places* according to definitions of Relph (1976) and Augé (1995) are being erected. Both concepts converge at the point that there is somehow an extinction of the “authentic place”. For Relph (1976) there is an individual adopting the fashion and mass values resumed in a inauthentic attitude towards the place whose manifestations are kitsch and technique. This situation is promoted by a mass media which includes mass culture, mass communication and big business operations between others (Relph, 1976, pp.90-119). Relph (1976) argues “*in fact kitsch is an attitude of inauthenticity in which places are treated as things from which man is largely alienated, and in which trivial is made significant and the significant is made trivial... ()*” (pp.82-83). On the other hand, it can be argued that *technique* is a method of operation where places are simplified in all the dimensions and considered as objects (Relph, 1976, pp.87-89). The former concept could be intrinsically associated with the attitude of some developers and public authorities, meanwhile the kitsch attitude could be ratified in the production of the gated developments under bad taste and unconsciousness of some developers, architects, landscape designers, urban designers and the list continue. Relph (1976) argued that the mass culture has influenced the “Subtopia”³⁵, the characteristic pattern of the land uses of the American Suburbia consisting of shopping malls, mass produced houses, parking spaces under an aleatory location from the post-fordism form of production. This concept is interrelated with the HGSL, however under the description of Relph (1976 , p.105-109) “Subtopia” is just related to physical parameters of similarity in a suburbanity composed by patterns of heterogenic and non-interrelated land uses. Coming back to the central question of place, for Augé (1995) place is based on a construction related to history, relationships and the social practice itself. Thus, for Augé (1985) “*If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place*” (p.77-78). Augé (1985) ratifies the vocation of highways, supermarkets, airports and hotels as non-places, referring mostly to transitional or circulation spaces. But the global setting of the gated suburban enclaves could be also considered a non-place and the reasons would be further developed.

Relph (1976) and Augé (1995), are considered crucial to understanding the HGSL phenomenon, since both authors considered stereotyped settings with the individual embedded in a mass culture. Augé (1995) focalize the problematic of non-places simply in an *individual* embedded in a complexity called “Supermodernity” while Relph (1976) approach is more descriptive and detailed in terms of understanding processes (mass communication, mass culture, big business, etc.) that generates placelessness and the different forms the individual relates to the place. The “Supermodernity” of Augé (1995) can be explained as a reality characterized by the quantity of events happening in the world that the individual could recognize by the media; the question of a space that it is possible to understand locations from different

³⁴ In such similar line of thought, Augé (1995 p.78) sustained that non-places never exist in a pure form.

³⁵ Relph (1976, p.105) has used the term of Ian Narin,(1965 p.7) and has extended the description.

scales and changing perspectives; the possibilities of transmission of information; travelling in accelerated times and unstable collective identification. Supermodernity is connected to excess (Idem, pp.29-40). It could be argued that the processes described by Relph (1976) contribute to the ambiance of Augé (1995). They are explaining the same post-modern reality but from different perspectives³⁶. To conclude, the phenomena around stereotyped places finds in Relph (1985) and Augé (1976), two researches that contribute to the understanding of many dimensions of the complexity. Relph acts like the voice of a heterodox geographer meanwhile Augé in the same challenging spirit goes for an anthropology embedded in a complexity of excess. Both are supporting arguments going from different channels in disciplinary terms but with the common idea of going beyond their disciplines traditions. The idea is to conduct their concepts in this research inside the stereotyped environments, non-places or settings of placelessness.

2.2.3.1 The Individual Attracted by the Stereotyped Product

“As a place apart the suburb offers a space of freedom, imagination, escape and fantasy.”

(King, 2004, P. 106)

A contractual question arise related to the motivations for the individual to get in these non-places or settings of placelessness. It is possible to argue that the consumer, the individual³⁷, has some intrinsic drivers that conduct them to the *gated suburban products*³⁸. As the drivers were split before (see Figure.09), it is important to understand the existence of constant dialogues between the individual and the global and local drivers. Furthermore, the relationship between the individual-consumer and the product is based also on attractions highly motivated by the developments as materializations of the consumer’s desires. These intrinsic drivers are led by the idea of isolation, understanding it as a motivation in the consumer that could be related to individualization. Therefore the consumer adheres to certain lifestyles, performs class or ethnic segregation and also finds the valuable asset of contact with the nature. However, individualization could be performed without the necessity of isolation but in the case of gated suburban enclaves individualisation has been always joined to the concept of isolation. Finally, the question of the desire to have contact with the nature could be an intrinsic driver of the human being and it could be also sustained that different aspects of a society influence this motivation under a question of class or ethnical segregation.

³⁶ Augé (1995) focalize more on the individual ;and the phenomena in which the individual is embedded is resumed in what is called “Supermodernity”.Meanwhile, Relph (1976) even talking about perceptions of individual he made a detailed description of all the macro-cosmos in which the individual is embedded fragmenting and detailing it.

³⁷ Needless to say ,the role of the individual at the time to select a gated suburban enclaves is assumed by the figures of the head of the household or the couple but always considering these as decision-takers of an extremely closed and isolated individual unit called family .See characteristics of the suburban lifestyle Section2.1.2.

³⁸ Terminology used in this research referring to gated developments of detached houses in the Suburbia.

Isolation by Individualization –Isolation and contact with the nature

Motivated or not by the mass media, the gated suburban developments are the *desired star product* that attract most of the needs. For the question, particular lifestyles are offered: sporty ones, more technological, more rural, more ecologic, more Mediterranean, more American, more Nationalist and the list continue. There are thousands of lifestyles promoted for the compulsive customer's desire of individualization and paradoxically all of them are mass produced through gated suburban enclaves. The lifestyles promotion by developers would require certain physical manifestations such as amenities, aesthetic qualities in the architecture and some simulations in the environment to satisfy the "ideals" of the consumers. There are ideals promoted and ideals that are being bought. The individualization performed "buying lifestyles" follows a desire of class segregation and exclusivity in many cases. For example in Istanbul; "security" and "privileged lifestyle" are marketing tools used by developers (Özkan, 2006). It is possible to extend the phenomena all around the globe with some vernacular particularities in relation to what is being advertised and what is being bought. Also in Istanbul, insecurity does not only address the problem related to social tension, the earthquake phenomena relevance exists within marketing strategies (Idem). The question of isolation related to finding secured environments due to social tensions in the inner city has a long history in connection with gated suburbia. However, the desire for isolation based on the attitude of "escaping from the Metropolis" in terms of looking for a healthy environment that the city could not offer anymore is an older desire. The last reaction was described in the section 2.1.2 as a common desire of the bourgeoisie in the first industrial and environmentally uninhabitable cities. But this "escape of the city" for an intimal contact with the nature is also interrelated to the question of social-segregation.

The desire to have contact with the nature could be motivated by genuine facts but also by utopian constructions or particular ideals connected to the virtues of the nature. The idealization of the nature and the relation with it could be considered "ecotopias"; they connect moral and social values and the emergence of them depends on particular historical and social conditions (Garforth, 2006). It is possible to believe that there actual corrupt utopian values ³⁹that could be embedded in the promotion of gated products, as it is observed more and more often as with increasing urban sprawl in the form of "greeny" gated developments. As Salerno (2003, p.205) describes part of the Baudrillardian simulacrum is the commodification of the essence of the nature put into products. Beyond the products that the inhabitant could buy in a shopping mall, it is possible to ratify that the phenomena reached the scale of the gated products even the scale of the gated suburbia. Thus, characteristics of the nature are taken to the absurd being the essence of the nature artificialized. It is possible to verify this idea just looking at the advertisements in any newspaper, magazine or internet of gated developments (see Figure.12). Utopian values are part of the process of commodification of the gated suburban landscape. The romanticism between other artistic movements, has promoted this escape for the idealized green areas

³⁹ Understanding them related to Garforth's concept. *"The claim that modern culture is replete with idealised representations of nature that function as corrupt utopias – reactionary and nostalgic rather than progressive and emancipatory, compensatory and escapist rather than critical and transformative – has re-emerged in recent work on the cultural construction of nature.."* . (Garforth ,2006, p.14).

connected to a “taste” of the bourgeoisie to escape from the realities of the cities (Salerno, 2003). Today, it is not possible for the author to discover if we are in socio-aesthetically trends but for sure are times of Baudrillardian hyperreality and simulation offering *gated products* as an “ideal” form of isolation with the desired contact with the nature. It is not part of this research to enter into psychological aspects of the intrinsic motivations of a human being for this contact with the nature, however the context open the debate if the gated products offer the possibility to : *express a concrete an intrinsic desire of the human being to be around the natural ambiance , express a genuine desire for escaping from the pollution of the city , escape from all civic responsibility in a natural ambiance, make concrete class segregation in a natural ambiance or enhance the family values in a natural ambiance* . It is possible to argued that more than one of these characteristics are valid and interrelated to describe the individual motivations to have contact with the nature and find once again, in the innovative non-place, a refuge.



Figure. 12 Development in Istanbul Suburbia, The Idealized Contact with the Nature

Video Stills by the Author. Source: <http://vimeo.com/69952329>

For the individualistic consumer described in the last two items, developers have been offering a vast number of qualities under their *gated suburban products* and something interesting is how these ideas developed in the game of trying to attract the individualistic consumers and influence them. The word that emerges in this ambiance is “innovation” as a competition between developers to attract the consumer materializing fables that conduct to the hyperreal.

During the section, an individual with a variety of motivations to get inside and somehow contribute to the creation of non-places was described but should be added another inauthentic place maker that are some developers for whom “innovation” is the main motivation to erase identities. Once the inhabitant has chosen this inauthentic setting as its habitat, then he/she would experience a contract every day with the product acquired and a simulacrum as well.

2.2.3.2 Experiencing the Contract with the Product

“Alone, but one of many, the user of a non-place is in contractual relations with it (or with the powers that govern it).He is reminded, when necessary, that the contract exists. One element in this is the way the non-place is to be used: the ticket he has bought, the card he will have to show at the tollbooth, even the trolley he trundles round the supermarket, are all more or less clear signs of it.”

(Augé, 1995, p.101)

The words of Augé (1995) contribute to sustain the idea that gated suburban enclaves are non-places and consequently there are contractual relations ratifying this condition. Since the user is in the main entrance of his gated-typology has to follow some protocols to get inside it reminding them of the existence of a contract. These protocols are generally a collection of actions like showing a card, putting the card in a machine that would authorize their entrance, typing a code, identify himself with the security-guard and other actions depending on the particular gated-scenario. The resident experience the situation of being under a contract from the beginning. He paid for security and he has the mechanism that brings him that feelings. During the daily life in a gated community, many situations would show this contract to the resident. If we continue the journey of the gated resident after getting into the urbanization, he/she starts driving his car in privatized streets with some particularities. Speed limits are in many occasions less than the normally allowed in the open city. These speed limits would be shown by traffic signals even barriers to be zig zaged while the gated resident is reaching his home. He paid for that slowness and quiet lifestyle and he has it. There would be many signals reminding the speed limit as there would also be no problem for their kids to play in the streets. The contract is shown by extensive signals in the urban environment (see Figure.13). Gated residents paid for : the contact with exuberant vegetation, the homogenizing architectural styles of the development, the homogenizing size of their houses, the programmed surveillance by private security guards, the sporty look of the neighborhood with certain amenities, and for other thousands characteristics developed by the innovative market.

There are other aspects related to the concept of non-places. Non-places are spaces characterized by having a certain purpose and a typified contractual relation in connection with the purpose (Augé, 1995, p.94). It is interesting that in gated enclaves the end , the purpose, is living in a certain typified form. There is a contractual lifestyle as mentioned before, the end is dwelling in a leisure atmosphere, in a quiet atmosphere, with security , with sport activities, with

similarities to Venice or a Caribbean Island etc. The contract depends on the values promoted by the developers and the adhered to by the residents-consumers. There is no idea of communitarian lifestyle⁴⁰, this is aligned with one characteristic of relations in non-places defined by Augé (1995) that is “solitary contractuality” (Idem, p.94).The sense of solitary contractuality seems to be a representation of individualism and isolation that have characterized Suburbia since its birth.

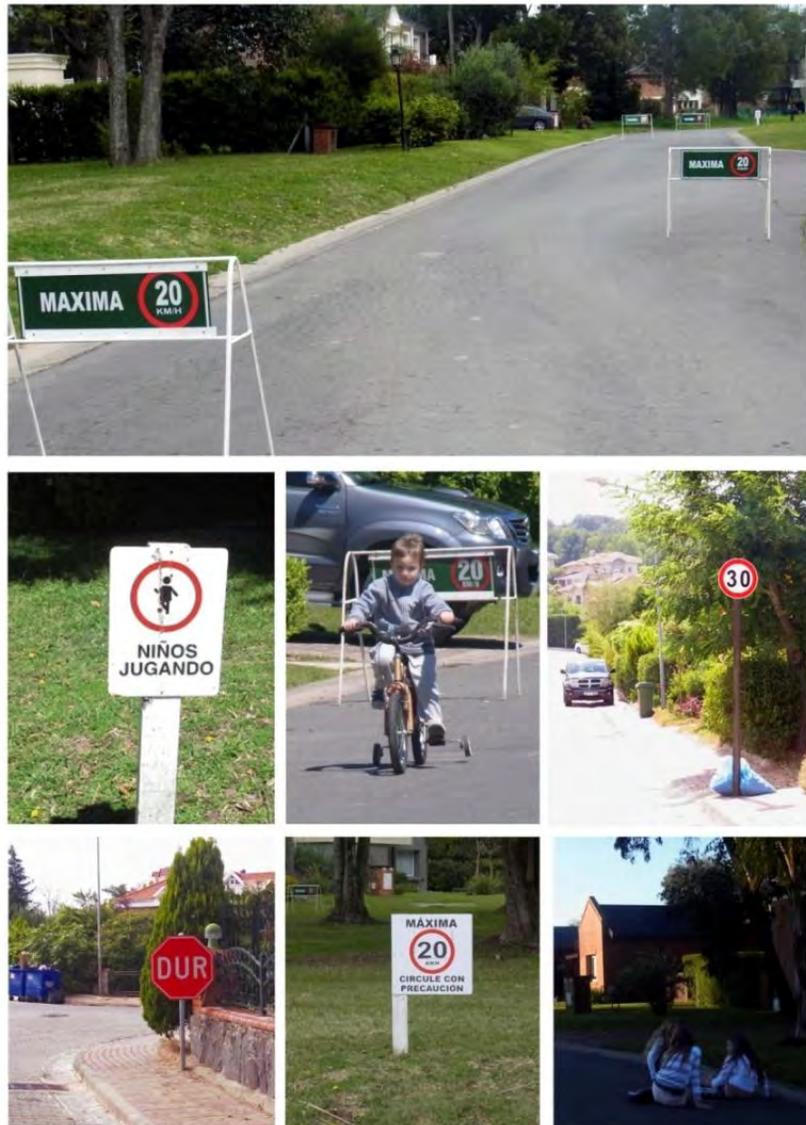


Figure. 13 The Contract

Photographic compilation by the Author mixing observations in distant locations

⁴⁰ In the sense of having values of social diversity, which are not intrinsic characteristics of the product.

2.2.3.3 Thus, Experiencing the Meaninglessness of the Product

“Everywhere we live in a universe strangely similar to the original - things are doubled by their own scenario. But this doubling does not signify, as it did traditionally, the imminence of their death - they are already purged of their death, and better than when they were alive; more cheerful, more authentic, in the light of their model, like the faces in funeral homes.”

(Baudrillard, 1994, p.11)

Gated Suburban Enclaves could be interpreted as a manifestations under the simulacra figure of Baudrillard (Idem) as idealized settings, idealized representations of the individual: *in perfect harmony with the nature , in a perfect peaceful and respectful community, in an highly organized community , in a completely safe community where the risk of a robbery and violent episodes is supposedly turned into zero, in settings with similar detached houses in a perfect uniformity where regulations pursue the homogenization even more and more, and in settings where the lawn always look perfectly green and plane,* between other ideals. These idealized visions are represented somehow in the lifestyles promoted by developers’ advertisements and supposedly bought by the residents in the gated suburbia⁴¹.

To complement the understanding of the Baudrillardian complexity; it is needless to say that the essence of the things become hyperreal through simulation, through a repetition of continuous meaningless representations (Eco, 1990; Baudrillard, 1994). In the meaninglessness everything became homogenous and of course the suburban landscape is not apart from that situation. The things loss their essence escaping even more and more from reality and is something that could not be caught anymore (Baudrillard, 1994). It is possible to argue when settings⁴² become stereotyped, “idealized”, consequently became substantially meaningless .Baudrillard (1994) also maintained that for the propagation of the meaningless ambiance the media plays a crucial role. According to Baudrillard (1994) *“Beyond meaning, there is the fascination that results from the neutralization and the implosion of meaning. Beyond the horizon of the social, there are the masses, which result from the neutralization and the implosion of the social.”* (p.83). Are we attending to the scenario of thousands of middle-class enclavers inducted in meaningless spaces with of course meaningless lifestyles? It could be a possible situation albeit the rhetoric of the media as an inductive actor for masses needs a complex analysis that is not part of this research. However, in these times the media has played an essential role for spaces to become meaningless (Relph, 1976; Baudrillard, 1994; Auge, 1995; Bauman,2000).

⁴¹ Beyond the representations, suburbia itself is considered by Baudrillard (1994) as an hyperreal model defined by its mode of articulation around nodes of consumption as malls or supermarkets. According to Baudrillard (1994 p.76-78) It is a kind of representation of what was in the past the synthetic city but in a fragmented and expanded model that took away the “urban” intrinsic characteristics to spread them in the territory ; and on that basically resides its hyperreal character.

⁴² For not saying “places” adhering to the position of Relph (1974) and Augé (1995).

Everything became hyperreal trying to catch or restore the essence of the things in Baudrillard's philosophy. In that sense, technologies giving the possibilities to go into certain scales and take that impressions promote the hyperreal ambiance. For example: today's idealized advertisements show us almost the swearing of the people and also the suburban lifestyles are also shown in advertisements 'representations where the light that entered in the woods of the suburbia is even more shiny than Sahara's sun and the nature seems idyllically fresh. More and more showing exaggeratedly the essence of the things, the reproductions continue the process of escaping from the reality described by Baudrillard (1994, p.23). It is not about writing an essay about aesthetics but is to talk about an inductive reality that brings together the consumer and the product. Is it the individual of the gated suburbia aware of the phenomena? It would be analyzed in the next chapter how advertisements through the printed media promote these type of idealizations, the merely simulacrum, in distant cities of the world as Buenos Aires and Istanbul.

2.2.4 Summary

It is possible to conclude this chapter understanding that the HGSL has a *social mode of reproduction* that involves the contractual relation between the individual and the product. This contractual experience describes an individual embedded in a gated suburban landscape defined as: conjunctions of non-places, a setting of placelessness, and a whole meaningless space. An ambiance that is generated somehow by the media that promotes idealized lifestyles and also the retrofitting message of fear. But there are also responsible individuals with intentions of: *social isolation, individualization by consuming lifestyles, desiring a contact with the ideal nature and finding a "safe" place to live*. On the other hand, this social mode of reproduction needs other conditions to make the gated suburban landscape emerge. It is not alone and its part of a complex conglomerate of actors. Therefore there are laws, regulations, governance aspects, economic aspects, technological achievements etc. that should be considered in a macro and local level (see Figure.09).It is possible to notice that since the beginning of Suburbia the model has not essentially change to turn into the Gated Suburbia ,what has considerably change is its speed of reproduction to become dominant way for growth in many cities around the world taking thousands upper-middle class residents to the outskirts of the cities. Consequently, this form of growth has a particular impact in the selected areas, particularly social physical and environmental threats to these locations that should be analyzed beyond secondary data.

The threats and the individual embedded that have been theoretically described as part of a homogenizing Gated Suburban Landscape need to be given particular attention. As there was a representation along this chapter of the "gated suburbia" constructed by theoretical arguments and some perceptions during my professional life as an architect and urban planner; now is the moment to come back to the field. It would be necessary to understand multidimensionally the particular threats to those locations beyond theory; and let a certain number of residents of gated suburban enclaves in remote locations classify their "place"; and in the case of the residents in the immediate surroundings, represent that landscape which are experiencing. On the other hand for generating a better understanding of the ambiance there would be considered the identities promoted by developers' advertisements through the mass-media in both selected locations.

CHAPTER 3: LANDSCAPES OF DEPENDANCE AND CULTURAL DISSOLUTION IN ISTANBUL

3.1. Gated Suburban Enclaves in Istanbul

Gated Suburban Enclaves in Istanbul are not something new, having their origins in the 1980's with the neoliberal approach taken with the Turkish economy. To elaborate on this conceptualization of Turkey's climate in those years, the government started with a police of "austerity", privatized its own-state companies and reduced public expenditure. The role of the State in the economy was clearly reduce while the working class suffered with all that measures (Karadag, 2010,pp.14-15). The other aspect to take into account in this ambiance is the rising of a new class based upon the service sector activity, that would continue until the present day with Istanbul as a "World City" (see Chapter 2 Section 2.1.3). The last aspect was verified in the field as most of the respondents had their activity in the financial sector⁴³. Even though the phenomena was contextualized in macro-economic terms and making some considerations in terms of governance in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.1.3), it was not explained the physical distribution of the gated suburban landscape in the territory of Istanbul. Gated enclaves started in the North of the European Side and they continued their proliferation into the North of the Asian Side. (Akgün and Baycan, 2012). Today there are many typologies as Akgün and Baycan (2012) underlined and they are spread in the whole territory of Istanbul. It is the purpose of this research to focus upon the particular typology of gated suburban developments, especially gated villa towns (see Chapter 2 Section 2.1.1). The availability of land safe from earthquakes, the possibility of contact with the natural environment, and enough land surface area for spreading their horizontality make the North of Istanbul the place with more concentration of this typology (Idem)(see Figure.14). Therefore, Sariyer district became one of the favorites for this type of gated developments. Until 2010 Sariyer had twenty four gated developments, many of them built in the period 1990-1995 (Berkoz and Tepe, 2013 p.7) albeit today it is also experiencing a similar phenomenon in terms of intensity being almost all the developments gated villa towns (Idem, p.9). In the following lines, the particularities of Sariyer would be explained; and it would be delimited the area for the study where residents of gated enclaves and villagers gave their impressions about the threats of Gated Suburban Developments and the Landscape that is proposed.

⁴³ See professions of respondents in the Annexes.

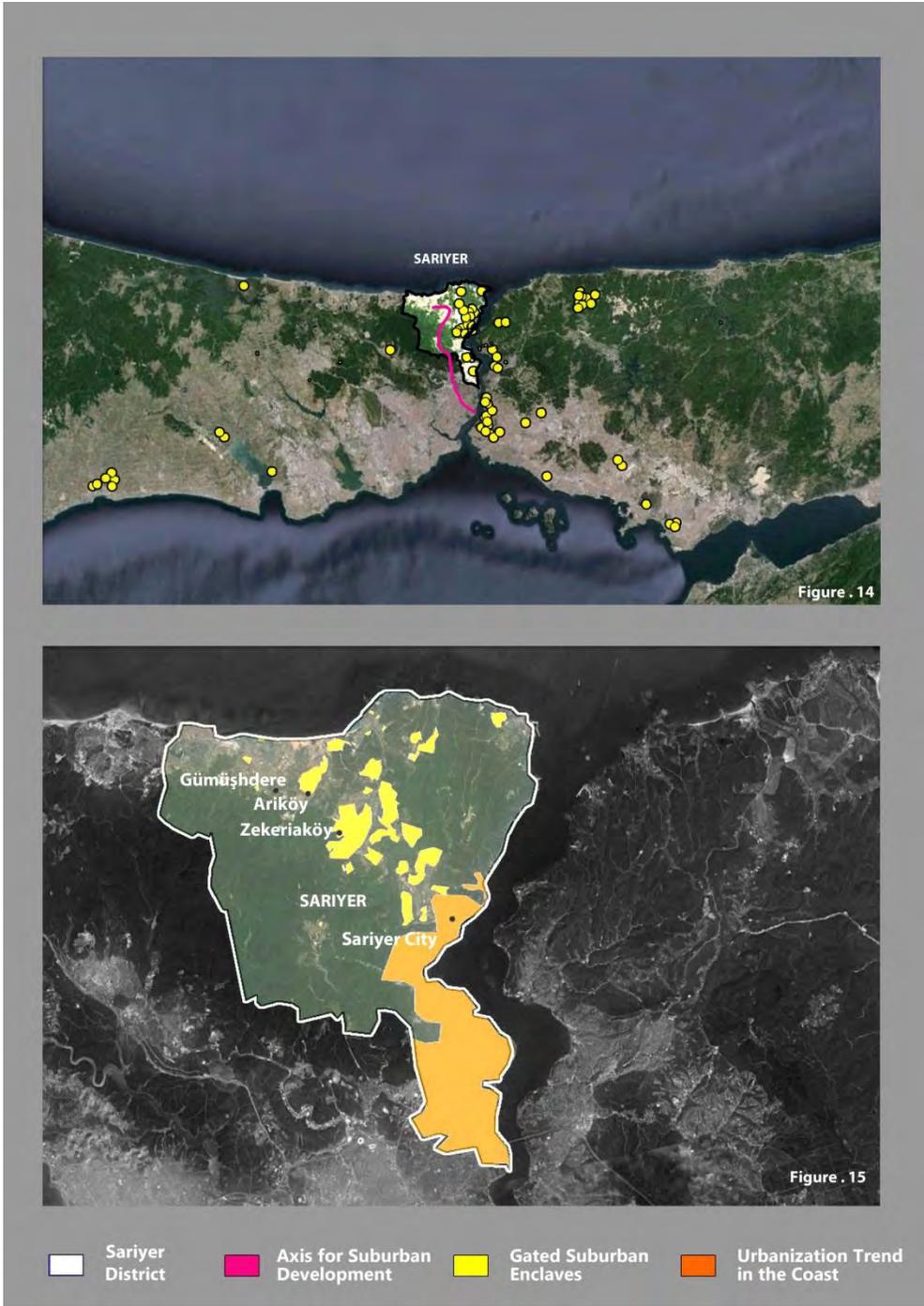


Figure. 14 Gated Villa Towns in Istanbul

Overlapping the silhouette of Sariyer District and Updating Sariyer Villa towns ;based on the graphic analysis in Akgün, A & Baycan, T (2012, p.97). Gated communities in Istanbul: the new walls of the city. Town Planning Review, vol. 83, no. 1, pp. 87(23).

Figure. 15 Urbanization Trends in Sariyer.

Analysis of Urbanization Trends in the District, Recognizing Suburbia. Graphic produced by the Author.

3.2 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Sarıyer

Sarıyer is a district in the north of the European side of Istanbul founded in 1930. According to the census of 2007, its population was 276,407 inhabitants (Sarıyer Belediyesi, 2013). However, today with the increase of, this number developments should be rise⁴⁴. The district is delimited by the Bosphorus Strait at the East; the Black Sea at the North; and the districts of: Eyüp at the West, and Şişli and Beşiktaş to the South. Historically, Sarıyer has been mainly forest with not so much population; and as it is commonly known in the Antiquity and Byzantine Era, the gross of the population was located in the Historical Peninsula. However, there was a small settlement on the shore in Byzantium times (Sarıyer Belediyesi, 2013). The things would change with the Ottoman Empire⁴⁵ as many inhabitants from Anatolia and the Islands came to the region. During the Ottoman era, many important persons of the Empire build their mansions in the area and also hunting manors (Idem). Thus, the situation of class-delimitation and prestigious lifestyle in connection with the nature in Sarıyer region is not new. The phenomena of the mansions would continue from the 16th Century until the 18th; and many of them were located in the coast. Small fishing villages were also located within the area (Idem). Another turning point in the history of Sarıyer was the 1960's; the development of roads and extending the shore contributed to the actual characteristic of proliferation of mansions in many locations (Idem). It is possible to argue that the CBD consolidation from 1965 to 1984 including the extension of Büyükdere Avenue (Tekeli 2004, pp.222-223), also brought the possibility to give residence to the new bourgeoisie in Sarıyer, although industry in Sarıyer was never strongly developed, even if during this period some industry existed (Idem) alongside some coal mining activities in the past⁴⁶.

Geographically, today is possible to particularize *two clear urbanization trends* in Sarıyer which are easily recognizable looking at satellite images of the region (see Figure.15). The first one is an urbanization pattern along the Bosphorus conformed by small quarters finishing in the "City of Sarıyer". Naming them, moving from the center of Istanbul towards the outskirts, they are: Emirgan, Reşitpaşa, İstinye, Yeniköy, Ferahevler, Tarabya, Kireçburnu, Cumhuriyet, Cayırbaşı, Büyükdere and Yeni. The other trend is a collection of small villages surrounded by gated suburban enclaves or being gated villages. These are Zekeriyaköy, Ariköy, Uskumruköy, Kumköy, Demirci, Bahçeköy, Gümüşdere and Rumeli Feneri. Gümüşdere is as an exceptional case being still a rural village. It could be conceptually defined as a gated suburban landscape with small communities of villagers immersed inside of it generally living from the provision of services for the enclaves⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ Updated official statistics could not be founded.

⁴⁵ The Ottoman Empire conquered Istanbul in 1453.

⁴⁶ Data from Interview with Specialist 2 6th September 2013.

⁴⁷ The urbanization trends were also recognized by personal observations from the Author. Fieldwork Mid-July to beginning of September 2013.

The “City of Sariyer”⁴⁸, the main quarter that takes the name of the district, develops parallel to the coast. However, there is an important perpendicular axis named Şhf. Mithat Yılmaz where almost all commerce is performed approximately along one kilometre. Then, the agglomeration starts ramifying to the suburbs of Zekeriköy, Uskumruköy and Ariköy. Sariyer City has large public spaces, it has “city life” where social interaction is performed and it is not a merely construction of non-places⁴⁹. Therefore the “City of Sariyer” is an interesting example that contrast with the other urbanization trend of gated suburban conglomerates. From the perspective of the residents of the gated enclaves, Sariyer could not be involved in the mental construction about the setting as many of them commute passing through kilometres of forest and the village of Bahçeköy to finally reach their homes⁵⁰. Furthermore, there is usually an axis used by the residents of the gated enclaves that connects Sariyer district to the CBD of Istanbul where this segment of the population has its jobs⁵¹. The axis is Büyükdere Avenue and is born in the confluence of Barbaros boulevard and O-1 highway, being an extension of Barbaros boulevard. Along its path concentrates the luxurious shopping malls and offices (see Figure.16) of the CBD. It means there is a system of articulated non-places where the commuter is immersed. Coming back to Sariyer, the main public transport is articulated along the coast and by the node of the “City of Sariyer”, where it is possible to make connections to the suburbs (see Figure.17). Sariyer offers a wonderful shore with many public spaces in connection with the sea (see Figure.18), public spaces that would disappear as we move into the suburbs. In some parts specially in Yeniköy, it is also possible to find restrictions to the enjoyment of the Bosphorus as the relationship with the sea is blocked by a number of mansions (see Figure.19). Therefore Sariyer has some repressions connected to the availability of public space, but undoubtedly the main threat is the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves, the extension of the gated suburban landscape.

As it was mentioned before, the other path of urbanization is connected to the development of gated enclaves in the district. There is a homogenised Gated Suburban Landscape in Sariyer that embraces most of the district, being one of the districts of Istanbul with most agglomeration of gated enclaves (Berkoz and Tepe, 2013; Özkan and Kozaman, 2006 ; see also Akgün and Baycan, 2012, p.98), which can be recognized through satellite images, with practically all of the enclaves being detached or semi-detached houses towns. Moving out from the Sariyer urban node, Ariköy, Zakeriaköy and Uskumruköy are practically the same entity of an infinite agglomeration of gated suburban enclaves. It is a compendium of non-places or a setting of placelessness (see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3), therefore, there is no substantial differences between them and the landscape that they conformed. However, small particularities do exist which would be also explained because these are what have been disappearing from this homogenized landscape, practically to the extinction. Actually, there a more semantic distinction exists between the towns rather than considerable differences in their “identities”.

⁴⁸ Term used by the Municipality and also useful to distinguish Sariyer quarter from Sariyer District.

⁴⁹ Needless to add that the City of Sariyer has a social problem related to the elimination of *geçekondus* in some parts of the city but it would not be attended in the research.

⁵⁰ Phenomenon experienced by the Author. Fieldwork Mid –July to beginning of September 2013.

⁵¹ Most of the interviewees have their jobs in Şişli and Beşiktaş

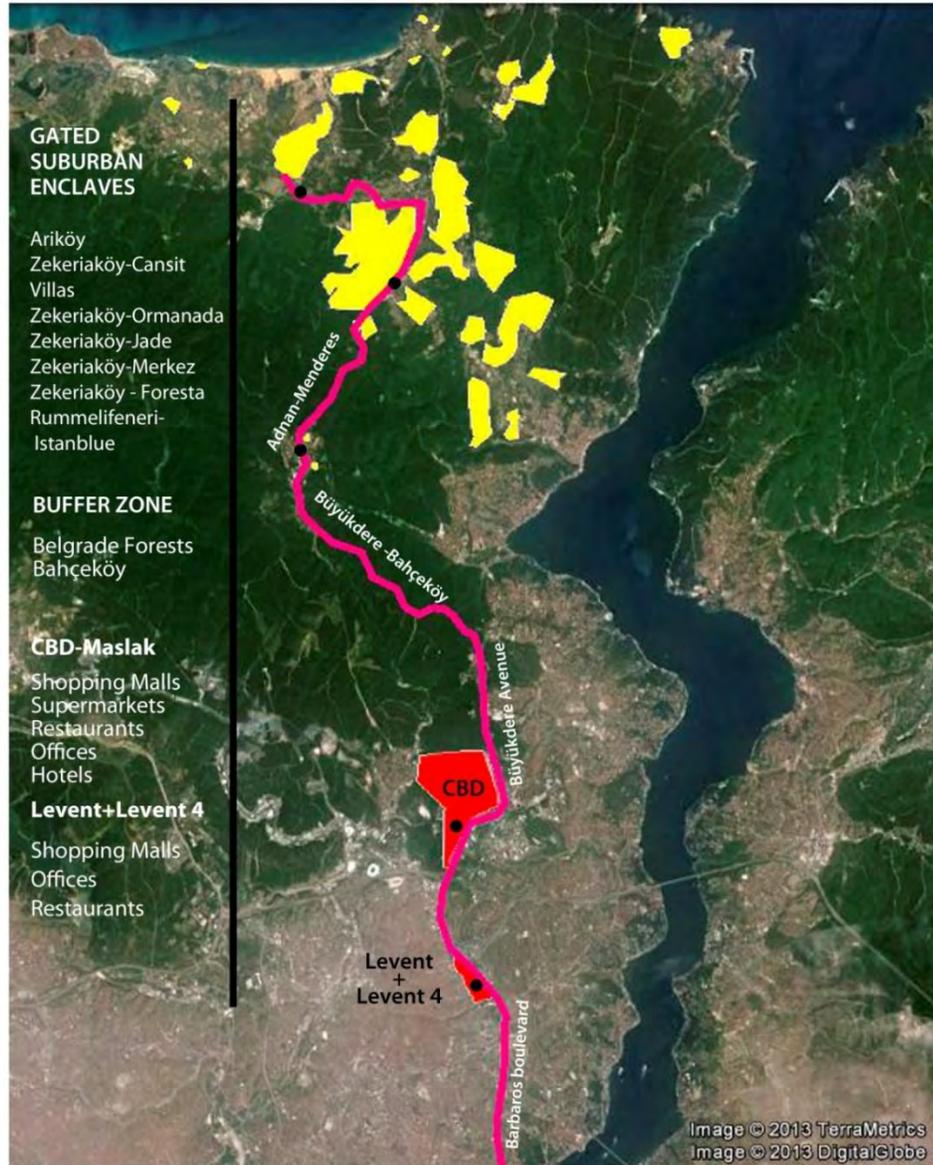


Figure. 16 The Axis for Suburban Development

Analysis of the Axis for Suburbanization connecting Sariyer Suburbia Understanding Uses Differentiation. Graphic produced by the Author



Figure. 17 Public Transport to the Suburbs
Interrelations with Sariyer City and Suburbia. Photographs by the Author. August 2013.



Figure. 18 Repressions to the Public Space in Sariyer.
Situations identified blocking the access to the coast. Photographs by the Author. August 2013



Figure. 19 Public Space in Sariyer

A- Public Space in the Center . B- Public Space and Relationship with the Coast. Photographs by the Author. August 2013.

3.2.1 The Selected Area of Sariyer

The area of Sariyer' Suburbia which constitutes one entity becomes more and more homogenized by market dynamics; the differences today are practically anecdotes in the gated suburban landscape. In this section would be described the ambiance in which are embedded the inhabitants of Sariyer's Suburbia. It would be made particular focus on the settlements of Ariköy, Zekeriaköy and Gümüşdere. The gated locality of Ariköy would be taken as a central node for the analysis and the immediate surroundings composed by Zekeriaköy and Gümüşdere would be examples used to contrast perspectives. The last two settlements still conserve the village characteristics even if Zekeriaköy is completely surrounded by gated enclaves. The selection of the gated enclave for the study was strongly conditioned by the possibilities to talk openly with the residents and see their habitat as it is well-know there are strong restrictions to gaining access to gated enclaves alongside a repressive paranoia around them. However, some residents from other gated enclaves of Zekeriaköy and Rummelifeneri helped by giving their impressions and extending the knowledge of what is happening in the area (see Figure.20).

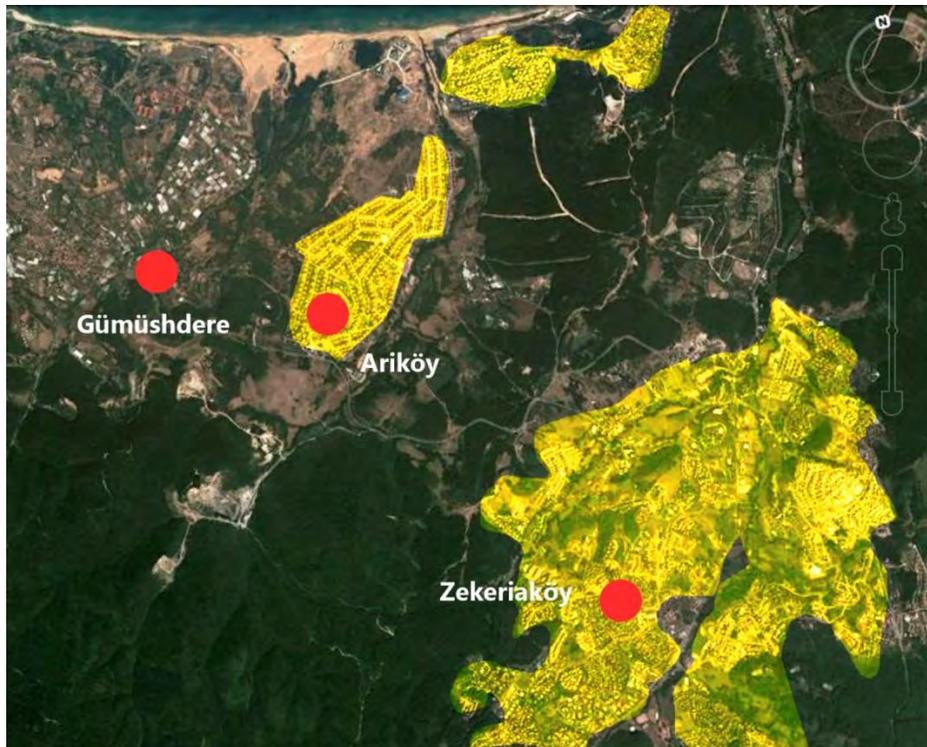


Figure. 20 The Selected Area of Sariyer

Graphic produced by the Author

3.2.1.1 Ariköy, the Gated Suburban Enclave

Ariköy has the status of gated locality as its extension is determined by the gated enclave with almost no-housing or shops surrounding it. It is located in the North of Sariyer, limited by the Black Sea. In a ratio of three kilometer, the neighbourhood villages of Gümüşdere, Uskumruköy, Kümkooy and Zakeriaköy are included; being Gümüşdere the nearest. The amenities of Ariköy contain a large club house with swimming pool, conference centre, gym, restaurant , bar; football pitches and tennis courts (see Figure.20). Ariköy was founded approximately in the 80's by a cooperative comprising by professors of ITU ⁵²(Istanbul Technical University)which makes the case a bit unusual. The cooperative paid to a construction company to develop the whole urbanization according to three models of semi-detached houses constructing aesthetically one villa (see Figure.21). The semi-detached houses were approximately of 200 m2. They constructed around 500 hundred with the members of the cooperatives affording them with monthly payments. However, this is part of the past as today there is no such cooperative and the gated development during the last ten years had entered into the market dynamics, thus the inhabitants are no longer only the professors of ITU. The new residents have their jobs within the financial sector, are high-qualified professionals or owners of medium enterprises⁵³. The population today is composed approximately with only 50% of the original residents⁵⁴. Thus, the residents have been changing and with it that the particular identity of Ariköy has changed. Actually, Ariköy is not far away from the ambiance of the region. The houses that were of 200 m2 are being joined to turn them into 400 m2 houses, the average surface of a stereotyped villa. It is more feasible then to fit the requirements of the "villa house" to sell it; other neighbours just needed more space; others more prestige and individualization, etc. (see Figure.22). This is the actual dynamic of Ariköy.

In the place it is possible to observe two aspects which reflects the strong concerns of the residents regarding security issues, isolation and individualization (see Chapter 2 Section 2.1.3 - Drivers of the individual) .They would be ironically called the first one "*gated in the gated*" and the second "*Individualized semi-detached houses*". Even though Ariköy has its own security staff, cameras and walls surrounding the complex; neighbors often take more security measures, emphasizing insecurities, in the isolated setting of suburban Sariyer. Many residents have installed security alarms in their houses, and also put up large fences around their houses (see Figure.23). The insecurity paranoia and also the strong sense of private life sometimes reach absurd levels. Neighbors erect strange fences in some cases in the name of "privacy" to get isolated from even the private-public streets of the urbanization. Another type of individualization is merely aesthetical; Ariköy is a compendium of semi-detached houses, some of which were converted into one single villa. The internal planning code seems to be no so much strict than as in other developments where all has to be standardized

⁵² Data from Interview with Specialist 1 the 4th September 2013.

⁵³ See professions of the respondents of the survey in August 2013 (see Data Analysis in CD)

⁵⁴ Data from residents collected during the Survey in August 2013 .There was also an observation related to the case by Specialist 1 on the 4th September 2013. "*I think it is important to know the percentage of academics and the others, because its origins is a cooperative established by academicians but It changed a lot and I do not know the persons that live now. I do not know the percentages now but as far as I heard more than half it is not academicians now* "

in terms of type of vegetation to put in the lawn, where to put the clothes to dry, and the external decoration that is allowed among more restrictions. The extreme pattern of simulation that characterized gated enclaves did not take part in Ariköy. The strange phenomena of Ariköy consists of the neighbors modifying their typologies trying to detached what is physically impossible; it is another type of simulation (see Figure.24). Individualization, Isolation and Strong sense of private property seems to be the first characteristics observed in Ariköy and would be ratified talking with the residents.

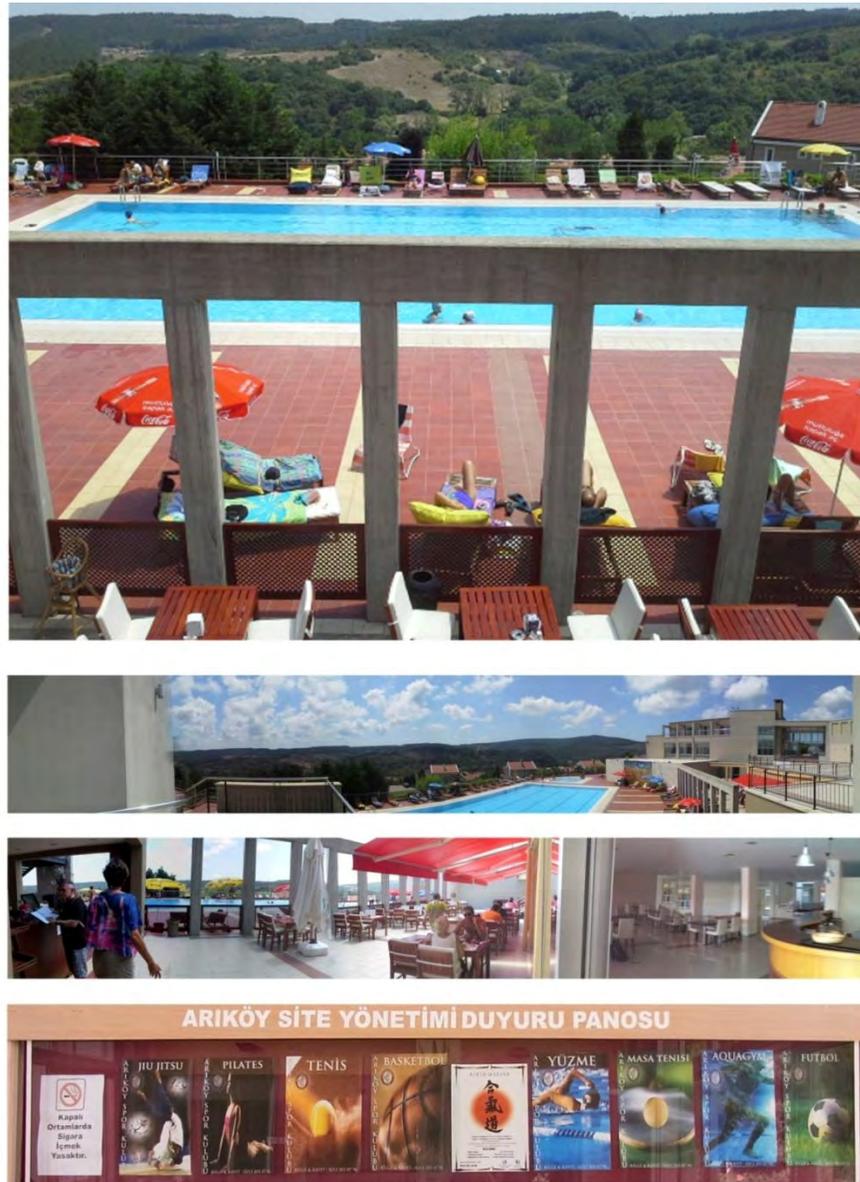


Figure. 21 Amenities in Ariköy. Photographs by the Author. July 2013.



Figure. 22 Typologies in Ariköy

Models of two of the typologies spread in Ariköy Gated Suburban Enclave. Photographs by the Author. July 2013



Figure. 23 Expanding the Typology

Photograph by the Author. July 2013.



Figure. 24 Security Issues Gated in the Gated

Photographs by the Author. July 2013.



Figure. 25 Individualization Patterns. Photographs by the Author. July 2013.

3.2.1.2 Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy – The Immediate Vicinity.

Gümüşdere is a village near to the Black Sea, only 800 metres from Ariköy gated locality with a population of around 1500 inhabitants⁵⁵. The village actually doesn't contain considerable gated developments, just a few gated villas. The urban pattern is composed by few residences, a small centre with some shops, a mosque, a cafe and some restaurants for the passer-bys. The "public space" or "meeting point", is outside the café under a group of trees where the çay⁵⁶ is served and some table games are played. It is possible to find almost fifty residents in the meeting point every day at the evening.

⁵⁵ Population data from Citypopulation. <http://www.citypopulation.de>.

⁵⁶ Traditional Turkish Tea.

Being an Islamic culture, and with the café being generally near to the mosque, it is difficult to find women in these spaces. Gümüşdere main activity is the agriculture and it is possible to find a large number of green houses in the surroundings creating an agricultural landscape. The village has an old population, most of whom are farmers. It is possible to suppose that the young population goes to the centre of Istanbul to study or to find a job. The life in Gümüşdere seems to be monotonous. The shops of the centre have some movement in summer as many tourist pass through the village to go to Kilyos, the local beach at the Black Sea. The economy of Gümüşdere is fragile, depending mainly on agriculture; and as the land values increase with the development of gated enclaves it would not be a surprise if Gümüşdere change into a gated village in some years.

On the other hand, Zekeriaköy is a compilation of gated enclaves and it has also a small village of few houses embedded in the middle of that ambiance. The village is composed of few residences, some shops, a mosque, a café and some restaurants for the passer-bys who are almost zero (see Figure.26). The meeting point for the villagers outside the café under a group of trees where the çay is served, the same situation as in Gümüşdere but in this case the café is directly located in front of the mosque. The economic activity of Zekeriaköy is intrinsically related to the gated enclaves. As it could be verified by personal impressions in the place, the inhabitants of the small village are just few and they are all connected to the gated suburban enclaves in a weak commercial relation based on offering basic supplies or home-cooked meals. This economic relationship is weak in the sense that many residents of the gated enclaves prefer to buy their goods in medium/large malls. However, the other alternative for the “outsiders” is to offer basic services as cleaning houses, cleaning swimming pools, cutting the grass, among other services. Furthermore, some of the inhabitants work on the amenities of the gated enclaves or they are part of the security staff. It could be also recognized some isolated agricultural activities and shepherds as well in the village (see Figure.26). The gated enclaves found in Zekeriaköy vary from fortified villas, gated enclaves of less than fifty villas, larger enclaves of more than five hundred villas, and other complexes with villas and apartments. The site is a collection of walls and security systems sometimes reaching the absurd. It was possible to count in one of the isolated fortified villas more than eight security cameras and walls that reached four meters high. There is also paranoia in the ambiance concerning security and espionage that would be described in the following section and not only from part of the residents of the gated enclaves⁵⁷. Among all these gated developments, there is one small called “Cansit Villas” composed of thirty five houses and is one of the nearest gated enclaves to the centre of Zekeriaköy. The houses are the same model mass-produced covering a reduced surface without many amenities. The houses as it is possible to observe in most of the villa developments has 300 m2 approximately. “Cansit Villas” is one of the thousands examples of the monotony that characterize the physical landscape of Zekeriaköy, and it is one of the gated variations multiplied through the whole surface of Sariyer. Some residents of this gated suburban enclave contribute to the research giving their impressions about the landscape proposed by the developments where they live.

⁵⁷ In addition, in the interview with Specialist 2 on 6th September 2013, the interviewee described the situation around criminality as a feature that makes villagers take those sceptic attitudes. See Interviews in the annexed CD.



Figure. 26 Zekeriaköy.

A-Public Space+ wood piles; B-Shepard mixed with the “urbanity”;C- Animals raising;D-The village without sidewalks;E-The gated village;F-Gated isolated villa with woodpile; G- Gated isolated villa with woodpile; H- Gated isolated villa with woodpile. Photographs by the Author. August 2013.

3.3 The Threats

3.3.1 Social and Physical Threats

Related to the social aspects, especially in Zekeriaköy the public space was reduced to zero with the advance of the gated developments. The social interaction between residents and villagers could be also considered inexistent in both villages, Zekeriaköy and Gümüşdere; and randomly possible when somebody of the gated enclaves needs to buy some provisions in the local centre. There is a strict contractual relationship established between villagers and residents from gated enclaves. The strong sense of isolation and non-contact is clearly manifested as some residents of gated enclaves pass at high speed through the villages in their polarized cars. However, the ever scarce public space remains within tables under some vines in front of the café where the çay is served; it could be argued that there is still a meeting point and a cultural entity in the hard core of these villages. In terms of the physical ambiance, Zekeriaköy is a compendium of walls and strong security systems where the villagers are embedded. The landscape is physically homogeneous and the villagers are day by day banned from the natural environment. As it was observed in the site the threats are not so different from the theoretical construction made in *Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.2)* as gated enclaves are stereotyped products consequently producing stereotyped ambiances. To the contrary, Gümüşdere has not reached yet that “walled” ambiance. Despite this not surprising landscape, an important distinction should be made concerning the environmental threat as it is intrinsically connected with what is happening in these times in Istanbul and in the whole Turkey with this kind of “unplanned growth”⁵⁸. In the following section, the threat to the natural environment by gated developments in Sariyer district shall be discussed while considering some aspects that takes the case to the Turkish national sphere.

3.3.2 The Environmental Threat-The Situation around the Belgrade Forest

Experiences.

“When I was a child I usually went to the outskirts of Istanbul, to Zekeriaköy , to made picnic there and stay with my family in the Forest. I remembered that the villagers where part of that environment offering home-made food and other services for the tourists” (Melis-Istanbul Resident-Informal Conversation in Istanbul 16th August 2013)

⁵⁸ In the interview with Specialist 1 on the 4th September 2013. Exchanging opinions between the author and the interviewee.

Specialist 1: (...) I think the government did not want to pay money for the private lands that's why they tried to use the Forest and public land. (...)

The Author: Interesting

Specialist 1: Very bad development for the area

The Author: Unplanned?

Specialist 1: Planned but not based on necessary research. You could plan but if you do not think the results it is not a quality and useful process.

“When you look at the map of Istanbul, especially after the 1999 earthquake, people tried to move North because of the stable ground but contradictory there are Forest in the North. It changed, it changed a lot.”

(Specialist 1 –Academician- Interviewed in Istanbul 4th September 2013)

The threat posed to the Belgrade Forests, the well-known “Lungs of Istanbul”⁵⁹, is a problem which embraces Sariyer. This threat involves the whole of the north region of Istanbul connected to the Black Sea and not only Sariyer district. As it is agreed by urban planners Istanbul has to grow parallel to the Marmara Sea without affecting the forests and there is a common agreement that Istanbul has a limit to growth in a northerly direction⁶⁰. However, The 15000 ha of Belgrade Forest were reduced to 1/3 of what the forest was in 1920 (data from TMMOB (TÜRK MÜHENDİS ve MİMAR ODALARI BİRLİĞİ: *Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects*) 2006 quoted in Bekiroğlu and Eker 2011 p.1799) and the green areas had decreased 12% in the period of 1987-2000 in the European part of Istanbul (data from the study of Kaya & Curran 2006⁶¹ quoted by Berkoz and Tepe 2013 p. 4). The situation is under a complexity. Many factors have influenced this phenomena and are widely known; they are related to the period between 1960s to mid-1980s with migration, industrial development, growth of the service sector, and of course the need of residences for middle-high class sectors and the working class. Bekiroğlu and Eker (2011) focus upon the fact that gecekondu⁶² constitute a main threat to the forest⁶³, it is possible to assure that but gated developments also take a crucial place in the threat⁶⁴. However this kind of argument based on the gecekondu’ question in the voice of some authorities could justify the destructive urban renewal that the city is experiencing, and also the perverse mechanism with the 2B Lands that would be commented later. The Belgrade Forest represents biodiversity, absorption of Co2 and the possibility for non-aggressive recreational issues between other aspects. But there is something more to underline in the area selected. The Belgrad Forest has been an important area containing the water reservoirs of Istanbul since Suleyman; thus eliminating the forest also reduces the capacity of the soils to retain the water, consequently affecting Istanbul’s provision of drinkable water (Bekiroğlu and Eker, 2011). There is a complex system that perpetuates this kind of harmful and unplanned growth.

⁵⁹ Popular denomination for the Belgrad Forest.

⁶⁰ *“But according to masters plans the northern parts of the city could be preserved since many professionals and academicians mentioned the area as a red line for Istanbul to develop. And Istanbul has been planned to grow parallel to Marmara sea coasts with a linear development. If you shelve the plans and forget them it will be the main threat for Belgrad Forest.”* Report Specialist 3 after Interview on 13th August 2013.

⁶¹ Kaya, S. & P. J. Curran (2006). Monitoring urban growth on the European side of the Istanbul metropolitan area: A case study. *International Journal of Applied Earth Observation and Geoinformation*, 8, 18-25.

⁶² Informal Settlements in Turkey. The terminology “gecekondu” means build at night.

⁶³ Another consideration of the phenomena. *“There are several ways to construct a building in a legally forest area. But none of them are formal. Development in forest areas of Istanbul mostly occurred illegally with squatter-gecekondu houses and it proliferated.”* Report Specialist 3 after Interview on 13th August 2013.

⁶⁴ Sharing opinions with Specialist 1 –Academician- Interviewed in Istanbul 4th September 2013.

“But you know your country and our country; we have also illegal developments, squatter settlements but very strange that not only that unplanned developments are destroying the environment, planned developments are threatening the forest...it is strange...it is strange....”

Experts talk about lack of coordination between National Organisms (Bekiroğlu and Eker, 2011); fragmentation of the planning legal system (Unzal, 2009); necessity of improving controls tracking changes to reclaim what is lost (Atasoy, Biyik et al., 2005); and the controversy around 2B lands (Unzal, 2009). What is behind is mainly a political problem and somehow an attack to democratic institutions. Talking with experts and residents in the field there is a strong concentration of power in the Prime Ministry that generates inadequate and unplanned decisions. For Duru (2013) the period that Turkey is experiencing would be remembered for the natural assets being destroyed among others important damages (Duru 2013 for Heinrich Böll Foundation). The discontent was clearly visible with the episodes of Gezi Park that started at the end of May 2013, where environmental groups were involved between thousands demonstrators. It is not part of the research to fully attend to the macro-ambiance as an object of specific analysis; despite of this, some aspects should be understood to clarify the context in which the individual of Sariyer is embedded. These are the governance trends in Turkey previously explained, the phenomena of 2B lands and the new projects that would affect Sariyer.

3.3.2.1 2B Lands

The controversial item 2B of the Forestry Law 6831 adopted in 1982 allows what was publicly forest in the past and presently anymore due to agriculture activities, location of informal settlements, industrial activity and natural disasters be converted to land suitable for construction, passing through the Directorate of Mass Housing entering finally into the housing market dynamics. However there was another implementation through the Law 6292 in 2012, that makes it feasible to sell such territories to private individuals⁶⁵. This only one of a collection of normatives that allow the predation natural area. Basically, the situation is the following: *commodifying the forest instead of reforesting the land*. It is possible to suppose an informal mechanism acting to empty the land for then apply the regulation and construct enclaves from different magnitudes in territories that were once classified as forest. During fieldwork it was possible to find remote empty lands in the forest with evidence of heavy machines having been used to clear the forest as it was possible to observe the roots of trees in the landscape and vehicle markings on the ground. It could not be verified if this is part of that type of mechanisms as there was nobody to consult and there was the impossibility to obtain precise geographical location (see Figure.27 A-C). Despite this many residents from gated enclaves and villagers of the area sustained that machines are operating at night totally without any control removing part of the forest. It was seen how developments maintain a façade of trees meanwhile all the trees behind the façade were cut down. It was also surprising to find some evidence of huge woodpiles in the area near some developments (see Figure.27 B-D). Some hypothetical possibilities exist, such as the wood being used by people to heat their homes, the result of “maintenance activities” or that

⁶⁵ Posted on May 15th 2012. Turkey Forest Blog.

<http://turkeyforest.blogspot.de/search/label/Law%206292%20of%2019%2F4%2F2012%20allows%20the%20ownership%20of%20land%20declassified%20as%20forest%20to%20be%20transferred%20to%20private%20individuals.%20However%20it%20will%20probably%20not%20reduce%20the%20number%20of%20complaints%20made%20to%20the%20ECHR>.

landowners emptied their plots for construction matters. A specific answer could not be obtained but there was a definite grey area regarding what was happening along with a fear to talk about those issues in the site.



Figure. 27 Gümüşdere

A and C Empty Land with trees roots. B and D Woodpiles in the area. Photographs by the Author. August 2013.



Figure. 28 Agriculture in Gümüşdere.

Photograph by the Author.

3.3.2.2 Ambiance in the Mass Media-Developers Advertisements

Mass Media, in this case developers' advertisements could contribute to enhance the threat, an opinion that was shared with the Turkish Specialists in the topic during the interviews after the data collection⁶⁶. Certain lifestyles are promoted which generate the stereotyped environment described in *Chapter 2*(see *Section 2.2.3*). For the case of Sariyer in Istanbul ,there were selected images through the web that showing how developments are promoted in the region with most being on-going projects (see *Figure.29*). These projects are : *Merkez, Foresta and Ormanada in Zakeriaköy; and Sariyereveleri and OksiZen in Sariyer*. All these developments are gated villa towns or low-rise developments whose target

⁶⁶ Interviews with Specialists.

"This is a demand of the people...It is because also the mass media effect. People now want to live in that secure environment.(...)I remembered that some daily newspapers have some "booklets advertisements" about these settlements it is still effective i think." Interview to Specialist 1 the 4th September 2013.

Specialist 2: If you have the chance to check, all the publicity about gated communities.

The Author: I am in that way so I want to hear your opinion.

Specialist 2: The funny thing is that they are selling all these development with nature, with peacefulness, very close to Forest. As you said, people want to touch the grass, people want to cultivate by themselves, not cultivate in huge sense, but you know take their tomatoes for their gardens. They are selling things like that, and the main thing is the ecological or sustainable way of living but they are just destroying nature and just trying to rebuilt nature a new nature, artificial nature inside those gated communities. Interview to Dr. Specialist 2 on 6th September 2013.

group is the middle-high class. Promotional material is clearly embedded with a message of an ideal nature with a harmonious society based on the principles of family life (see Figure.29), something that could be considered a “corrupt utopia”⁶⁷. These advertisements are not far away from reflecting the values of the original Suburbia described in *Chapter 2 (see Section 2.1.2.2)*. Furthermore, in these representations it was possible to observe that most developments were promoted with a clear message of happy families in a context of hyperreal and non-autochthonous vegetation. There is a landscape of simulation being erected. There are also fantasy mottos and logos of the new developments that somehow have embedded the commodification of the Nature’s essence (see Figure.29). There is a lifestyle promoted and a lifestyle being bought, the consumer and the product seem to be in a completely synergy. But Is what they promote what residents really want? If people desire that contact with the nature and developments are clearly advertising in that sense, then it is possible to say that the mechanism threatening the environment is under the binomial *residents of gated enclaves-developers*. It was possible to understand during conversations with specialists in the subject that developments damage the environment sometimes using legal mechanisms⁶⁸ and in other cases directly by illegal operations cutting down-trees. Therefore, Are the both actors of the binomial directly or indirectly responsible of what is happening? The opinion of a group of residents from gated enclaves in connection with their motivations to live there to corroborate the hypothesis of the binomial shall be explained in the following sections.

⁶⁷ Gartforth (2006) introduced the concept :“The claim that modern culture is replete with idealised representations of nature that function as corrupt utopias – reactionary and nostalgic rather than progressive and emancipatory, compensatory and escapist rather than critical and transformative...” Gartforth (2006 p.14)

⁶⁸ See unstructured interviews in the Data Analysis CD annexed.



Figure. 29 Promotion of 5 projects in the Area. Compilation made by the Author

A- Foresta-Sariyer; B-Merkez Zekeriaköy; C-Ormanada-Zekeriaköy; D-Sariyerevleri; E-OksiZen-Sariyer.

Sources: A- <http://www.foresta.com.tr> ; B- <http://merkezzekeriakoy.com> ; C- <http://www.ormanada.com> ; D- <http://sariyerevleri.org> ; E- http://www.eroglu.com/web/45-301-1-1/eroglu_-_tr/konut_projeleri/sariyer_oksizen_konaklari_galeri/proje_fotograf

3.3.2.3 New Projects in the Area, The Third Bridge and The Airport

For a complete understanding of the actual threat to Sariyer from developments, two of the most relevant projects “planned” for Istanbul must be mentioned. The first project is the Third Bridge over the Bosphorus while the other is the International Airport; both projects would affect Sariyer’s structure. The project of the Third Bridge was started at the end of May 2012 and is going to be located exactly connecting the villages of Garipçe in the European side and Poyrazköy in the Asian side. The airport would be located in Tayakadin in Arnavutköy district. Therefore, the bridge would be directly affecting Sariyer but the airport would be in another location. However, there is a new axis of development proposed for Istanbul that undoubtedly would affect the natural environment of Northern Istanbul including Sariyer and its part of the Belgrad Forest. The possible harmful scenario for Sariyer is developing new gated enclaves along the new corridor enhancing the social-segregation characteristic that was underlined before with the extreme danger of losing a considerable part of the forests. There is a possible threat to create a non-district, a conglomerate of non-places over the whole surface of Sariyer. It is assumed by politicians through the media that this development would cause a minimum environmental damage and the idea of erasing authenticity is not in any agenda (see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3). Of course only the construction of a road would be hard to accept but would not be take the problem to an extreme situation; the main problem is that the development of the road would carry a considerable number of developments to the area. As it was described in the *Section 3.3.2.1* there are legal mechanisms that somehow would allow the enclavization of the region, the proliferation of gated enclaves. To resume some of the threats considered by the Chamber of Urban Planners of Istanbul (2012) about the constructions of the Third Bridge, they are: emissions due to new traffic in the area, roads passing through areas containing drinking water reservoirs, residential pressure in the area, wildlife in danger and the impossibility of having forested areas to absorb poisonous gases⁶⁹. Sariyer Municipality is also aware about the threats and of this kind of unplanned actions that affect intrinsically the district⁷⁰. The actual state of the Third Bridge constructions is just “cleaning the forest” at both villages, in the media is shown that the trees would be transported to other places. The idea of moving a forest creates suspicious in terms of the feasibility and the true intention of the government to perform such a feat. Garipeçe, the village of Sariyer district experiencing the changes, is an isolated location far away from the settlements previously described, only near to Rumeli Feneri. It is hard to access to the area as there is no frequent public transport and also because the village is a final destination that does not connect to other agglomerations. Thus, being a remote location makes generally the residents of Sariyer District not aware of the changes; except through the media. This aspect would be further developed in connection with the experience of residents about the environmental threats.

⁶⁹ Chamber of Urban Planners Istanbul Branch (2012).The Ecological Threats Concerning the Third Bridge.Reflections Turkey , a platform of open commentaries on Turkish affairs.May 2012

⁷⁰ See SWOT Analysis p.38 in .Sariyer Municipality (2013). Sariyer Development Action Plan.
<http://en.sariyer.bel.tr/userfiles/files/Pdf/actionplan.pdf>

3.4 Experiencing the Threats.

“A decrease in the number of people who hold similar beliefs or an increase in the number of people who have conflicting values and economic goals will lead to increased pressures on the environment.”

(Bekiroğlu and Eker, 2011, p.1800)

Even if there is a context of unplanned decisions in Turkey and huge political debate. On the other hand, there are inhabitants with some values that contribute to the phenomena; there is civic responsibility. It could be argued that there are also people not informed about what is happening in certain areas but also others that do not care about the damages to the natural environment between others even knowing the situation⁷¹. Could contradictory values exist related to the natural environment? There is a question of consuming lifestyles which are intrinsically related to the damage of the natural environment that would also be explored throughout this research. In the following section the different perceptions from residents of gated enclaves and villagers shall be discussed to understand how they perceive the threats of the natural environment and the social and physical ones underlined in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.2). On the other hand, the motivations of a group of residents from gated enclaves to live in that particular ambience beyond theory would be better understood.

3.4.1 Experiences from Residents of Ariköy -The Gated Suburban Enclave. Including perceptions from Zekeriaköy and Rummelifeneri.

Before introducing the question of the threats and how the residents experience them it is necessary to understand their motivations to live in the gated enclaves and their relationship with the villagers. Although, data was mainly collected from that gated locality of Ariköy, residents interviewed in other places, such as Zekeriaköy and Rummelifeneri, agreed generally with the point of view of Ariköy residents. Their impressions would also be considered along these lines.

The motivations to live there are principally based on having more contact with the natural environment and escaping from the pollution of the city⁷². These last observations in Sariyer verified the intrinsic characteristic of the suburbs described in Chapter 2. There were other motivations of second order to live in the enclave that was the possibility to

⁷¹ Contrasting opinions. *“I do not think that people are aware of natural threats which is caused by residential development in the periphery because this threat is not mentioned in any media or newspaper.”* Report Specialist 3 after Interview on 13th August 2013.

⁷² According to the survey made inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires to twenty residents from Mid –July to August 2013; related to the options selected as motivations to live in the gated enclave (question N°1) there were: seventeen answers “to have more contact with the nature” and fifteen “to escape from the city pollution” (see Data Analysis in CD).

raise their children in a “safe environment” and to live in an ambiance with people of the same values⁷³. The last point seems to be tricky as when it was asked about those values generally there was only an association with an economical status. Thus, in some cases could be related to the idea of a ghetto. It was popularly enhanced the idea by the residents that these “neighbourhoods” respect the natural environment. This is also another tricky aspect as the simulated green lawns do not show generally all the trees that were cut down to make room for these kind of developments even there is no prove about Ariköy being part of these dynamics. Another important aspect at the moment to choose the neighbourhood was the idea to have their house in a safer area from possible earthquakes⁷⁴. When asking the residents, they would not put this quality as the first motivation; instead it would be probably be third place. The central argument around gated enclaves and the first motivation related to security issues was not the main argument in Ariköy even with the other respondents. One of the interviewees from Cansit Villas, said the following: “*Security facilities you find everywhere, you could find secure complexes in the center as well*”⁷⁵. There is a general emphasis in the area around the contact with the nature as main motivation; and as it was described the idea to be in contact with the Belgrad Forest. Living in a place with more “public-private space” was not a priority, during the field work it was verified that these are deserted spaces and there is a strong vocation of isolation and privacy⁷⁶. About the relationship with the villagers, most of them understand them as their neighbours⁷⁷, not as only suppliers but in practice the interaction is reduced only to that contractual role (see Section 3.2.1.2). There was another aspect to underline almost all the respondents in Ariköy do not consider that the “neighbourhood” is characterized by the solidarity between its neighbours and between them and the villagers⁷⁸. On the other hand, villagers of Zekeriaköy emphasized that some residents of gated enclaves help them economically to support the maintenance of some public spaces⁷⁹.

The social and physical threats are not included in the list of main concerns of the residents⁸⁰ but the environmental threat seems to be a topic that every resident wanted to talk about. In social terms, generally the residents of Ariköy and Zekeriaköy are not so much familiar with their surroundings as they are commuters, experiencing their surroundings only

⁷³ According to the survey made inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires to twenty residents from Mid –July to August 2013; related to the options selected as motivations to live in the gated enclave (question N°1) there were: twelve “to be in a place with people with the same values” and eleven “to have a safe place for your children to grow up” (see Data Analysis in CD).

⁷⁴ This aspect was not included in the questionnaires and respondents talk about that motivation.

⁷⁵ Selen resident of Cansit Villas interviewed in Beşiktaş, Café Nero on 6th September 2013.

⁷⁶ Assumption made according to the survey made inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires to twenty residents from Mid –July to August 2013; related to the question about motivations to live in the gated enclave (question N°1); there zero answers “to have more public space” (*private-public space*)(see Data Analysis in CD).+Direct Observation during the fieldwork inside the enclave in July 2013.

⁷⁷ According to the survey made inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires to twenty residents from Mid –July to August 2013; related to the question about relationship of the individual and the inhabitants of the immediate surroundings and the qualification of that status (question N°5); there were fourteen answers to “neighbours” (see Data Analysis in CD).

⁷⁸ According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid –July to August 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N °7) there were no answers for “the solidarity between the members inside the neighborhood “ and only two answers for “the solidarity between the members of the neighborhood and outsiders”(see Data Analysis in CD).

⁷⁹ Observation made by Respondant N ° 2 in Zekeriaköy during the fieldwork in August 2013.

⁸⁰ Physical Threats. According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid –July to August 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N °7) there were only three answers for “the concentration of security systems” and five answers for “the strong physical barriers” (see Data Analysis in CD).

when the need to buy something in exceptional occasions. This could be one of the reasons for the low level of related to the different local problems. On the other hand there are motivations to live with certain type of amenities and security facilities that only this kind of development could provide, thus class-segregation is strongly embedded in the typology itself, so when a resident of a gated enclave decide to move there unconsciously or not is performing class-segregation. Talking with the residents of Ariköy many of them choose the location for the amenities and the quietness, they did not want something related to the city and the kind of public space that is mainly associated with that entity. The problem is not only about the availability of public space to promote the interaction but also about the willingness for residents to interact. However it is possible to argue that the availability of public space can force the individual to interact, understand and learn from the others. There was a no such strong willingness of interaction in Ariköy where respondents demonstrated a strong distance from the “outsiders” while opinions were limited to the development offering jobs for the inhabitants of the surroundings. This general opinion was also shared with the interviewees from Cansit Villas-Zekeriaköy. The respondents of Ariköy did not consider that the development was similar to others in the area⁸¹. They did not relate the phenomena even to physical particularities that are clearly visible as walls and security systems. It could be argue that are most of them really embedded in what happen inside the gated enclave. In Istanbul, development located in Rummeli Feneri, a family talk of their concerns about physical boundaries, expressing their opinion in the questionnaires; for them physical boundaries should not exist but people have to respect their private life. It is needless to say that there are almost no villagers in the immediate surroundings.

The threat to the natural environment is a concern in the target group and it is logical as a part of the motivations to be there is to have a prestigious lifestyle in connection with the natural environment. Paradoxically, the opinions in connection with the subject were completely unexpected. More than a half of the answer in the questionnaires show that for the residents the gated enclaves is characterized by “*the conscience of taking care of the nature*” generally understood as a question of the internal management of the gated enclaves to maintain the “natural image”. The respondents were also concerned about the possible apparition of new developments in the area. Despite this, the opinion was focused on the increase of the noise levels by the new upcoming urbanizations if the new axis is finally completed. There was a strong position in relation with the “silent lifestyle” that was bought, seeing the Third Bridge as a main attempt to that contractual relationship. None of the residents in first instance talked about the Third Bridge as main threat to the Belgrade Forest, and there is a common agreement in the unconscious collective about these gated suburban developments taking care about the natural environment.

⁸¹ According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid –July to August 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N °7) there was only one answer for “the similarity with the developments of the area”. (see Data Analysis in CD)

3.4.2 Experiences from villagers of Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy

As in the last section, which described how a group of residents of gated enclaves experience the social, physical and environmental threats of this kind of development, this section shall focus upon the opinion of the villagers of Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy. As shall be discussed, the experiences of villagers were completely different but both made a particular emphasis in their economic activities and the situation of losing their incomes.

In Gümüşdere, still an agricultural locality, a group of residents argued that the increase of gated enclaves would threaten the agricultural lands and consequently their main income. Thus, they see the developments firstly as an economical threat. In terms of social aspects, the respondents, as in Zekeriaköy, were concerned about how these developments affect the expectancy of possible relationships in the urban environment⁸² and about the lack of solidarity between any groups⁸³. In both villages there was a desire for interaction while understanding the interaction between them and the residents of gated enclaves something totally possible. The theoretically supposed extreme social tension between “insiders” and “outsiders” did not exist. The physical threats related to security systems and barriers imposed by Ariköy and other gated enclaves were in their main consideration at the time to define the landscape promoted⁸⁴. Some of them commented about the uncomfortable situation of showing even identity cards to enter in the gated enclaves when they have a job inside.

The environmental threat was a concern for a group of old men in Gümüşdere; they were realizing that gated enclaves attempt water reservoirs and also gave examples of enclaves privatizing the natural environment⁸⁵. There were no comments in both villages related to the Third Bridge and how it would affect the area. It is necessary to make a parenthesis in this question and say that nobody exactly knows what is happening with the new projects. The projects are involved in a process of disinformation that characterize political decisions in Turkey, the Author experienced the same

⁸² According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents in August 2013; in the question related to the threats by the proliferation of gated enclaves in the area (question N °2) there were thirteen answers related to “Possible Relationships ” focalized in the actual impossibility of a frequent interaction between residents of the gated enclave- residents from the immediate surroundings.(see Data Analysis in CD)

⁸³ According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents in August 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were only one answer related to “The solidarity between the members inside the neighborhood “ and four related to “The solidarity between the members of the neighborhood and outsiders“ from the residents of Zekeriaköy.(see Data Analysis in CD)

⁸⁴ According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents in August 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were sixteen answers related to “The concentration of security systems” and ten related to “The strong physical barriers”.(see Data Analysis in CD)

⁸⁵ Comments by respondents N °11; N °16 and N °20.On the other hand surprisingly in the whole survey in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were thirteen answers related to “The respect for the natural environment” from part of these developments. It could be argue that they are not been seen as a macro-phenomenon threatening forests and that the respondents referred to the internal management of the gated suburban enclaves with those well-known restrictions to maintain the natural “scenario”.

ambiance in May 2013 when the members of the Urban Management programme of Technische Universität Berlin conducted research on Taksim Square finding inhabitants to be unaware of changes because the only images received through the media are few digital images with no plans even available for professionals. All is under a mist. Therefore, it is not possible to pretend that inhabitants are aware of an unknown phenomenon, there are many things happening in the area and there is only a beautifully rendered image with a bridge that “joins” distant parts of the city.

In Zekeriaköy, there was a strange ambiance with villagers perceiving the social threats. They felt excluded and they showed a vocation to have more contact with the residents of the gated enclaves. Relating to the physical threat; as in Gümüşdere they were alarmed about the concentration of security systems but in this location the fear was not only an attribute of the resident of the gated enclaves. There is a general argument based on the paranoia of gated enclaves’ residents around security systems; Zekeriaköy does not escape from the phenomena but the fear has also reached the villagers. During the interviews the Author was accused by part of the community of being a “speculator” collecting data. The older residents, most of whom are retired, were aware of the dynamics and they somehow feel a threatened with the proliferation of gated enclaves. On the other hand, there was a group of residents with fear to talk about the gated enclaves as their jobs were related to them. A clear example was a chief of security of one of the enclaves, who after seeing the questions argued that he could not talk about that aspects and a number of people in the cafe followed his argument. The threats to the natural environment were perceived as an externality not so much connected with the gated enclaves of the area, they even sanctify them and the residents. It is possible to say that the fear of losing their jobs is embedded in the ambiance. People whose jobs were related to rural activities presented strong positions in connection with the threats. Zekeriaköy, as discussed previously, depends economically on the gated enclaves more than Gümüşdere which remains in an economy based on agriculture. Thus the opinions were generally more pro-gated enclaves which appears somehow logical.

3.5 Summary of the Findings

To sum up, the social aspects, physical particularities of the place and environmental aspects that are being threatened Sariyer Suburbia were identified within this chapter. Furthermore, it was possible to discover how the different inhabitants experience them. In this section the most relevant findings related to the threats shall be summarized and grouped into clusters, adding more dimensions that would not be possible to be understood without the experiences in the site. The clusters are merely descriptive as reality shows that they are part of an integral phenomenon. However, defragging into clusters facilitates an understanding. The experiences of both target groups in connection with the threats shall be also summarized but this time inside “topics”.

3.5.1 About the Threats

Social Aspects and Physical Particularities

a) In Zekeriaköy, there is no social mixture or civic dialogue as there are no spaces to perform either. There is a compilation of non-places for the residents of gated enclaves (see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.1) where generally only contractual relationships have developed between villagers and residents of the enclaves. Residents of gated enclaves usually go to the villages to buy fresh food or basic supplies if they do not buy in the big malls. It is possible to say that the process of commuting from part of the residents of gated enclaves makes the interaction practically impossible. The residents of the gated Sariyer are usually embedded in the circuit CBD-Büyükdere Avenue-Sariyer Suburbia which gated them more than they are, resulting in an immersion within a system of non-places (see Figure.16)

b) The understanding of the “other” in terms of social segregation was in the first instance the main concern. However, experience in the site has highlighted that the economic dimension gets an unexpected relevance in the social dimension as each community experiences the possibility of losing jobs as the main threat. Therefore the residents of gated enclaves and developers could represent a strong negative figure in agricultural villages as Gümüşdere. The question of social segregation, insiders-outsiders, somehow loses priority in their agenda.

c) The uniformity described in the theoretical formulation of the gated landscape (see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2.2) appeared in places with a typological heterogeneity. In the case of Zekeriaköy, a high number of enclaves form uni-familiar fortresses to gated suburban enclaves including 20 to 400 houses; meanwhile Ariköy is directly a gated locality. It is necessary to understand the spatial configuration in relation with the villages and gated enclaves as the perception of dwellers changes accordingly. For example, Zekeriaköy’s original village is surrounded by gated enclaves while Ariköy is the only gated enclave close to Gümüşdere. Furthermore, the temporal dimension takes relevance as Zekeriaköy has been intensively developed as an area of enclaves, while Gümüşdere is in an early phase of the phenomenon.

Environmental Aspects

a) It was possible to find signs that the Belgrade Forest is being damaged. The forest represents “public spaces” for recreational activities for the whole community but also in a cultural macro perspective is part of the identity of the whole city. Following the cultural argument, traditional villages have entered into the market dynamics changing their land use and being consumed by gated developments. Under these dynamics, Zekeriaköy is nearly a gated town, and Gümüşdere has started to experience gated developments in its surroundings. The risk for the last village is to lose its agricultural lands and consequently its authenticity as a place. To sum up, it is a question of losing invaluable forests and agricultural lands to change into the gated suburban landscape, deleting the associated identities.

b) The threats to the environment are acquiring a National scope as Sariyer is experiencing the construction of the Third Bridge over the Bosphorus Strait and consequently there would be another axis for the city to develop. Therefore the initial environmental damage hazardously performed by the proliferation of gated enclaves in the past; today will have a clear infrastructure to develop systematically.

c) There is a legal framework that allows the commodification of the forest, also lack of public information about the changes performed and a political will of pursuing a kind of unplanned growth.

d) Developments which are pushing the natural limits are playing an important role in attracting residents to the outskirts. There is an idealized contact with the natural ambiance that is promoted but on the other hand there are consumers with anxieties of getting a house in the forest, thus there is a binomial against the natural environment that includes civic responsibility.

3.5.2 About the Experiences from Residents and Villagers

a. Different Concerns in the Target Groups. Social aspects in relationship with communities of the surroundings and the physical barriers promoted by the development were not a main concern of residents of gated enclaves. On the other hand, villagers of Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy took as a main consideration the concentration of security systems at the time to define the landscape promoted by gated enclaves. Although when speaking with villagers, it was clear their main concern was around the question of losing their jobs and those repressions in the space were left to the side⁸⁶.

b. Landscapes of Individualization. Another important aspect at the time which defined the social landscape was that both target groups agreed in the presence of strong individualization where solidarity did not represent the relationship between residents in the same enclave, such as between residents of the enclave and villagers⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ Crossing Data. DATA 1: According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents in August 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were *sixteen* answers related to “The concentration of security systems”. DATA 2: According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid –July to August 2013; only three of them selected “The concentration of security systems” to describe the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N ° 7). DATA 3: Additional observations made by the Author in the dialogues with both target groups during the survey. (see *Data Analysis in CD*).

⁸⁷ Crossing Data. DATA 1: According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents in August 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were only one answer related to “The solidarity between the members inside the neighborhood “ and four related to “The solidarity between the members of the neighborhood and outsiders“ from the residents of Zekeriaköy . DATA 2: According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N °7) there were only no answers related to “The solidarity between the members

c. The Presence of Fear.

There is an ambiance of fear that has been experienced in both villages, Zakeriaköy and Gümüşdere. It is possible to relate the phenomenon to different dimensions. First, there is a general dimension that embraced the whole survey. It was possible to find an ambiance of fear when talking about “political subjects”, as it is widely known there are conflicts around the implementation of large scale projects in Istanbul and the hard episodes in Gezi Park have just occurred one month ago. On the other hand residents of gated enclaves were more open to talk about urban questions and even make hard critics to the projects in connection with governmental aspects. The second dimension of fear is related to the particular settings and the question of jobs. In Zakeriaköy most villagers whose activity was related to the gated enclaves did not want to talk about the subject and having jobs inside the gated enclaves was the main argument to reject interviews and not completing the questionnaires. In Gümüşdere the situation was different as many villagers do not experience that kind of fear related to a contractual relationship, they experience the fear related to the advance of gated developments threatening their main source of income: *the agricultural lands*. The fieldwork opened the complexity around fear and urban dynamics as it is commonly understood only present in residents of gated enclaves with a paranoia around security systems.

d. An ambiance of contradictions and shared Responsibilities about the Environment.

Most of gated enclaves’ residents interviewed argued living there was due to a desire to have a daily contact with the natural environment and also more than a half of the interviewees argued that the residents of the enclave have a consciousness in taking care of the environment. There was a strong position about the development where they live does not threaten the forest. The threat to the forest was externalized in relationship with the Third Bridge and in the “unplanned” decisions of the Prime Minister. They focused specifically upon this project and the possibility of losing a particular “lifestyle” in connection with a quiet place to live. On the other hand, villagers expressed a strong concern about the forest as an identity of the place. As it was shown individuals and developers had also a strong responsibility in shaping the environment not only a question of politicians. It was possible to corroborate in the field Webster et al. idea: *“Developers, landowners, investors, and consumers have together shaped a new genre of modern urban habitat”* (Webster et al.,2002 p.315); and it is possible to add that the political dimension plays a crucial role in this Istanbul case study.

inside the neighborhood “ and two related “The solidarity between the members of the neighborhood and outsiders”.(DATA 3:Additional observations made by the Author in the dialogues with both target groups during the survey. (see *Data Analysis in CD*).

CHAPTER 4: LANDSCAPES OF ABSENCE AND FEAR IN BUENOS AIRES

4.1 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Buenos Aires

Gated enclaves are not new in the Argentinean milieu. Being a common urban phenomenon they naturally appear in the main urban agglomeration of the country. Thus the capital city, Buenos Aires, does not escape from them. Despite the extensive presence of gated enclaves in the whole AMBA, there is a predominant concentration of the typology in the North of the City, which is traditionally an area where high-income groups were located since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The strong proliferation of gated enclaves in Buenos Aires is related to a neoliberal attitude taken by the country which started in the 1970s and climaxed in the 1990s (Cicollela,1999; Pírez,2002; Thullier,2005; Libertún de Duren, 2006). This period as it was argued in Chapter 2 (Section 2.1.3) was not a process experienced only by Argentina and it was a common phenomenon in Latin America; going further it is also comparable with the governance approach adopted in Turkey approximately in the same period (see Chapter 3 Section 3.1). To understand in which context the enclaves started to proliferate, it is necessary to describe the historical scenario. In the 70's the Argentinian economy was open to the market and there was a replacement of national goods by imported ones; a process enhanced by the dictators of those years for whom the nationalistic ideal was a bit contradictory. By its natural essence, the dictatorship (1976-1983) would also eliminate any kind of civic participation in the urban transformation. For Cicollela (1999), the process of the 1970s was more passive than in the 1990s when the state was completely reformed including the privatization of many national companies of basic services and transportation issues. There was also a metropolitan expansion in terms of housing for upper-middle income groups, the creation of shopping malls, supermarkets and thematic parks among other "*banal services*" (Cicollela, 1999, pp.9-12). It is possible to argue that the phenomenon explosion was accompanied by an unstable collective identification in Buenos Aires' population due to a distortional identity based on the "migration mélange". The neoliberal "clash" was bigger than in other locations where cultural references are more stable. Therefore, the middle-class adhered with fanaticism to the "external ideals" including the "gated suburban enclaves" entering in a path that would continue until today.

It is understandable that the gated enclaves' phenomenon is normally associated with the 1990s, due to the explosion and popularization of the model during this period. However, gated suburban enclaves in Buenos Aires have older roots. The evolution to the actual situation started with the importation of the English country clubs model by high income groups of the society building weekend-houses in the outskirts of the city with sport facilities. This was followed in the 1970s with people escaping from the unsecure city going to some "countries"⁸⁸; and finalized in the 1990s with the mass

⁸⁸ In Argentina gated suburban enclaves are popularly known as "countries" referring to the remote original English model of country clubs and are also named "barrios cerrados" that means "closed neighborhoods".

migration of middle-high income groups to the new collection of gated suburban enclaves (Thuillier, 2005; Diez, 2009 in Angéilil, M et al. (2009, pp.114-137)⁸⁹).

Following the historical revision started in Chapter 2 and emphasizing the *binomial high-income groups and outskirts*, in Buenos Aires and around the country there has historically been a high-income group with a tradition related to “*el campo*”, the open field. This elite based its power upon agriculture and livestock activities and to this day remain one of the dominants group with strong influence on the destiny of the country, and naturally elites somehow print icons in the “culture”. Thus, there is a tradition of a wealthy family living in the outskirts but with the combination of a strange “agricultural-livestock” lifestyle impressed in the unconscious collective. It was not the personality of the Ottoman Empire, the Global Merchant of London or the Industrialist of Manchester who historically had a residence in the outskirts of Buenos Aires; it was the Argentinian never industrialized owner of the *Pampa*⁹⁰. Thus, for him, the outskirts were not a place for escaping from the city as it would be for the actual middle-high income groups, involved within the service sector of a global city. The “Argentinean” tradition previously described would hybridize the popular American model extended in the 90’s in Buenos Aires; consequently there would be villas, more “*estilo campo*” mixed with Gregorian villas and other vernacular ideas producing an authentic Baudrillardian mixture in Buenos Aires’ Suburbia. However, this was not the only historical model of exclusivity in Buenos Aires outskirts; there were at the middle of the twentieth century the “casas quintas”, gated residences generally for weekends for middle-high income groups. This typology left a trace in the history of Buenos Aires’ suburbia, still being a pattern of suburbanization that could be founded around Buenos Aires City albeit is declining in favor of gated suburban enclaves.

With respect to the axis for the proliferation of enclaves, the 1990s was a period of many changes in the transport infrastructure that connects Buenos Aires City and its Metropolitan Area. It was upgraded the northern highway access, commonly known as Panamericana avenue opening the path for the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in a Region historically desired by high-income groups. For Pérez (2002, p.149-150) it was structured an axis that the Author denominates as “*The Corridor of Modernity and Wealth*”⁹¹ going from La Plata City in the South to Campana and Zarate Localities in the North of Buenos Aires (see Figure. 30-A). The Panamericana Avenue is part of the corridor and most of the gated suburban enclaves are in relationship with that access (see Figure. 30-B). Libertún de Duren (2006) reflects the changes as “*In Buenos Aires, after the upgrade of the northern highway in the 1990s, the number of gated communities along the road more than tripled, reaching 500 by the year 2001.*” (Libertún de Duren ,2006, p.308). To increase the polarities, another local corridors and connections are “planned” by the individualized desire of the Municipalities with

⁸⁹ Diez, Fernando (2009). *Centrifugal Effect and the Enclave Solution*. In Angéilil, M et al. (2009, pp.114-137). *Archipelagos, A Manual for Peripheral Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, Universidad de Palermo.

⁹⁰ It comes from an original Quechua terminology “Pampas” meaning “plain”. The terminology is commonly used in Argentina to refer to certain plains lands from the provinces of Buenos Aires, La Pampa, Santa Fe, Córdoba and Entre Ríos. The pampa represents lands with excellent qualities for agricultural and livestock activities; and consequently a big business. The landscape of the pampa has been considered a cultural one part of the identity of the country.

⁹¹ Terminology of Pérez (2002, p.149)

the expected result of enlarging the number of gated enclaves in the coming years. Unfortunately, this is the model of growth adopted by Buenos Aires and the mostly widely accepted by all the actors of the society to be like that.



Figure. 30 Scenario for Suburban Development-The Axis and interrelations.

A-North-South Corridor B- Zoom of the Axis passing through Escobar District. Graphic produced by the Author.

Even if it is not the main issue of this thesis to refer to process of governance and variation of legal frameworks, it is inevitable to look at them as they conditioned the apparition of gated suburban enclaves and the threats related to them. The problem seems to be under the umbrella of a “decentralization process” and a legal framework in concordance. On the National scale the 1990s were characterized by the privatization of services without the appropriate control of the State, necessary to say that today some services are being brought back into the public domain. The other process initiated in the dictatorial era reached the metropolitan scale and was related to losing a framework for the city to conduct a planned growth (Pírez, 2002; Libertún de Duren, 2006). The Provincial 8912 Law of Territorial Reorganization of 1977 gave the authority to municipalities to change land usage and approve developments. At that moment gated enclaves are not mass produced; in 1986 some restrictions in the law for gated developments, respecting size, were taken by a side thus small developments were allowed and with this, small investors entered into the scenario, engraving the expansion of the phenomenon (Libertún de Duren, pp.312-315). With the municipalities being completely autonomous in terms of taking planning decisions, the destiny of the Metropolitan Area of Buenos Aires became totally unpredictable. The hazardous destiny of the AMBA has been left to private developers and municipal authorities. Thus, in the homogeneity of the Suburbia, gated cells growth independently, others growth nearly each other, etc. composing a totally hazardous system regulated by a singular axiom: *the only entities allowed to grow with total “freedom” are the packaged gated enclaves.*

Gated Suburbia of Buenos Aires does not get immersed in a mass of forest as in the case of Istanbul, instead going directly to the open-field, to “*el campo*” and its “*humedales*”⁹². These planes and in some part of the territory coexisting natural environments would be selected to perform the desire to have “contact with the nature” by middle-high income groups. On the other hand, there is actually a significant trend oriented to occupy with suburban gated enclaves territories belonging to the Delta of Parana River in the North of Buenos Aires. Basically, it could be defined as two original landscapes that are being damaged by the gated suburban landscape that moves forward. The first one, “*el campo*” big areas of land associated with livestock and agricultural activities; and the second one, “the Delta”, a completely wild environment in relationship with *Parana de las Palmas River*⁹³; both areas being somehow related to the wetlands ecosystems. According to the data of Pírez (2002, p.149), gated suburban enclaves represented 1.6 the surface of the whole city of Buenos Aires. Today the situation is worse as gated developments have not stopped growing; the situation is reaching the absurd, getting the gated suburban landscape an incredible magnitude. There are in Buenos Aires gated cities as Nordelta in Tigre and Puertos del Lago in Escobar with thousands of inhabitants where the residents do not even need to go out for any service. The situation seems strange but *what does conduct middle-high income porteños*⁹⁴ *to go massively to the outskirts?*

⁹² Terminology used in Argentina to refer to wetlands.

⁹³ A river which pours its waters in La Plata Basin linked to the Argentinian See.

⁹⁴ Terminology used to refer to the inhabitants of Buenos Aires City.

In relation to the residents' motivation to live in the outskirts of Buenos Aires; the fear of crime has been one of the main concerns to choose the new gated habitat. In the 90's crime started getting worse in the suburbs rather than the city; the unemployment was part of the ambience; and also there was a strong social contrast growing in Buenos Aires Suburbia with gated enclaves appearing near to shanty towns (Libertún de Duren, 2006). The situation previously described undoubtedly got worse with the most profound crisis in Argentinian history in 2001, leaving thousands Argentinians below the poverty line. Fear related to crime and differentiation from the excluded could be a factor for middle-high income groups to choose gated suburbia, however it should be taken into account others aspects without falsely constructing a situation around the motivation to find security; Janoschka and Borsdorf (2004) advised about media playing a crucial role in relationship with the perception of crimes and Thuillier (2005) defined the attitude to live in the gated suburbia not exclusively based on fear and urban criminality. These formulations, however, would be verified within the case study.

“The candidates for suburbanization want to break with the city as a center, as it is considered dangerous, dirty, noisy, polluted, anarchic; the gated neighborhoods ,on the contrary, propose an ideal world , a sort of compromise between the city and “el campo” that at the end seems to be confused with the American Suburbia”

(Thuillier, 2005, p.9. Translation by the Author)

Developer's advertisements could give common clues around the client's motivation to acquire a villa or a plot in these developments and principally about the common consensus related to what a "gated suburban enclave" should be in Buenos Aires, somehow the representation of its stereotyped form. The principal argument of promoters of gated neighborhoods is the "quality of life" and in a second place "security" among others in a conjunct of facilities (Idem 2005 p.9). Having constructed both perspectives by using secondary data, the existence of a variety of needs, empathies and expectations from residents related to the gated model could be understood. However, the situation in the field needs a better understanding. Escobar does not escape from Buenos Aires' ambience. Empirical data from a small pattern in the district would be analyzed as part of the research to better appreciate resident's motivations to live in the enclave. Some advertisements promoting gated suburban developments in the area would be also analyzed to have a general understanding of the situation.

4.2 Gated Suburban Enclaves in Escobar District

“Out of the more than 500 gated communities in the province, about 75% are in the ten municipalities of the northern and northeastern regions and of those, 70% are distributed between three municipalities: Pilar, Tigre and Escobar.”

(Libertún de Duren , 2006, p. 311)

As it is popularly known gated suburban enclaves are located mostly in the North of Buenos Aires; with Escobar one of the districts with more gated suburban enclaves (see Figure.31-A) due to its natural attributes, availability of land near to the city, and connectivity to it. Escobar is a “partido”⁹⁵ of the second zone⁹⁶ of the AMBA with approximately 200,000 inhabitants living in a land area of 303 km² and legally constituted in 1960⁹⁷. It is composed of settlements of Belén de Escobar, Garín, Ingeniero Maschwitz , Matheu, Savio, 24 de Febrero, Loma Verde and Paraná with Belén de Escobar the capital and was founded in 1877. The district is delimited by the districts of Tigre at the East, Pilar at the West, Malvinas Argentinas at the South and Campana at the North, all of them containing a vast number of gated suburban enclaves. There are natural elements to take into account as they constitute its territory; some streams part of the Parana’s Delta pass through the district, not as much as in Tigre; and one river, “el Luján” constitutes part of the Northern limit (see Figure. 30-B).

Escobar is a district connected to the previously described wealthy corridor. Geographically, it is possible to distinguish two urbanization patterns articulated by the same axis. The axis is consolidated by the high speed artery of Route 9 connected to the Panamericana Avenue. Escobar as part of the Northern Gated Suburbia depends on the corridor to connect their inhabitants with their jobs. Despite this, the situation in Escobar is particular as many inhabitants do not depend exclusively on the city; there are other industrial poles in Campana and other relevant agglomerations in the North with consolidated economical activities including industrial and service sector ones. Even though inhabitants of the district do not depend exclusively of the city, they mostly depend on the corridor being the main infrastructure that connects other relevant nodes providing “jobs”. Public transport is available in the district but getting into the interstitial areas or deeper in the outskirts by the corridor, these areas being the locations where most gated suburban enclaves are located, it is not an easy task without the automobile.

⁹⁵ District. Terminology in Spanish used to name the districts that constitute the AMBA.

⁹⁶ It is made the distinction there are three zones surrounding Buenos Aires City related to the proximity it. Zone 1, Zone 2 and Zone 3. The urbanization level logically diminish from zone 1 to 3 , being gated suburban enclaves Generally located between Zone 1 and Zone 2 being both part of the AMBA.

⁹⁷ Municipalidad de Escobar (2013). Datos Generales. Retrieved September 28, 2013, from http://www.escobar.gov.ar/datos_escobar.html

Escobar district has an urbanized area that melt in the urban agglomeration of Buenos Aires and another area not so “urbanized”, with isolated settlements represented by Belén the Escobar and Matheu among otherss. Especially in the second zone, more distant to the city, there are two trends to take into account. There are isolated settlements as Belén de Escobar and Matheu surrounded by agricultural lands; and other trend of gated suburban enclaves mixed with a pattern of agricultural lands or the Delta (see Figure. 31-B). Generally, every surface in the district that is not urbanized is under pressure of being converted into gated suburban enclaves as they extend all along the district. Thus the Delta and agricultural/livestock lands are under a particular pressure. There is a legal framework that contributes to the phenomenon described (see Section 4.1) and planning methods related to it. Escobar has been experiencing for Libertún de Duren a particular way of planning (2006, p.320), a particular way of planning which paves the way for an “*ad-hoc legalistic planning system, in which codes are changed after developers make decisions*”. In the district, the local cadaster office regulated/changed the land use without: the appropriate infrastructure to deal with that task, a central plan for developing the district and participation from the civic actor. In this context gated suburban enclaves were born but also in other municipalities in the North with different planning systems that favored even more intensively the proliferation of these enclaves (Idem, pp.320-323). Discussions with a developer gave the understanding that nothing has greatly changed in that aspect⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Respondent N°13- Resident of the Gated Enclave.

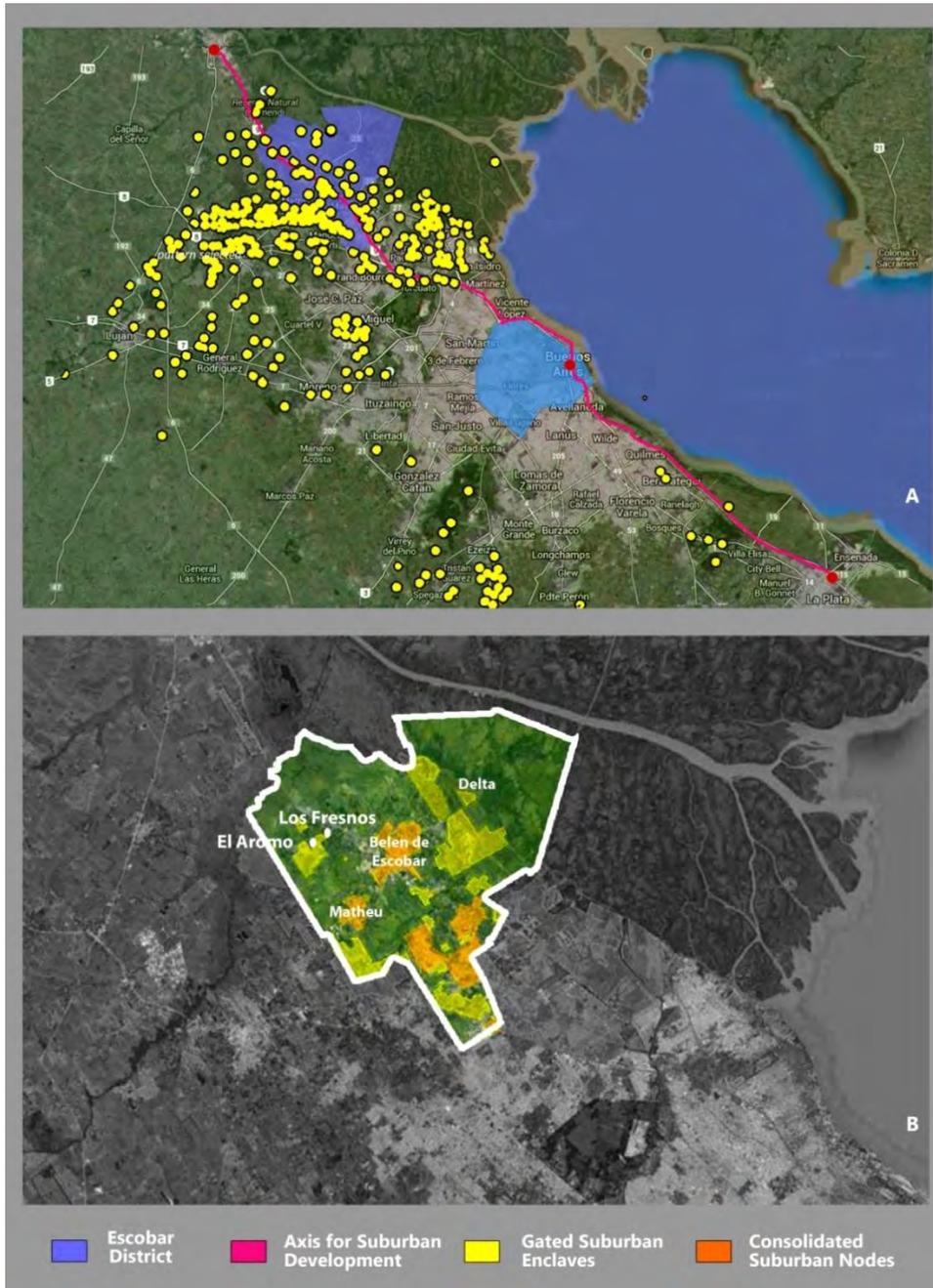


Figure. 31 A-Gated Communities in Buenos Aires B- Urban Trends in Escobar

A. Locating Escobar and the Axis for Suburbanization based on the Graphic Analysis of Libertun de Duren (2006, p.312)

Today the economy of Escobar is based on a diverse industry, industrial activities, leisure facilities and rural activities as agriculture, fruits cultivation, horticulture and floriculture⁹⁹. The scattered land uses reflect its history where historical episodes found Escobar district associated with the linear pattern previously described of the Argentinian tradition related to the rural activities and big territories owned by a few (see Section 4.1). It is possible to distinguish this pattern

⁹⁹ Due to a Japanese Migration in the middle of the twentieth century.

from as early the end of the sixteen century when Juan De Garay, Spanish conqueror and second founder of Buenos Aires, gave the actual lands to one *criollo*¹⁰⁰ Don Alonso de Escobar. Consequently, in the eighteenth century it was the effective settlement in Escobar with the arrival of some Spanish colonists¹⁰¹; and then in the last third of the nineteenth century there was a flux of Spanish and Italian migrants who would be also dedicated to agricultural activities. As it is shown, there had been few owners of the periphery of Buenos Aires but this linear historical pattern would be somehow altered approximately in the 60's. According to Gorelik (2009) *"During the years of the so-called Desarrollismo (1960's) parks and housing developments were built in the periphery, in search for a qualitative re-structuring of the indiscriminate land subdivision."*¹⁰² In those years there was also a period of "loteos populares", popular land subdivisions, that brought to the lower income groups the possibility to buy a plot and build their house, repaying the land in installments. However, the phenomenon had not fully reached Escobar due to being located in the second zone of the AMBA. Therefore, the district would be more impacted by the post desarrollist era also described by Gorelik (Idem).

"During the consolidation of the second periphery, now not anymore with European migrants but with migrants of the Argentine provinces and neighbouring countries, this public tension was neither equally nor continuously reproduced. In fact there were no sustained and coherent urban policies: for example, regional organizations of coordinated administration were never created."

In this period that continues through to today, the territories were just leased to the new migrants and there was an extensive development of all gated suburban enclaves of a variety of sizes. Thus, the pattern that would be analyzed reflects these dynamics physicalized in the territory including social tensions in our suburban environment¹⁰³.

4.2.1 The Selected "Pattern" in Escobar

The area of Escobar's Suburbia is heterodox in terms of gated suburban enclaves; it has *regular gated suburban enclaves* and others with nautical facilities. In the "regular" typology are differences related to its amenities, reputation of the neighborhood, scale and location that could generate strong differences in the prices; however in developments including water facilities plots could cost more than two times than a regular one with almost the same amenities and location.

¹⁰⁰ Considered under this motto an individual born in a Spanish colony with Spanish parents.

¹⁰¹ Beliera in El Día de Escobar-online newspaper. Dos Miradas Sobre el Pasado, Escobar desde la óptica de los historiadores. October 9th 2009. Retrieved September 28, 2013, from <http://www.eldiadeescobar.com.ar/sociedad/4312>

¹⁰² Gorelik, Adrián (2009). *The Place of Time*. In Angéilil, M et al. (2009, p.73). *Archipelagos, A Manual for Peripheral Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, Universidad de Palermo.

¹⁰³ *"This was not a trend, as immigration to Buenos Aires had existed for decades, however during the 1990's the city consolidated its role as a net recipient of European immigration. Actually, during the latter part of the 1990's, the number of Bolivians, Brazilians, Chileans, Paraguayans, and Uruguayans migrating to the metropolis increased by 40%. The majority relocated to the municipalities of Greater Buenos Aires, where access to land was somewhat easier and there were consolidated immigrant communities such as Bolivians in Escobar municipality and Paraguayans in the Jose C. Paz municipality. These localities were along the northern highway linking to the MercoSur markets, and therefore easier to access for northern immigrants. Ironically, this was the region with the largest inflow of gated communities' residents due, in part, to this same highway."*

Libertún de Duren, Nora (2009). *Contrasts*. In Angéilil, M et al. (2009, p.95). *Archipelagos, A Manual for Peripheral Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, Universidad de Palermo.

Naturally, there are particular exceptions outside this commonality. The selected area is in the settlement of Loma Verde at six kilometers from the urban agglomeration of Belén de Escobar, the “capital” of the district. It has a pattern mostly of the first type of regular gated suburban enclaves having in the North some examples of the other typology that are under development. In the pattern selected there is: a settlement in the artery of “Los Fresnos”, other bigger gated enclaves such as Haras Santa Maria and San Sebastian, some isolated gated residences, and agricultural lands. All located in an ambiance of “humedales” and interrelated ecosystems to it that would be later described (see Figure. 32 Selected Area). Interviews were performed in the gated enclave of “El Aromo” due to its typological similarity in relation to the one in the Istanbul case study and due to the possibility of gaining access to the site. As is popularly known and verified in practice, gated enclaves have strong security facilities and their residents do not want “intruders” to carry out research about their private life situation, which provides the main limitation for these kind of studies.

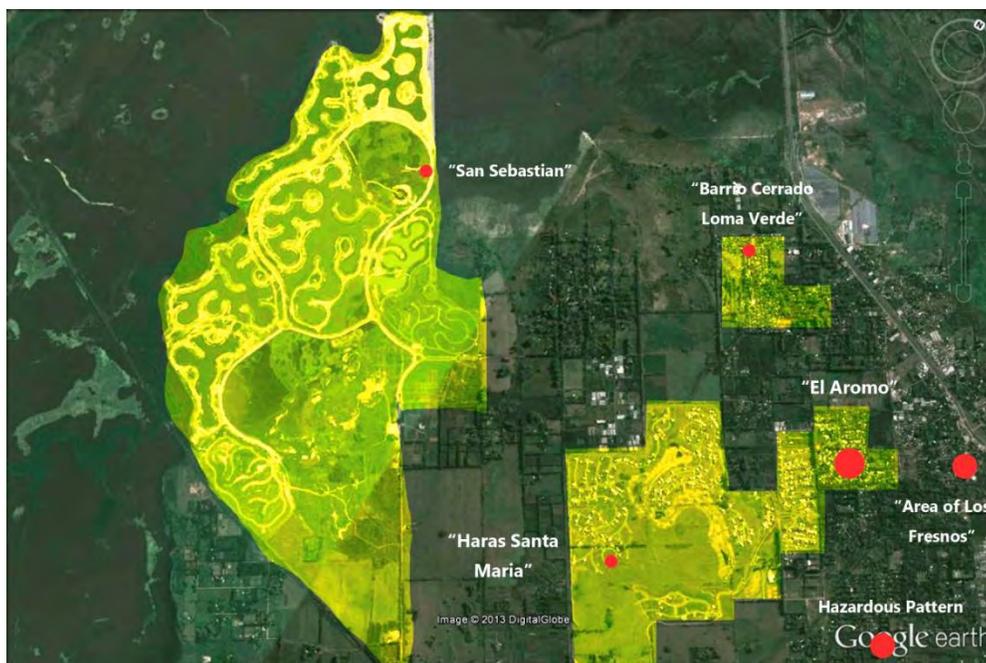


Figure. 32 Selected Area in Escobar District

Graphic Produced by the Author.

4.2.1.1 El Aromo, the Gated Suburban Enclave.

The gated suburban enclave is intrinsically connected to the access of Route 9 by the secondary artery of “Los Fresnos” . Normally it would take around forty five minutes from Buenos Aires City to reach “El Aromo” by car, while taking around one hour thirty minutes during rush hour. El Aromo is surrounded in a ratio of three kilometers approximately by a settlement constituted in “Los Fresnos” artery and a hazardous pattern of gated suburban enclaves and farms. These gated suburban enclaves are part of an expansion boom initiated in the outskirts of Buenos Aires after the crisis of 2001. The situation post-crisis in Argentina was characterized by the revenues of an agriculture sector and industries allocated in the construction due to high profitability.¹⁰⁴ There was also middle-size investors related to other economic activities who did not find a better sector to allocate their money ,needless to say that trusting in the banking sector in those years was impossible for Argentinians as in 2001 banks retained illegally the savings of millions with the Government complicity. Coming back to the gated enclave, El Aromo has around two hundred fifty plots with an average surface of 800 m2 with amenities consisting of a large club house with two swimming pools, a multipurpose center, gym, bar-restaurant, football pitches and tennis courts (see Figure. 33 Amenities of “El Aromo”). It was developed by a private construction company and the first massive sales were for professionals of an Argentinian multinational company. The subdivision of plots started in the year 2004. Consequently, the construction company started building villas of less than 400 m2, the stereotyped size of a suburban middle-high class villa. However, in “El Aromo” it is possible to find residences of around 150 m2. The development process was followed by other medium size construction companies constructing approximately 15 villas each of them and there were also individuals buying plots and developing their houses. One developer sustained that he built the model that commonly people wanted this type of “country style” somehow a modified Gregorian. The gross of the first inhabitants were professionals that found in “El Aromo” a perfect place connected to the northern corridor that allows them to work in Campana and also having the possibility of enjoying Buenos Aires City. They did not have their jobs in the city. Being the Northern Area of the city with industrial activities and service sector ones makes some residents of the Northern Suburbia do not “need the city” . However, Buenos Aires City is always the magnet as it is the administrative ,financial and cultural center; basically it has all the attractiveness of a global city. The Aromo population has changed through the years and many of the original professionals have moved to other gated suburban enclaves. There was also the migration of other inhabitants who were mostly highly-qualified professionals and businessmen from different sectors that now constitute the actual population. Further aspects related to the residents’ motivations to live in the gated suburban enclave and experiences about the threats posed by the gated suburban enclaves in the area would be described in the following sections.

There was a variety of villas built through to the present day and in relation to their “style”, the two most distinguishable styles are the “country style” and the “rationalistic style”. There are also a few “*estilo campo*” *between the vernacular*

¹⁰⁴ Instituto de Estadística y Registro de la Construcción (2007). Crecimiento de la Actividad de la Construcción y Disponibilidad de Mano de Obra: Estudio en base a la Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH). Retrieved October 2, 2013, from <http://www.ieric.org.ar/publicaciones.asp>

*creations*¹⁰⁵ (see Figure.34 A & B).As an architect, one could argue against being in the presence of the same typology covered by a stylish mass produced maquillage .It is interesting to notice that the enclave has an strict building code giving the inhabitants freedom to choose the “style” and individualize their villas. The last situation is not common in other gated enclaves as they prohibit variety just to maintain a conservative look that even does not have any relation with the culture or the urban heritage because it is almost none. The internal urban code made by the developer specifies mainly questions related to urban aesthetics: constructions that should not be visualized by the street, size of the houses, installations that should not be viewed (for example: water tanks and tubes), materials that are not appropriate, lawns that should be left empty, and some gates that are not allowed. Many things are restricted with the only purpose to recreate the ideal of the beautiful detached house in the green (see Chapter 2 Section 2.1.2.2). This characteristic of the case study it is possible to be found in most of these developments, as it is part of the essence of the model as it was described at the beginning of the document. The question of individualization and prestige from some of the residents was underline by residents from the surroundings in the interviews conducted. The daily life in “El Aromo” seemed to be quiet, no people in the streets, only cars that enter the villas quickly, meaning the introspection of the dwellers is easily distinguishable. The public amenities are almost empty during the week and also at weekends. A small group of children with their bikes and skates and some professionals doing jogging after finishing their daily work is part of the social landscape.

¹⁰⁵ These terminologies are currently popularized by developers, construction companies and some architects as well.



Figure. 33 Amenities of “El Aromo”

Photographic Compilation by the Author. October 2013.



Figure. 34 Houses. Different Styles in “El Aromo”

A - “Country Style” B- “Rationalistic Style”
 Photographic Compilation by the Author. October 2013.

4.2.1.2 The Surroundings. The Settlement along “Los Fresnos” and the Hazardous pattern of Loma Verde.

For the Istanbul case it was possible to localize two defined settlements around the enclave with proper names as Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy with population figures of these settlements defined in the official statics. In the case of Buenos Aires the settlement selected, Los Fresnos, is part of Loma Verde settlement with 3000 inhabitants but it is not “officially” considered as an entity. Despite this, Los Fresnos is a popularly known, physically recognized and defined settlement¹⁰⁶ with a commercial node and hazardous pattern of “casa quintas” and “quintas”; a pattern historically expanded in the territory of the Buenos Aires Province. The two typologies would be explained in the following lines to understand the ambiance in the pattern selected. The terminology “casa quinta” is widely extended in the Hispano-American culture; however it has different local meanings. In Argentina, casas quintas were synonym for weekend houses in big plots in the outskirts of Buenos Aires¹⁰⁷. It is important to differentiate from another typology, similar in name, called “quintas”, which are big plots destined to agriculture and raising small animals. The quintas were property of one owner that in some cases was subdivided into land parcels and rented to small producers. These small producers usually

¹⁰⁶ It takes its name of a principal street that takes to El Aromo and to another gated suburban enclaves.

¹⁰⁷ Source: http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quinta_%28urbanismo%29

built a *rancho*¹⁰⁸ in the subdivision to live inside it (see.Figure.35 Quinta). The settlement around “Los Fresnos” and also in the whole area of Loma Verde is practically composed of a combination of both typologies, in that resides its identity and authenticity before the landscape started to become a compendium of gated suburban enclaves. “Casas Quintas” were indistinctively used as permanent or second houses from inhabitants of Buenos Aires who were urged to escape from the city. These residences were in some cases luxurious but there were also modest ones, it was not only reserved for the high-class as historically the villa was. The casa quinta typology could be associated to the gated suburban enclaves, as the casa quintas of the high-middle income groups were strongly gated and with private swimming pools and sport facilities (see Figure.36). To accentuate its defensive status they usually had guard dogs and owners would pay for a watchman to be in the house in the periods of the owners’ absence. Casa quintas in some cases were exclusive, isolated in the outskirts and with a particular concern about security. Today, these types of casas quintas are really unsecure and more expensive than a villa. An owner of one villa in the Los Fresnos area expressed his concern that casa quintas are being replaced by gated suburban enclaves because of the possibility to buy some of the casa quintas, unify the plots and begin a gated suburban development (see Figure. 37 Actual Dynamics-Subdivision of Plots). It is possible to understand the motivations to sell these large weekend houses, related to the rise of the price of the plots with the construction of the Panamericana avenue and the phenomena of crimes which started in the 1990s and means this isolated mansions are vulnerable to the existing crime(*situation described before in Section 3.2.1*). However, it is also possible to find curious examples of people that do not sold their quintas. An owner of a *remisería*¹⁰⁹ and one of an electricity materials shop argued having in a casa quinta features that they could not find in a gated enclave as the freedom to arrange its space without caring of the repressive urban regulations present in gated suburban enclaves.



Figure. 35 Agriculture in the Hazardous Pattern – “Quintas” Photograph by the Author. October 2013.

¹⁰⁸ Popular terminology used in Argentina to refer to a small house built with bad quality materials.

¹⁰⁹ Office that offers private cars (remís) with a professional driver for short/long distance journeys. It is one of the popular means of transport as the public one is scarce.



Figure. 36 “Casas Quintas”

Photographic Compilation by the Author. October 2013.

RODRIGUEZ JURADO
P R O P I E D A D E S

VENDE
3 LOTES JUNTOS
O SEPARADOS
0348.444.4566
011.15.3198.4300

VENDIDO

32,5 mts	1) Casa y Pileta	3042 m2
32,5 mts	2)	3042 m2
32,5 mts	93,59 mts	3035 m2

VENDIDO
Calle Los Cerros

CHUBUT 190 | La Bota | BENAVIDEZ | info@rjpropiedades.com.ar

Calle Congreve

Figure. 37 Actual Dynamics-The Subdivision of Plots

Photographic Compilation by the Author. October 2013.

In relationship with the *quintas* there were many of them in the area before the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in the northern area. Taking with older residents, in the area of Loma Verde, the *quintas* were dedicated to horticulture mainly, lettuce, chard, cabbage, pepper plant, tomatoes and parsley among other vegetables. Then approximately in the 1980s, the pattern started changing with the boom of floriculture in Escobar. The district started being promoted as the capital of the flowers of Buenos Aires. Thus, there was a change in the agricultural pattern. Today there are still some examples of *quintas* dedicated to horticulture and raising of small animals but the pattern is mostly of floriculture (see Figure.38 Floriculture). Having no official statics about the phenomenon, it was possible to understand the changes talking mainly with older residents, who argue that in some cases the owners of big plots dedicated about 80% of the surface for floriculture and the rest for horticulture, they also advice that farmers dedicated to horticulture started to move to other

districts without housing developments. The use of pesticides and bad smell produced by the horticulture created tensions between the residents of casas quintas and gated suburban enclaves. There was also a change in the population that practiced horticulture where, until mid-tweentieth century, mostly Spanish and Italian migrants practiced horticulture, whereas today it is mostly Bolivians.



Figure. 38 Floriculture

Photograph by the Author October 2013

The economic activities around the settlement of “Los Fresnos” are a bit heterodox but with a point in common that everything is somehow related to the gated suburban enclaves. There is a local commercial center where it is possible to distinguish different kind of shops in relationship with their scale and target group. The first group consists of shops selling construction materials for the gated suburban enclaves expansion (see Figure.39-A). There is a second group of small shops; selling home-made food, dairy, newspapers, magazines, food for pets, school issues etc; their target groups are the residents of the gated enclaves and the general public (see Figure.39-B). Finally, the last group consists of isolated shops of the low-middle income families living in casas quintas who opened an small shop for selling some basic supplies and home-made food for the construction workers in the area (see Figure.39-C). In some cases they only perform a window in the façade of their house showing they have a drugstore. This is the commercial panorama in this particular pattern of Loma Verde. As it was explained there is a hazardous pattern of floriculture and horticulture mixed with the casas quintas as a main characteristic of Loma Verde. The horticulture pattern has a dynamic connected to Belén de Escobar as the producers sold their vegetables and fruits to the markets of the city. In connection with floriculture, the producers also sell their flowers, plants and trees to Belén de Escobar markets but many species are being bought by the gated suburban enclaves in the surroundings.

In this particular pattern, the public space in the area is almost zero being mainly allocated in the centrality of Belén de Escobar, thus every activity in this pattern experiences a contractual relationship being a complete circuit of non-places where the inhabitants are embedded. Talking with residents, they argued about an agreement between a gated development and the municipality to build the first small square, unfortunately the project is delayed. This is just only one situation representing the threats that were found and would be addressed in the following section.



Figure. 39 Shops in the Area

A- Construction Materials Supplier; B- Shops in Los Fresnos ; C- Precarious Shops
Photographic Compilation by the Author. October 2013.

4.3 The Threats

4.3.1 Social and Physical threats

As in the Case study of Istanbul, the connection between residents in or around “Los Fresnos” and residents from gated suburban enclaves is practically non-existent. It is only possible in the commercial centre for the ones who own shops there, but as residents of gated enclaves generally use other “prestigious centers”, contact is minimal. As Thuillier (2005) argued: “When they have the necessity to consume or have fun, the residents of barrios cerrados largely use the commercial centres of the Panamericana” (Thuillier, 2005, p.15. Translation by the Author). These same dynamics were present in the case study as the residents of the gated enclave prefer consuming in the big malls and even they buy their food in those places. There is also another behavior of isolation related to the necessity of goods. There are services from supermarkets, groceries and from mineral water suppliers that directly take the provisions to the door of each villa in the gated suburban enclave. Thus, a resident of a gated suburban enclave does not need even to go out for provisions. The gated suburban enclave represents a refuge a way to escape from the city or even disconnect from their jobs. Therefore, naturally the main target goal for the residents is to get inside their villa and perform relaxing activities there; consequently everything outside this pattern is not realized.

The crime situation assumes a crucial role in the present in the area, last year there were two assaults in Haras Santa Maria, three in El Aromo, and two in the commercial center of “Los Fresnos”.¹¹⁰ The ambiance of insecurity is commonly known in Buenos Aires and the Suburbs did not escape from the situation. Even though there is a police station in “Los Fresnos” and there is private security in the gated enclaves, crimes are a monthly issue. Thus, the situation around crime also pushes the inhabitants inside their homes; a situation that is not exclusive to the residents of gated suburban enclaves. People from casas quintas exhibit the same behavior, also paying for private security service while most of the residents have guardian dogs. Talking with the residents they argue that the area is “*tierra de nadie*” (*land of nobody*), a terminology used in Buenos Aires to describe an ambiance where there is no police control and also complicity between police and criminals. Thus, residents of “Los Fresnos” adopted their own methods to protect themselves; residents such as installing private alarm systems, even inside the gated enclaves. The phenomenon then for their residents is being *gated in the gated* (see also Chapter 3 Section 3.2.1). In this ambiance of insecurity and individualization, retrofitted by the proliferation of repressive typologies and the absence of public space it is not possible to find fluent interaction between the different residents and social mixture, everything is extremely polarized. The physical uniformity related to repressive systems is notorious; in this case it is not only a question of gated suburban enclaves. The owners of “casa quintas”, and “quintas” also installed walls, fences and gates, the only typology having contact with the “neighborhood” ambiance is the isolated casa quintas that have opened shops. Despite this, the uniformity is not exclusive to the repressive systems; another characteristic of the area is the lack of sidewalks and asphalted streets which limit even more the possibility of contact between them (see Figure.40 and Figure.41). The landscape is dominated by motorized vehicles;

¹¹⁰ Information provided from the owners of shops in “los Fresnos”.

cars, trucks and small motorbikes from residents with lower incomes. Needless to say, the asphalted roads are only for the accesses to the gated enclaves; the rest is sludge.

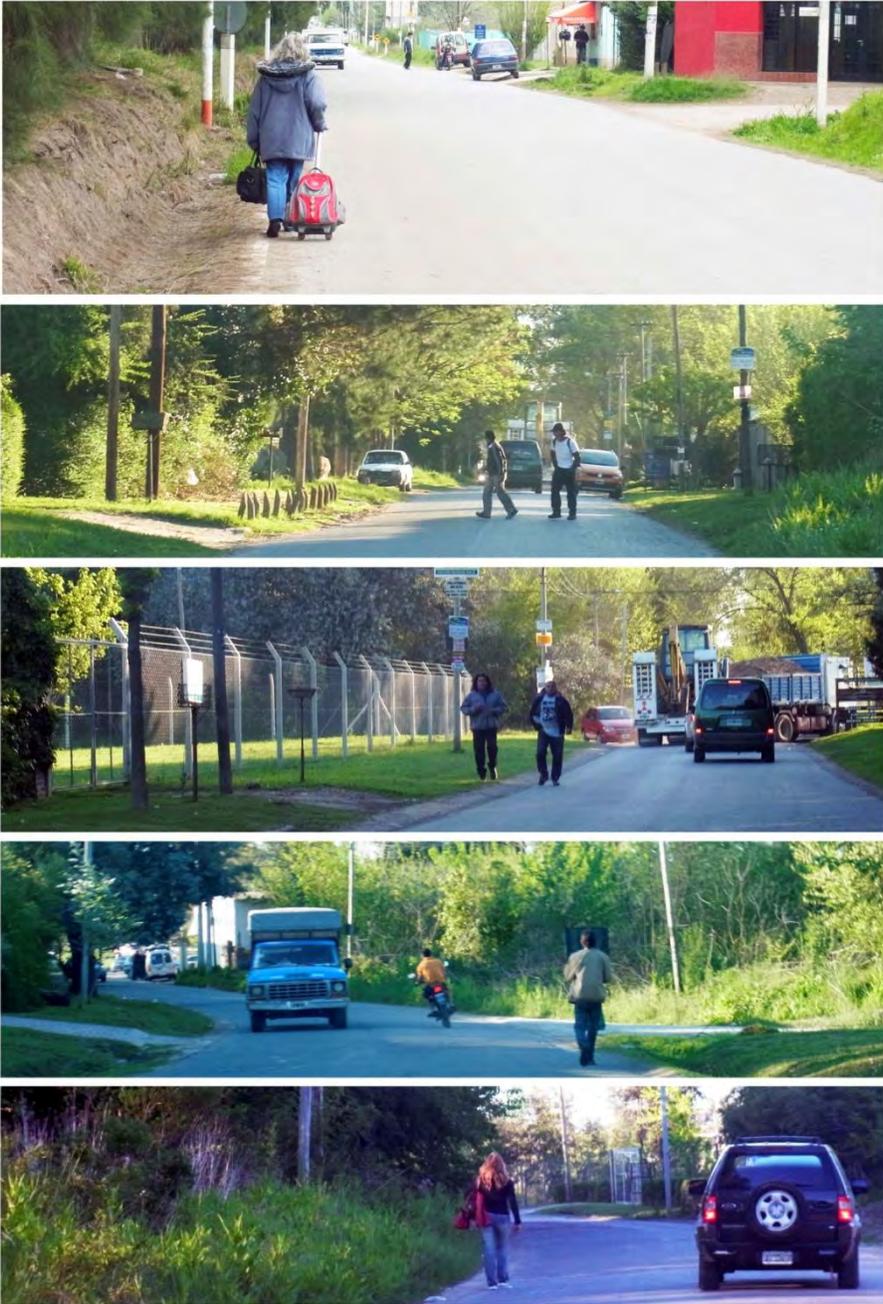


Figure. 40 Lack of Sidewalks

Photographic Compilation by the Author October 2013



Figure. 41 Unpaved Streets

Photographic Compilation by the Author. October 2013.

Residents and workers from quintas do not sell the gross of the production in the area, thus its activity is associated with the center of Belén de Escobar, which also has a weak interaction with the surroundings. Besides this, the size of the plots of the quintas and casas quintas with its low density combined to the lack of mixed uses in the area attacked the creation of a possible “neighborhood ambiance”. The only place for interaction is around the commercial center of “Los Fresnos”, albeit crimes is threatening this unique space that becomes more deserted. The other threat for consolidating public space is the high-speed traffic in the area which makes dangerous even getting out of the houses. As a signal of the situation mothers do not authorize their children to play even football in the empty lands. To summarize, growing up in public space such as squares or even parks in those conditions previously described needs an understanding of the complexity of the situation on many levels.

4.3.2 The Environmental Threat-Wetlands and Associated Ecosystems

4.3.2.1 Generalities around Wetlands

“Wetlands are highly variable and dynamic: they are water bodies but also include land. They are freshwater, brackish or saline, inland or coastal, seasonal or permanent, natural or man-made. Wetlands include mangroves, (peat) swamps and marshes, rivers, lakes, floodplains and flooded forests, rice-fields, and even coral reefs. Wetlands are one of the world’s most important environmental assets, containing a disproportionately high number of plant and animal species compared to other areas of the world. Throughout history they have been integral to human survival and development.”

Definition by Wetlands International¹¹¹

The pattern selected does not escape from the general situation in Escobar of being in an area of *wetlands*. Furthermore, the whole northern region of Buenos Aires is influenced by the Delta of the Parana ecosystem. The wetlands of the Parana were formed around 5000 BC and are very important in maintaining biodiversity, the cycle of life of the flora and fauna, retention and stabilization of sediments, regulation of salinity, carbon storage in biomass, habitat for species, production of primary resources and places for recreation among others¹¹². In the last decade there has been many developments associated with this ecosystem in the whole northern region. Wetlands were generally filled to create gated suburban enclaves. Being a motivation of enclavers to find such a contact with the natural environment, the

¹¹¹ See : Wetlands International (2012).What are wetlands? .Retrieved October 7, 2013, from <http://www.wetlands.org/Whatarewetlands/tabid/202/Default.aspx>

¹¹² Ubanex Bicentenario (2011). *Línea de Base Preliminar del Sistema de Islas del frente de avance de la 1era Sección del Delta Bonaerense (Tigre)*.Chapter II. Retrieved October 7, 2013, from <http://www.aapescobar.com.ar/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/informe-UBANEX-22.pdf>

wetlands represented the perfect environment for this kind of developments. Extended examples of gated suburban developments are in the Municipality of Tigre¹¹³ where investors found in the floodable areas lower land costs to make this kind of developments (Pírez and Ríos, 2008). There are still projects today with artificial lagoons and nautical facilities. The situation described is a common pattern for the development in the northern area of Buenos Aires. In the area selected for observation, San Sebastian is example of gated suburban enclave with lagoons on a wetland area related to the Lujan River. It is a big scale project of approximately 700 ha with strong modifications of the natural structures (see Figure 32).

Wetlands are not on the National Agenda even in the Province of Buenos Aires or the Municipalities of the AMBA. However, in 2012 the Case of “Colony Park” in the neighboring Municipality of Tigre, a suburban gated enclave questioned for damage to the environment was stopped by the OPSD (Organismo Provincial para el Desarrollo Sostenible¹¹⁴). The analysis made by scholars from the University of Buenos Aires has detected the modification of the natural course of water and burying natural habitats for the fauna among other relevant damage¹¹⁵. Being one of the few cases exposed by the media, it took relevance in the Regional milieu ; however the situation did not rise to other level for a Provincial debate neither a National debate as strong economic interest are embedded in this model of growth. According to Wetlands International for Latin America and the Caribbean 229 closed urbanizations with extensions from 60 to 2000 ha, considering finalized and on-going projects has been identified in the region of Parana Delta and its area of influence; and in the alluvial plains of the Pinazo stream in Escobar, Reconquista reliever channel and Santa Cruz stream are located 90% of them¹¹⁶.

4.3.2.2 Particularities around Wetlands

Coming back to the case study, the area selected is in one of these alluvial plains. For the Ambientalist Association of Escobar District there is a necessity to understand the affection towards wetlands in a different way and not just as isolated entities. Instead, there should be a complete sustainable management program which should include the surroundings lands of the wetlands with the associated ecosystems. Therefore, the chosen gated enclave falls under this methodological understanding as it is embedded in a small forest near the wetlands of Lujan River and Parana. The selected case study has a natural attraction based on the diversity of trees property of a small forest with different species including old eucalyptus, ligustrum, acacias and cypress trees. Unfortunately, with the development of gated suburban enclaves and casas quintas many species were lost (see Figure.42 Impact of the Gated Development).

¹¹³ Neighborhood Municipality, limited in the East with Escobar. **See also Figure 30-B**

¹¹⁴ Provincial Organism for Sustainable Development.

¹¹⁵ See Analysis. Urbanex Bicentenario (2011). *Línea de Base Preliminar del Sistema de Islas del frente de avance de la 1era Sección del Delta Bonaerense (Tigre)*.Chapter III. Retrieved October 7, 2013, from <http://www.aapescobar.com.ar/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/informe-UBANEX-22.pdf>

¹¹⁶ See report. Wetlands International Latinoamérica y el Caribe (2012).Publicaciones. Los impactos de las urbanizaciones sobre los humedales del Delta del Paraná. Retrieved October 7, 2013, from <http://lac.wetlands.org/Publicaciones/Nuestraspublicaciones/tabid/3079/Default.aspx>

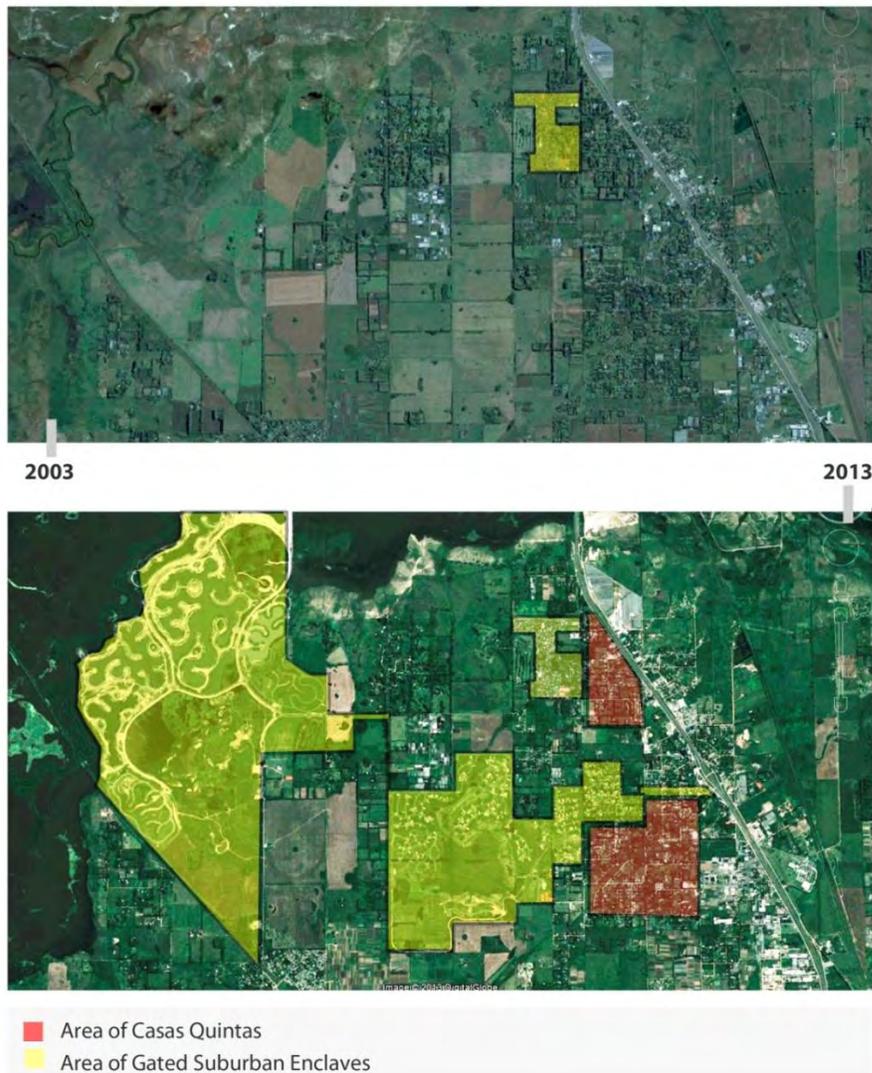


Figure. 42 Tracking the Changes in 10 years. Graphic produced by the Author.

The dynamic was contradictory in the case of the selected gated enclave; the subdivision of plots and creation of internal streets itself do not eliminate the species substantially but as plots containing trees were sold, for the next medium-size developers who would build villas, few options existed other than to cut down trees to clear plots. Of course there were some penalizations but they consisted of planting new trees or paying a fee, which were regulated by an “architectural committee” of the gated suburban enclave. Thus, the private sector finalized taking decisions in relationship with public assets. These methodologies extend into the management of gated suburban enclaves by the dynamics explained, forming a clear example that environmental issues seem to be in the hands of the private sector. According to Espacio Intercuencas, a group comprised of NGO’s, neighbors and environmentalists, there is a need to install the environmental

problems in the public scene and generate consciousness in relationship with the phenomenon¹¹⁷. Being totally opposed to what is happening in Istanbul, where the unplanned growth and the project of the Third Bridge put the Environmental issue in the National debate (*see Part 1 Section 3.1.3.2.3*), whereas in Buenos Aires there continues to be almost no opposition. The other thing is that wetlands in most cases are not restricted areas for urbanization as Istanbul Belgrade Forests. Continuing on the area selected, talking with older residents, they argue that the landscape was totally different even fifteen years ago, they talked about the presence of hares, southern lapwing and foxes that now have disappeared with the advance of the manmade landscape. Furthermore, for the residents of the surroundings of these gated suburban enclaves the advance of gated developments has other implications on a local scale. The modification of topography and infrastructure has created small floods in some areas; and the increasing number of particular automobiles has generated a noisy and air polluted environment, especially in the access leading to the gated suburban enclaves. To conclude, there is a macro-situation related to the damages to the wetlands previously described but in that regional modification of the landscape there are many particularities embedded and experienced by the inhabitants. In the following sections specific situations and experiences from residents from gated enclaves and residents from the surroundings shall be explained to generate a deeper understanding of the situation.

4.3.2.3 Ambiance in the Mass Media-Developers Advertisements

In the Area selected, there are three on-going projects: *Haras Santa Maria, San Sebastian and Cuatro Estaciones*; and two older and practically consolidated gated enclaves: *Loma Verde and El Aromo*. It was analyzed how these developments are advertised taking examples from their websites and other sources found in the site.

All these developments are gated villa towns whose target group is the middle-high income groups. There is a promotion of lifestyles embedded in these advertisements with a clear idealized message. Fantasy mottos are acting as the first impression of the “corrupt utopia” embedded (*see Chapter 1 Section 2.2.3*); and they do not escape from the extensive recurrences of naming regimes used to name gated enclaves in the peripheral Buenos Aires, as underlined by the study of Penacini in 2009¹¹⁸. The names are related to catholic Saints, trees species, natural elements and to the Argentinian agricultural and livestock tradition; decodifying them: *a. San Sebastian: Saint Sebastian. Religious Reference; b. Haras Santa Maria: Combination. Haras: Place for breeding horses in the outskirts of Buenos Aires + Santa Maria: Saint Mary. Reference to Nature+ Argentinian Tradition+ Religious Reference ; c. Cuatro Estaciones: Four Seasons .Reference to Nature; d. El Aromo: Tree specie. Reference to Nature ; and b. Loma Verde: Green Hill. Reference to Nature*. The Nature essence is somehow commodified in their mottos and they also show a meaning mélange combining nature and

¹¹⁷ See Asociación Ambiental del Partido de Escobar (2010). *Humedales de Escobar*. Retrieved October 7, 2013, from <http://www.aapescobar.com.ar/?p=247>

¹¹⁸ Penacini, Natalia (2009). *Gated Communities from Garden-City to Private City* in Angéilil, M.; Sires, C.; Varas, Julián (2010, p.188 and p.189). *Archipelagos, A Manual for Peripheral Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, Universidad de Palermo

vernacular cultural references in the images for the promotion of the development (see Figure.43). Family life is naturally empathized and associated with a natural background. However, as many possible clients are retired without young children the “contact with the nature” becomes an isolated figure for the promotion verifying the situation in all the logos (Idem). As Pírez and Ríos (2011, p.11) underlined; the marketing of these developments in Buenos Aires exclude negative facts in the landscape and insecurity as well; a situation that is verified with these advertisements. The possibility to promote these developments through the web brought the opportunity to use videos as marketing tools increasing even more the exaltation of the particularities that differentiate them from its opposite “*the chaotic, unsafe, immoral and polluted city*”. Therefore, the first two developments mentioned before due to the possibilities brought by the mass media, as videos in internet, are enhancing even more the qualities of the product than the older ones using just a logo and few images (see Figure.43 A & B). Being today the competition stronger developers have to be more and more “innovative” in selling exclusivity and differentiation of product.

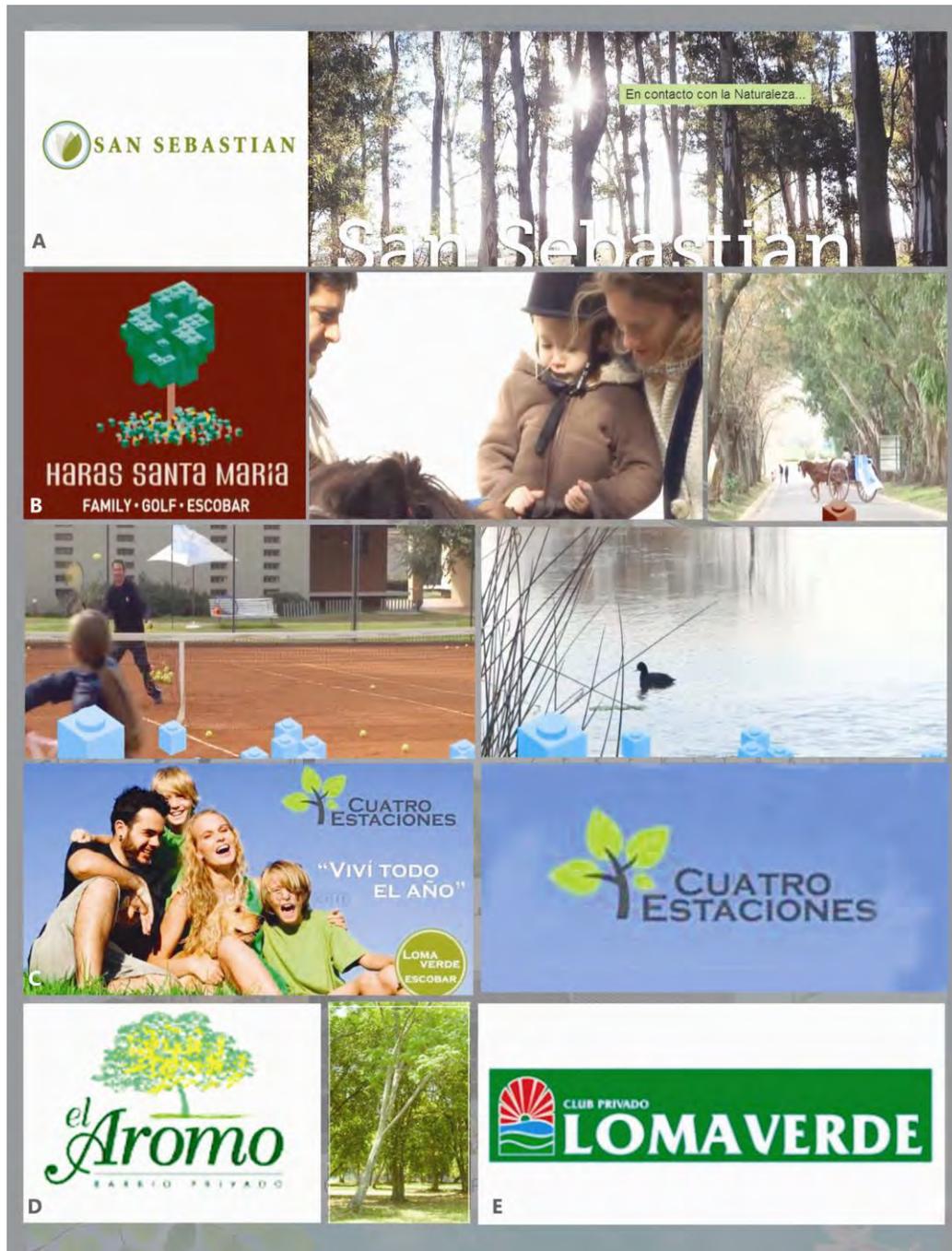


Figure. 43 Promotion of Gated Developments in the Area

A- San Sebastián; B- Haras Santa María; C-Cuatro Estaciones; D – El Aromo; E- Loma Verde

Sources:

A- <http://www.ssebastian.com.ar/>; B - <http://www.harasantamaria.com.ar/>

C- <http://emprendimiento.zonaprop.com.ar/emprendimiento-terrenos-otro-escobar-bsas-gbazona-norte-2158356> ; D -<http://barrio-elaromo.com.ar/>; E-<http://escobar-buenosaires.olx.com.ar/venta-de-casa-en-country-loma-verde-escobariid-498597287>

escobariid- 498597287

4.4 Experiencing the Threats

4.4.1 Experiences from Residents of “El Aromo”- The Gated Suburban Enclave¹¹⁹

First of all, being a massive phenomenon of the middle-high income groups to live in the outskirts of Buenos Aires it is highly relevant to understand the motivations of a group of residents to live in this particular enclave. Even though living in contact with the nature, escaping from the insecurity of the city and its pollution was the *combined-motivation* to choose the gated habitat¹²⁰; aspects focusing upon insecurity were of extreme concern. Residents argued of feeling safer buying a house in an enclave with guards going round the “neighborhood” and with strong security controls in place for visitors or any “outsider”¹²¹.

The insecurity paranoia around gated enclaves is a common discourse at the time to speak about “gated enclaves”; however, in this case the topic becomes factual reality that does not escape from the Buenos Aires general ambiance. In the target group, insecurity was always a mentioned topic by respondents as two crimes have occurred in the last year inside the enclave when a band of robbers gained access, stealing electronics and money from the villas. Such episodes are recurrent in the “countries” and the notices related to violent episodes in enclaves are part of the daily life in Buenos Aires media. Many residents with fear about the situation have installed their own alarm systems as gates are not allowed due to restrictions in the internal “urban” regulations. Furthermore, these precautions are taken as residents do not know each other, consequently suspicion and mistrust is always present. Not as an extensive attitude, some of them reflected that the “lifestyle” associated with regular gated enclaves has a similarity with that of *casas quintas*; however they would not buy a casa quinta due to the strong insecurity¹²². On the other hand, as was verified on site, the fear expressed by residents of casas quintas having more than two guardian dogs per house, alarms and if they have a high economic status, a private security guard. Only one of the interviewees of the gated enclave made a general reflection about the macro-phenomenon “*When we gated us we left the streets to the robbers, we left the public territory to them*” (José respondent N° 1-*Unstructured Interviews in September 2013*). Most of the respondents found that security facilities are a common aspect in the developments of the area¹²³ along with references regarding them as the only way to “fight” crime when public authorities do not take seriously these matters.

¹¹⁹ Needless to say, the assumptions made during the section are based on the fixed questionnaires, the post unstructured interviews and some personal observations from the Author during the data collection from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013.

¹²⁰ According to the survey made inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires to twenty residents from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; the options selected as motivations to live in the gated enclave (question N°1) were: fifteen answers “to have more contact with the nature”; thirteen answers “to escape from the insecurity of the city” and twelve answers “to escape from the city pollution”. (see *Data Analysis in CD*)

¹²¹ According to unstructured interviews made post-questionnaires from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013.

¹²² According to the unstructured interviews made post questionnaires from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; similar comments were made by the respondents N °13, N °19 and N °20 related to the topic “casas quintas”.

¹²³ According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires to twenty residents from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013;: fifteen selected the “security facilities “ to describe the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves of the area (question N °7). (see *Data Analysis in CD*)

Related to the motivation based on the “contact with the nature” and being the gated enclave in a “wood”, residents argued that the presence of a diversity of trees was a relevant factor conditioning the election of the site. The idea to have the “private garden” was also a concern and there were opinions related to an enclave taking care of the natural environment. Respondents assured that gated enclave takes care of the environment and additional comments were related to the restrictions to modify the natural landscape in the internal code and for having an organized architectural commission ensuring the effective control of these environmental issues. Despite this, restrictions are not as strong as believed with residents paying for the trees that they want to be cut down.

In terms of social groups, there were identified residents who joined together to practice sports. However, being isolated is the main characteristic of the gated enclave. Residents want to be relaxed in their homes as a main attitude after coming from their jobs. The relation with the surroundings is almost negligible; being the commercial center of “Los Fresnos” seldom used by the residents of enclaves; they prefer buying the basic stuff in the big supermarkets along the Panamericana axis. Most interviewees argued that the shops in “Los Fresnos” do not have the variety residents need. Therefore, they commute through kilometers to reach the big malls for shopping and to go for the cinemas. Despite this, when there is a need for “cultural activities”, for example seeing a play or attending to concerts, the residents argued depending on the main node of Buenos Aires City. They also used the axis to commute to their jobs that could be in Buenos Aires City or nearer to it. Another aspect decreasing the possible interaction between the residents of the enclave and the immediate surroundings is having a particular service of food delivery that is prepared inside the enclave. There is a total disconnection from the surroundings and insecurity is playing an important role in the phenomenon. Residents when they go out of the gated enclave usually drive as faster as they can to reach the Panamericana axis; commenting that cars have been intercepted by kidnappers and robbers in the immediate surroundings. Thus, the situation is contradictory with an average speed of 20km/h inside the gated enclave (see Figure.13 at the top) and 80 km/h just a few meters from the access. The phenomenon is not exclusive to this particular enclave; it could be considered as a general behavior in the whole selected area.

The physical uniformity promoted in the area as a succession of barriers from the gated enclaves and the casas quintas was not a main concern in the target group¹²⁴. Respondents mostly defined the gated enclave as a place which is respectful of the natural environment with a strong sense of private life¹²⁵. Aspects related to solidarity between members of the neighborhood and with the immediate surroundings were totally discarded¹²⁶. To conclude, there are

¹²⁴ According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; only two of them selected “ the strong physical barriers “ to describe the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N ° 7). (see *Data Analysis in CD*)

¹²⁵ According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N ° 7) there were fifteen answers related to “the strong sense of private life” and twelve related “the respect for the natural environment” being those the most polarized selections.(see *Data Analysis in CD*)

¹²⁶ According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N °7) there were only one answer related to “The solidarity

common expressions in relationship with the neighborhood providing jobs and empowering the economic status for neighbors of the immediate surroundings as gardening staff, masons and maids. Despite this, generally these personal came from settlements not from the immediate surroundings but from places such as Maquinista Savio, Matheu or Belén de Escobar.

The environmental threat to wetlands is not the main concern of interviewed residents who are unfamiliar with certain particularities of the site. Therefore, it could be argued as a possible influential parameter for this perception the migrating background of all of them. Residents are coming from distant neighborhoods from Buenos Aires City and they were grown up embedded in the urban milieu; moreover reaching these lands before the 1990's was not an easy task. The situation around wetlands and associated ecosystems has not been in a National debate and there have been a low level of awareness about the damages performed to the Natural Environment. On the other hand, environmental issues do not presently have a central place in the local mass-media. Despite this general observation, the residents have a strong sense of taking care of the ornamental flora inside the enclave and some also argued of the necessity to reclaim central management processes in relationship to waste recycling¹²⁷.

4.4.2 Experiences from residents of the settlement around “Los Fresnos” and from the hazardous pattern in the immediate surroundings.

Questionnaires were distributed to residents around “Los Fresnos” who were generally open to talk about these matters in their shops in the commercial center; and also for the residents from the hazardous pattern which mixes with the settlement around the commercial center. The residents around Los Fresnos generally have their activities in the area, even in the commercial center. Despite this, the situation is different to Istanbul as there were two different scenarios in Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy, in this location all are embedded in a hazardous pattern composed by casa quintas; quintas and ranchos. Residents living in the quintas are dedicated to agricultural activities and generally the activity is performed by migrants from Bolivia (see Section 3.2.2.2). This last group was afraid of giving their opinion as there is an ambiance of fear around their condition of being “illegal” migrants; moreover they are an extremely close community so it was not possible to even get access to them.

Residents around los Fresnos were essentially contacted in their shops and were open to talked about the relationship with the gated enclavers in most of the cases, however the contractual relationship with the residents of the enclaves make some of them take a skeptic attitude towards the questionnaires and the post unstructured interview. Owners of small shops in Los Fresnos selling home-made food and dairy issues expressed the positive impact in their economy by the

between the members inside the neighborhood “ and two related “The solidarity between the members of the neighborhood and outsiders”.(see *Data Analysis in CD*)

¹²⁷ Waste recycling observations made by Respondents N °1 and N °20.

proliferation of the gated enclaves in the area¹²⁸. Despite this, it was verified in the interviews with residents of gated enclaves that they rarely consume in those shops. Thus, “the positive economic impact” is not as high as it could be for those residents; moreover it is not as relevant as politicians generally argue in “el conurbano”¹²⁹. On the other hand, owners of construction materials shops naturally found the proliferation of gated enclaves as an extraordinary economic opportunity. Having two large on-going gated developments in the vicinity as Haras Santa Maria and San Sebastián the situation for them could not be economically better. Being favored by the enclaves, generally these owners are leaving in strongly fortified casas quintas in the surroundings and a few of them have bought villas inside the gated enclaves. The situation, however, is not the same for everyone. For example, clothing shops installed to attract the residents of gated enclaves do not succeed as the residents prefer the shopping malls. Furthermore, it was possible to find shops in the area that were not trading well; particularly those of low income families in the surroundings that have opened small precarious shops to sell food and basic supplies where only constructions workers buy items, representing a weak income for them. Thus, for these shop owners gated enclaves do not represent a considerable benefit. Some also expressed a feeling of being totally excluded as residents of gated enclaves do not buy in their shops, even living a very short distance away.

Social interaction is almost negligible and only possible in “Los Fresnos” when somebody of the gated enclave need some basic goods; however is always in a commuting dynamic, stopping buying in a few minutes and leaving again with the car. The respondents related having almost no contact with the residents of the gated enclave even with the neighbors of other casa quintas. Consequently, there was a general concern about the lack of public space with scarce sidewalks and ambiance ruled by the car. During the dialogues with the residents of the surroundings to the enclave, they generally refer in a derogatory manner to the residents of the gated enclaves¹³⁰. One interviewee, owner of a small precarious market (respondent N° 15-Unstructured Interviews in October 2013), argued that residents of the surroundings could not even leave their children outside as there is no proper sidewalks. Furthermore, residents from gated enclaves leave at high speed as a clear indicator of their fear towards crimes, increasing the possibility of accidents. Needless to say, witnessing crashes between cars of residents of gated enclaves is a common situation in the area. The situation of crimes is common issue. Talking with owners of shops in “los Fresnos” they argued of thefts two times in the last year; moreover some of them admitted having guardian dogs and weapons inside their casa quintas to protect “their lives”¹³¹.

There were other opinions related to the public infrastructure, such as *lack of places for social interaction, for example, squares and sidewalks; asphalted roads for the public transport to get in the neighborhood and a compendium of municipal promises not being accomplished*. Some dwellers maintain that the impossibility of interaction between

¹²⁸ According to the information given post questionnaires from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; similar comments were made by the respondents N °1, N °4, N °7 and N ° 12.

¹²⁹ For example; the case of respondents N °3, N °11 ,N °13 and N ° 14 .

¹³⁰ Observations made in the survey Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; similar “way of referencing to the other” made by the respondents.

¹³¹ Information given by respondents N °11, N °13, N °14, in October 2013.

children living in gated enclaves and from the surroundings is even worst due to crimes; as the first ones generally are left by the school bus near Los Fresnos center and then they are taken by remises to the gated enclaves even when the enclaves are a few blocks from the place. According to the owner of a remiseria (respondent N °13), the possibility of kidnapping makes their parents take this type of extreme decision. Another important issue for the respondents was the lack of any type of solidarity between residents from the gated enclave and residents from the surroundings; and often between themselves as well¹³².

The fear related to losing economic incomes was only possible to find when talking with some residents in “Los Fresnos” commercial center. In this case it was not as in Istanbul where there was local population embedded in the gated enclaves as service personnel, there was another type of contractual relationship. The personnel for the *barrios cerrados* of this area could come from distant suburban nodes. Coming back to the argument, the fear related to their jobs was expressed by some owners of the shops and their assistants as the immediate withdrawal of their contribution to the research when the topic was introduced to them.

There was a moderate concern about the proliferation of physical barriers; and it was with the security systems and the strong sense of private life characteristics used by the dwellers in the surroundings to describe the gated enclaves of the area. Despite this the characteristics were extended to describe the whole area of casa quintas and quintas generalizing the threat¹³³. On the other hand, the damage to the environment due to the development of gated enclaves was a concern only for a few; who related experiences of being children and playing in the *humadales* remembering essentially the animals that have disappeared, such as hares, ducks and foxes. There were other impressions of the natural environment being threatened but related to the users scale. Residents argued that residents from gated enclaves usually pass with their cars and throw waste bags in the streets; acting with complete impunity. The damage is not only an exclusive question of the gated suburban enclaves phenomenon; there also in the surroundings proofs of people cutting down centennial trees without any objections (see Figure.43); and none of the interviewees had even made references to the situation throughout the dialogues. However, at the time to define the general characteristics of the gated enclaves in the area, respondents did not consider the respect for the natural environment as an essential characteristic¹³⁴.

¹³² According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid-September to Mid-October 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were only one answer related to “The solidarity between the members inside the neighborhood “ and three related to “The solidarity between the members of the neighborhood and outsiders”(see *Data Analysis in CD*).

¹³³ According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid-September to Mid-October 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were fifteen answers related to “The strong physical barriers “ ; fifteen answers related to “The concentration of security systems” and twelve answers related to “The strong sense of private life”(see *Data Analysis in CD*). It is necessary to add that the assumption considered further qualitative data given by the respondents.

¹³⁴ According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid-September to Mid-October 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were only three answers related to “The respect for the natural environment “ (see *Data Analysis in CD*).

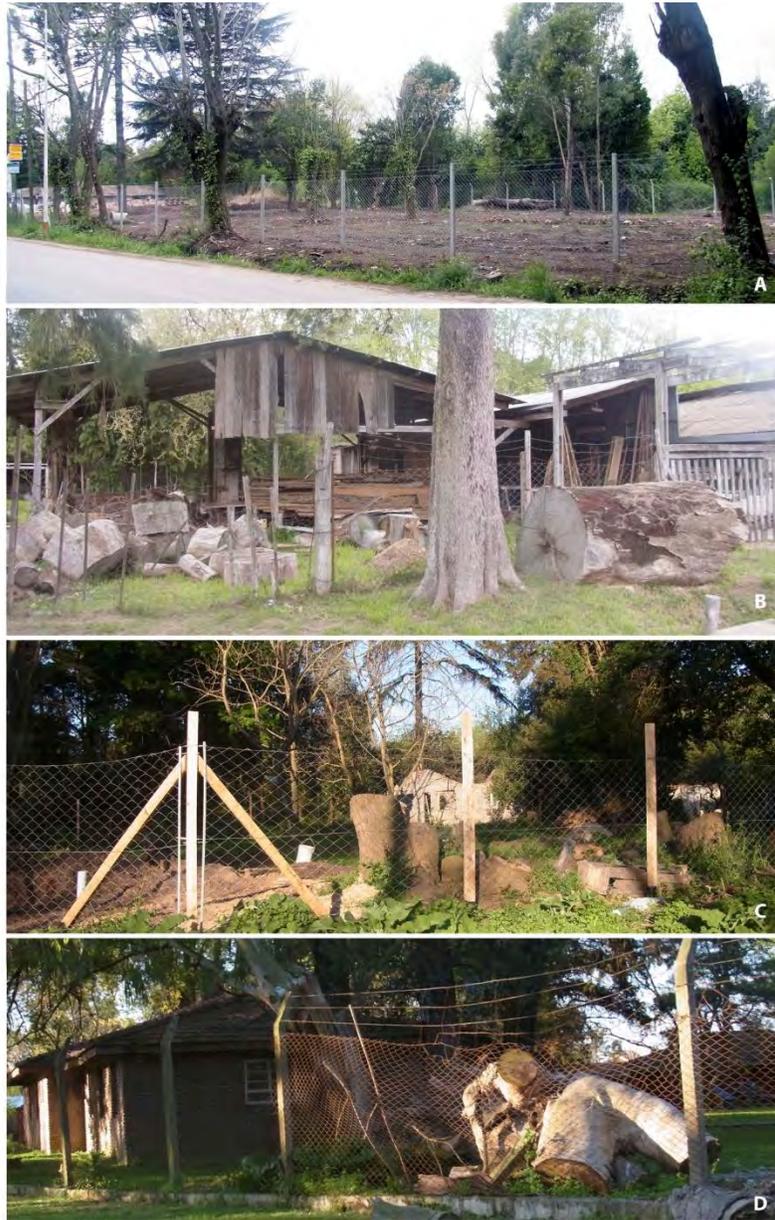


Figure. 44 **Impressions in the Site**

A-Emptying the Plot for Construction; B- Logging; C-Emptying the Plot ; D-Emptying the Plot
Photographic Compilation by the Author. October 2013.

4.5 Summary of the Findings

4.5.1 About the Threats

Social Aspects and Physical Particularities

a) In the area selected, the civic dialogue between the different groups detected is scarce and there are no spaces to perform it. It is not only a question of non-interaction between gated residents and residents from the surroundings; the situation is worse. Residents from casa quintas and quintas are also strongly gated, contributing to a whole scenario of isolation and if the situation is not bad enough there are also groups excluded by their ethnicity, such as the Bolivians, living in the quintas. On the other hand, residents of gated enclaves and the wealthier residents from casas quintas seldom use the local center, preferring to commute through the axis of Panamericana to find entertainment, malls or even work. There is an immersion of certain groups in a system of non-places inside the axis that Pérez (2002, p.149) has denominated "*The corridor of Modernity and Wealth*", inside a lifestyle strongly dependent on the automobile (see Figure.30-A).

b) The situation of criminality is clearly more relevant than first expected, it was not only conditioning the attitude of the residents of the gated enclaves, the fear has reached residents from casa quintas, quintas and shopkeepers. What was supposed as only a paranoid attitude from residents of gated enclaves; was confronted to violent episodes related by all the target groups.

c) Adding a threat to the possibility of social interaction was vehicular high speed, mainly due to the proliferation of gated enclaves, intensified by fear of crimes and with no speed limit signs, has established a phenomenon strongly affecting the public space.

d) In the area selected, there is no a strong economic relationship between the gated enclaves and its surroundings. The personnel working inside the gated enclaves comming generally from distant suburban nodes.

e) The threat related to physical uniformity by the proliferation of gates and security systems was not an exclusive question of the gated enclaves; the presence of casa quintas with strong security systems has exacerbated the gated suburban landscape. On the other hand, the casa quinta represents a cultural reference of an exclusionary typology in Buenos Aires Suburban history.

f) The physical threat was not only based on the uniformity and proliferation of security systems. Strong inequalities exist within the territory where a few asphalted roads lead to the gated enclaves or connect them to exclusive services. The rest of the area remains without sidewalks, asphalted streets, sanitary infrastructure and public spaces.

Environmental Aspects

a. It was possible to find that the Environment is being damage by the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in terms of the reduction of small forests and ecosystems in the vicinity of the Wetlands. On the other hand, there were small developments threatening the forests in very much the same way. The dynamics present in the area consist of changing the land use and making subdivisions to turn big plots of casa quintas and quintas into new gated developments.

b. The threats posed to the natural environment are not in the National Agenda. Wetlands and associated environments have been damaged through years of expansion of the exclusionary suburbia and most of them are not protected. Actually the only one case of a gated development threatening the environment that reached the mass media was “Colony Park” (see Section 3.2.4.2.1).

c. There is a legal framework allowing for the proliferation of enclaves in the whole Province of Buenos Aires; and Municipalities are urged to adapt their regulations to receive those investments.

d. The idealized contact with the natural environment is a current discourse in developer’s advertisements of gated developments in the areas of wetlands and surrounding ecosystems. Consumers knowing or not knowing the damage to the environment by the proliferation of these kinds of developments chose these products as they have found in them the perfect habitat that combines nature and a strong private security service.

4.5.2 About the Experiences from residents from Gated enclaves and Residents from the Vicinity.

a. **Different Concerns in the Target Groups about the Physical Uniformity.** The gated landscape as a physical threat has different concerns. Meanwhile most of the respondents of the gated enclaves did not consider the physical barriers and the strong security systems to describe the enclaves where they live; the residents from the surroundings do¹³⁵.

¹³⁵ Crossing Data. DATA 1: According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were fifteen answers related to “The strong physical barriers “ ; fifteen answers related to “The concentration of security systems”. DATA 2: According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; only two of them selected “ the strong physical barriers “ to describe the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N ° 7).DATA 3:Additional observations made by the Author in the dialogues with both target groups during the survey. (see *Data Analysis in CD*).

b. Landscapes of Individualization. As in Istanbul, an important aspect at the time to define the social landscape in relationship with gated enclaves was that both target groups agreed in the presence of a strong sense of private life. Solidarity is not merely considered to represent the relationships between residents in the same enclave, moreover between them and the residents in the immediate vicinity. In this particular case it is possible to argue that the insecurity felt by the neighbors towards crimes could enhance these attitudes around individualization/isolation while not being an exclusive question of prestige and class/ethnic-differentiation¹³⁶.

c. The Question of Fear. It was found that both target groups were concerned about crime episodes in the area. There is a fear that dominates the ambiance; and was expressed by all inhabitants interviewed. On the other hand, the other type of fear is related to having “problems” with the clients; a phenomenon experienced by the owners of shops economically dependent on the enclaves with the best example being stores selling construction materials.

d. An ambiance of contradictions and shared Responsibilities about the Environment.

There was a low level of awareness by both target groups around gated developments and other projects damaging the natural environment. However, at the time to define the characteristics of gated enclaves a majority of residents of the immediate vicinity do not consider them as respecting the natural environment (see Section 4.4.1). Needless to say, all interviewees were more engaged in the dynamics around crime rather than giving a place to the environmental debate. The time of residence and the experience with the original setting plays a crucial role, being only the ones that played in the “*humedales*” who sustained a strong position in relationship of what was being lost, for most of the residents coming from Buenos Aires City they do not have even clear references of what exactly the area was naturally in the past. On the other hand, developer’s advertisements promote a product that fits the motivation of the dwellers to be in contact with nature.

¹³⁶ Crossing Data. DATA 1: According to the survey performed in immediate surroundings using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the gated suburban enclaves in the area (question N °1) there were twelve answers related to “The strong sense of private life”; and on the other hand, there were only one answer related to “The solidarity between the members inside the neighborhood “ and three related to “The solidarity between the members of the neighborhood and outsiders”. DATA 2: According to the survey performed inside the enclave using fixed questionnaires for twenty residents from Mid -September to Mid-October 2013; in the question related to their own description about the main characteristics of the enclave where they live (question N ° 7) there were fifteen answers related to “the strong sense of private life”; and on the other hand there were only two answers related to “The solidarity between the members inside the neighborhood “ and one related “The solidarity between the members of the neighborhood and outsiders”.DATA 3:Additional observations made by the Author during the survey. (see *Data Analysis in CD*).

CHAPTER 5: REACHING THE GENERAL FINDINGS - ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Understanding Levels / Dimensions of Comparison

Entering into a comparative analysis of two case studies far from each other seems a complex task after having experienced the phenomenon of gated suburban enclaves in two distant contexts and from different dimensions and perspectives ; the numerous inter-relations which go beyond that theoretical “homogeneity” defined by a sampling of parameters have been brought to the light. Part of the challenge for the researcher for being opened to multiple perspectives was *how to condense the final findings*. To achieve this objective, organize and at the same time systematize the findings the Author elaborated a “*final matrix of analysis*”. The final comparison matrix was divided into three levels of analysis addressed in the research: *constitution of the gated suburban landscape in both cities; threats by the proliferation of gated enclaves in the particular locations; experiences from residents of the pattern selected and experiences through mass media-developers’ advertisements*. Within these levels each topic was reviewed, the type of data collected was analyzed and the findings obtained in each city were finally cross-referenced between both case studies and the main findings of the whole research as preliminary concepts obtained (see Box.04).

TOPICS ADRESSED IN THE RESEARCH	CASES STUDIES	COMPARATIVE -findings
MODE OF PROLIFERATION OF GATED DEVELOPMENTS ENCLAVES CONSTITUTING THE GATED SUBURBAN LANDSCAPE	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;">GATED SUBURBAN ENCLAVES IN ISTANBUL AND BUENOS AIRES</div>	Neoliberal Approach in both locations related by scholars Physicalization of an Axis of development to constitute suburbia in both neoliberal processes Problems around the metropolitan guideline Legal frameworks following the neoliberal processes and ratifying the gated suburbia
THREATS IN THE PARTICULAR LOCATIONS by Secondary Data + Primary Data-Experiences from the Author in the Site	<div style="text-align: center; margin-bottom: 5px;">PATTERN IN SARIYER AND ESCOBAR</div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 30%; text-align: center;"> Physical Threats <small>related to uniformity in the landscape</small> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 30%; text-align: center;"> Social Threats <small>related to the impossibility of social interaction</small> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 30%; text-align: center;"> Environmental Threats </div> </div>	Environmental Threats - Belgrade Forests in the National Debate meanwhile Wetlands and Associated Ecosystems not. Other threats discovered that affect the interaction in the public space-velocity of cars Criminality levels making even worse the physical barriers, security controls and proliferation of gated typologies
EXPERIENCES FROM RESIDENTS by primary data	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 40%; text-align: center;"> Residents from Gated Enclaves </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: 40%; text-align: center;"> Residents from the immediate surroundings </div> </div>	Different Motivations to live in Gated Enclaves Fears conditioning the experiences in both locations Different levels of awareness in connection with the Environmental Threats Physical threats with different concern between the target groups in both locations
EXPERIENCES RELATED TO THE MASS MEDIA by primary data	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;">Developers Advertisements</div>	Similarity in the Identities promoted

Box.04 Final Comparison Matrix. Graphic Produced by the Author.

Admittedly, both case studies have logical differences of cultural backgrounds, historical processes, etc., however, data obtained during research show similarities were found in different levels as well as strong differences. Thus, the final outcome was constructed between convergences and divergences of dimensions addressed and diverse perceptions of target groups in these distant locations. Besides that, there were also interstitial topics that went beyond a regular comparison allowing for a reflection of unexpected dimensions which appeared during the research. In these unexpected aspects resides a relevant outcome of the research. In the following sections of the chapter shall be grouped into *multi-dimensional thematic clusters*.

5.2. Reviewing Macro Similarities of the Phenomenon

It could be argued that certain similarities in the processes experienced in Istanbul and Buenos Aires have existed over the last 30 years in terms of political approaches and how the suburban expansion was consolidated in both distant locations. Along these lines the Author would trace those findings crossing aspects described in the first section of each case study.

Both cities had started experiencing the proliferation of gated enclaves when in the National sphere their governments started following liberal approaches; basically adhering to the *laissez faire paradigm*. Naturally, this process was not something homogenous in terms of time, mode of reaching the structures of government, modification of legal frameworks, and vernacular mutations of the paradigm. But all these have occurred in both cities over the last thirty years. Consequently, the figure of the private sector in the planning of Buenos Aires and Istanbul practically took a commanding role. In the Argentinian milieu the governmental approach naturally has affected its capital city. The dictatorship in the mid 70's started the dissolution of the State promoting the uncontrolled openness to the market, total replacement of national goods and de-industrialization. The process was intensified in the 90's, in democracy with the *Menemism*¹³⁷, with extended privatizations of the public services. As part of this phenomenon; the class segregation started being of a considerable magnitude since that time. On the other hand in the Turkish milieu, since the mid-80's, a liberal process of de-industrialization and rising of the socio-economic segregation started with Özal government¹³⁸. These changes would have a material expression in both cities; in Buenos Aires with an urban expansion practically oriented to middle-high sector at the beginning in the 90's and in Istanbul with a similar phenomenon occurring a few years before. Thus, these political-economic changes have left, in both cities, a strong material trace for suburban expansion. Therefore, sowing the seeds for the gated suburban landscape; the first material contribution of those processes for the proliferation of the gated typology was generating the Axis for the "suburban expansion". In the Case of

¹³⁷ Popular denomination to the period of presidency of Carlos Saúl Menem between 1989-1999. In Spanish: Menemismo.

¹³⁸ Çavuşoğlu, E and Strutz, J (2013). *Istanbul – Urban movements in times of commodification of space*. Presentation for the Urban Management Group, Berlin February 2013.

Buenos Aires with the consolidation of the Panamericana Avenue (see Figure.16) and in the Case of Istanbul with the consolidation of the famous Büyükdere and the well-known C.B.D (see Figure. 30). Both Avenues joined the core of the city with the periphery; joined the offices, malls and supermarkets with the distant natural environment. Those natural remote areas reached by the phenomenon were part of the districts, Escobar in Buenos Aires and Sariyer in Istanbul, analyzed within this thesis. Moreover, the urban typology that assumed the materialization of this expansion, technically defined as urban sprawl, was the *gated enclave*. Despite this, as it was shown in Chapter 2 Section 2.1.3; the proliferation of enclaves did not start just motivated by a basic infrastructure. There was a compendium of aspects involved such as the rise of a service sector class associated to the world city; the desire of particular lifestyles and others facts that reach the scale of the individual (see Figure.09).

The other manifestation of those political-economic processes was the modification of legal frameworks directly or indirectly enhancing the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves. In the case of Buenos Aires, the major change was the introduction of the Provincial 8912 Law of Territorial Reorganization in 1977 breaking the framework for a Metropolitan planned growth and open the way for the suburbanization with other additional decree in the mid of the 1980's allowing for proliferation of "barrios cerrados" of varying sizes (Libertún De Duren 2006). On the other hand ; in Istanbul in the 80's there have been changes related to "*belde municipalities*" that could take decisions beyond the Metropolitan Municipality and which has also enhanced the proliferation of gated enclaves (İnal Çekiç and Gezici 2009). In Both cities there have been processes of decentralization; although Istanbul belde municipalities were abolished in 2003 (Interview Specialist 3 13th August 2013), while in Buenos Aires the situation has been continuing along the same path without a Metropolitan framework until the present day. It means the presence of a total unplanned growth for the AMBA where municipalities took decisions without following any Metropolitan guideline. On the other hand in Istanbul, even if there is a common agreement of how the city should develop territorially parallel to the Marmara; the actual strong top-down approach of the government seems to be breaking those planned intentions; especially with the criticized monumental projects of the Third Bridge and The Airport (see Chapter 3 Section 3.3.2.3). Coming back to the legal framework, even though Sariyer was not affected by the phenomenon of the belde municipalities it was reached by other recent modification related to the 2B Lands which in this continuous *laissez faire* approach finalizes expanding the gated suburban landscape and triggering the natural limits.

To sum up, in both locations the uncontrolled urban expansion started three decades ago with a period of intensification related to developments for middle-upper classes during the 90's¹³⁹. This allowed the expansion of the gated suburban

¹³⁹ Observations related to the 90's.

Buenos Aires

"A turning point occurred during the 1990s, with an explosion in the development of different types of "gated communities" (privately owned developments protected by some form of enclosure) for upper-middle and high-income social groups." Pérez (2002 p.148) based on Mignaqui (1998).. *"This continues to this day and has marked a new trend in the way cities are built."* Pérez (2002 p.149)

landscapes triggering the natural limits and generating more and more non-places or settings of placelessness according to the referential theorists Augé and Relph. It can be said that consequent with the expansion the threats increase. In the following section these threats shall be addressed, considering the macro-perspective of the phenomenon.

5.3 Reviewing the Threats. Environmental, Physical and Social

The expansion of the gated suburban landscape has generated a compendium of threats to these particular locations that were grouped into the categories of *physical, social and environmental*. Naturally, these categories are far reaching but the focus of the author was concentrated in certain aspects inside those clusters defined in the *Chapter 2 Section 2.2.2*. The environmental threat to these locations assumed a “regional scale” affecting both the districts that were analyzed and neighboring districts. As it was ratified the model tends to proliferate in natural areas being the “idealistic contact with the nature” a repetitive argument in developers’ advertisements (see Figure.29 and Figure.44). Even though it was linearly logical to reach that finding; there are aspects to take into account relating to the threatened natural environments being considered in each location and also to some actual political trends in the Turkish milieu. It is important to keep in mind the natural environments threatened were: the Wetlands of Buenos Aires and associated ecosystems (see Chapter 3 Section 3.3.2) and the Belgrad Forest of Istanbul (see Chapter 4 Section 4.3.2). The essential difference between the two sites in the fact that the Belgrad Forest is legally protected meanwhile in Buenos Aires, Wetlands and associated plain ecosystems are generally not protected. Thus, the gated suburban landscape triggered in the case of Istanbul a protected natural area which has also an associated “*cultural dimension*”: *the historical hunting grounds of the nobles of the Ottoman Empire, the place for collecting water for the Ancient Istanbul and the popular significance as the Lungs of Istanbul*. Simultaneously, there are no limits to the expansion of gated suburban enclaves through the Buenos Aires territory due to no legal protection of natural issues nor a consciousness about what is being lost; in Istanbul the exact opposite is true as there is a strong historical connection with the Belgrad Forests. Thus, the legal framework plus somehow the identity connected to the Belgrade Forest represent a harder obstacle than in Buenos Aires for the unplanned growth. Furthermore, the episodes of the Gezi Park, which started on the 28th of May, have raised the environmental issues to a National debate and even International. On the other hand in the capital of

Istanbul

“The growing gap between the rich and the poor during the 1990’s started a differentiation with clear boundaries at the spatial level. The boundaries between the two levels had never been so clear before.” Çınar, C., Çizmeci F., Köksal A. (2006 p.3-4). “The number of housing projects on the metropolitan peripheries increased rapidly after 1990, and they were presented to the members of the upper class living in Istanbul with various options, spaces and prices” İnal Çekiç and Gezici (2009, p.5)

Argentina, there is no such political situation even, no awareness of the threats to the Wetlands nor notices in the mass media; only one isolated case appeared last year in the news (see Chapter 4 Section 4.3.2.1)

In connection to the physical threat, there were differences between both patterns analyzed related to the proliferation of physical barriers and security systems in the landscape. In the Buenos Aires periphery, due to the levels of criminality, gated enclaves are not the only entities that materialize the defensive attitude. In the pattern selected, all the typologies present in the area have significant walls and fences (*see for example: casas quintas* Figure.36). On the other hand, according to personal observations in the selected area of Sariyer the barriers were not so extreme and were exclusive to the gated enclaves. If we compare the two entrances of the gated suburban enclaves which were analyzed; the differences related to the security issues are clearly visible being the gated suburban enclave of Buenos Aires literally a fortress (see Figure 11-A and Figure 11-B). Both locations have historical background related to gated typologies in the area; in the case of Sariyer there were first located the hunting manors of the nobility of the Ottoman Empire and consequently mansions which are still a distinctive quality of the district (see Chapter 3 Section 3.2 and Figure.19). In the case of Buenos Aires the “casas quintas” were also a historical antecedent but not exclusively oriented to the high classes (see Chapter 4 Section 4.2.1.2 and Figure.36). Thus, both locations have been historically selected to perform “class distinction” and continue that trend until the present day.

In connection with the social threat; the impossibility of interaction between neighbors was perceived differently in both cases studies even if gated enclaves generate such homogenous ambiance of disconnection between the inhabitants of the enclave and the inhabitants from the immediate surroundings. In Buenos Aires, the episodes of criminality have worsened the situation; thus residents of gated enclaves and from the immediate surroundings preferred living extremely indoors and having no contact with the “neighborhood life”. This particular attitude is reflected in the walls and fences previously described. Another aspect threatening the possibility to create such a type of “public space” is the high transit speed especially produced by the residents of the gated enclaves. Moreover, without a municipality that provides proper sidewalks those situations enhance an ambiance of social tension between residents from gated enclaves and residents from the immediate surroundings (see Figure.40 and Figure.41). In addition, the only paved streets are the ones in contact with the gated enclaves, thus the public authority is not guaranteeing equal public services for the residents of the area. As such, the class distinction is not only performed by the residents who choose the enclosed habitat. On the other hand, in the pattern analyzed in Istanbul the streets are paved; there are mostly sidewalks; and the speed of circulation of the vehicles seems not as high as in the case of Buenos Aires. It was possible to observe that residents from gated enclaves in Zekeriaköy even stop in the village and criminality does not reach such levels of the Latin American city. Furthermore, the residents of the villages still joined together in the café outside the mosque as narrated in the cases of Gümüşdere and Zekeriaköy. Somehow the neighborhood life remains however the villages are threatened by the arrival of the new investments, the extension of the gated suburban landscape.

To sum up, criminality ; the total absence of municipal investments in the public space and the lack of municipal controls has contributed in the case study of Buenos Aires to the generation of a landscape of total isolation and individualization. This pattern analyzed represents for the Author such a common situation of Buenos Aires Suburbia and an extreme complexity to be solved that involves: municipalities taking non-coordinated decisions, normally without a metropolitan planning legal framework for that coordination; municipalities with a scarcity of budget; some cases of corruption; high levels of criminality; and investments focalized in gated developments with consumers urged to buy them. These are the negative factors that the Author had detected, with suspicious of the existence of even more negative factors that enhance the unfavorable panorama.

5.4 Reviewing the Experiences from Residents in the Patterns Selected

In this section would be condensed the findings after collecting experiences from residents of gated enclaves and residents from the immediate surroundings from the patterns selected in Istanbul and Buenos Aires which are part of a globally understood gated suburban landscape. The findings were grouped into three categories which are: *motivations to live in the gated enclave, experiences of the threats (physical, social and environmental) and fear conditioning experiences.*

5.4.1 Motivations

In relation to the motivations to live in the gated enclaves, there were substantial differences between the residents of both patterns analyzed. The collection of experiences from residents of the gated enclave in Istanbul verify that in that city there is a strong trend to move to these particular enclaves just to obtain a desired contact with the nature and to escape from the polluted city. Moreover, there were motivations related to the local phenomena of earthquakes and finding a “secure place to live” which verify the hypothesis of Özkan, E and Kozaman,S (2006) “1999 earthquake was a breaking point in the process, since it inflamed the exodus from the high-rise apartment buildings to the lower ones or the detached houses.”(p.4). Thus, the general hypothesis related to class segregation performed in particular natural environments is enhanced also by a local phenomenon. On the other hand; in the case of Buenos Aires another local factor take place affecting those theoretical assumptions. For the residents of the pattern of Istanbul insecurity and criminality were not the main concerns; whilst the opposite happened in the Latin American City. The motivation related to escape from the insecurity of the city was a relevant concern in the target group of Buenos Aires; even going beyond the hypothesis of the retrofitting discourse of fear in the media (Low 2001). It is supposed that the media naturally enhances that ambiance and also brings imaginary constructions; however criminality is a reality for the pattern analyzed as there were complete narratives of crime episodes by the residents from the gated enclave and from the immediate surroundings as well (see Chapter 4 Section 4.4.1).

5.4.2 Physical and Social Threats

The experiences related to the social threats were similar at the time to define the social landscape in both locations. Isolation and individualization were the main characteristics highlighted. Consequently, solidarity was not a characteristic of the relationships developed between residents in the same enclave and even between them and the villagers. There is a strong sense of private life in those gated enclaves thus, there is no such space for civic dialogue neither “social” nor physical. However, in Istanbul in settlements such as Zekeriaköy the situation did not reach the extreme. On the other hand in the pattern of Buenos Aires these *landscapes of individualization* are enhanced by the situation around criminality that takes the situation to the absurd (see Chapter 3 Section 3.5.2 and Chapter 4 Section 4.5.2). In connection to the physical threat; there were equal attitudes related to the perceptions in both locations. The strong physical barriers and the security systems were not considered relevant aspects to define the landscape proposed by the gated suburban development for the residents of gated suburban enclaves in both locations. On the other hand, the situation is totally the opposite for the residents of the immediate surroundings of the development for whom those aspects are essential characteristics of the landscape (see Idem). Thus, different perceptions related to the physical threats between the target groups (*residents from gated enclaves and resident from the immediate surroundings*) but similar in both case studies.

5.4.3 Environmental Threats

The experiences from residents related to the environmental threats showed different concerns between the target groups in both locations. In both patterns analyzed residents of the gated enclaves generally did not perceive the phenomenon of gated enclaves as threatening the natural environment. The reasons for that were variable and diverse. In Buenos Aires, due to a migration background, residents have no references of what the area was like in the past and furthermore, contrary to Istanbul, there is no such National debate pulling on the consciousness of natural environments being damaged. The narratives from residents in both cases was reduced to the normal association that the development where they leave respect the natural environment essentially related to a question of internal management of the “flora” in the gated enclave. In addition, it could be argued that understanding such phenomena as a threat comes from a perspective of researchers and/or ambientalists. On the other hand, residents from the immediate surroundings in both patterns showed a stronger level of consciousness related to the threats to their natural environment. For example, in Istanbul residents of the agricultural village of Gümüşdere showed their complaints about the changes in the area. Being part of the old population and accordingly having an intrinsic relationship with the place as an agricultural setting; they were more aware of losing the particular identity that involves the natural environment and its economic activities, basically that involves all of them.

5.4.4 Fears

The last dimension that should be addressed is related to the presence of fear in the fieldwork conditioning the attitudes of the respondents. Suburban fear could be called the phenomenon perceived as talking with the residents of the immediate surroundings from both gated enclaves. This aspect goes beyond the phenomena of physical barriers producing fear (Marcuse, 1997. In Ellin, N, 1997, p.102) and the retrofitting discourse of fear in the media affecting the residents of gated enclaves (Low 2001). Fear could be categorized into three dimensions found during the fieldwork in Istanbul and in Buenos Aires which are: *“fear of losing jobs/economic income”*; *“fear related to crime”* and a temporal *“fear about the political environment”*. Those dimensions related to fear which brought to light important aspects to understand the gated enclaves and the interrelations being shaped in the suburban environment. The *“fear related to losing jobs/economic income”* was a common attitude that has demonstrated the strong dependence of the immediate surroundings on the residents of gated enclaves’ purchases even if in some cases those economic incomes are minimal. This aspect made from example that many people of Zekeriaköy do not want to contribute to the research. To recap, the village is extremely dependent on the gated suburban enclaves of the area as residents work inside the enclave or have shops selling basic items (see Section. 3.2.1.2). On the other hand in Buenos Aires there was not such intrinsic relationship; neighbors of the gated enclave generally do not work inside of it; but there were particular shops from locals for whom gated enclaves represents an economic income. For example: some shops of basic items and even more representative, the building materials shops intrinsically connected with the gated suburban expansion (see Chapter 4 Section 4.2.1 and Figure.39 B-C). Thus, generally in that target group there was a fear to talk about the enclaves. The *fear related to crime* was another issue in Buenos Aires; vendors during the interviews were looking everywhere in a paranoid manner being extremely suspicious about the questions that the interviewer was asking.

Finally being suburbia the place where the unplanned city expands with powerful governmental and private stakeholders involved in that ambience; in Istanbul during the fieldwork was perceived a fear related to talk about those urban issues in the villages. Although this reaction was logical and expected given the image presented of the repressions during the episodes in the Gezi Park. In addition, such kind of fear was not exclusive to the inhabitants as the Author was also affected by the same fear at the time to conduct this research.

5.5 Reviewing the role of Mass Media through Developers’ Advertisements in both locations

After having described the macro-scenario that conditioned the apparition of the gated enclaves in Section 5.2; there is one last dimension addressed within this research related to the expansion of the gated suburban landscape that should be taken into account. This is the role of the mass media represented in the figure of developers’ advertisements. Naturally, the mass media has different manifestations according to the interests of a variety of stakeholders. In this

research, only one of these stakeholders was selected, the developers¹⁴⁰. Making the decision to especially be focused up on that group was related to generate an understanding of the relationship *product-individual*; being this aspect embedded into the research questions.

Having selected two distant patterns for analysis purposes, it was verified, surprisingly or not, that there were similar promotion of identities through developer's advertisements in those locations. Even though there are differences between the exaggerated images and the final product (the place) these are not substantial. Gated suburban enclaves are promoted with idealized images; representations containerizing an exaggerated message of a virgin natural environment and the ideal nuclear family life¹⁴¹ as it could be observed in Figure.29 and Figure.44. On the other hand, the logos show similitude; trees, leaves and birds; every symbol that refer to the natural environment and its essence it is graphically included. It could be argued that the corrupt escapist utopias of Garforth (2006) are embedded in those logos from the developments in both patterns (see Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3.1). The images do not have any connection with the traditional identities of those places; neither the agricultural identities of Istanbul nor of Buenos Aires. However, some cultural hybridizations could be seen especially in the advertisements for the developments in Buenos Aires promoting the traditional "estilo campo" lifestyle and with the name of these developments associated with Argentinian traditions and the Catholic religion (see also Chapter 4 Section 4.3.2.3 and Figure 44). All of it, being immersed in a kind of Baudrillardian ambiance of simulation; of reproduction of meanings that are not even grounded in a solid soil as they are the simulation of a simulation: just the reproduction of stereotypes accompanied by a symbolist *mélange*. The unique substantial difference between the advertisements of both locations is the language that is used to disseminate the message, Turkish and on the other hand Spanish. As a reflection, being deleted the words of those advertisements it could be hard to distinguish where they come from. On the other hand, having experienced gated enclaves in both locations as an insider and also taking impressions from their borders in the districts of Sariyer and Escobar¹⁴²; the differences on the build environment are typological not substantial.

Returning to the main argument, advertisements talk about triviality and how these environments are treated as objects constituting the characteristics of "kitsch" and "technique" which are essential for the creation of settings of placelessness according to Relph (1976, pp.82-89) (see Chapter Section 2.2.3). On the other hand, the advertisements

¹⁴⁰ "The media carry meaning and countermeaning, they manipulate in all directions at once, nothing can control this process, they are the vehicle for the simulation internal to the system and the simulation that destroys the system, according to an absolutely Mobian and circular logic - and it is exactly like this. There is no alternative to this, no logical resolution. Only a logical exacerbation and a catastrophic resolution." Baudrillard (1994, p.84)

¹⁴¹ "Besides, this family was already hyperreal by the very nature of its selection: a typical ideal American family, California home, three garages, five children, assured social and professional status, decorative housewife, upper-middle-class standing. In a way it is this statistical perfection that dooms it to death. Ideal heroine of the American way of life, it is, as in ancient sacrifices, chosen in order to be glorified and to die beneath the flames of the medium, a modern fatum." Baudrillard (1994, p.28).

¹⁴² It could be argued that the Author has assumed two attitudes towards those places according to Relph's categories of 1976, one is behavioral insideness and the other is objective outsideness. The first one was described in the introduction but the last one needs of Relph's definition.

"The deliberate adoption of a dispassionate attitudes towards places in order to consider them selectively in terms of locations or as spaces where objects and activities are located, involves a deep separation of person and place." (Relph, 1976, p.51)

show non-relational characteristics even historical ties between the enclaves and the places in which they are embedded. Thus, the consequent produced environment partly adheres to the conditions for being considered non-places according to the definition of Augé (1995) (see Section Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3). To sum up, the theoretical concept established in Chapter 2 Section 2.2 related to some similarities in terms of reproduction of the model in a cultural dimension is demonstrated with this visual content analysis and observations in the site. Even taking random examples of the model in remote locations of the world with totally different cultural backgrounds the identities being promoted show a strange similitude. In addition, those identities promoted fulfill part of the motivations for residents to live in enclaves according to what has been collected by secondary and primary data. It should be added that negative aspects, such as insecurity or even the phenomena of earthquakes in Istanbul do not assume a protagonist place in those advertisements; however they are part of the motivations of the residents to migrate to the gated suburban landscape.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

To conclude this thesis, first it would be reviewed the essential questions that have been undergone along the document. Being chapter 1 an introductory chapter, this review would comprise the most relevant issues covered from Chapter 2 to Chapter 5. Then it would be made: *a reflection on the document as a point to create awareness of the phenomenon in both locations, a critical retrospective review about the terminology "homogeneity" addressed in the thesis and finally established the basis for future research in the subject.*

At the beginning of the thesis in Chapter 2, the theoretical scenario was portrayed related to the landscape produced by the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves as a typology extended globally. Therefore, it was interfered theoretically the threats related to the expansion of the model (Chapter 2 Section 2.2). Consequently, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 rose as the space to interface the global typology with the local landscapes in Istanbul and Buenos Aires. In those chapters, the theoretical threats under the figure of a *"homogenized gated suburban landscape"* were opened to particular spatial issues that make *"locality"* an essential variable to understand gated enclaves. It is important to remember, the research question was focalized on particularities to trigger those theoretical assumptions beyond the *"stereotyped product"* with a consequent *"stereotyped landscape"* (Idem). Continuing with the hypothesis and being gated enclaves analyzed embedded in different suburban realities, Chapter 5 emerged as the space to reflect on particularities such as understanding convergences and divergences related to the phenomenon in both locations through different levels of analysis. Eventhough, both suburban scenarios were materialized in neoliberal processes in the last thirty years with certain similarities related to: *the constitution of a relevant axis for suburban growth in both metropolis, problems around a governmental issues to conduct a sustainable growth and consequently threats to the natural environment.* Local variables were discovered that modified those gated suburban landscapes with consequent threats affecting the landscape, such as: *criminality issues, micro-economies dependent on gated enclaves, cultural features related to the figure of public space, suburban fears and community considerations related to the environmental assets being threatened* between others. Finally, with this document reviewed in this concise summary and the general findings presented in Chapter 5, the following three sections are dedicated to the concluding observations.

Generating Awareness of the Phenomenon

The gated suburban landscape that expands with its consequents threats has been verified as a phenomenon that should be globally understood. Experiences from residents of the gated enclaves and the immediate surroundings have finally given the necessary information to complement the contextual parameters to understand these typologies embedded in the suburban environment. Therefore, the research has given birth to a referential document of possible situational patterns with gated enclaves in distant parts of the world. For the author in that resides the importance of such

production for the further creation of guidelines or further research based on a similar methodology. The narratives and the findings in this thesis constitute for the Author a substantial empirical referential example for urban managers dealing with suburban issues in international contexts. On the other hand, one objective embedded in the document was to create certain awareness about those changes. It means an awareness of a phenomenon that should be considered integrally, not just exclusively focused upon the figure of the “gated communities” as isolated entities, furthermore, to an awareness related to the controversial changes in those distant locations in the suburban environment. In Istanbul it is necessary to reflect in connection to: *the partial or total dissolution of those small villages, the extensive apparition of more gated developments triggering the Belgrad Forest and even the possibility of modification of Kilyos’ coast in the near future*; meanwhile in Buenos Aires there should be considerable attention given to: *the changes of agricultural patterns of quintas into gated developments and consequently environmental impacts being generated in the associated ecosystems to the Wetlands*.

Homogeneity- Reviewing the Concept

Beyond the threats and perceptual issues that have been addressed throughout the whole of this research, the theoretical figure of a Homogenized Gated Suburban Landscape needs a final revision. First, it could be argued that homogeneity is a “picky” terminology that encloses parameters of certain subjectivity. Thus, the Author in Chapter 2 has determined certain parameters that filtered a reality to become homogenous-similar-uniform (see parameters in Chapter 2 section 2.1.4). After experiencing the landscapes and the individual embedded, the terminology and the parameters sustained in that assumption should be analyzed. The theoretical homogeneity is composed of heterogeneity in terms of social relationships that “modify” the landscape in those patterns between other facts related to the concept of “locality” that have also certain influences. Thus, something that from a macro-perspective and by particular secondary data could be defined homogeneous, similar or uniform when it reduces the scale of analysis the phenomenon found many particularities and in some cases contradictions or exceptions to the general paradigm. As it is all about perceptions, and this thesis has a dynamic connected to changing scales and perspectives to reach its findings. When the researcher reaches a site and understands interactions in those patterns in that attitude emerges the particular observer who narrates the heterogeneity in the homogeneity. Changing perspectives, addressing dimensions, being an observer, took the position of Relphs’ behavioural insideness, those were components of an attitude towards research embedded in the methodology to address places. Thus, forgive the repetition, the model of gated suburban enclaves should not be understood as isolated theoretical typologies. Even though the interactions in the landscape space could be supposed minimal and extremely restricted; among those generalizations commonly made in the subject, among those fixed assumptions could reside what we are losing for understanding those patterns as part of a fragmented but still connected and diffuse suburbia.

Basis for Further Research on the Topic- Recommendations

The methodology to analyze gated enclaves understanding them embedded in particular landscapes opens the path for improving the model for classification of gated enclaves beyond what has been already established by the categories of Blakely and Snyder (1997) and Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004). The categories defined by Blakely and Snyder (1997) were: functions of enclosure, security features and barriers, amenities and facilities included and type of residents. The ones proposed by Grant and Mittelsteadt (2004) extending the ones of Blakely and Snyder (1997) were: functions of enclosure, security features and barriers, amenities and facilities included and type of residents; plus: tenure, location, size, policy context (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, p.917-926). It is interesting how Grant and Mittelsteadt (2014) introduced the concept of “*location*” having a considerable gravity for defining enclaves. However, location is a concept that could embrace infinite variables. Thus, it is possible to compliment that feature to define a gated enclave with the research findings. Therefore, in the “suburban specificity” it is possible to find different levels of interaction of a gated enclave with its surroundings, some of them physically completely isolated others embedded in low density patterns. Moreover, gated suburban enclaves could have different relationships with its surroundings in connection with the provision of “jobs”. It is of importance to analyze where the service personnel for the enclave come from and which are the economic links between the gated enclave and its surroundings. Under the terminology of “location” should be also understood cultural antecedents of gated typologies in suburban areas as general those places for its natural particularities have been historically chosen by the upper-classes to have their residences (see Chapter 2 Section 2.1.2; Chapter 3 Section 3.2 ; and Chapter 4 Section 4.1 & 4.2.1). Finally, the model directly or indirectly triggers the natural environment, thus that modifications should not be discarded at the time to typified gated enclaves in suburban areas. As a final result of this research, a basis for a further theoretical analysis in connection with the model has be established. *Gated suburban enclaves might be not simplified as isolated suburban typologies but rather as contextual entities having particular interactions with its immediate surroundings and naturally affecting those conforming particular landscapes.*

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ANNEXES

ANNEX – A - LISTS OF INTERVIEWEES

ANNEX - B - RESPONDENTS

B1. ISTANBUL. Residents from the Gated Enclave.

Questionary	PROFILE					
	Gender	Age	Type of Resident	Continue with Interview or Exchanging more Info.	Month	Profession
1	Female	44	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Economist
2	Male	44	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Engineer
3	Female	65	Permanent-Ariköy	YES.extensive	July 2013	Lecturer-retired
4	Male	50	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Pharmacy Owner
5	Female	46	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Bank Manager
6	Male	67	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Textile Owner
7	Male	50	Permanent-Ariköy	YES.About Growing up children	July 2013	Optician
8	Male	49	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	No declare
9	Female	51	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Banker
10	Male	57	Permanent-Ariköy	YES.No relevant.Meeting point.etc.	July 2013	Civil Engineer
11	Male	66	Permanent-Ariköy	YES.What was Ariköy in the past	July 2013	Lecturer-retired
12	Male	32	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Commerce
13	Male	21	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	
14	Male	32	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Politician?
15	Female	47	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	Housewife
16	Female	58	Permanent-Ariköy	Yes.No relevant	July 2013	Public Relations
17	Male	58	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	No answer
18	Male	22	Permanent-Ariköy	NO	July 2013	
19	Male	37	Permanent-Ariköy	YES.Sport and lifestyle	August 2013	Electronic Engineer
20	Female	35	Permanent-Ariköy	YES	August 2013	No declare
				3 only giving data not making questionnaire		
OTHER GATED DEVELOPMENTS						
1	Female	38	Permanent-Zekeriaköy-Cansit Villas	YES.extensive	August 2013	Finance Sector- Consultancy
2	Male		Permanent-Zekeriaköy-Cansit Villas	NO	August 2013	Architect
1	Female	60	Permanent-Rumelifeneri-Istanblue	YES.extensive invited to have dinner	August 2013	Pharmacist
2	Male	65	Permanent-Rumelifeneri-Istanblue	YES.extensive	August 2013	Doctor
3	Male	725	Permanent-Rumelifeneri-Istanblue	YES	August 2013	Doctor

Questionnaires answered : 20 - Further Exchange of Data/ Interview: 10 + 4 from other developments in Sariyer

B2. BUENOS AIRES. Residents from the Gated Enclave.

Questionary	PROFILE					
	Gender	Age	Type of Resident	Continue with Interview or Exchanging more Info/topic	Month	Profession
1	Male	58	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-Security Aspects-Envrionmental	September 2013	Multinational-Maritime Agent
2	Male	69	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-Place to grow up children-Charact. of relationships made	September 2013	Owner Metalurgic
3	Female	38	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-Children growth-Coming from Mexico insecurity-Environm	September 2013	Multinational-Engineer
4	Female	35	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-About the questionnaire itself	September 2013	Historian
5	Male	58	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-Environmental Aspects-Relationship with the city of Bs.As	September 2013	Multinational-Engineer
6	Male	55	Possible Permanent-El Aromo	YES-Motivation Investment-Defining pros of the enclave.	September 2013	Businessman
7	Male	48	Permanent-El Aromo	YES.Friends and relationships	September 2013	Veterinarian
8	Male	51	Permanent-El Aromo	YES- Characteristic of residents from weekends.	September 2013	Businessman
9	Female	53	Permanent-El Aromo	YES- About Instropective activities	September 2013	Director of High School
10	Male	57	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-About collective sport activities	September 2013	Businessman-Mecine Sector
11	Male	54	Permanent-El Aromo	NO	October 2013	Owner Metalurgic
12	Female	55	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-About Motivations to live there	October 2013	Housewife
13	Male	57	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-History of El Aromo	October 2013	Owner Cosntruction Company
14	Female	31	Permanent-El Aromo	YES-Motivations-Private Garden	October 2013	Housewife
15	Female	30	Permanent-El Aromo	NO relveant	October 2013	No Declare
16	Female	54	Permanent-El Aromo	NO	October 2013	Doctor
17	Female	35	Permanent-El Aromo	NO	October 2013	Housewife
18	Male	37	Permanent-El Aromo	NO	October 2013	Architect
19	Female	56	Permanent-El Aromo	YES. History of private neighborhoods in Bs. As. And experiences	October 2013	Artist
20	Male	57	Permanent-El Aromo	YES- extended. History of casas quintas	October 2013	Real Estate Agent

Questionnaires answered : 20 – Further Exchange of Data/ Interview: 15

B3. ISTANBUL. Residents from the Immediate Surroundings

Questionary	PROFILE					
	Gender	Age	Type of Resident	Date	Further information	Profession
1	Male	75	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	Yes.	Retired
2	Male	45	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	Yes.Environment.	Executive Driver
3	Male	55	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	Yes.About landsc.	Shepherd
4	Female	45	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	no	Bar Owner
5	Male	38	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	no	No-declare
6	Male	35	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	no	Optician-Assistant
7	Male	35	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	Yes.Fear jobs	Cheff
8	Male	25	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	Yes.Fear jobs	Waiter
9	Male	80	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	Yes.Fear Accusing	Retired
10	Male	65	resident.Zekeriaköy	August 2013	Yes.Fear jobs	Encharged of Security
11	Male	75	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	no	Retired
12	Male	30	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	no	Waiter -Bar
13	Male	35	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	no	Farmer
14	Male	35	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	no	Shop Assistant
15	Male	50	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	no	Shop Assistant
16	Male	70	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	yes.about past and nature	Retired
17	Male	40	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	yes.about past and nature	No Answer
18	Male	35	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	no	No Answer
19	Male	55	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	no	Shop Owner
20	Male	60	resident.Gümüsdere	August 2013	yes	Farmer

Questionnaires answered: 20 - Further Exchange of Data / Interview: 11

B4. BUENOS AIRES. Residents from the Immediate Surroundings

Questionary	PROFILE						
	Gender	Age		Type of Resident	Date	Furhter info by interview	Profession
1	Female	43	Los Fresnos	Resident in casa quinta	September 2013	Yes	Owner Petshop
2	Male	20	Los Fresnos	Resident in rancho	September 2013	Yes	Shop assitant
3	Male	42	Los Fresnos	Resident in rancho	September 2013	Yes	Small const.company
4	Female	63	Los Fresnos	Resident in rancho	September 2013	Yes	Owner despensa
5	Female	22	Hazardous pattern	Resident in rancho	September 2013	Yes	Shop assitant
6	Male	31	Los Fresnos	Resident in quinta	September 2013	Yes-extended	Quinta
7	Female	24	Los Fresnos	Resident in casa quinta	September 2013	Yes	Magazine Shop-assistant
8	Female	39	Los Fresnos	Resident in quinta	September 2013	Yes	Owner of a Shoe Shop
9	Male	35	Hazardous pattern	Resident in rancho	October 2013	No	Assitant Zingueria
10	Male	30	Los Fresnos	Resident in quinta	October 2013	No	Assitant commerces
11	Female	30	Los Fresnos	Resident in casa quinta	October 2013	No relevant	Owner Window shop
12	Male	43	Los Fresnos	Resident in casa quinta	October 2013	No relevant	Owner Library
13	Male	53	Hazardous pattern	Resident in casa quinta	October 2013	Yes-extended	Owner Remiseria
14	Male	40	Hazardous pattern	Resident in casa quinta	October 2013	Yes-extended	Owner Elcetricity Mat.Shop
15	Female	44	Hazardous pattern	Resident in rancho	October 2013	Yes-extended	Owner small market
16	Female	22	Hazardous pattern	Resident in rancho	October 2013	Yes-extended	Shop assitant
17	Male	50	Hazardous pattern	Resident in casa quinta	October 2013	Yes	Gas-seller
18	Male	25	Hazardous pattern	Resident in casa quinta	October 2013	Yes	Hairdresser
19	Female	40	Hazardous pattern	Resident in casa quinta	October 2013	No	Owner small shop of cheese
20	Male	52	Hazardous pattern	Resident in quinta	October 2013	No	Quinta

Questionnaires answered: 20 - Further Exchange of Data / Interview: 14

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QUESTIONNAIRE ISTANBUL

1. Komşuluk biriminizi seçerken dikkate aldığınız özellikler nelerdi?
(Size en uygun seçeneği işaretleyiniz)

a. Daha fazla sosyal yaşama sahip olmak	
b. Doğa ile daha fazla ilişkide olmak	
c. Çocuklarınızı büyütebileceğiniz güvenli bir ortama sahip olmak	
d. İşime yakın olmak	
e. Ticari alanlara yakın olmak	
f. Ev sahibi olmak için şehirden daha ucuz fiyatlar	
g. Şehrin kirliliğinden kaçmak	
h. Doğaya saygı duyulan bir ortamda olmak	
i. Daha fazla kamusal alana sahip olmak	
j. Sportif bir yaşam biçimine sahip olmak	
k. Şehrin güvensizliğinden kaçmak	
l. Kapalı bir çevrede olmak ve dostane iş ilişkileri kurmak	
m. Aynı değerlere sahip insanlarla birarada olmak	

2. Komşuluk biriminizin hangi açılardan diğerleri ile hemen hemen aynı olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

a. Güvenlik hizmetleri	
b. Komşular arasındaki toplumsal bilinç	
c. Sportif yaşam biçimi ve tesislerin birarada olması	
d. Komşular arasındaki ortak değerler	
e. Doğanın korunması konusundaki bilinç	
f. Dışarıdakilerle fazla ilişkinin olmaması	

7. Komşuluk biriminizi hangi özelliklerin kesin olarak tanımladığını düşünüyorsunuz? (İstediğiniz kadar seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz)

a. Fiziksel düzen	
b. Doğal çevreye saygı	
c. Mimari estetik zevki	
d. Mimari estetik zevksizliği	
e. Sosyal aktivite alanları gibi kamusal-özel alanlarda özgürlük	
f. Geliştirilen projelerde konsept açısından benzerlikler	
g. Özel hayatın muazzamlığı	
h. Güvenlik sistemlerinin yoğunluğu	
i. Sakinlerin içedönüklüğü	
j. Sakinlerin aktif sosyal katılımı	
k. Geliştirilen projelerde konutların benzerliği	
l. Komşuluk içindeki üyeler arasında dayanışma	
m. Komşuluk üyeleri ve dışarıdakiler arasında dayanışma	

3. Konutunuzun komşuluk birimi içindeki diğer konutlarla hangi açılardan benzerlikleri olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

a. Dışarıdan görülebilir olmaması	
b. Dışarıdan görülebilir olması	
c. Büyüklük, oda sayıları, hizmetler vb. açısından	
d. Biçimsel olarak	
e. Benzerlik yok	

4. Komşuluk biriminizde kurulan ilişkileri/iletişimi genel olarak nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

a. Güçlü	
b. Nadiren olur (haftasonları, çok fazla iletişim olmadan)	
c. İş amaçlı	
d. Güçlü ilişkiler yok	

5. Komşuluk birimi çevresindeki insanlarla ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?

a. Komşular	
b. Hizmet aldığım ya da komşuluk birimine mal ya da hizmet sağlamaya gelen kişiler	
c. İlişkim yok	

6. Komşuluk biriminizin doğal çevrenin korunması ilkelerini geliştirdiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

a. Evet	
b. Hayır	

1. Cuales fueron los aspectos que consideraste a la hora de elegir el barrio? (elegi los más relevantes para vos, si considerás otro sustancialmente más relevante agregalo abajo)

a. Tener más vida social	
b. Tener más contacto con la naturaleza	
c. Tener un lugar seguro para que mis chicos crezcan	
d. Estar más cerca del trabajo	
e. Estar más cerca de áreas comerciales	
f. El precio que es menor a adquirir una casa en la ciudad	
g. Escapar de la contaminación de la ciudad	
h. Estar en un ambiente donde la naturaleza es respetada	
i. Tener más espacio público	
j. Tener un estilo de vida vinculado al deporte	
k. Escapar de la inseguridad de la ciudad	
l. Estar en un circuito cerrado para promover relaciones de negocios	
m. Estar en un lugar con personas con los mismos valores	

2. En qué aspectos considerás que el barrio es similar a otros? (elegi los más relevantes para vos, si considerás otro sustancialmente más relevante agregalo abajo)

a. Facilidades relacionadas con la Seguridad	
b. Sentido de comunidad entre los vecinos	
c. Estilo deportivo y concentración de amenities .	
d. Valores comunes entre vecinos	
e. Conciencia en relación al cuidado de la naturaleza	
f. No mucha relación con el entorno inmediato	

7. Que características consideras apropiadas para describir el barrio? (elegi las más relevantes para vos, si considerás otra sustancialmente más relevante agregalo abajo)

a. El orden físico	
b. El respeto por el Medio Ambiente	
c. El buen gusto arquitectónico	
d. El mal gusto arquitectónico	
e. La libertad en el espacio public-privado como ser las amenities	
f. La similitud con otros desarrollos en la zona	
g. El fuerte sentido de vida privada	
h. La concentración de elementos de seguridad	
i. La introspección de los habitantes	
j. La activa participación social de los habitantes	
k. La similitud de las casas	
l. La solidaridad entre los miembros del barrio cerrado	
m. La solidaridad entre los miembros del barrio cerrado y la gente de los alrededores	
n. Las fuertes barreras físicas	

3. En qué aspectos considerás tu casa similar a otras ?(elegi los más relevantes para vos, si considerás otro sustancialmente más relevante agregalo abajo)

a. Cerrada a las visuales del público	
b. Visuales abiertas al espacio público	
b. En la magnitud, cantidad de dormitorios, facilidades etc.	
c. En el estilo	
d. Sin ninguna similitud	

4. Como considerás las relaciones creadas en el barrio?

a. Fuertes	
b. Ocasionales (fin de semana, no mucho dialogo)	
c. Con propósito de negocios	
d. Inexistencia de relaciones fuertes	

5. Como considerás las relación con las personas de los alrededores?

a. Relación de vecinos	
b. Proveedores /gente que viene a vender servicios/productos al barrio	
c. Ninguna relación	

6. Considerás que el barrio rescata los principios de cuidado del Medio Ambiente?

a. Si	
b. No	

ANNEX - D - QUESTIONNAIRES FOR RESIDENTS OF THE IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS

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1. Sizce aşağıdakilerden hangileri "kapalı siteler" in özelliklerindedir?
(İstediğiniz kadar seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz)

a. Fiziksel düzen	
b. Doğal çevreye saygı	
c. Mimari estetik zevki	
d. Mimari estetik zevksizliği	
e. Sosyal aktivite alanları gibi kamusal-özel alanlarda özgürlük	
f. Geliştirilen projelerde konsept açısından benzerlikler	
g. Özel hayatın muazzamlığı	
h. Güvenlik sistemlerinin yoğunluğu	
i. Sakinlerin içedönüklüğü	
j. Sakinlerin aktif sosyal katılımı	
k. Geliştirilen projelerde konutların benzerliği	
l. Komşuluk içindeki üyeler arasında dayanışma	
m. Komşuluk üyeleri ve dışarıdakiler arasında dayanışma	

2. Kapalı siteler şeklinde geliştirilen yeni projeler aşağıdaki hangi durumlar açısından tehdit oluşturabilir? (İstediğiniz kadar seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz)

a. Kentsel çevrenin geleneksel mimari ve mimari bütünlüğü	
b. Çevrelerindeki ekonomik aktiviteler	
c. Sosyal birliktelik	
d. Doğal yapı ve çeşitliliği	
e. Olası ilişkiler	
f. Tehdit oluşturabilecek durum yok	

Desarrollo de Tesis-Estudiante de Urbanismo
Percepciones entorno a Barrios Cerrados - Diálogo con Vecinos

1.1. Cuáles de éstas características son propias de los barrios cerrados de la zona? (elija los más relevantes)

a. El orden físico	
b. El respeto por el Medio Ambiente	
c. El buen gusto arquitectónico	
d. El mal gusto arquitectónico	
e. La libertad que sienten sus habitantes en el espacio público-privado como ser las amenities	
f. La similitud con otros desarrollos en la zona	
g. El fuerte sentido de vida privada	
h. La concentración de elementos de seguridad	
i. La introspección de los habitantes	
j. La activa participación social de los habitantes	
k. La similitud de las casas	
l. La solidaridad entre los miembros del barrio cerrado	
m. La solidaridad entre los miembros del barrio cerrado y la gente de los alrededores	

2. Qué aspectos pueden ser afectados por los nuevos barrios privados en la zona?

a. Arquitectura tradicional de la zona o la diversidad arquitectónica/de usos.	
b. La actividad económica de los alrededores	
c. La Mixtura Social	
d. La Naturaleza y su Diversidad	
e. Posibles relaciones humanas/ interacción entre habitantes	
f. Ninguno Relevante	

ANNEX – E - INTERVIEWS WITH SPECIALISTS

INTERVIEW - Specialist 1

Place: Istanbul Technical University

Date: 04.09.2013

Length: 48:20 min

QUESTIONS PREPARED FOR THE INTERVIEW

About Sariyer

- 1. What are your impressions of Sariyer district before the phenomena of proliferation of gated enclaves? I mean before the 80's...*
- 2. Which are for you the social, physical and environmental threats by the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in Sariyer? As you are a citizen of Istanbul and has been a professional in the Urban Planning field for many years. What are your impressions about the population of Istanbul in terms of being aware of those threats?*
- 4. How do you consider the role of the media in terms of promoting gated enclaves in Sariyer?*
- 5. Could you construct a possible scenario related to the impacts of the new projects in Sariyer?*

About gated enclaves in Sariyer- Advertisements through mass-media

- 6. How do you address the relationship between consumer and product advertised?*
- 7. How do you address the question of civic responsibility and proliferation of enclaves?*

About the particular Area

- 1. Do you find in Ariköy some particularities that make it different from the other gated villa towns ?*
- 2. Could you tell me how was the process when Ariköy change from a cooperative to a private administration? (year?,process?)*
- 3. How do you define the relationship between gated enclaves and the villages in the area of Ariköy Gumushdere and Zekeriaköy? I would introduce you some possible topics for example these binomials: Arikoy-Gumushdere ;Zekeraiköy enclaves-Zekeriaköy village.*
- 4. Do you think these villages could disappear by the market dynamics?*
- 5. Is there an ambiance to create awareness about those changes?*

INTERVIEW

The order of the questions and topics to be reached were with slightly modifications in the practice. The author underlined the topics to have reference marks at the time to analyze the interview.

1) Topic: Ariköy

Rodriguez: How is it now the population of Ariköy? *(first question not recorded)*

Specialist 1: More than a half it is not from our university now..it is changing.*(talking about owners of units in Ariköy)*

Rodriguez: From? (00:48)

Specialist 1: From the private sector.

Rodriguez: In which year did it change from the cooperative to the private administration?

Specialist 1: (...) My membership was 1980, I started in the cooperative. (...) There were some problems about the lands, they solved these problems and to be able to make the constructions they tried to have some credits and these are long histories.

(...Talking Ariköy facilities, public issues and planning obligations...)

These are big settlements and you have to put some green areas, school areas ,maybe religious areas, and sport cultural facilities ;it is not 100% living areas. You have to leave some areas, some part of the lands for another functions; That is why we have sport areas, swimming pool and tennis court for example and also education is another function. I do not know the planning and design history of the whole settlement but it is not a private school.

(...debate around the educational issues...)

I think it is important to know the percentage of academics and the others, because its origins is a cooperative established by academicians but It changed a lot and I do not know the persons that live know.I do not know the percentages now but as far as I heard more than half it is not academicians now.

(...the author related their experiences in the fieldwork about the population...)

Rodriguez: In the 80's was the cooperative and the private management was in which year?

Specialist 1: I do not know.

(...the author explained some objectives of the research and experiences in Zekeriaköy)

A family of Zekeriaköy can use our school.That it is what I am trying to say it is not private and not just for Ariköy residents. (Referring to the amenities in Ariköy that makes the difference with other enclaves)

Rodriguez: It is really interesting the example of Ariköy because it is a "mix" and now changed the administration but have some parts that are public...; it is different to the other gated enclaves but I notice that it has been changing to be similar to the others because changing the administration it is an important fact. What I found that people started buying the whole house. What I do not know if it is connected to the market because they found easy to sell a house of 300 m2 (...) What do you think about this phenomenon?

Specialist 1: I do not know exactly. I know that some people have bought two of them and make changes to their houses (*the interviewee was not sure about that phenomenon*)

2. Topic: Environmental Threat

Rodriguez: How do you address the situation of forest and development threatening them? (*the author explain their experiences*)

Specialist 1: Do you know X (*name of a gated development in Zekeriaköy*)?

Rodriguez: Yes. It is a development.

Specialist 1: As far I remembered there were trees there.(...)When you look at the map of Istanbul, especially after the 1999 earthquake, people tried to move North because of the stable ground but contradictory there are Forest in the North. It changed, it changed a lot. Many gated and non-gated settlements and individual buildings have been constructed in the North part and google earth maps show the changes...(description about the phenomenon seen by interactive maps)..There is also a tremendous change because of the Third Bridge road construction very close, when we are driving towards Ariköy; on the right side there was a heavy forest area but now you can easily see the see and Ariköy settlement.

Rodriguez: (the author related how he has experienced the threats in the site) I have seen many traces of trucks. Who controls that?

Specialist 1: These are the constructions of the third bridge (...) Since the beginning The administration of Ariköy and some NGO's from our area tried to attract the attention of the authorities about the plans of Third Bridge. It was very close to this neighborhood and cutting the forest. I think the government did not want to pay money for the private lands that's why they tried to use the Forest and public land. (...)

Rodriguez: Interesting

Specialist 1: Very Bad development for the area

Rodriguez: Unplanned?

Specialist 1: Planned but not based on necessary research. You could plan but if you do not think the results it is not a quality and useful process.(the interviewee made extension of the results of the constructions)

Rodriguez: *What I have noticed is that there is a governmental action that threatens the forest but also there are private developers that threatens the forests...It is like in many ways .no?*

Specialist 1: Yes. Either private or public it is not an environmental sensitive process.(...) Private developments cutting the trees, government also cutting the trees but this is a very dangerous and wrong process for a normal city.

Rodriguez: But... Are there legal mechanisms to do that?

Specialist 1: Yes. All legal. But you know your country and our country; we have also illegal developments, squatter settlements but very strange that not only that unplanned developments are destroying the environment, planned developments are threatening the forest...it is strange...it is strange...

(the author and the interviewee talked about questions related to Buenos Aires, and about the preliminary questions)

3. Topic: Memories about the past in the Area (recovering data)

Rodriguez: Do you have a memories about these villages and the area before the 80's before the gated enclaves..*(Introduction to the question by the author)*...Do you have an image in your mind about what was the area in the past?

Specialist 1: There were small villages Uskumruköy, Gümüşdere, Kilyos, there were some summer villages.. People that do not want to move very far in summers they went to Kilyos it was a nice and clean see and really close to the city.

I do not know so much information; but my grandmother was living very close to Maslak in a cooperative settlement, when I was 19 in the 70's, and they were going to buy some vegetables in the area of the Forestry Faculty...I remember..*(the interviewee explaining location of the site)*.There were some villages near the Aqueduct -Belgrad Forest, there are still some small settlements inside and people went to buy fresh vegetables from the villages at that time..*(no clear, talking about old settlements and activities in the area)*

(Pause)

Specialist 1: I am forgetting Baçeköy and Uskumruköy. Baçeköy is close to Maslak and it is a very old settlement, there are some schools there ...And you will know Kemer Country *(a gated community)*?

Rodriguez: Yes. It is in Göturk

Specialist 1: Göturk, Yes. These are important settlements, new settlements but all of them has their original small old village Göturk village, Kermer Burgaz village, Uskumruköy , Baçeköy.. these are old settlements and developed in this way *(referring to the gated enclaves proliferation)* in the last twenty or thirty years.

Rodriguez: *(the author reviewing the questions prepared for the interview)* Which are the social and physical threats?*(by the proliferation of the enclaves)* Maybe it is a kind abstract the question but I want to know what is your opinion, your imaginary in connection with this.

I have some ideas in general and about to Ariköy. As an architect and academician who made a research about these gated developments. I usually found gated communities very isolated, socially isolated from the city,(...) Ariköy is also like that (...)*(referring to the place of residence of the interviewee and gated examples)*.This is a demand of the people...It is because also the mass media effect. People now want to live in that secure environment. *(Referring to other studies about mass-media)*. I remembered that some daily newspapers have some "booklets advertisements" about these settlements it is still effective I think (...)

(talking about the buyers of residents of gated enclaves in the city)

In general I was saying that these are the isolated islands in the city, but maybe municipalities preferred that because the quality inside the gates is responsibility of the gated community administration. *(interruption by the author)* In terms of municipality responsibility maybe it is better to have many gated enclaves....It is strange.

(opinions by the author)

(the interviewee extend the idea to live in a secure environment and the target groups)

(informal dialogue about the research)

4) Topic: Generating awareness in relationship with the threats by the proliferation of enclaves

Rodriguez: Do you think if there is an ambiance to create awareness about the changes? *(the author explain the focus of the question)*

Specialist 1: I do not know; but many people decided to move to this kind of settlements because they preferred to live there and started to buy from these settlements. This shows that the awareness of the problem, or if it is problem, it is not in our way to look to the reality. It is different as an architect or an academician....i think we have to put the conditions in a rational way, give positive and negative characteristics Why people want to move to this settlements? They want to be secure and they want to live with the people like themselves, similar socio-economic characteristics; and especially young people having small children preferred to live there. These are common characteristics why they want to move to these type of settlements; but gated communities are not the same quality settlements, some of them are very rich and luxury settlements; some of them are modest and having facilities...and these are attractive for the family.

(The author explain his point of view related to the damages to the environment)

Specialist 1: I do not want to look the gated communities phenomenon as a totally wrong or totally right idea, as researchers we have to understand conditions reasons and results ; and very important is to have an idea of the individual people, individual families ,(unclear) What does attract them? (...).But it is very difficult to make research in gated communities, very, very difficult.*(talking about students and theses)* It is very difficult go inside the boundaries ..you have to find some friends, contacts.*(talking about the thesis)*

Rodriguez: Fortunately, I went inside Ariköy, one in Rummeli Feneri and I have contact with people of Zekeriaköy of one development and the answers were almost the same.

Specialist 1: It is interesting. You choose an interesting area .Sariyer is important, very important because of the Natural characteristics.

Rodriguez: And now with the Third Bridge.

Specialist 1: Yes. This is unexpected for me; i do not have any information about the Airport and the Third Bridge. (...)

INTERVIEW - Specialist 2

Place: Istanbul Technical University

Date: 06.09.2013

Length: 38:48 min

QUESTIONS PREPARED FOR THE INTERVIEW

About Sariyer

- 1. What are your impressions of Sariyer district before the phenomena of proliferation of gated enclaves? I mean before the 80's...*
- 2. Which are for you the threats by the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in Sariyer? As you are a citizen from Istanbul and has been a professional in the Urban Planning field for many years. What are your impressions about the population of Istanbul in terms of being aware of those threats?*
- 4. How do you consider the role of the media in terms of promoting gated enclaves in Sariyer?*
- 5. Could you construct a possible scenario related to the impacts of the new projects in Sariyer?*

About gated enclaves in Sariyer- Advertisements through mass-media

- 1. How do you address the relationship between consumer and product advertised?*
- 2. Which kind of "lifestyles" are promoted?*
- 3. How do you address the question of civic responsibility and proliferation of gated enclaves?*

About the particular Area

- 1. Do you find in Ariköy some particularities that make it different from the other gated villa towns?*
- 2. Could you tell me how the process was when Ariköy change from a cooperative to a private administration? (year?,process?)*
- 3. How do you define the relationship between gated enclaves and the villages in the area of Ariköy Gumushdere and Zekeriaköy? I would introduce you some possible topics for example these binomials: Arikoy-Gumushdere ;Zekeraiköy enclaves-Zekeriaköy village.*
- 4. Do you think these villages could disappear by the market dynamics?*
- 5. Is there an ambiance to create awareness about those changes?*

INTERVIEW

The order of the questions and topics to be reached were with slightly modifications in the practice. The interview was finally focused in the changes in Sariyer District and Zekeriaköy neighborhood. The author underline some of the topics to have references at the time to analyze the interview.

1) Introduction

Rodriguez: *(the author explain his experiences during the fieldwork in Zekeriaköy)*

Specialist 2: I am working in villages. In rural environments more than urban environments. In rural environments people are really scared because people are kidnapped. I mean some criminals are showing themselves as interviewers and then they took them to their houses they make them pain and they rob everything. They do not trust people. *(extending the idea)*

Rodriguez: I did not know about this of kidnappings.

(the interviewee extend the information about the situation)

2) About Changes in the Area

Rodriguez: How do you address these developments in Sariyer? I supposed in the 80's there had been changes. How do you address these changes?

Specialist 2: Actually my mother grew up in Sariyer she knows better than me, knows the environment. She was always telling us stories how they were taking the bus to come to Beşiktaş for come to the high school, even if it was snowing they were taking the bus to somewhere and then they were walking. There was no segregation; no class subdivision at all; everybody was taking the same bus.

In terms of students I mean, like the celebrities, childs of rich families ;and there was nothing in the environment *(...talking about personal family life...)*They were reaching the sea easily, they were swimming there. When I was a child from high-school I have a friend living in the main street in Sariyer, now they sold the three stories house and they moved to one of the gated communities, gated apartments, up north close to Koç University. (...)The building has changed into a café and restaurant. (...) Neighborhood was great in Sariyer, people knew each other but day by day it changed. Now nobody knows each other.

(extending stories-coal minery in Sariyer)

Specialist 2: *(referring to Sariyer's City)* But now when I climbed the area everywhere is houses and houses and houses Sariyer extended a lot. Now we were saying Zekeriaköy, Demiciköy, Gümüşdere, Ariköy; all these areas were for us unreachable areas only by private car but now we have buses mini-buses now you can reach it like you want. (...)

Specialist 2: Whenever a private company, real estate company or developer could find a little plot they just podded it and they start to build and most of the houses are empty.

Rodriguez: Is it more speculative?

Specialist 2: Yes.

(extending the remembering by the interviewee)

Specialist 2:*(talking about a residence that they have in the outskirts of Sariyer)* There were horses, savage dogs and we were locking our doors and we were really resting but year by year it has changed. It becomes more and more crowded (...)

Specialist 2:*(about a particular gated community in Zekeriaköy).* People know each other and the community has started. It has a cooperative and actually they also allowed members from other development, not only from X, (unclear). What are they providing outside the members is a shuttle bus for free and they are able to use the villas for parties and other arrangements, and monthly is 160 liras or something and they are providing recycling, they are collecting all recycling bottles from home, they are collecting all the garden garbage from home, they are responsible from cleaning the pavement etc.

3) Social Threats

Specialist 2: *(talking about daily issues)* I tried to buy my vegetables from the villagers, I try to buy my *(unclear)* from the villagers and we know each other and they tell me *not to buy* or *what to buy*. So I do not feel they are segregated or I do not feel myself segregated from his land. My father can go and sit on the village café and talk with them without any problem (...*continue explaining that in Zekeriaköy is not so the social tension...*) In other neighborhood or districts in Istanbul where gated communities are available there is a very huge segregation. Because what they did; they sold their land to developers for gated communities and they were bankrupted, they were not able to cultivate; they could not continue their agricultural activities; they could not continue anything. But became security guards or the cleaning lady or you know or driver or whatever. But in Zekeriaköy it was not the case. *(continue the explanation that people could still live from agriculture in some villages)*. That is what makes Zekeriaköy successful in that case. (...)

(interviewee explaining –gated restrictions in Zekeriaköy)

Rodriguez: *(the author come back to the memories of the site)*. Do you have any idea ...How were the villages; for example Gümüşdere..in that time?

Specialist 2: Everywhere were forests, was safe. Well, I know from my parents. When I was a kid I was going to the Belgrad forest, I remember barely those areas. But now with the Third Bridge, with other developments going on we are losing the green; the landscape has changed a lot; and the land use has changed a lot. (...) Maybe my answers are quite different from the others. *(informal dialogue related to the research)*

4) Generalities about the threats

Rodriguez: What do you think are the threats by these gated enclaves in relationship with social, physical and environmental aspects?

Specialist 2: Well, of course I am not a fan of gated communities or gated enclaves; and I believe that those fences or those securities attract kind more than a normal flat or normal apartment without fences or whatever because if you have something and you try to protect it that means that you are protecting it so there is something so you just call for crime. So that is a big threat from my perspective in terms of crime. Another thing is space gating, more than one building or if when gated areas is blocking a passage from one way to another, as it is blocking the public access is a threat. Of course it is a threat for natural environment in terms of location choices; because I mean... day by day they are expanding themselves through the North what we called for Istanbul the "Lungs of Istanbul".

(exchanging opinions)

A developer should not think just to earn money, should not think destroying or even dismantling...should not offer such a supply.

Rodriguez: But there is ...a complicate relationship because there are people that wanted this contact with the nature also, there is a kind of civic responsibility.

Specialist 2: And people should not buy...

(extending the explanation of the phenomena)

Specialist 2: If you have the chance to check, all the publicity about gated communities.

Rodriguez: I am in that way so I would like to hear your opinion.

Specialist 2: The funny thing is that they are selling all these development with nature, with peacefulness, very close to Forest. As you said, people want to touch the grass, people want to cultivate by themselves, not cultivate in huge sense, but you know take their tomatoes for their gardens. They are selling things like that, and the main thing is the ecological or sustainable way of living but they are just destroying nature and just trying to rebuilt nature a new nature, artificial nature inside those gated communities. When you look is green everywhere by diversity of flora; fauna has changed already I am not speaking about fauna, there is no fauna at all in term of old species; flora has changed a lot as many new species have been grown.*(explaining a research of a colleague in relation with non-original flora and gated communities)*

(talking about particular project X damaging the Forest-other topics)

Rodriguez: How do you think the people *(inhabitants of Zekeriaköy)* are perceiving the question of the third Bridge and the Airport?

Specialist 2: (...).One of my neighbors she was just funny and she was like... *“ohh you have no idea, I am really sad now I have a view of the sea from my balcony”* and I was like why are you sad ? What are you talking about? *“I was only able to see one piece of the see because of the forests and it was amazing, now I can see the whole black sea”*. That is how they are destroying the Forests. I mean this an ironic story.

(the conversation finalize talking about governmental issues..)

INTERVIEW – Specialist 3

Place: Chamber of Urban Planners Istanbul

Date: 13.08.2013

Length: 60 min approximately

Report submitted by the specialist after the interview

INTERVIEW OBSERVATIONS

The order of the questions and topics prepared were followed in the interview. As it was not recorded, the interviewee sent me a written report with the answers. Notes were taken of the personal interview.

TOPIC: SARIYER REGION

1. As the gated suburbia expands and promotes a particular landscape in vast territories of Istanbul, Which are for you the essential threats in social, physical and environmental terms?

Social threats can be listed as follows:

Social segregation: the metropolitan periphery is becoming much more segregated. While people within the fences and walls are homogeneous in terms of income, the gap between outsiders grows.

Life style fetish: Living behind the walls and fences is much more related with life style instead of security in Istanbul and this is the main difference about the gated communities in American cities I think. And this phenomena makes people consumption oriented.

Pyhsical threats can be listed as follows:

Uncontrolled land use change: when a place becomes center for gated communities land use changes in a very short time. Besides the residential development service sector such as cafes, restaurants, market chains ...etc. Then people working for this sector needs much more transportation. After all you can observe the change in max. 3 three years a peripheral village becomes a new district with high population, commercial uses and a well-connected highway to the CBD.

And the most important point in this story all this development is not mentioned in master plan of Istanbul.

Environmental threats can be listed as follows:

Above mentioned change in land use mostly occur in forest areas or river basins of Istanbul which are located in northern part of Istanbul Metropolitan area. The land use change in natural thresholds is a threat.

2. How do you address the question of the Belgrade Forest in relationship with the proliferation of gated suburban enclaves in the Northern European side of Istanbul, especially in Sarıyer?

I hope the forest area will act as a natural threshold to limit the proliferation of gated residential development which also is the reason for them being proliferated (people choose that place to live because of the landscape view and weather quality) But we are (I mean Turkish people and Turkish policy makers) very talented to expand the limits against the nature.

a. Which are the main threats for the environment in those areas? Are there substantial differences with the whole forestry threat in Istanbul?

I cannot differentiate the forest areas more or less important in the northern part of İstanbul since the forest area in the northern parts of the city is a whole. But according to master plans the northern parts of the city could be preserved since many professionals and academicians mentioned the area as a red line for İstanbul to develop. And İstanbul has been planned to grow parallel to Marmara sea coasts with a linear development. If you shelve the plans and forget them it will be the main threat for Belgrad Forest.

B. Could you resume the mechanism for the apparition of gated communities in forest areas? I mean, Is there a sequence of legal mechanisms that allow that? Are there some commonly known informal attitudes to develop the area in that way?

There are several ways to construct a building in a legally forest area. But none of them are formal. Development in forest areas of İstanbul mostly occurred illegally with squatter-gecekondu houses and it proliferated. In election times to get votes from that places municipalities served them with public services (electricity, sewage system and public transportation) and they became legal. But for the luxury housing development they mostly developed within the boundaries of Belde municipalities which have been abolished in 2003.

4. As you are a citizen from Istanbul and has been a professional in the Urban Planning field for many years. What are your impressions about the population of Istanbul in terms of being aware of those physical, social and environmental changes? How do you address the role of the media in connection with that?

I do not think that people are aware of natural threats which is caused by residential development in the periphery because this threat is not mentioned in any media or newspaper. Developers make advertisements such as "from highway to your parking area" or "in the middle of forest"... Theoretically these cannot be done. But in practice they do it and people invest on these houses because of these features.

5. For me the landscape turns into homogeneity physically and socially. I mean gates, all type of physical barriers and security systems have appeared and there is clearly a mono-class promoted (middle-high) between other aspects.

a. Do you think the residents of the gated communities are aware of the problematic?

They do not define that homogeneity as a problematic since they are located in that place for having the same life style. And it is almost that life style why they choose to live in fences and gates which triggers gated development in İstanbul and which is very different from American cities where the gated communities are led by security issues.

b. What do you consider the general reaction from gated community inhabitants about the topic of physicalization of social segregation? Which are the sociological considerations that should be made to understand better this sector?

If the gated residence project is not illegal inhabitant of the residence do not consider that they create a social and physical segregation and destroy the natural landscape. They only buy the flat because they can. I think that the awareness for northern forest areas is increasing since the Gezi Protests. There is a group "Northern Forest Defense" which is established after Gezi. They are preparing reports to increase the awareness for 3. Bridge and 3. Airport. And on the other hand we have to explain and convince people that when we construct a community on the boundary of a forest, even it is not actually a forest area it will have an effect on the forest with triggering other developments, with CO2 , with highways, ...etc.

6. I want to ask you a broad question, just to let the imaginary escape. Do you think that there is an ambiance to create awareness about the physical, social and environmental threats affecting the landscape?

May be the appropriate ambiance is developing especially for the northern forest area since the third bridge and airport projects are on the agenda of both government and NGO's.

7- ¿ Qué posibilidades ves de establecer situaciones de participación social entre residentes de urbanizaciones cerradas y los alrededores para lograr un "sentido de barrio" en asentamientos con urbanizaciones cerradas?

INTERVIEW OBSERVATIONS: Finally, the interview was conducted in an unstructured form but trying to reach the topics proposed in the questions prepared beforehand.

INTERVIEW – Specialist 4

Place: Buenos Aires. Universidad Torcuato Di Tella

Date: 10.10.2013

Length: 50 min approximately

QUESTIONS PREPARED FOR THE INTERVIEW

1. ¿Cuáles son las amenazas en el paisaje por la proliferación de enclaves en los suburbios de Buenos Aires? ¿Qué rol juega la uniformidad en las amenazas? Si tuvieras que dividir estas amenazas en grupos/ o dimensiones ¿Qué categorizaciones realizarías para entender el fenómeno?
2. ¿Qué relaciones hayas entre estos enclaves y el concepto de identidad?
3. ¿Cómo considerarás las relaciones entre “insiders” y “outsiders” en estos paisajes sociales?
4. ¿Cuáles son según tu experiencia los factores que generan esta conexión entre el individuo y el enclave en los suburbios de Buenos Aires?
5. ¿Qué modelos arquitectónicos consideras como antecedentes históricos/ culturales de estos enclaves ?

INTERVIEW OBSERVATIONS: Finally, the interview was conducted in an unstructured form and centralized in the research for the publication : **Angéllil** ,M et al. (2009). *Archipelagos, A Manual for Peripheral Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires: Universidad de Palermo.

INTERVIEW – Specialist 5

Place: Buenos Aires. Plaza de Mayo - Café Victoria

Date: 10.10.2013

Length: 120 min approximately

QUESTIONS PREPARED FOR THE INTERVIEW

- 1- ¿Qué antecedente histórico-culturales en el ámbito nacional encontrás relacionados a la tipología de barrio cerrado? ¿Le atribuí algún rol cultural a las casas quintas?
- 2-¿Qué diferencias sustanciales encontrás entre el proceso de suburbanización de los 90' y después de la crisis del 2001 a la actualidad en el norte de Buenos Aires?
- 3-¿Considerás que hay una falla estructural en alguno de los niveles del Estado (Nacional,Provincial ,Municipal) ? Si tenés que establecer un orden respecto a la relevancia en las categorizaciones ¿Cuál sería principal?
- 4- ¿Qué marcos jurídicos crees que tienen gran incidencia en la proliferación de enclaves suburbanos?
- 5- ¿Cómo ves la relación entre la proliferación de urbanizaciones cerradas y el medio natural?
- 6- ¿Qué rol le atribuí a la inseguridad como disparador en la urbe para la migración a los suburbios en estos tiempos? ¿Considerás variaciones desde los 90's a la actualidad?
- 7- ¿ Qué posibilidades ves de establecer situaciones de participación social entre residentes de urbanizaciones cerradas y los alrededores para lograr un “sentido de barrio” en asentamientos con urbanizaciones cerradas?

INTERVIEW OBSERVATIONS: Finally, the interview was conducted in an unstructured form but reaching almost all the topics that were embedded in the preliminary questions.