

Gated communities leading the development on the periphery of Istanbul metropolitan area

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Abstract

Increasing interest on gated communities has occurred especially in the literature on the big cities in the world related to the globalization process. Istanbul Metropolitan Area has indicated the impacts of globalization process not only with the changes on capital and business areas, but also with the new housing trends. While the new housing trends which display the features of gated communities, has been directing towards the northern periphery of Istanbul, the developers have an active role on the accelerating of this process. Further, it has significant impacts on the transformation of the metropolitan periphery in terms of land use pattern and land values. In this paper, occurrence of gated communities is examined regarding their typologies, marketing strategies, locational preferences and the impacts of metropolitan periphery. After the evaluation of the impacts of globalization process on the gated communities in Istanbul Metropolitan Area, a case study is conducted in Gokturk settlement in terms of its development process as a hosting environment for gated communities and real estate developers. The findings highlighted the similarities of features of all gated communities, identifying lifestyle and prestige, while the existing projects play an important role on locational decisions of developers and changes on the land use pattern and density of the periphery.

Keywords: *Gated communities, urban sprawl, metropolitan periphery, real estate development*

I. Introduction

Increasing interest on gated communities has occurred especially in the literature on the big cities in the world related to the globalization process. The spatial impacts of globalization process do not only appear on capital and business areas, but also create new housing trends. Gated communities, which are one of the spatial reflections of the dynamics of globalization, is the most debated one among these new housing trends. While gated communities are debated within the context of the global, economic and social actors and factors of gated lifestyles, they have also been subjected to several examinations by real estate developers, local authorities and users. On the other hand, this concept has become the core point of criticisms in the context of privatization of the public sphere because of the social and spatial segregation it has created.

Istanbul which is the biggest metropolis of Turkey, due to its being the center of domestic and international investments, has become one of the cities in which gated communities most rapidly advanced. While national and international funds are conveyed to land production especially in the periphery of Istanbul, the development of real estate sector and gated house communities rendered the global lifestyle possible. Istanbul has become the center of housing investments and, on the other hand, these developments that push the natural thresholds of the city have become the core of discussions. At this point, gated communities, in terms of their effects on the development of the metropolitan periphery in accordance with the planning processes and natural thresholds, form the subject of this paper. The consequences of the increasing demand for housing projects and the impact on a fast-growing periphery are to be put forth in this study.

Related to the aim of the paper, the transformation effects of gated communities are examined with describing the legal arrangements enabling this type of residential area and the factors that expose the demand. From this perspective, "What are the impacts of so-called gated communities on the development of the Istanbul metropolitan periphery?" has been established as the main research question. In accordance with this question, the hypotheses have been put forward as follows:

- Gated communities play an effective role on changes of the land use pattern of their surrounding area by demanding infrastructure, transportation and other facilities in the metropolitan periphery
- Locational preferences of gated communities that are stimulated by real estate-land developers are mostly related to the magnet effect of a major housing project.
- Gated communities play a key role on elevating land values of the metropolitan periphery.

In order to test these hypotheses, the analysis has focused on the transformation of the periphery after 1980. Since getting past the fences and walls was restricted by the head offices of all the gated communities, collecting data and conducting interviews about the residents' preferences were limited. The research has focused on the impacts of the spatial developing process of the periphery instead of on the characteristics and preferences of the users, providing a new contribution to the literature on gated communities. Also locational preferences of gated communities were evaluated by taking into consideration the developers' points of view.

Gokturk has been chosen as the research area on account of hosting most of the largest gated communities in the Istanbul Metropolitan Periphery. Moreover appraising Gokturk has provided a new discussion topic of peripheral municipalities in terms of administration and plan integrity as a different issue from other experiences in the world.

The selection of gated communities in Gokturk is defined by the criteria of: housing areas and projects which have gates, fences and are guarded by security personnel. The survey was conducted with developers of the above-mentioned gated communities and their marketing departments through in-depth interviews in 2001 and 2006. In 2001 a cross-sectional analysis was applied and Gokturk foreseen as a magnet for gated communities. Later, the survey conducted in 2006 aimed to put forth the existing structure of Gokturk and evaluates the results of 5 years considering newly established gated communities. The study continued with interviews with developers of all

gated communities had been completed and with those of which the construction is going on or which are in the project phase in Gokturk. Within the frame of this work, 17 developers and 26 projects realized by these developers have been investigated. When housing areas or projects with gates and security systems for which marketing strategy is carried out via the internet or the press are evaluated, small nameless companies, investors of cooperative housing located in this area, have not been taken into the study.

Interviews were structured so as to reveal the typology and characteristics of the gated community, locational preferences of the developer and the transformation of Gokturk. Moreover, scanning newspapers, magazines and web-sites focusing on the housing market, interviews with municipalities and competent authorities for Gokturk oriented the structure of the paper.

In the scope of the paper, the development processes of urbanization and housing as residential reflections of globalization in Istanbul and a case settlement are examined in four sections. The second section of the paper consists an overview of previous studies on gated communities from the world experiences and Turkey. In the third section, the development of peripheries of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area (IMA) is examined along with the development of gated communities since 1980. The fourth section describes the development process of Gokturk as a case study. The findings of the research are displayed in the fifth section. In addition to the typology of developers and gated communities along with their locational preferences, Gokturk is scrutinized in terms of the impacts of existing gated communities on transformation of the area. Conclusion part consists the discussion and provision of some planning strategies for planners and developers. Therefore, the study will contribute to the field in terms of evaluating new trends in the process of the development of the IMA as well as determining both the negative and the positive aspects of gated communities on the urban macro-form as a spatial dimension.

II. An Overview of the Occurrence of Gated Community Concept and Previous Studies

Cities that are able to set up transportation and communication networks became prominent in the global economic integration process in which service ventures gained importance in place of the industrial ventures of the national economic development period (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 1991; Keyder and Oncu, 1993). Inevitably, city centers have been the most affected urban space in this process that has given new meaning to accessibility (Mulgan, 1995). This transformation, which can be defined as the dissolution of the traditional center form, ended in the impoverishment of city centers with the extension of middle- and high-income groups from the center to the periphery, along with the functions of decision and control (Friedmann, 1986; Keyder and Oncu, 1993; Hacisalihoglu, 2000). On the one hand, competition was started between cities to create the most suitable milieu for the global investments that could quickly dissipate, while on the other hand, the cultural structure, lifestyles and types of settlements started to become widespread in different areas. While longing for the old garden-city, the fringes of the city, or the “periphery”, became the new areas of attraction. Rapid growth and expansion, pollution, traffic, crime and acts of

violence depicted a new undesirable lifestyle in the city center with two inclinations that resulted in a pull-push effect. Especially favored by the middle- and high-income groups, this security-oriented lifestyle, which is defined as a "citadel" (Marcuse and Kempen, 2000, pp. 249-275) surrounded by gates, fences and walls, has been brought up in discussions in various cities of the world on many different levels.

Thirty years ago and even earlier, the residences of the rich, if they were in the city center, were separate buildings that included luxury services. Marcuse and Kempen (2000) makes clear that while this pattern continues, in addition a new pattern seems to be developing. And this pattern includes a spatial concentration within cities of a new urban poverty on the one hand, and of specialized 'high-level' internationally connected business activities on the other, with increasing spatial divisions between each of them. As a result of this development, boundaries between these divisions, reflected in social or physical walls among them, are increasing, and the divisions are assumed to be "indicators" of what is happening to cities under the influence of globalization.

And the changing spatial character of cities has two dimensions: divisions between settlements, and internalization of quarters within the boundaries of all of the necessities of life. Therefore, the rush from the city to seek a more secure residential environment defines the term of "gated communities" in the world literature.

The gated communities concept that has brought about discussions in various cities of the world has been generally defined as 'walled or fenced housing developments to which public access is restricted, often guarded, using security personnel, and usually characterized by legal agreements which tie the residents to a common code of conduct' (Blandy, Lister, Atkinson and Flint, 2003). In the 1980s real estate and land development accelerated the building around golf courses of gated communities designed for prestige and leisure (Low, 2000). According to Altman and Low (1992), people choose a defensible space, a walled and guarded community that they can call "home". Moreover, it is assumed that it is not just about security, it is also about citizens wanting to take control of their own residential environment (Webster, 2001).

With their natural beauty and high quality of life, gated communities which are walled and gated residential neighborhoods, represent a form of urbanism where public spaces are privatized. Gated communities have become a magnet for a growing number of Americans (McMahon, 2003) and depending on this, they represent a substantial part of the new housing market, especially in the recently urbanized areas (Le Goix, 2005). It has been pointed out that gated communities and residents' associations are not just American phenomena; this form of housing has also exhibited huge growth in South America, South Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. The cities of southern China are full of security-guarded estates of modestly sized Mediterranean-style villas, while in some African cities it would appear that most new private residential developments are walled and guarded (Webster, 2001). In the case of South America (such as Brazil and Chile), enclaves are not located in remote suburban areas but rather in city centers (Salcedo and Torres, 2004). In addition, the expansion of gated communities has become an increasingly important element in the changing Latin American megacities and their suburban areas such as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Buenos Aires (Coy and Pöhler, 2002).

The supply side of the boom is mostly propelled by property developers, who undoubtedly have the strongest position in the triangle of interests between developers, local government and inhabitants; meanwhile, an inefficient local governmental system orientated this process. (Zoltan, 2008) So, gated communities have been analyzed through the perspective of developers' (Blakely and Snyder, 1997) and local governments' (McKenzie, 2005; Grant, 2005) motivations; interaction and problems between neighbors and their importance to the political future of the city (McKenzie, 1994) or their efficiency to provide basic services (Foldvary, 1994; Lang and Danielsen, 1997) while Le Goix (2005) has focused on how local governments consider them as a valuable source of revenue.

So that they have become a symbol of metropolitan fragmentation, gated communities are also in the struggle between haphazard developments (McMahon, 2003). Overall, gated communities are an expression of the increasingly diverging lifestyles of urban society under the influence of globalization (Coy and Pöhler, 2002) and have been criticized as being sources of segregation, social inequality and disintegration of society; and as an enclave characterized by walling off and the attempt of self-sufficiency (Marcuse, 1997). According to Le Goix (2005), because suburbanization costs are paid by the private developers and the final homebuyer, and how this form of public-private partnership in the provision of urban infrastructure ultimately increases local segregation.

Finally, different from others, Landman (2000) emphasized on gated communities and its potential impact on urban sustainability in the future. Recognizing that urban sustainability is one of the goals for urban planning and management, all urban developments must be considered in relation to the dimensions of urban sustainability. As concluding remarks, he stated that gated communities have the potential to negatively impact the goal of urban sustainability relating to sustainable urban economy, urban society, urban life and urban democracy. In addition, it is also clear from his discussion that gated communities touches on all aspects of urban sustainability (Landman, 2000).

In Turkey, following the 1980s when substitution policies were abandoned and liberal policies became effective, the efforts to attract global capital played an important role in the organization of urban space. As new regulations that sought to attract multinational companies and investments to the country have emerged, Istanbul has been the most preferred center by the global capital. (Keyder, 2000; Hacısalihoglu, 2000). The globalization process is reflected in urban areas not only with prestigious business centers, but also with the rapid advance of gated communities, underlined with the motto of "modern areas" or a new form of elite urbanism. While the dilemma between the possibilities and standards offered by these areas and the real demand for housing has been disputed, the development processes of gated communities pose another point to be thoroughly examined in terms of planning discipline as to their expansion contrary to the master plan, their locational preferences, and the interest they created.

While projects with giant investments are drawn with the development of the Istanbul metropolitan area being urbanized into a world-class city, problems

already originated and experienced in big cities do not suit their patterns of development, and they continue to remain a main field of research. The problems of “housing” and research conducted in this regard in Turkey in general, and specifically in Istanbul, have focused primarily on terms such as squatter settlements (*gecekondu*), prevention of their mushrooming, rehabilitation plans, illegal construction and mass housing. Some previously prepared studies on similar topics as this paper examined the housing activities in the periphery and around reservoirs on the Anatolian side of Istanbul (Bolen et al., 2000), along with the independence of municipalities in the periphery, without focusing on development of gated communities (Ozcevik, 1999). While unplanned and illegal housing activities exist in both the city center and the peripheries differently (as from squatter settlements to construction of illegal housing), demand for gated communities is stimulated by real estate-land developers.

Increasing interest in gated communities in Turkey, and especially in Istanbul, has been reflected in the literature as focusing on different dimensions. The most declared one has been the global, economic and social actors of the gated lifestyle (Keyder and Oncu, 1993; Keyder, 2000; Hacısalihoğlu, 2000), and their effects on social segregation and tension within the urban environment (Kurtulus, 2002). The “luxury-showy consumption” that has been identified with the rich living spatially separate from society also became a much debated dimension of the new order (Yıldız and Inalhan, 2007). Deprivation of public spaces by privatization of land has been another focal point of national academic literature (Kurtulus, 2005).

The literature in gated communities has mainly focused on social and psychological issues. On the other hand, there are a few studies analyzing the spatial distribution of gated communities, which is linked to urban sprawl. Therefore, changes occurring on the growth and density of the peripheral areas will give us an idea about the potential tendency of growth in the future. At this point, this paper attempts to make a contribution about urban sprawl of Istanbul depending on developers and gated communities, as Berköz (2008) done only for single family residences.

Berköz (2008) evaluated the single-family residences of high-income groups constructed by private entrepreneurs within the scope of user satisfaction of urban amenities and environmental quality. According to Berköz (2008), people from high-income groups show a tendency to live in urban peripheries, because these communities provide high-standard urban services to their residents. Moreover, the availability of lands big enough for the development of such communities, lower land prices with respect to the city center, and the green belts surrounding these lands are among the reasons why peripheral areas are desirable spaces to fulfill the requirements of high-income groups. She also emphasized on the threats for the forested areas and drinking water basins in the northern regions of Istanbul Metropolitan Area (Berköz, 2008).

A study (Gulumser and Levent, 2005) similar to this one, which examines gated communities from the perspective of developers, consists of 31 gated communities located mainly along the Bosphorus. The study has demonstrated several findings about the investment reasons of developers, success of gated projects and gated communities in the future. Investment reasons of developers are important since it is one of the questions to which

this study seeks answers. Accordingly, Gulumser and Levent stated that, the environmental factors of the chosen location, the creation of new job opportunities inside the developments and the prevention of illegal urbanization by gated communities determine the investment reasons of developers,

Furthermore, according to their findings, if developers create successful gated projects which will meet the needs of the inhabitants, they would become a brand with the marketing strategies. Therefore, gated communities will capture the whole market if the well-known firms will continue to develop gated projects. This result shows the importance of this study which examines the issue of gated communities from the perspective of its function to shape urban development.

III. New Development Trends in IMA Considering Gated Communities

As neo-liberal policies went hand-in-hand with the developments in the world during the second half of the 1980s, Turkey entered a new era. In this era, development of transportation, communications and production technologies were the main stipulations for integration within the global economy. The establishment of free trade zones and production areas has been one of the influences of producing change in the urban fabric of the country, especially in metropolitan areas in accordance with the restructuring process of capital. The process has stimulated the importance of Istanbul because of its location open to international connections and as the center of regional commerce and communications. Becoming a center for foreign investments and multinational companies in the country has accelerated the transformation of the IMA in an economic, social and spatial sense.

The peripheries of Istanbul showed an urban sprawl, with a population of 5,842,958 by 1985, and mushroomed with houses and squatter settlements. Increasing number of independent local -“*belde*”- municipalities, developing on the peripheries of the Istanbul metropolitan area (Figure 1), stimulated new demands and pressures, such as new housing projects and industrial areas, as they could make decisions independently from the metropolitan municipality and its master plan¹.

Having reached a population of approximately 10 million in 1997 and stretching 60 km. from east to west, Istanbul underwent various changes in its commercial center and residential areas. In this transformation process, the city center was dislocated and the land rapidly opened for new demands. Changing consumption pattern by integration to a global culture and lifestyle (Aksoy and Robins, 1994) created a new urban context, so that, a part of the funds and the energies of entrepreneurship in the construction sector flowed to business spaces like office blocks, department stores, and five-star hotels prosperous construction companies ventured to large housing projects in the urban periphery and city center (Keyder, 2000; Erkip, 2005). The earthquake on August 17, 1999 played an important role in the rapid advance of especially large scaled housing projects.

Especially after 2000 it is observed that the foreign investors have acquired dominance in terms of residential investments alongside with the commercial immovable property investments. According to a sectoral report (ULI, 2005)

Istanbul, leaving 27 European cities (such as Moscow and Milano, Paris, Barcelona, London and Stockholm) behind stands out as the best market open to real estate development. With its development point declared as 6.2 the attraction of Istanbul has been thus certified (Gurlesel, 2006).

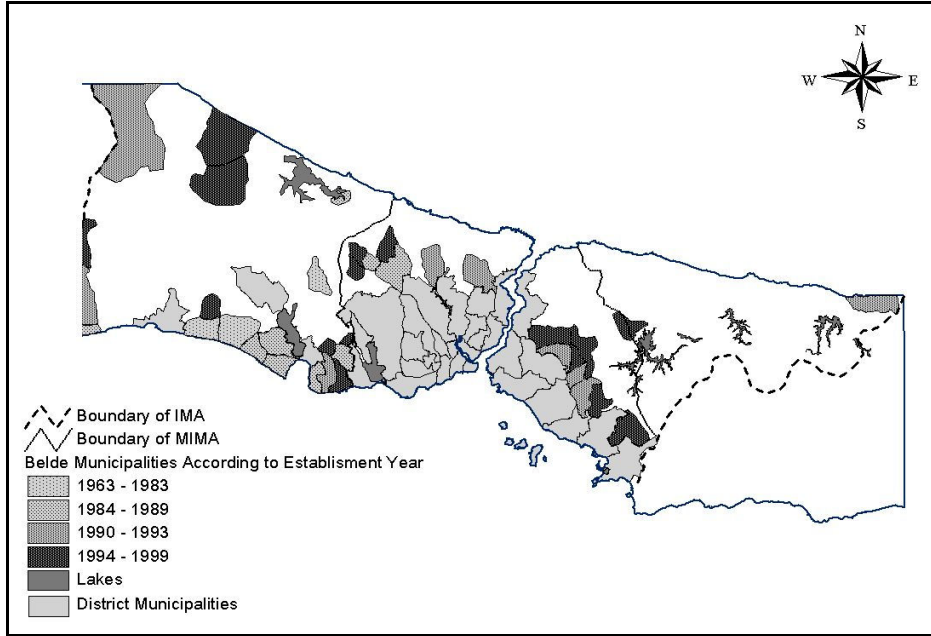


Figure 1 *Municipal Boundaries in Istanbul Metropolitan Area*

Above mentioned process has led a new era in Istanbul for residential settlements. With similarities to the settlements worldwide that have grown quickly in number, that shut out the outside and have security systems, the development process of the IMA is analogous to the example of Argentina-Buenos Aires. (Thuiller, 2005). The rush for suburbia was encouraged by a marketing campaign aimed at persuading citizens that a new way of American life in the context of new consumption pattern was now possible thirty minutes from Istanbul. Gated communities, which represent an escape from the tension brought about by the escalating income inequality in developed cities of America and Europe, and where security has priority (Blandy et al., 2003), have emerged in the Istanbul metropolitan area as a new space to show the accumulation of capital (Kurtulus, 2002; Kurtulus, 2005) due to ineffective ethnic intensity and tension within different social classes. Moreover, gated communities which characterize the increasingly fragmented structure of Istanbul Metropolitan Area point out a different type from the typologies that Blakely and Synder (1997) describes. So that 'Lifestyle Communities' whose gates provide "security and separation" for the leisure activities collides with 'Prestige Communities' whose gates symbolize "distinction and prestige" (Interviews, 2001 and 2006). This process, which can be defined as the emergence of national or multinational capital on the urban periphery with changes in the process of land developing, is an area of interest with its different dimensions, especially for Istanbul. This research points to the need to approach the matter as the change in both the urban periphery and its macro form occurs.

After development occurred in metropolitan peripheries, high income groups which thrived on the new economic policies, left the city center because of the decreasing quality of life in the inner-city areas caused by the drawbacks

of rapid urbanization (such as crowded residential areas, lack of open and green sites, traffic and parking problems, increasing crime rates). Supported by new highway connections, the housing projects were developed independently under the responsibility of *belde* (local municipalities) and extended towards the forest areas and water reservoirs located to the north of the city. Depending on this, the spatial distribution of the gated communities is linked with the urban sprawl of Istanbul.

Therefore a contrast appeared at the periphery of the metropolitan area between high-income residential areas as gated communities and their poorly urbanized vicinity made up of pieces of rural land. Although development of gated communities and peripheral development are quite different processes, they collide with each other in the Istanbul Metropolitan Area in this context.

Gokturk and Cekmekoy (*belde*) municipalities located in the north have distinctive densities with most of the gated community projects within their borders (Figure 2). The strong and lasting geological structure of the northern parts of the city played an important role in the rapid advance of 2000 and afterwards because of the earthquake on August 17, 1999 (Interviews, 2001 and 2006).

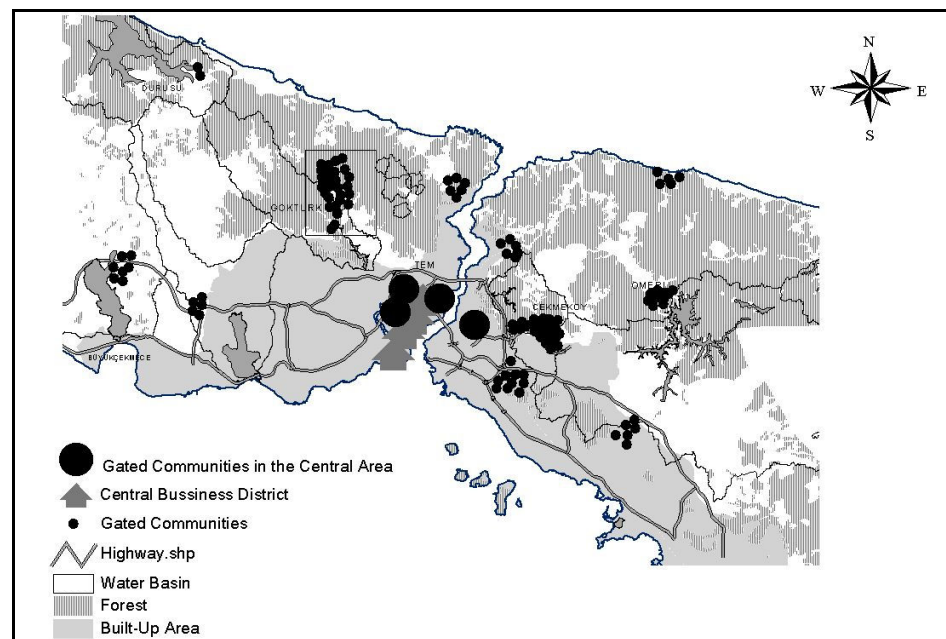


Figure 2. Gated Communities in the Metropolitan Periphery

Projects were established in relation to the local municipalities (*belde*) independent of the MIMA in areas determined as unrestricted conservation areas in all master plans prepared after 1980.ⁱⁱ The housing development of *belde* municipalities sped up thanks to the immediate approval process on construction of these municipalities operating independently of the Metropolitan Municipalities Lawⁱⁱⁱ.

The MIMA displayed no noteworthy interference in the housing development in the periphery, except for the 1984-1989 period of local government. Approval from the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was not demanded in most projects, thus, the city on the whole underwent unplanned development with the differing parts acting independently of each other. The gated communities in districts and *beldes* located in the metropolitan periphery have both positive and negative effects on these areas of rapidly increasing population. As it is projected that the housing areas addressing the high-income groups will help to develop the area with tax incomes and indirect benefits, they are welcomed by local municipalities operating independently of the MIMA. The existence of one such project encouraged other projects and developers to come to the area. Therefore, not only the real extension of construction but also the density and consumption of natural resources in the peripheries increased.

Combining with the increasing population, the process of housing construction revived the production and service activities of the region. It was stated that the service function developed in the vicinity of all projects. It was also observed that wood, marble and clay tile workshops working to complete the villas and apartments, along with nurseries to meet garden requirements flourished in the areas

IV. The Case of Gokturk as a Host Environment for Gated Communities in the Periphery of Istanbul

Gokturk as a peripheral settlement in IMA is now a brand for both gated community developers and residents. The second phase of the study forms the tale of this case settlement with 2001-2006 periods.

Comprised of rich water resources and dense forests, Gokturk has a history integrated with the aqueducts, constructed on Roman ground by the great Turkish architect, Sinan, in the Ottoman period. The rapid development tale of Gokturk, which was a rural neighborhood within the boundaries of the Eyup District Municipality, started in the beginning of the 1990s following the establishment of the Kemer Country project. The developer, Kemer Group, desired to present a new country lifestyle within the Kemer Country Project to high-income residents of the IMA. Evaluating north of TEM in terms of location, value and land area, and the developer chose Gokturk village for the establishment of the Kemer Country project, thanks to affordable land prices and availability of sufficient land.

The area was turned into sole ownership land by the purchasing of 120 ha. of land on individual plots at \$2-5/m². Local plans on scales of 1/5000 and 1/1000 prepared for 120 ha. of registered buildable land were certified by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 1989. While the planning and construction phase of the Kemer Country project was continuing, the developer applied to the General Directorate of Forestry to obtain permission to develop a golf course and auxiliary facilities in the Belgrad Forest, bordering on the area. Permission was granted in 1991, and the developer of Kemer Country got a 49-year lease for approximately 200 ha. of land on its western border. Projects were prepared for the leased forest land and were certified by the Ministry of Forestry and the Ministry of Tourism in 1992.

In 1993, the Gokturk area became a *belde* municipality and was separated from the Eyup District Municipality before the development of Kemer Country was completed^{IV}. The Gokturk Belde Municipality prepared master plans

which include implementation and revision plans of the Kemer Country project in 1995.

A total of 1250 houses, villas and bungalows were constructed on 320 ha. of land in the **Kemer Country** project, including the Kemer Golf and Country Club. The residential part of Kemer Country, built on 120 hectares of land in the Gokturk area which borders on the Belgrad Forest consists of four phases and six quarters. Each quarter in the town, created with a village square, a village pavilion, a marketplace, a private school, a cinema, a theater and restaurants, was planned by using different concepts to accommodate 8500 residents (Figure 3).

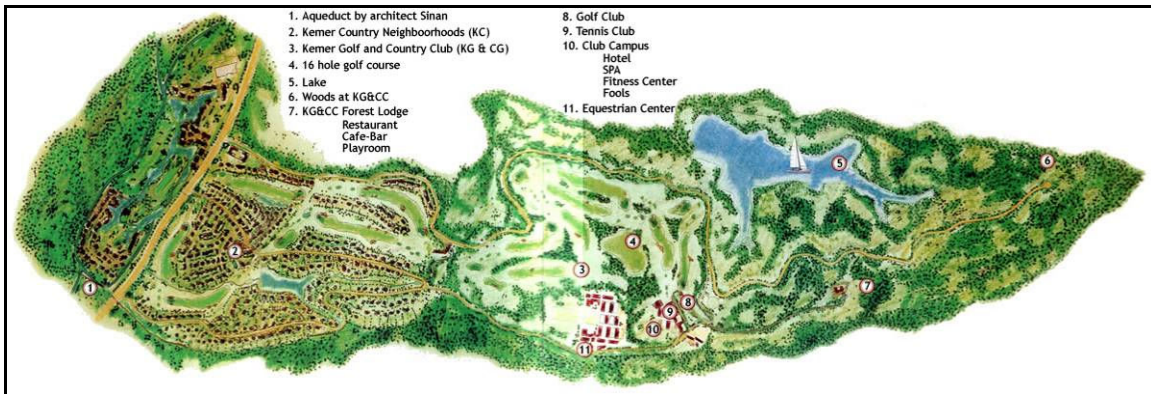


Figure 3. Kemer Golf and Country Club



Figure 4. Kemer Country Houses

Kemer Country, extending over a larger area and with a building density of 0.30, offers a lifestyle for the high-income group from the metropolitan area by including the Kemer Golf and Country Club (Figures 4, 5). It has been proven with findings from earlier studies that being from the same school or community gives an advantage over others to become a member of Kemer Country (Bali, 1999; Interviews, 2001). It is provided with a marketing strategy which excludes the addresses whose cultural levels do not overlap while they have appropriate economic accumulation; completing the characteristics of prestige and lifestyle communities (Blakely and Synder, 1997).

During the construction process of Kemer Country, the developer (Kemer Group) strived to actualize the dream for Gokturk - of being a host for a country lifestyle - by encouraging leading real estate developers and construction firms to make housing investments in Gokturk. Thus, the area livened up with the launching of Kemer Country. This was followed up by the Istanbul-Istanbul project started in 1998 and the Kemerkey project constructed by well-known and previously established developers (Yapi Kredi Koray and Mesa). The physical and social identity of Gokturk changed with all these developments and many new manufacturers, ateliers and decoration shops were opened. The land use pattern of Gokturk, especially areas nearby Kemer Country, has changed as previously mentioned as a hypothesis. The construction of the TEM-Hasdal road connection that started in 1997, with the influence of high-income groups in the region, was completed in 2000. By means of commuting ease and proximity to the city center, an increase in the sales of current projects occurred, and a backbone to the marketing strategy of new housing projects was formed.



Figure 5. An Overview of Gokturk

Kemer Country, which made it possible to receive utility services and infrastructure on registered farmland, attracted the attention of high-income groups, thanks to the golf course, and created a center of attraction outside the city. Besides the change in land use, land prices which had been \$2-5 /m² in 1990 prior to the completion of Kemer Country rose to \$30-60/m² in the second period of the 1990s. In relation to the completion of other high-income residential areas and the 1999 earthquake prices rose up to \$100-300 /m² in 2000 according to location and characteristics of the land (Interviews, 2001).

The first stage of the research has been completed and the hypothesis has been put forward as to whether the residents of Gokturk selling their lands off have zoning status or not (İnal, 2002). Interviews with local authorities, developers of gated communities in project phase and real estate consultants resulted in the discovery of the fact, that with the introduction of

major projects and a marketing strategy, Gokturk has started to become an address for those who prefer life behind gates. In addition, the construction of gated housings in form of communities on land that small nameless companies have acquired was the forerunner of a burst of gated communities in this area.

V. Findings of the Analysis

The second phase of the study consist of interviews with developers with an evaluation of the projects studied which has been based on their year of establishment and the total area, along with general features and typologies such as density, their marketing strategies, criteria in locational preference, levels of being affected by each other, property and acquisition, legal administrative conditions, effects on land use and land values.

Among all gated communities (26) with about 4000 housing units, only 17 have been finalized or are being constructed of the planning process of the projects completed in 2004-2005. At this point, it appears that the growing process experienced in Gokturk was very fast during 2004-2005. The majority of the projects, which change over time in terms of their size of land and type of housing, have an area of between 10,000 and 35,000 square meters. Furthermore, it is obvious that projects with large land masses were established before 2005 when there were no problems in finding extensive areas. The lower land prices and the higher possibility to find improved lands before 2005 are the factors explaining this situation. At this point, the advantage of being the pioneering firm explains the land speculation which is rapidly increasing in other peripheral areas.

Independent villas were the dominant housing type in these projects related with the revision in the implementation plan allowing for construction up to 5 floors along the main road of the settlement. This resulted in a change in Gokturk's appearance (Table 1). In this area, where in the beginning of 2000s country house types were dominant, gated and fenced apartment blocks started to develop too. This vertical increase has also been experienced in the horizontal; while the density of buildings was at 0.60 at the Kemer Country project, it has increased to 1.2 with the new projects. Depending on the density and type of buildings, the lifestyle in independent houses with gardens in the area has been replaced by a different user profile for a life in apartments with security. The demand that emerged as a result of the first projects has become the factor shaping the preferences of investors and the municipality, who exploit this situation.

Table 1. Main Developers and the Features of their Projects in Gokturk

DEVELOPER	DEVELOPER NAME	ESTABLISHMENT YEAR OF FIRM	PROJECT NAME	TYPOLOGY OF GATED COMMUNITY			
				FINISH DATE	AREA (x 1000m ²)	HOUSING UNIT	BUILDING TYPE
MAIN DEVELOPER	KEMER GROUP	1975	KEMER COUNTRY	1998	1200	1250	V
BIG PERSECUTOR	MESA	1969	KEMERKOY	2002	25	130	A & V
			YAMAC HOUSES	2006	32,5	174	A
			YANKI HOUSES	2006	15	124	A
	TEPE	1969	ROSE RESİDENCE	2005	30	73	V
	YAPI KREDİ KORAY	1996	İSTANBUL İSTANBUL	1999	100	204	A & V
			İSTANBUL BIS	2007	10	112	A
			İSTANBUL ZEN	2004	10	74	A
NEWLY ESTABLISHED / OR SMALL PERSECUTOR	NEO	2000	NEO VİSTA	2003	10	87	A
			NEO GARDEN	2007	15	54	V
			NEO PARK	2007	6.5	80	A
	ARTEL	2004	KEMER HILL	2005	23	107	A & V
			ARTEL FORUM	2007	7	61	A
	DOĞA GAYRİMENKUL	2003	SELENIUM COUNTRY	2006	16	78	A
			DOGA MESE PARK HOUSES	2007	14	121	A
			DOGA COUNTRY	2008	14	95	A
	ETHEM ZENGİN	1974	ZENGİN BAHÇE HOUSES	2006	15	65	A
	GOKTURK YAPI	2005	YESHILL	2007	15	180	A
	İNPAŞ İNŞAAT	2004	PANORAMA EVLERİ	2006	30	107	A & V
	FENİKS İNŞAAT	2004	CAPITAL HILL	2007	17	94	A
	AYTEK İNŞAAT	1967	AYTEK EVLERİ	2005	33	144	A & V
	GÜN İNŞAAT	1994	KEMER CITY APARTMENTS	2007	2	30	A
	KELEŞOĞLU GROUP	1988	GÖKYÜZÜ RESIDENCE	2007	9	88	A
	MİMEL İNŞAAT	1985	KEMER PARK GOKTURK HOUSES	1999	35	25	V
	METAL YAPI	2000	KEMER LIFE	2007	27	216	A
	BEYAZ YAPI	1980	BEYAZ KONAKLAR	2006	7.5	54	A

A Apartment

V Villa (detached or semi-detached)

Besides all this, it has been seen that all gated communities have the following similar common features with the world, identifying lifestyle and prestige (Kurtulus, 2005).

- They are located in areas which have geographical amenities such as a seas, lakes and forests,
- Gates are protected with special security personnel,
- The projects are designed by a well-established architecture companies,

- Management and environmental arrangements are carried out by a professional team,
- Swimming pools, tennis courts, sports areas and landscaping are available.

When the structure of developers investing in Gokturk is investigated, it can be seen that the Kemer Group, pioneering developer of a major project (Kemer Country), consists of well-established important investors of the country along with newly established formations. Major developers have large lands and their first projects have been developed following the style of Kemer Country. They have more than one project with different features. However, besides all this, newly founded (after 2000) companies prefer to invest in Gokturk as well, in relation with the explosion in the residential market of Istanbul. These companies are new formations arising from former deep-seated companies, such as new generation executives of family companies. Also, companies doing contractual work have headed gated community projects as well and have started to invest in Gokturk (Table 2). Seven out of seventeen of the developers were initially established in Gokturk after 2000 and the interviews show that three of these developers had been previously active in contractual work and had no residential investment. Furthermore, six of these developers still have investments in a project phase in Gokturk and another three have new housing projects in Cekmekoy, another significant retreat for gated communities. This fact rendered peripheral settlements -which are similar to Gokturk, have natural landscapes and have location advantages that can be improved through new transportation links- the targets of the capital.

When analyzing the reason for choosing Gokturk for the realization of the projects of these developers, existing projects played an important role. In the peripheries, presence of another project, rather than environmental factors, becomes the factor that leads investors' site selection preferences. In this respect, the pioneering project is considered to be a factor that decreases the investor's risk and cost of attracting demand to an area located outside the city. Furthermore, being close to the central business district (CBD) plays an important part in the locational preferences of developers since most of the residents (high-income group) of these housing areas work in the CBD in the northern part of the IMA where the multinational firms are located (Interviews, 2001). Finally, for 12 of the developers, in choosing the proper area for projects carried out since 2004, other projects, completed in the same area, were important because of the completed infrastructure, and attracted educational and health centres. These facilities^v, stimulated by developers who are giving or encouraging private education and health services, have an effective role in residents' preferences.

Table 2. Strategies of Developers in Gokturk

DEVELOPER	ESTABLISHMENT YEAR OF FIRM	LOCATIONAL PREFERENCE								PROPERTY			MARKETING					
		CHEAP LAND	SIZE OF LAND	MUNICIPALITY TYPE	INFRASTRUCTURE	ENVIRONMENT	EXISTING GATED PROJECTS	TRANSPORTATION	PROXIMITY TO THE CBD									GEOLOGY
AYTEK İNŞAAT	1967																	
MESA	1969																	
TEPE	1969																	
ETHEM ZENGİN	1974																	
KEMER GROUP	1975																	
BEYAZ YAPI	1980																	
MİMEL İNŞAAT	1985																	
KELEŞOĞLU GROUP	1988																	
GÜN İNŞAAT	1994																	
YAPI KREDİ KORAY	1996																	
NEO	2000																	
METAL YAPI	2000																	
DOĞA GAYRİMENKUL	2003																	
ARTEL	2004																	
İNPAŞ İNŞAAT	2004																	
FENİKS İNŞAAT	2004																	
GOKTURK YAPI	2005																	

* Dark grey boxes show the first criteria for choosing Gokturk for housing investment

Depending on the year of the project's construction, property structures of the land on which the projects are developed show changes too. While 9 developers were buying and developing their projects, 8 worked out their projects based on an agreement with the owners about constructed residences. After the Kemer Group, developers who carried out their villa projects on large areas had purchased the land. After 2004, with the lack of improved land within the borders of the Gokturk Belde Municipality and rapid increase in the land prices, the developers made agreements to grant flats for landownership (Table 3).

The change towards life in an apartment as a dwelling form has resulted in a change in sales strategies too. While prestige was the centre of the strategy in major projects, the strategy for small projects (apartment type) is based on a well-defined lifestyle behind gates. Since security has been considered as

a default feature of all projects, it has not been used as a marketing tool (Table 2).

Table 3. *Change in Land Value in Gokturk (\$/m2)*

Year	Land Value (*)
1990	2-5
1995	30-60
2000	100-300
2005	600-800
2006	1000-1500

(*) Values are calculated from the interviews and checked with the values of real estate agencies in Gokturk .

Table 4. *Typologies of Gated Community Projects in Gokturk*

	Features	Projects	Developers
Prestigious Villas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large land • Villas • Mostly completed before 2005 • Low building density • High income group • Wide differentiation of social facilities • Mostly well-known developer 	Kemer Country Kemerko Kemerpark Gokturk Houses Istanbul Istanbul Kemer Rose Residence Kemer Hill	Kemer Group MESA Mimel Yapi Kredi Koray Tepe Artell
Lifestyle Apartments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small Land • Apartment Blocks • High building density • Middle income group • Limited social facilities 	Yamac Houses Yankı Houses Istanbul Bıs Istanbul Zen Neo Vista Neo Garden Neo Park Artel Forum Selenium Country Doga Mese Park Houses Doga Country Zengin Bahce Houses Yeshill Capital Hill Aytek Houses Panorama Houses Kemercity Apartments Gokyuzu Residence Kemer Life Beyaz Konaklar	MESA Yapi Kredi Koray Artell Neo Yapi Doga Gayrimenkul Ethem Zengin Gokturk Yapi Feniks Aytek Inpas Gun Kelesoglu Metal Yapi Beyaz Yapi

When evaluating from the user's point-of-view, preference of the projects is based on prestige and lifestyle. Housing projects built up on large lands, with a low building density comprising two or three storey single family houses and recreative facilities mostly overlap with the prestigious community of Blakely and Snyder (1997). The projects which we named as "Prestigious Villas" mostly have well known developers. Other projects built up on a relatively smaller land with relatively high density comprising multi-family

houses overlaps the lifestyle communities defined as “Lifestyle Apartments” (Table 4). At this point, Gokturk, where two types of gated communities are defined, has become a brand that comes to mind when speaking of a life behind gates for both the investor and the user (Figure 6). While distinguished education and private health institutions of the country and especially Istanbul have set up their businesses in Gokturk, hypermarket chains, cafes and restaurants (Starbucks, ...etc), furniture and decoration shops and leading brands in clothing are also being opened, addressing the level of those living in this area (Figure 7).

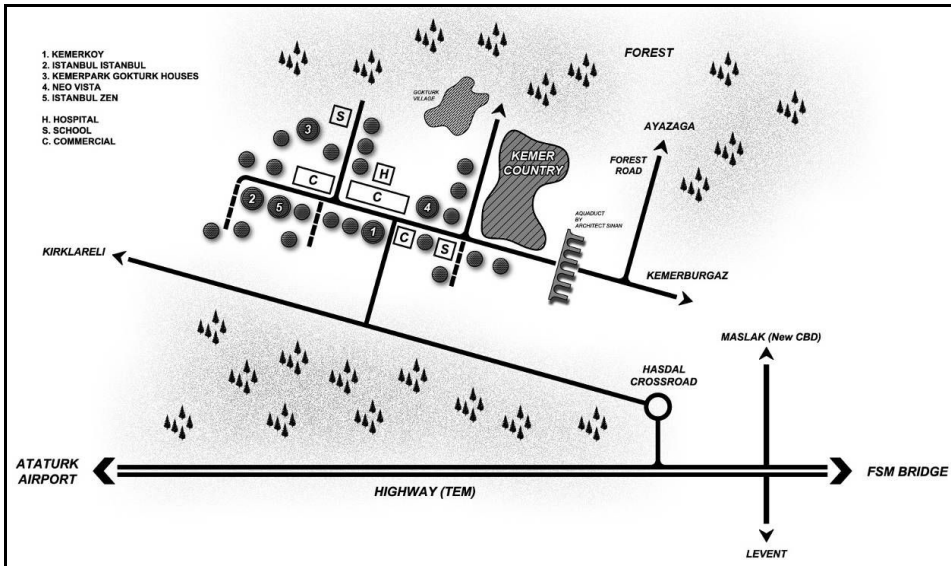


Figure 6. Gated Development of Gokturk

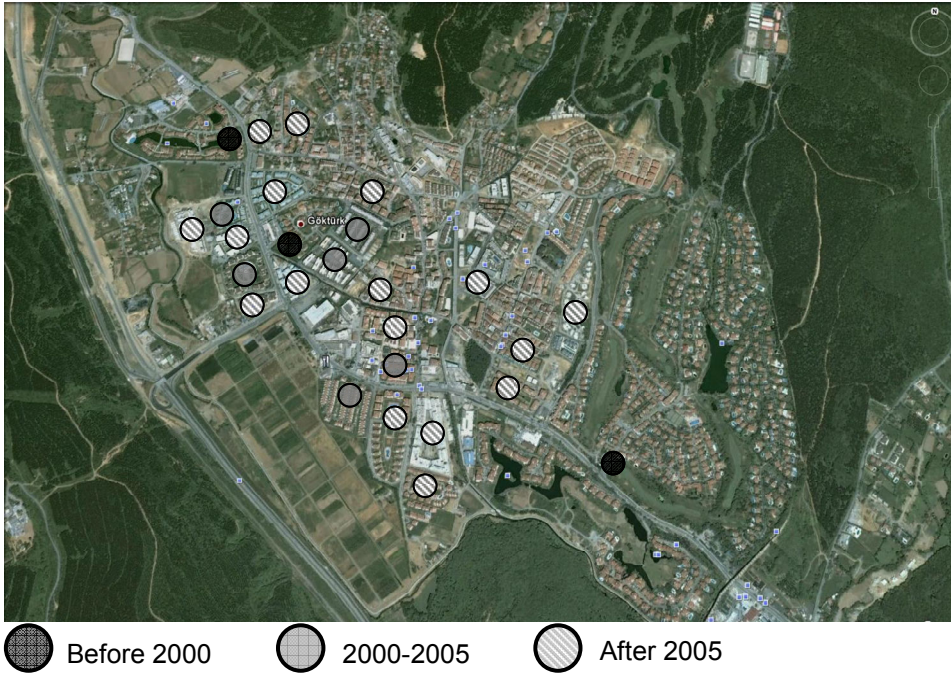


Figure 7. Gated Projects by Year in Gokturk

VI. Conclusion

The globalization process is reflected in urban areas not only with prestigious business centres, but also with the rapid changes and new trends within the housing market. Rapid growth of metropolitan cities, high density, pollution, traffic congestion and crime has become the main issues and has accelerated a new residential demand from the high-income groups. Therefore, “the security-oriented lifestyle”, which is defined as a “citadel” surrounded by gates, fences and walls has been brought up in discussions in various cities of the world. Moreover, the term, “gated communities”, is underlined with the motto of “modern areas” or a new form of elite urbanism. Gated communities are also in the struggle between haphazard development and planned growth. Overall, gated communities have been criticized as being sources of segregation, social inequality and disintegration of society. In this paper, the new housing trends on the periphery of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area have been examined under the concept of “gated communities”. Typologies of the projects and their marketing strategies are taken into consideration in order to put forward the similarities of so-called “gated communities” in Istanbul with the world literature. On the other hand, one of the main hypotheses has been raised that housing projects (gated communities) which are led by developers have an effective role on changes of the land use pattern in the periphery. These trends, growing towards the northern part and the thresholds (forest, water reservoirs) have not been anticipated in the metropolitan plans since 1980, including the plan of 2005 and target development of Istanbul metropolitan area's macro form has been determined to be linear on east-west direction. Furthermore, the independency of *belde* municipalities in the past years has enhanced the demand of developers to the periphery.

Gokturk has been chosen as the case study as it is one of the “belde municipalities” and hosts many of the significant gated communities in the Istanbul Metropolitan periphery. The Kemer Country project was the initial point of the story of Gokturk and with promises of a new country lifestyle including the Kemer Golf and Country Club. The project was certified by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 1989, and Gokturk became a *belde* municipality in 1993. The Kemer Country project as a host environment for a country lifestyle encouraged other real estate developers and construction firms for housing investments in Gokturk. The physical and social identity of Gokturk began to change with the construction of a highway in 1997. Increasing accessibility to the city center accelerated the demand and the sales of current projects. “Close to the city center, but in the forest”, “Lifestyle behind the Gates”, “From highway to parking lot” have become the main marketing strategies of new housing projects. Further, the 1999 earthquake became another significant reason for the increasing demand to the north and periphery of Istanbul. The northern part of Istanbul is safer in terms of earthquake risk and new buildings are giving the guarantee of using modern and safe construction methodologies. In addition, the housing market has boomed because of low interest rates and long-term housing credits of the banks in the last two years.

These trends have caused not only the changes of the land use pattern in the north, but also have increased the land values. The current situation is evidence for proof of the hypotheses of this paper. The projects examined

have similar characteristics with the gated communities in the world literature. They are basically marketing "Lifestyle and Prestige", while security is one of the components of this lifestyle. The existence of gated projects by leading developers has encouraged other gated projects to the area.

From a planning point of view, this is a twofold problem. On the one hand, within the metropolitan periphery, planners face a challenge of reaching a balance of fragmented city since the periphery of Istanbul has become a patchwork of various gated settlements as a result of developers' preferences. With respect to the relationship between the periphery and the central area, on the other hand, most of those so-called gated projects are put on the agenda, with no regard, whatsoever, to neither the existing local plans and identities nor the on-going studies, which aim to produce a strategic plan for the metropolitan area. Thus, such initiatives, threaten the natural thresholds and the functioning of the city. Nevertheless, despite the power that metropolitan plans hold to stop the development, it is primarily developers who determine what actually gets built and planning appears to be a kind of academic exercise with little impact on field reality.

In this paper, the impacts of developers and spatial impacts of new housing trends have been emphasized and trends evaluated based on the concept of gated communities so as to make a new contribution to the literature. Also, some issues for future discussions need to be raised. Therefore, the issue of administration and plan integrity has become a significant component for new housing trends in the metropolitan periphery.

Other factors such as giving building permission in the special forest areas should be noticed as future threats towards the natural thresholds of IMA. Further, the developers have started to purchase the public lands for their housing investments in Kemerburgaz, a neighboring settlement of Gokturk. Determining the role of real estate developers in producing housing projects and deciding how to relate their roles within the planning process constitute another topic for research and discussion. In order to control urban sprawl, a strong connection between real estate and planning must be established. Furthermore, while real estate values depend on the long-run health of the periphery in which developers build; planning units must work cooperatively with developers to achieve their goals so that they will have more impact when developers see them as a key participant in promoting good development rather than as part of the opposition.

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İstanbul metropolitan alanı periferisinde gelişmelere neden olan kapalı siteler

Kapalı yerleşimler konusuna artan ilgi, özellikle küreselleşme süreci ile ilişkili olarak dünyadaki büyük kentler üzerine gelişen literatürle ortaya çıkmaktadır. İstanbul Metropolitan Alanı'nda da küreselleşmenin etkileri yalnızca sermaye ve iş merkezleri üzerinde olmamakta, aynı zamanda yeni konut eğilimlerini de ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu yeni konut eğilimleri, literatürdeki kapalı yerleşmeler tanımına uygun özellikler göstermekte ve İstanbul'un kuzey çeperlerine yönelirken, bu süreçte gayrimenkul geliştiricilerin etkin rolleri izlenmektedir. Aynı zamanda, çeperde gelişen kapalı yerleşmeler, çeperin arazi kullanım ve arazi değerlerinin değişiminde de önemli etkiye sahiptir. Bu makale kapsamında, tipolojileri, pazarlama stratejileri, yerseçim tercihleri ve metropolitan çeperine etkileri ile kapalı yerleşimler incelenmektedir. Öncelikle İstanbul Metropolitan Alanı'nda küreselleşmenin kapalı yerleşimler üzerindeki etkilerinin değerlendirilmesinden sonra, kapalı yerleşmelerin yoğunlaştığı önemli bir örnek alan olarak Göktürk yerleşiminin gelişim süreci incelenmektedir. Bulgular, mevcut büyük konut projelerinin gayrimenkul geliştiricilerin yatırım kararlarında ve çeper alanların arazi kullanım ve

yoğunluk değişimlerinde etkili rol oynadığını gösterirken, yaşam tarzı ve prestij tanımlamaları ile tüm kapalı yerleşimlerin özellikleri arasında benzerlikleri ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

ⁱ In 1984, when Law N.. 3030 was established, there were no “Belde” Municipalities within the boundaries of MIMA, so that the definition of Belde did not take place in the law. In 1987, based on this legal loophole, Sultanbeyli was given Belde status according to Municipal Law No. 1580. After 1989, lots of settlements within the boundaries of MIMA have taken Belde Municipality status, independent from the Metropolitan Municipality. After 21 years , in 2005, Belde Municipalities were included into MIMA and within the scope of No. 3030.

ⁱⁱ The master plans have been prepared by MIMA in 1980, 1994, 1996 and 2005.

ⁱⁱⁱ The Istanbul housing market enjoyed a very strong period of activity in 2005 with housing construction levels reaching approximately 70,000 dwelling units 54% of which are located within the boundaries of Belde Municipalities in MIMA (DTZ, 2006).

^{iv} While the number of “belde” municipalities was increasing, being in close contact with the officialits, the developer of Kemer Country has led the establishment of the Gokturk Belde Municipality.

^v These developers also encourage health institutions (Acıbadem Health Center, Bayindir Yasamkent Hospital, Florence Nightingale Health Center, Medline Ambulance and First Aid Service, Pakize Terzi Laboratory, Cosmodent and Prodent Dental Health Services)and private educational institutions (Hisar School at 1996, Eyuboglu Schools at 2008) to the area to make it attractive for families with children and use them for their marketing efforts.