Island living as a gated community: Place attachment in an isolated environment

Erincik EDGÜ¹, Fitnat CİMŞİT²

¹ Cyprus International University Faculty of Fine Arts, Lefkoşa, TRNC
² Beykent University Faculty of Engineering and Architecture, İstanbul, TURKEY

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Abstract:
This research studies the spatial preferences and place attachment levels of the newcomers compared to the existing users by means of visual perception and adaptation in the context of Istanbul’s Prince Islands. The visual and physical distance of the islands to mainland, give a chance to explore the certain images shared by inhabitants. The hypothesis assumes that the islands are gated communities where entrance is limited physically and semantically. Place attachment is analysed due to the outcomes of relations between the environmental preference, physical structure, social adaptation and social interaction in various levels of perception, cognition and residency periods. Proximity, accessibility, topography, size and limits are parameters considered for the analyses of physical structure. Existing, or newcomer, the individuals symbolically interact more with the island than the city. With the help of physical and visual isolation, islands strongly encourage place attachment in forms of social bonds and present welcoming environments for the newcomers. The results of the research show that living in the context of smaller, limited settlement units, facilitates the social adaptation of the occupants that, improves social relations and consequently environmental satisfaction.

Keywords: Gated communities, island living, place attachment, environmental preference, social adaptation

Introduction
There have been an abundant amount of research that examines people-environment relations on various basis and scales, where environment may refer to vast spatial settings as well as undetermined boundaries of communities. Regardless of its scale, spaces are capable of affecting human behaviour and communal organizations. Scott (2005) reminds Barker’s theory where the behaviour setting is an objective, naturally occurring phenomenon with a specified time-space locus occurring outside the individual. People enter the setting by choice, but once in the setting, they usually conform to its constraints. The stress felt in a foreign environment can be dealt with in time (Lawton & Nahemov, 1973). It is the setting itself that directs their behaviour, not the individual personalities or differences of the inhabitants. Settings change over time, and participants play roles in these changes. They play these roles as components of the setting, not as individuals.
In urban areas, the cognitive linkage between the settlement units and occupants are continuously renewed as the city expands, or as the population grows. In cases of determined social and physical boundaries however, the outcomes may imply unexpected differences. People tend to tolerate stress, if they have some control over the social and physical environment. On the other hand, environmental satisfaction is also related with the ability to control the residential environment (Canter, 1983; Cooper & Rodman, 1994; Rohe & Basolo, 1997). As the perceived control is easier to achieve at smaller scales, the social structures of the smaller units are important for discussion of the environmental identity. As Keskin (2008) summarizes that the individuals prefer to live close to others like themselves and decisions about whether or not to move and where to locate are influenced by a perception of the behaviour and characteristics of the current and potential neighbours. Small scaled environments give a chance to explore the certain encoded or embodied cognitive schemata and images shared by the inhabitants. This could be one of the reasons why, as the people of modern world suffer the stresses of the larger city, many families prefer to settle in smaller suburban units, without attaching great importance to commuting distance.

Although their emergence has aroused from different social, cultural, economic and other similar reasons, gated communities, also present a small scaled and easily controllable environment for their residents. As a global phenomenon not restricted to a specific geographical area and developed within various historical contexts gated communities have impacts on society physically, politically and socially (Havermans, Smeets, 2010). Social homogeneity, identity, status, security, children oriented family living, absence of urban traffic and crime, re-establishment of trust among neighbours, the idea of improving the quality of life and such criteria are among the main reasons of favouring gated communities (Coy & Pöhler, 2002; Alvarez-Rivadulla, 2007). In spite of the negative aspects of these types of settlements (Carvalho et al., 1997; Atkinson et al, 2004), suggesting the urban spaces lose their sense of community because of exclusion of the others and privatization of publicly attributed places such as streets, parks and squares, gated communities have clear, geographical boundaries that can be easily managed, learned, experienced and evaluated. Candan and Koluoğlu (2008) emphasize that Istanbul has also been affected by this trend, denoting as of 2005 there were more than 650 of gated community compounds, with a housing stock in excess of 40,000, and rapidly continuing to scatter.

Rapoport (1982) indicates that, environmental evaluation is largely affected by images and ideals, whereas the life style refers to certain self-consciousness about ways of acting, which emphasize certain behaviours and downgrade others. A person acquires a sense of belonging and purpose which give meaning to his/her life, through personal attachment to geographically locatable places. Lewicka (2008) defines place attachment as having three components of affection, cognition, and behaviour, where the affection is the most frequently measured emotional component. The home is considered to be the “place” of greatest personal significance in one’s life – “the central reference point of human existence” (Proshansky et al., 1983). Hernandez, et.al 2007 states that one of the most important predictors of place attachment is length of residence, and it is often seen that persons who have lived longer in a place feel greater attachment to it. However, there are also other indicators such as the number of relationships within a community, or home ownership that show the level of attachment.
Place attachment is developed through personal experiences with the physical environment and requires certain levels of adjustment and social and/or physical adaptation, which are the natural coping strategies of behaviour for survival. Place attachment also means belonging, which deals with human bonding to the physical environment are the dynamic aspects of the human-environment relationship that are developed within a specific context of cognitive and behavioural bonds and may differ according to persons, groups, or cultures (Low & Altman, 1992; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Attachment to place refers to the feeling of possessiveness that an occupant has toward a particular territory. Attachment involves care and concern about the place which encourages the individuals to participate in actions against environmental degradation or deterioration, such as in the case of gated communities, where the scale is manageable to take the necessary action.

On the other hand, there are places that perform a natural settlement of gated community by means of physical and topographical characteristics, such as the islands, where the port is the main gate, i.e., enabling entrance. Islands comprise unique communal relationships as well as the visual proximity to the mainland. Hernandez, et al (2007) define place attachment as the affective link that people establish with specific settings, where they tend to remain and where they feel comfortable and safe. A person may feel attached to a restricted place as well as a vast geography. For a long time, Istanbul’s Prince Islands were housing the summer residents of the rich elite along with the middle upper class merchants. Figure 1, shows the location of the Prince Islands and the connection to major ports that maintain transportation. As the boats were the only means of transportation to the islands, these places maintained their gated community resemblance for many years, even long after the establishment of regular city lines ferries by the metropolitan municipality. Maintaining the physical distance was still the most important means of protecting social status.

![Figure 1. Location of the Prince Islands and proximity to major ports of Istanbul](image)

The islands housed many religious centres, and each island has historically accommodated homogeneous ethnic structures such as Jews, Greek Orthodoxies and Armenian Gregorians along with Muslims. Keskin (2008), denotes that in terms of the property characteristics, living area in the housing unit has the largest impact on the housing price. This is followed by
the site characteristics that have been crucial in Istanbul, since the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, which led high income level households to move towards the peripheral areas of the city. Lewicka (2008) argues that historical sites create a sense of continuity with the past, embody the group traditions and facilitate place attachment. Although the islands are traditionally famous for the summer houses and their unique architectural characteristics, through the years, and especially after the 1999 Marmara earthquake, they have lost the majority of their ethnic population, due to decreasing market value of the island properties. However, due to their unique physical structure and historically well preserved natural and architectural environment, Prince Islands have not remained abandoned for a long time. As Istanbul attracted an increasing ratio of migration within the last few decades, the social structure of the islands have also gone through a gradual modification, causing a heterogeneous society especially in downtown Büyükada. Back in 1960’s the islands’ population was close to 20,000 whereas the census records of 2000 obtained from the local municipality, shows that the permanent winter population of the islands is approximately 1/10 of the summer population. This proportion is even greater for summer weekends, as the tourist population rises up to 150,000. Winter permanent figures are 7000 for Büyükada, 5200 for Heybeliada, 800 for Burgazada and 550 for Kınalıada; where Heybeliada owes most of its population to the naval base and marine education academies.

Island life present a limited set of social relation alternatives for the individual to choose among; physical isolation also necessitates adaptation and adjustment to the social and spatial environment. Rosnet et al. (2000) discuss that at less socially stimulated environments such as the polar stations, introvert people have a relatively easier process to adapt themselves to the extreme conditions. As the word island itself, possesses the idea of isolation; being an islander strengthens the cohesion among residents. In this research we argue that, the new comers feel better adapted in the monotonous island life than they would be in a more active urban setting.

As a gated community of its own characteristics, Prince Islands indicate a more heterogeneous medium compared to, for example, a Gemeinschaft society proposed by Tönnies (1955). Although the community studied here reflects certain behavioural modes such as a common island belonging and a sense of superiority towards the mainlanders, the social behaviour modes in the Prince Islands are shaped through factors such as norms, status, economic opportunity, demography, culture, history, or social networks. Social behaviour modes are also defined and regulated through the persons’ levels of cognition and perception. Consequently, within the context of the Prince Islands of Istanbul, the aim of this research is to find possible answers to questions indicated below;

- Does isolation and discontinuity of physical structure strengthen the adaptation, thus place attachment?
- Does experience difference between the existing occupants and new islanders present variations in perception thus spatial preferences?

**Case study area and pedestrian perception**

Having almost a 2000 years old settlement history, Prince Islands are composed of nine islands of various sizes located at the north-eastern part
of Sea of Marmara (http://www.adalar.gov.tr). Although there are settlements on the five of these nine islands, the research area is set to be the four largest islands, Büyükada, Heybeliada, Burgazada and Kınalıada, whereas Büyükada is the downtown island of the group located approximately 6 km from Bostancı, 11 km from Kadıköy and 20 km from Sirkeci ports of mainland Istanbul (Figure 2). These four islands are selected on the basis of largest permanent population, existence of minimum social facilities, and regular public transportation to Istanbul ports. Thus, although shown in the figure, Sedef and Kaşık islands are left out.

Figure 2. Physical structure of the Prince Islands and ports (Gates)

Hernandez, et.al (2007), argue that mobility, length of residence shared meanings and social belonging are among the factors that strengthen the place attachment, whereas Hummon (1988) refers to mobility as the opposite of place attachment and a contemporary personal choice related with communication, economy, and technology. Gustafson (2001) also adds that when mobility is discussed in relation to place attachment, the focus is often on change in permanent residence. He also argues that today, place and place attachment, have somewhat lost importance as people seem to be increasingly mobile, and their social relations and other everyday experiences are increasingly disembodied from physical locations. Mobility and cosmopolitanism appear to be the norm, whereas local attachment is rather regarded as a deficiency and deviation from this norm. Today, mobility of people is often regarded as an ideal, whereas certain aspects of place attachment are regarded as outdated. Mobility may signify freedom, opportunity, and new experiences but also up rootedness and loss. Similarly, place attachment may imply roots, security, and sense of place but also imprisonment and narrow-mindedness. Kesselring (2006) on the other hand, states that mobility is often conceived of as a form of freedom, but in fact mobility results from the dichotomies of autonomy and heteronomy, production and adaptation. This is the very reason why mobility must be
conceptualized in relation to flexibility as the ability of actors to adapt to the direction of flows.

As in the case of Prince Islands, mobility literally reflects its evident meaning, when the islands are connected to the mainland solely by commercial or private boats and small cargo ships working 18 hours a day. Owing to the harsh southern winds of winter conditions, it is ordinary for public boat transportation to be cancelled and the connection to land is occasionally interrupted, composing a unique peculiarity for the island life, stressing the idea of isolation. Island living is also in congruence with Uzzell et al., (2002) and Lalli’s (1992) suggestions that places with a strong identity help to enhance community awareness, bonding and make social cohesion easier. As the motor vehicles are prohibited except for the emergency situations, the public transportation within the islands is provided by bicycles and phaetons serving as taxis. Prohibition of motor vehicles not only provides inhabitants a more clean, quiet and organic environment but it also enables a feeling of a peaceful haven in a metropolis; a sense of privilege that separates them from the others. This sense of privilege, a separation that brings the community together, facilitates a feeling of acceptance or belonging in a form of place attachment, which almost resembles the behaviour of a gated neighbourhood.

There are some research regarding the pedestrian perception in light of physical characteristics such as distance, building composition and urban pattern. As Crompton and Brown’s (2006) hypothesis indicates small scaled places without cars may seem much larger to the walking person, than expected. Especially in complicated car-free cities with traditional architectural pattern such as Venice or Fez, tourists believe that the places felt larger than they seem on the map. On the other hand, Crompton (2006) also suggests that complexity disturbs our judgment of walking distances and cognitive representation of distance is related to the quantity of information stored about the route. With their tests of distance judgment, Crompton and Brown discovered that the more turns, slopes, intersections, and features a walk has, the longer it appears and thus a journey will seem longer when there is more information to be observed. Various contributions on topographical research such as uphill and downhill journeys both seem longer than journeys on the flat lands or corners and turns increase the perceived length of a journey (Okabe et al., 1986; Sadalla and Magel, 1980) also give us cues about the pedestrian perception of the islanders. Vorkinn and Riese (2001) suggest that place attachment in local level is strongly related to the distance between the residence and the destination, which encourages the local inhabitants to use local areas relatively more compared to the average citizen on a national level. Apart from the difficulties of winter weather conditions, these hypotheses may also suggest that the islanders perceive the islands as being larger than they actually are, which also helps us to understand why the islanders usually do not prefer to go to mainland for amusement or recreational facilities.

Bamberg (2006) stresses that the habitual car uses may cause unawareness towards the qualitative context changes in the environment. Owing a car is an indicator of social status; in islands the equivalent of this however is having a boat. Since except for the summer tourists and fishermen of winter population, only a very small percentage have this opportunity. In this case, for the newly migrated occupants, island society seems to be relatively easier to adjust. On the other hand, the islands have
more than 500 phaetons and over 1000 horses. Riding, caring and guarding
these horses and the carriages are among the favourite professions of the
newly migrated. However, as they add up to a number of 600 which is larger
than Kınalıada’s winter population, it won’t be wrong to say a socially
different community happened to be created and settled on forest skirts of
the islands in a way that resembles service ghettos surrounding gated
neighbourhoods.

Theoretical restrictions and method
The fundamental concepts regarding this research are the place attachment
- place identity and the gated neighbourhood - island relationships, observed
both for existing and new users of the case study area. As Havermans,
approaches that consider them as the same or overlapping concepts (Lalli,
1992; Steadman, 2002), place attachment and place identity are two
different things. Being highly attached to one place does not necessarily
mean that the place is a part of the self identity, or the feeling of belonging to
a place does not necessarily force people to continue living in that certain
place. Hernández, et al., 2007 also stress in their work that native persons
with a long length of residency show high levels of both place attachment
and place identity. In the case of Prince Islands the distinction between
these two concepts however, is rather unclear, and the concepts overlap
both for the existing islanders and the newcomers. Lewicka’s (2008)
suggestion that many cities are defined by their inhabitants as national
rather than local symbols; and attachment to a residence place should
stimulate interest in the place’s past and this in turn should result in richer
historical knowledge, may explain the newcomer’s behaviour. Apart from the
period of residency, connection with relatives and/or friends still living in the
previous location, one of the reasons for this confusion arises from the
national identity cards of the Turkish people, especially for the case of the
newcomers. In Turkish identity cards, other than the place of birth, the region
of the country of origin, which is derived from the region of father’s family
registration, are both shown. These sometimes two different locations, give
the people automatic labels of belongings, as well as preference of one
contrary to the other location, explaining Lewicka’s (2008) suggestion that
attachment due to national identity should result in more ethnic bias than
attachment due to local identity. In this sense, including the place of current
residence, cases of triple identities may occur. Although in the face to face
interviews, we used the term, in order to receive an accurate response, in
this research, disregarding the identity or place identity, we preferred to use
place attachment as the determining concept.

Gated communities which first started in the US become a global
phenomenon and have grown in both developed and developing countries.
Concerns of fear, security, isolation, privacy, predictability of the community
and real-estate values are the triggering reasons for the development of
gated communities along with trendy labels such as high living standards,
exclusivity, prestige, and fashion. According to Havermans’ and Smeets’
work (2010) gated neighbourhoods have physical functions that secure
residents and properties within an architectural identity and types of
amenities; economic functions that enhances the property values; social
functions that give visual or spatial privacy while controlling the residents in
terms of obliging to determined behavioural rules and lastly, symbolic
functions that convey the status and power of the community.
Yönet and Yirmibesoğlu (2009) suggest that gated community concept resembles especially medieval fortress settlements. As the walled areas in medieval times symbolized the way of security provision by the ruling power, nowadays it became a symbol of economic power and control. They further add that security elements in gated communities, such as walls, bars, or gates, have a broader meaning than solely being simple barrier elements, and living behind the gates increases the fear of the unknown that is outside. Baycan-Levent, and Gülümser (2007), express that gated community development in Istanbul started in the 1980s following economic and political changes. With the appearance of a new social class, initially, gated communities emerged in both the inner and the outer city close to business districts; in districts such as Göktürk-Kemerburgaz, Zekeriyaköy-Demirciköy, Bahçeşehir, Büyükçekmece on the European side and Beykoz and Ömerli on the Asian side. However, today they can be located all over the city. This trend fortunately could not be seen in the islands because of land prices and more important, the conservation rules and regulations being applied for the islands, historical peninsula and the skirts of Bosporus, thus leaving the islanders observing this development from their “walled and secure” domains.

In the case of Prince Islands, physical constraints, that is being surrounded by a water body has been considered as the walls, or barriers that determines one of the components of gated communities. Although the islands do not have security guarded gates per se, considering the limited vehicular access, lack of motor traffic, schedule and routes of transportation, they are not quite accessible as any mainland neighbourhood as well. On the other hand, factors such as lower crime rates, pedestrian based mobility, assimilation power of the society granting every newcomer the label of an island elite, socifugal community, lower population density, unique architectural and natural environment in smaller scale are among the other factors that strengthen our assumption that islands physically and semantically resemble gated neighbourhoods.

Research method on the other hand, is composed of two stages where, on the first part a questionnaire was answered by the randomly selected 71 occupants of the four islands during face to face interviews of multiple-choice, open ended or quality scaled tables. Out of these 71 respondents 48 are existing users, which means that they were either born in the islands or have been living here for more than 15 years. Remaining 23 are described as the newcomers, who have chosen the islands as their new permanent homes and been living here for less than 15 years. The term newcomer was consciously chosen for the research in order to prevent biases towards immigration, and also to emphasize the strength of attachment in relation to physical and psychological parameters. There were put no restrictions about gender, age or social status of the participators. The interviews aim to explore the differences between the socio-cultural structure, demographic qualities, life style parameters and spatial preferences of the new islanders compared to the existing inhabitants.

The second part of the case study is related with the numerical outcomes of the social data and is based on the spatial qualities of the built environment which possesses cues about the various expressions of socio-cultural differences. The data analyses are studied both in island wise separately and in period of residency as newcomers and existing occupants. The
findings are analysed through Pearson X² tests. As the sample size is relatively small due to the permanent residents’ population, although significant and meaningful, the results of the research should be considered as observations and tentative results rather than statistical facts.

**Results of the case study**

Social background data reveal the percentages of the current permanent population in the islands. As the occupants are referred as existing inhabitants, when the residency period exceeds 15 years, the 45.83 % of the existing inhabitants were born in Istanbul, while this proportion drops to 8.7 % for the newcomers. It is important to emphasize that the majority of the existing occupants were born in places other than Istanbul, let alone the islands. This result also supports the fact that the island population has decreased within time and thus presenting opportunity for the newcomers searching permanent jobs.

Social and economic status data is examined by the homeownership positions and the reason of migration to the islands. 68.75 % of the existing inhabitants own their houses, while this proportion drops to 21.74 % for the newcomers. These results are interesting, showing that the attachment may be related to factors other than physical environment, especially considering the easiness in the adjustment and adaptation levels of the newcomers. As for the reason of arrival, the ratio of the island born is 31.25 % among the existing inhabitants, while 45.83 % has arrived for employment. In case of the newcomers, this criterion suggests figures of 56.52 % for employment, and 34.78 % for family reunion and such reasons. As mentioned earlier, riding, caring and guarding the horses and the carriages are among the favourite professions of the newly migrated, other than some temporary and/or seasonal jobs, such as working in construction, restaurants, child care or cleaning services. When the period of residency extends, and the newcomer turns out to be the existing islander, the jobs or professions tend to shift to small shop ownerships, or small trades, whereas some are employed by the municipality as well.

Relations with neighbours and perception of social relations present similar results both for the existing users and the newcomers. 85.42 % of the existing users and 73.91 % of the newcomers often meet with their neighbours for various occasions such as teatime chatting, dining and etc. 77.08 % of the existing users and 78.26 % of the newcomers think that the relationship among neighbours is pleasant. On the other hand, 89.58 % of the existing users agree that the privacy level within the islands is low, while for the newcomers this ratio is 73.91 % indicating that social cohesion in a gated environment may have some disadvantages as well.

Place attachment rests on symbolic meanings. We attribute meaning to landscapes and in turn become attached to the meanings. Meanings and attachment are formed through experience with the landscape, where humans have the agency to create significant symbols on the basis of preferred experiences (Tuan, 1977; Steadman, 2002). Kearney’s research (2006) on the effects of natural environment to the neighbourhood satisfaction implies that as the residents visually gets closer to the natural space the more satisfied they are with the level of nearby nature. Panorama, forests and landscaping increase neighbourhood satisfaction more than actual physical proximity to these elements. Landscape and topographic
characteristics of the Prince Islands also present similar satisfaction findings to that of Kearney; whereas the percentage of the expected period of residency for both groups, indicate that 87.50% of the existing inhabitants, and the 69.57% of the newcomers do not want to move to other places within 10 years of time, stressing the natural qualities as an advantage for the inhabitants. However, social relations play a more major role for the newcomers as will be discussed later.

In spite of the climate and harsh north and northeast winds, settlements on the islands are interestingly concentrated on the northern hills facing the mainland (Figure 2) which lead us to assume that the islanders have a subconscious feeling of belonging to the city of Istanbul. However the majority of islanders do not consider proximity to Istanbul as an advantage; although this proportion decreases to 16.67% for the existing inhabitants, 34.78% of the newcomers attach themselves to places other than the islands or Istanbul.

Figure 3, denotes a simplified schema, arrows showing that place attachment outcomes for the outer islands, Kınalı and Büyükada, present different tendencies for the inner islands. Kaplan’s (2001) research on residents at low-rise apartment communities indicates that nature views from residents’ windows contributed substantially to both their own sense of well-being and to their satisfaction with their neighbourhood. Physical parameters such as the proximity of the islands to Istanbul and to each other or the ranges of their visual scopes, determine the limits of some social relations and preferences. The results of place attachment and visual extent of periphery present different results for islands. Place attachment findings for period of residency wise and island wise, suggest that vast majority of Burgazada and Heybeliada occupants attach themselves to the island they reside, denoting the arrows pointing inward, while Kınalıada and Büyükada occupants are attached to Istanbul and other cities respectively, denoting the arrows pointing outwards. The downtown island Büyükada and the smallest of the four Kınalıada have wider ranges of visual scopes compared to Heybeliada and Burgazada. Thus, the majority of the inhabitants of the islands located at the outer periphery of the group, address themselves as attached to places other than the islands, while the majority of inhabitants of the in between islands refer themselves as islanders (Figure 3).

According to Goodman’s (1982) place-effect theory, in-migration to an area, changes that place in a way that induces non-immigrants to leave because of the changes in neighbourhood relationships and housing market. These changes in the local or neighbourhood scale also increases the stress among the non-immigrant inhabitants. On the other hand, an increase in the friendship among the neighbours decreases the mobility. Thus, in places where the mobility rate is high, it is also difficult to establish friendly relations with the neighbours. Panorama and the concept of living in an island do not present a major significance to the newcomers, as it does to the existing occupants. The structure of social relations is considered a more important aspect of island living for the newcomers compared to the existing occupants. Lack of traffic and vehicle noise is considered very important for the newcomers compared to the existing occupants. On the other hand, existing occupants are discomforted by the foreigners as the newcomers are not. Expensiveness is regarded as a discomfort for the newcomers while the existing occupants accept this as an indicator of social status.
In their research of grocery-shopping behaviour, Wang and Lo (2007) emphasized that although traditional normative approaches to consumption are rooted in neoclassical economics in which individuals are viewed as economic men who optimize their shopping itinerary based on utility maximization, consumption is less about economic rationality and more about cultural values and meanings, whereas location preferences are based on image and identity rather than narrow economically driven criteria. Shopping modes in the islands however, present similar trends for both existing and newcomer user types, in favour of economical aspects contradicting with Wang and Lo’s argument. The habit of food and clothing shopping present different results both for island locations and period of residencies. Shopping modes present implications also on the physical scale. On the other hand, Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008) emphasize that residents of gated communities prefer to use private maintenance instead of municipal amenities and they locate specific places within the city to fulfil their social or recreational needs thus further shrinking themselves to even smaller units. The downtown island Büyükada and the second largest Heybeliada can supply the needs of their inhabitants. However, being farther from the downtown island, thus closer to mainland Istanbul, Kinaliada and Burgazada inhabitants prefer to shop from Istanbul stores located close to the ports, such as Bostancı, Kadıköy or Sirkeci. Figure 4 simplifies this tendency showing shopping location preferences of the islanders. In case of Kinali and Burgaz, arrows point out to major ports of Istanbul, while for Büyükada and Heybeli arrows point inward, indicating the tendency of local shopping preference.
Figure 4. Shopping preferences of the islanders

As the 70.83 % of the existing occupants prefer to buy their food from the island stores, 22.92 % prefer to shop from Anatolian side of Istanbul; while these ratios refer as 69.57% and 26.09 % for the newcomers. Period of residency and food shopping findings for the existing users indicate $X^2=31,304 \text{ df=}2 \text{ p}<0.00$, determining the choice of food shopping is indeed related with habits and status, both parties also present significant tendencies on the previous location vs. food shopping correlations (Table 1). On the other hand, economic considerations affect to clothing shopping; whereas levels drop to 14.58 % and 54.17 % for the existing users and 13.04 % and 52.17 % for the newcomers. Shopping from the European side of Istanbul is also considered as a choice in this case. Period of residency and clothing shopping for the newcomers on the other hand, indicate $X^2=14,056 \text{ df=}6 \text{ p}<0.03$ level emphasizing the economy based living of the newcomers. While this assumption does not present any significant result for the existing users, it is seen that 31.25 % of the existing users and 34.78 % of the newcomers prefer to travel longer distances for clothing shopping; however the reason underlying the choice here is the best possible bargain for the newcomers and the best possible brand for the existing users.

Shopping opportunities are dependant to the central island due to the recently opened chain markets; however as the intra island boat travels are not cost free anymore, it is possible to assume that small islands will be withdrawn from the central island’s economy and residents will eventually restart shopping from local next door stores concentrating shopping habits to a specific centre even more.
Existing occupants and newcomers show different trends in various relations. For example, place attachment and satisfaction parameters are agreed to usually be affected by the period of residency and indicate a protective behaviour not only towards the spatial or physical environment itself but also to social relationships (Tuan, 1977; Proshansky et al., 1983; Vorkinn & Riese, 2001; Stedman, 2002). Period of residency provides people a wider perception and cognition of a relatively wider area, affecting the person’s behavioural modes and preferences. It provides people a wider perception and cognition of a relatively wider area. Majority of the existing inhabitants share similar opinions and define certain points as the most important places in the island, while the newcomers present a dispersed perception of differing locations. Figure 5 simplifies this approach which can also be seen in the figures where $X^2=17,804$ df=8 $p<0.02$ for existing users (Table 2). Although there hasn’t been found any correlation between spatial perception and place attachment or shopping behaviour, histograms still imply a connection. For existing users, port and certain historical buildings share a total of 60.4% in focal point perception; however for the newcomers this figure adds up to 34.8%, meanwhile shopping districts or beaches gain more importance for this group, reaching up to 39.1%.

**Figure 5. Comparison of spatial cognition**
Table 2. Neighbourhood perception correlations of the islanders

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<th><strong>NEWCOMERS</strong></th>
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</table>

Preference of island living is an important decision to make especially for the migrants from other cities. Reason of arrival to islands is mainly related with employment for the newcomers. Preference of island living is a selection of a limited physical environment, thus meaning a selection of limited economical sources. However, in this research, it is determined that the newcomers, especially from eastern cities, initially prefer to settle in the islands instead of neighbourhoods close to CBD of Istanbul.

Place attachment and quality of life parameters that are closely related with solid benefits or opportunities, may show differences according to person, place, culture or period of residency. Hummon (1990) indicates that the newcomers typically seek a rural ambience, peace, safety, good schools, and nature rather than the unique identity and qualities of a particular small town so precious to old-timers. As the social relations increases among the neighbours, the ratio of moving tend to decrease; however, old-timers can envision living no place else, while many newcomers are loosely attached to places and often expect to move on (Goodman, 1982, Salamon, 2003). Potter and Canterero (2006) base the overall quality of life to four major domains; physical, socio-cultural, economic, and public services, where the physical environment includes housing conditions and the neighbourhood; socio-cultural aspects include family relations, neighbours, and a sense of community; economic circumstances include employment and retail conditions; public services include the facilities that residents have access to, such as police and fire protection, recreation, and transportation. They assume that the long-time residents and newly arrived residents will differ with regard to the quality of life characteristics they deem most important to their residential satisfaction, where their research in Crete showed that the
The difference of quality expectancy of the newly arrived and the long-term residents is congruent with Abraham Maslow’s theory of needs; denoting the newly arrived residents, are primarily concerned with the physical issues, such as housing conditions, whereas the long-term residents are concerned with improving the community in a feeling of self actualization need. The case is similar with the Prince Islands inhabitants. The existing occupants find the safety in the islands is an important aspect of residency preference resembling the case of gated neighbourhood behaviour. Place attachment and security factors indicate $X^2=9.081$ df=2 $p<0.02$ level for this group (Table 2). In case of newcomers, security is related with the family background; as it can be seen in Table 2, figures suggest that $X^2=10.977$ df=2 $p<0.004$.

For the newcomers place attachment is also related with the family composition along with economic opportunities; indicating the correlation between the place attachment and reason of arrival with the $X^2=9.954$ df=4 $p<0.05$ level (Table 2). Proximity to Istanbul is an important indicator stressing the unique physical structure of the islands and its relation to place attachment. In Hernandez, et.al’s research (2007) comparison of identity and attachment as separate cases were presented regarding three different environments: the island, the city and the neighbourhood. In that research bonds of native individuals were found to be significantly higher than those of extra-island individuals in all cases, as expected. Similar to the present case, existing users of the Prince Islands show higher levels of belonging to city of Istanbul compared to newcomers as denoted in the figures where $X^2=7.773$ df=2 $p<0.021$ (Table 3); this tendency is also supported by settlement identity versus the previous location figures $X^2=16.076$ df=8 $p<0.04$ denoting the belonging earned by birth or childhood.

**Table 3. Spatial preference correlations of the islanders**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXISTING USERS</th>
<th></th>
<th>NEWCOMERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chi-Square Tests</strong></td>
<td><strong>Value</strong></td>
<td><strong>df</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asympt. Sig.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>$17.285^\dagger$</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>7.067</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linearity-Linear Association</td>
<td>.367</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chi-Square Tests</strong></td>
<td><strong>Value</strong></td>
<td><strong>df</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asympt. Sig.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>$3.785^\dagger$</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>1.645</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linearity-Linear Association</td>
<td>.261</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chi-Square Tests</strong></td>
<td><strong>Value</strong></td>
<td><strong>df</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asympt. Sig.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood Ratio</td>
<td>1.645</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linearity-Linear Association</td>
<td>.261</td>
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<td>.611</td>
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<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
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<th><strong>Chi-Square Tests</strong></th>
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<th><strong>df</strong></th>
<th><strong>Asympt. Sig.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Chi-Square Tests</strong></th>
<th><strong>Value</strong></th>
<th><strong>df</strong></th>
<th><strong>Asympt. Sig.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Chi-Square</td>
<td>$5.504^\dagger$</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.226</td>
<td>$2.543^\dagger$</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linearity-Linear Association</td>
<td>.543</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.630</td>
<td>.543</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.630</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N of Valid Cases</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $\dagger$: All cells (100%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 0.87.
For the new comers however, this belonging only develops within time, as the period of residency increases, so as the proximity to Istanbul gains importance indicating $X^2=8.758$ df=3 $p<0.04$ level of correlation. Place attachment and period of residency correlations indicate $X^2=12.827$ df=6 $p<0.05$, strengthening the above assumption.

**Conclusion and discussion**

The results of the research verify that isolation and discontinuity of physical structure strengthens the adaptation and thus place attachment. Experience differences between the existing occupants and new islanders present variations in perceptions thus spatial preferences. Research shows that within the context of smaller and limited settlement units, such as the islands the social adaptation of the occupants is obtained through place attachment which is related with the interaction of physical parameters and socio-cultural preferences in various levels of perception, cognition and residency periods.

The major reasons of place attachment in the islands are related with solid characteristics such as the convenience of commuting, clean air with relation to lack of traffic and traffic noise, larger amount of open spaces compared to downtown Istanbul, as well as feeling of security, social identity and tight social relations verifying Alvarez-Rivadulla, (2007) where she emphasized the differences of urban and gated living. Visual proximity and the physical width of actual sight also affect place attachment enabling a perception of visual control. On the other hand, disadvantages such as the expensiveness of fundamental consumption supplies does not indicate a discomfort in the level of moving to some places else. This discomfort will eventually be reduced by the recent attempts of opening chain markets, and technological improvements related with online shopping facilities. However it won’t be wrong to say that as these facilities will provide islanders a more comfortable, secure lives, they will get yet more isolated.

Prince Islands expose close community models in which the adaptation process gets shortened and the place attachment accelerates forming a strong group identity. This situation also helps the newcomers; despite the lack of sufficient physical equipments, infrastructure and maintenance tools, satisfaction with the social structure, determines and adjusts the local identity. Period of residency affects the social control, place identity, scale of perception and thus place attachment. The social relations of the islanders are tight and intimate as compared to the city life. Although there is a low level of privacy in the islands, privacy level is often perceived as an indicator of mutual trust and desiring high levels of privacy is commonly considered as an excuse for something unpleasant to hide. Expected period of residency is related with the social satisfaction and is delayed as the social relations tighten.

In this research, it is expected to find a set of equivalent results confirming that when place of origin and length of residence are taken into consideration, the existing user’s attachment is quite strong, on the other hand the attachment of newcomers show an affection by the homogeneous place identity inside all the interrelated bonds of a gated community. This research shows similarities to Hernandez, et.al’s work (2007) regarding the place attachment, and spatial awareness level of the existing users (natives) compared to the newcomers (non-natives), however the differences appear when the sample size, and neighbourhood size is taken into account. In
Prince Islands, lack of neighbourhoods, denoting every island in itself is a gated neighbourhood, create shared values and symbols, concluding that, there is little difference between bonds among existing users and newcomers regarding the island’s social gated nature.

Related to the homogeneity of the territories within the physical, economical, social and symbolic functions, development of attachment is evident. The individuals symbolically interact more with the island than the city. In other words, the islands are heavily charged with content and relevant meaning. As they promise an ideal common lifestyle in smaller, limited settlement units where occupants can improve their social relations, senses of security and belonging setting borders between the like and unlike, gated neighbourhoods behave like destination points in which one enters without a thought of leaving. As a gated neighbourhood the island itself is considered as the home, while the port is its door. With the help of physical and visual isolation, islands strongly encourage place attachment in forms of social bonds. Despite many unaccomplished political attempts of vehicle entrance with bridge connections to mainland, Prince Islands still maintain their unique physical and social environment. Living in the islands is considered as living in a large, secure garden with leaving every bothering aspect and stress of city life behind at the door; i.e. the port. As the period of residency present a dominant parameter in this study, further research may be conducted through physical perceptions comparing the islanders and tourists as well; however, attachment related to physical constraints should still be sought.

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Bir kapalı yerleşme olarak ada yaşamı: İzole bir çevrede yere bağımlılık

Giriş
Ölçeğinden bağımız olarak, mekanlar insan davranışını ve toplumsal düzenlemeleri etkileme yetisine sahiptir. Kişiler tercih yaparak herhangi bir ortama girebilir, ortama girince, genellikle ortamin kısıtlamalarına uyanlar. İnsanların davranışlarını yönendiren, kişilerin değil ortamin kendisidir.


Konu alanı ve yaya algısı
Marmara Denizi'nin kuzeydoğusunda, yaklaşık 2000 yıllık bir yerleşim geçmişinin ardından, Preş Adaları'ndaki 9 adada da yaşanmaya devam edecek, ancak bu araştırmada daima...
nüfus büyüklüğü, sosyal altıapı ve düzenli vapur seferleri varlığı temel alınarak, 4 büyük ada kullanılmıştır. Büyükada’nın merkez ada olduğu grupta diğer adalar Heybeliada, Burgazada ve Kinaliadadır.

Motorlu araçların acil durumlar hariç yasak olduğu Prens Adaları’nda, hareketlilik, yalnızca günde 18 saat çalışan teknelerle sağlanıyordu ve zor kiş koşullarında bu bağlılantı da sık sık kesintiye uğradığı için, ada yaşamında kabullenmişliğin getirdiği bağılılık ile izolasyon duygusu güçlüdür: bu diğerlerinden farklı olma durumu ise, bir türlü kararlı olarak yerleşme özelliğini andırmaktadır.


**Kuramsal kısıtlar ve yöntem**
Bu araştırmının temel temel kavramları mevcut ve yeni gelen kullanıcılar ile anlaşılmış – meksansal kimlik ve kapalı yerleşme – ada yaşamı ile ilgili olmalarıdır. Bu çalışmada yere bağımlılık ve meksansal kimlik kavramlarının farklı oldukları kabul edilmektedir. Ancak, kullanıcıların verdikleri yanıt esas alındığında bu kavramların kimi zaman birbirinin yerine geçtiğini ve dönümüyle birlikte, kimlik (aideyet) kavramının etnik temelleri de dikkate alınarak, yere bağımlılığın kabul edildiği kabul edilmiştir.

Adaların su ile çevrili doyulaşma, kültürel bir ağırlık olarak da görülmektedir. Ancak, yera elverişlilik ve aileme olanakları, sürekli bir kabul etmek ve dönümüyle birlikte, istatistiksel geçerlikler olarak değerlendirilmesi gerektirmektedir.

Araştırma yöntemi 4 adadan rastgele seçilmiş 71 kullanıcı ile yapılan anketten elde edilen sayısal verinin sosyo-kültürel ardalan, demografik özellikler, adalılık süresi ve eski kullanıcılar ile yeni kullanıcılarının, aralarındaki meksansal tercih ve eğilim yaşantıları aralarındaki karsılıştırmasına dayanmaktadır. Bulgular korelasyonlar ve Pearson X² testleri ile analiz edilen veriler, demografik özellikler, meksansal kimlik ve aileme ilişkilerini göstermektedir.

**Alan araştırmasının bulguları**

Prens Adaları’nın peyzaj ve topografi featureleri kullanıcıların memnuniyetine olumlu etki etmektedir ve hem mevcut hem yeni kullanıcılar için adadan yaşamı bekleyicilerini aşmaktadır. İlkilme ve sert pozyaza rağmen, adalardaki yaşam genellikle kuzey yamaçlarda yoğunlaşmıştır, bu nedenle adalardan bilinçlendirek, İstanbul’a ait hissettikleri de düşünülmektedir. Ancak ankaraya olan gorse birlikte, İstanbul’a yönelik bir aidiyet etmeni olarak ortaya çıkmak, adaların birbirlerine olan yakınlıkları, konumları ve görüş açıları adalarla olan bağımlılıkla ilgiliidir.

Manzara ve ada yaşamı oğlusu yeni kullanıcıların önemli opening, bu grup sosyal ilki yapısını daha önemli görmekteydi. Eski kullanıcıların trafiğe ve görüldüğünü azlığı önemli opening, yeni kullanıcılar için bu belirgin bir ölçüt. Yeni kullanıcılar yabancıca karşı daha hoşgörüülüyken, eksi kullanıcılar mesafelidir ancak eksi
kullanıcıların sosyal statü olarak gördükleri pahalılık ise yeni kullanıcılar için önemlidir. Diğer yandan, alışveriş alışkanlıkları ile adaların konumları ve kullanıcı eskipiliği arasında bağıntı bulunmaktadır. Merkez Büyükada ve Heybeliada kullanıcıları, yiyebilecek ve giyebilecek alışverişleri kendi adalarından yaparken, Burgazada ve Kınalıada kullanıcıları ana kara dükkanlarını tercih etmektedirler. Yiyebilecek gereklerini alışkanlıkla ilişkilili olarak, her iki grup için de büyük oranda adalardan alımılarırken, gidilebilirlik tüketim malları için arkadaşa tercih edilmektedir, Ancak bunun nedeni yeni kullanıcılar için ekonomiklik, eski kullanıcılar için ise marka tercihidir.


Sonuç ve tartışıma
Bu araştırmannın sonuçları, izolasyonun ve fiziksel yapının kesintiye uğramasının uyumu, yere bağlılıklarını ve grup kimiliğini güçlendirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Eski ve yeni kullanıcılar arasındaki deneyim farklılıkları algılarda ve mekansal tercihlerde çeşitliliği neden olmuştur. Küçük ve sınırlı yerleşim alanlarında kullanıcıların sosyal uyumu, alı gibi biliş ve yerleşme sürelerine bağlı olarak, somut fiziksel parametreler ve sosyo kültürel tercihlerle ilişkilidir.

Küçük ölçekli çevrelerde sosyal bağı güçlendirir, güvenli, ortak, ideal bir yaşam tarzını vaadettikleri için, kapalı yerleşmeler kişilerin ayrıntı düşünmesi olmadan girdikleri varış noktalarını gibi. Kapalı yerleşmeler benzeri olarak davranış adalada da iskelenin kapı olduğu bir ev algısı vardır. Görsel ve fiziksel izolasyonun sosyal bağıl ve yere bağlılığini güçlendirir ve adalarda yaşam, şehire alt bütün sorunların kapında, yani iskelede birakıldığını, geniş ve güvenlikli bir bahçede yaşamaktır.