ITU A|Z • Vol 12 No 3 • November 2015 • 141-158

Disintegration of urban housing areas: Districts and new gated housing settlements

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Received: May 2015 *Final Acceptance: October 2015*

Abstract

In Turkey and Istanbul, gated communities are produced rapidly and offered for use of the urban users particularly since 2000s. Urban spots created by the new gated settlement areas and the life style started appearing and spreading rapidly in outskirts of Istanbul.

Starting from the emergence of these walled settlements rise, urban integrity gets disrupted and neighborhood lifestyle goes through a transition. The biggest problem posed by these islands in the city is the fact that they create non-interactive areas in the external world in contrary to the inner world.

The objective of this study is to determine the interaction level between these wealth islands and existing texture and constituents of the existing texture by using the space syntax approach. First, the strength of the bonds within the current environment is determined by using the space syntax program on the current environmental plans. The methodology also followed determining the physical and social behavior patterns of the streets, mainly the paper concentrated on the intersected spaces belonging to such different life styles.

These observations were made on the quality of the physical environment (order, graffiti, vandalism, etc.) and the utilization intensity. In the final stage, the data is collected by using the space syntax program and it was analysed to determine whether there is a correlation between the existence of graffiti and space syntax determinants.

Results show that the interaction within the existing texture gets weaker at substantial levels around the walls of the island,contraversially the existence of graffiti increases,and sociologically existing users living around the walled islands turn to be "societies around / bottom the walls".

Keywords
Districts, Gated communities, Security, Space syntax, Graffiti and vandalism.

1. Introduction

By rapid production of gated housing settlements started from 1980s and in particular 2000s in Turkey and firstly we observed their emergence in Istanbul. When the world has been starting to be globalized, it brought a capital movement, but also it has effects in the society as economic dispersion around the world and income distribution disparity. Because of the capital movement effects, the economic, technologic and organizational development of the firms boosted increasing the supply and as reverse we witnessed demand and rapid expansion of the luxury gated community settlements in these era.

Self-enclosed and privatization of the streets are the indicative directions of such kind of new life concept. The rich and luxury life including expensive homes, golf clubs, tennis clubs, and fitness centers have been constructed. The security and richness create the key positions, in order to overcome undesirable events such as crime, drug, vandalism, unrespectable behaviors towards public and private properties, the walls and doors that have been established as physical barriers. Protection of the settlement physically means the protection of the virtue and wealth values based on the settlement accordingly. Hence, the protection of these values is as important as physical security (İçli, 2010). On the other hand, Blakely and Snyder (1997) states that gated communities could be combined within three main categories. These are lifestyle communities, prestige communities and security zone communities.

The dominant factor regarding a settlement in this categorical approaches,we may perceive that many privileges have been provided and controlled in the gated community island. This makes these settlements profitable (Görücü and Pektas, 2014) and this is the most important factor for the investment firms and entrepreneurs.

Such new settlement areas and new living styles have started to appear in Istanbul and mainly outskirts in the existing neighborhoods of Istanbul. Since the walled such settlements, the urban integrity has started to be separated and street living culture has entered into the transition period.

The social problems have been apparently observed around these islands and we may perceive the contradiction, in spite of wealthy life style inside, the low-income families are located in the surroundings,as outside. When such islands provide the living groups as their wishes as well as living conditions and their securities, contoversially they create insecure areas in their external worlds. As it was stated by Oscar Newman (1972), "when a town is defended individually (private group)-or lived, it means that the struggle against the crime at that town is lost".

2. The negative effects of the gated housing settlements in the urban life

The Gated Housing Islands have damaged the current urban structure and have barricaded the integration and the development of the region. On the other hand, they have damaged the sustainability of the districts and traditional district culture, as contrary they have created and submitted the local artificial tissues and different life models for the community that is not peaceful to their neighbors. In some cases, these walls and fences not only prevent access to the facilities of their own but also they might make it hard for the public to access common areas such as streets, pavements, parks, beaches, rivers, paths, children playgrounds and other local resources (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

When we turn back to the current structure, it creates insecure areas in the contact lines. The treats are mostly directed to the people who are living in these islands as well as current people who are using such routes. By means of the rails, secure walls and security cameras based on twenty four hours monitoring, the precautions against all possible threats toward the inside have been taken. The undefended areas are the external belt zones as a result of such extraordinary exclusion.

2.1. The surveillance in terms of creating secure environment

One of the basic components of the social control is the natural surveillance mechanism. In the books of Jane Jacobs (1961) called as "The Death and Life of

Great American Cities", she signed the importance of the natural surveillance by stating the phrase of "the eyes in the street". Jacobs mostly attributes her determinations based on the surveillance principle and she is one of them who emphasized the "defensible space" concept where such components have an important place. She stated that "in some cases to help for a stranger or to call for the police, in order to enable the person to act, he/she must own the street and he/she must believe that if he/she will need for a help, will have the urgent help". However, she also stated that the most important think rather than acting and the condition to act are the surveillance and he stated the importance of the surveillance (Jacobs, 1961). Newman (1972) considers the surveillance function in the category of "physical design capacity that will provide the surveillance possibility to the user and their relatives". He explains this category as the mechanics towards increasing the surveillance capacity continuously and their internal and external areas of the people. He also states that they are the integral parts of the three basic mechanisms. On the other hand, Crowe (1991), in his book called as "Crime Prevention through Environmental Design" talks about the availability of three overlapped strategy in CPTED. These are natural access control, natural surveillance, and territorial reinforcement. He states that access control and surveillance are the primary design concepts of the physical design programs (Figure 1a, Figure 1b).

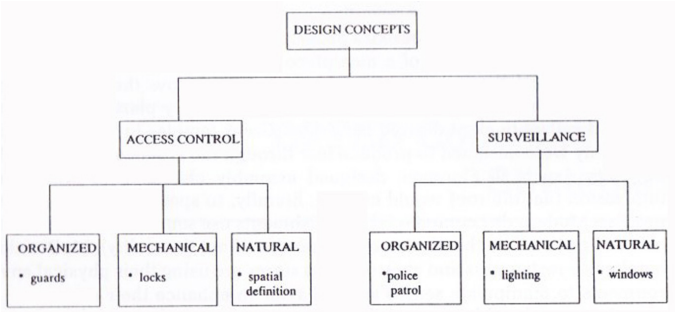

Figure 1a. *Tpical access control and surveillance concepts and classifications (Crowe, T.,D.,1991).*

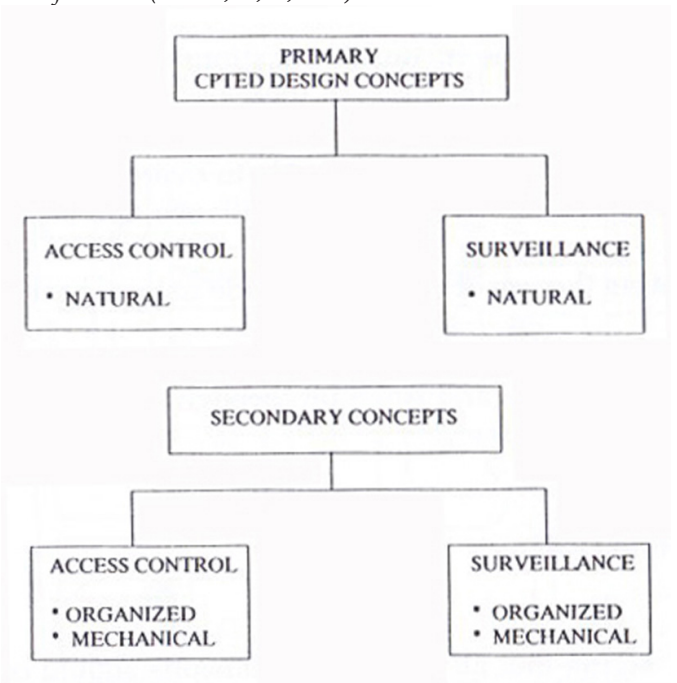

Figure 1b. *The conceptual shift from organized and mechanical concepts has led to the natural CPTED concepts (Crowe, T.,D.,1991).*

Stollard (1991) argues about the availability of the design options to use it for deterring from the crime and he states that there are some common agreements and conciliations over some general principles. Stallord collected such principles under six groups and he placed the surveillance principle in the first instance. This principle is related to the natural or passive surveillance of the homes and public places around the homes. When this situation is considered as the indicative factor for the uninvited guests, it is accepted that deterring from the crime is the most basic and essential element. Natural surveillance can be defined as the impression that residents of the dwelling are guarded or can be guarded if necessary and that there is an eye on neighbors and on their residences. Architects and planners should take into account of current options to maximize the opportunities of the resident users (Stollard, 1991).

By considering these thoughts, one of the design and settlement principles for safe residential area proposed in the "defensible space" is to direct the buildings to the streets. These directions provide opportunities that have been made by the residential building for the surveillance and also encourage them and that increase the "eyes on the street" accordingly (Figure 2).

In a research that was made in Istanbul, Levent, it was understood that the house direction has been made on the streets and the streets that have high

natural surveillance capacity are intensively used by the pedestrians. The side of the streets that are limited by the walls and garden walls of the houses and they are less preferred by the pedestrians and they are determined that the deaf walls along the streets are mainly neglected and used as the graffiti ground (Apak, 2005).

2.2. Permeability as the integration tool

The permeability is an important factor to integrate physical volumes and to give permissiveness for human behaviors. In the assessment of this factor, the scale and intensity should be primarily taken into the consideration. In the settlement where the scale is small and intensity is low, we may conclude that "the permeability is minimized".

"The settlements have been designed around the cul-de sac" exclude the foreigners and create confidential and the safe areas (Ünlü, 1986), in such areas, social control is not expected from the interaction of the in-out settlement users but it is expected from the settlement owner. Apart from the security feeling, the visibility and monitoring is controlled by the the user of the area.

It is quite natural that, foreigners were regarded as suspects when they were observed in front of the tents (vurt) at nomadic times before the permanent settlement (Küçükerman, 2007). If we observe the cul-de sacs that are surrounding square , they are inhabited by people who know each other well in traditional permanent settlement system. The existence of semi-public and private areas as shown in Newman's chart of territorial area (Figure 3) supported with the opportunities of observation. Certainly, the subjects like intensity and urban liveliness are not desirable in these areas.

In current town structures where the scale is getting larger, the blood relation, close relativeness, close neighborhood and other relevant elements are removed and where the settlement users become stranger, the subjects like the permeability and creating vitality may be considered as important factors. In 9th part of the book called as Jacobs' "the Death and Life of Great American Cities", the requirement for small block has been stated in detail.

By considering the example of Manhattan, it is stated that stable long blocks create desperate long, monotone and dark strips. If there were streets that cut such wide blocks lies from the east to west and if there were more than shorter blocks, it is stated that there would not be any need to use such monotone way to go somewhere and the alternative routes could be chosen (Figure 4). Thus, she defenses that the distribution of the stores and

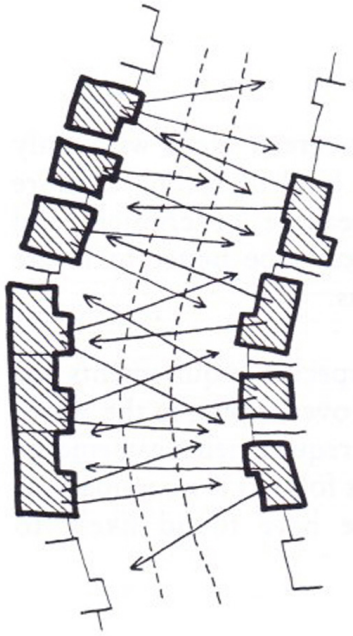

Figure 2. *Houses should face each other along the street (Poyner, B., Webb, B., 1991).*

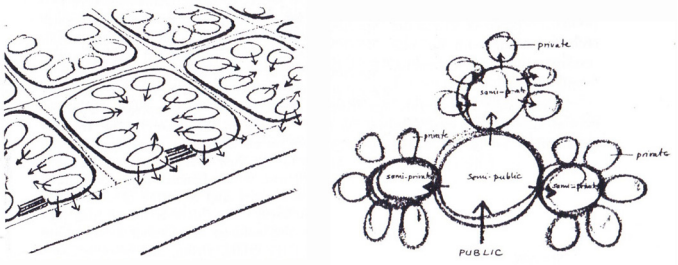

Figure 3. *Schematic sketch illustrating territorial definition reinforced with surveillance opportunities (Newman,1972).*

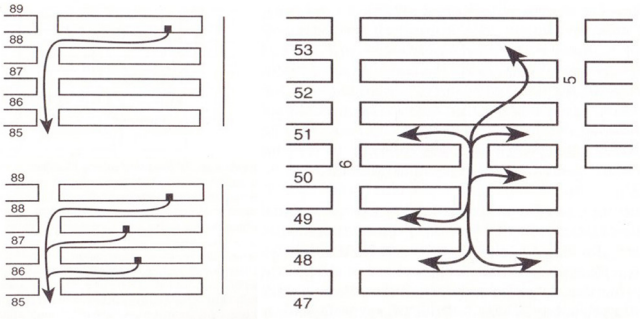

Figure 4. *Small block requirement in Manhattan (Jacobs,1961).*

eligibility of the stores and commercial places will be increased as a result of the interaction. She argues that, in this way, streets will not be isolated but they will get mixed to each other which will ensure significant increase in the number of trade destinations and improvement in the availability and expansion of shops. She emphasizes that, streets do not end at successful or attractive neighborhoods. On the contrary, the number or streets increases where possible (Jacobs, 1961).

Bentley & Alcock & et al. (1993) reserve the first part of the books to the permeability and deal the permeability in detail. They state that only places that let the people could provide options for them and the quality of the permeability is related to the number of the alternative ways that pass from one area. In the left diagram of Figure 5, comparing with the top layout with the sub layout, it provides large option possibility so the top layout is more than permeable. In the right diagram of the same figure, it is concentrated on the advantages of the small blocks.

They deal with the permeability as physical and visual permeability, they also reiterate that a place with the small blocks provide more option than the area with the large block and they state that large block layout has only three alternative route without returning between A and B and small block version has a little short distance nine alternatives with the public route (Bentley and Alcock, et al., 1993). They draw the attention of the availability of the three design approach that works against the public location permeability and they organize them as increasing the scale of the settlement, hierarchic layout using and pedestrian/vehicle separation.

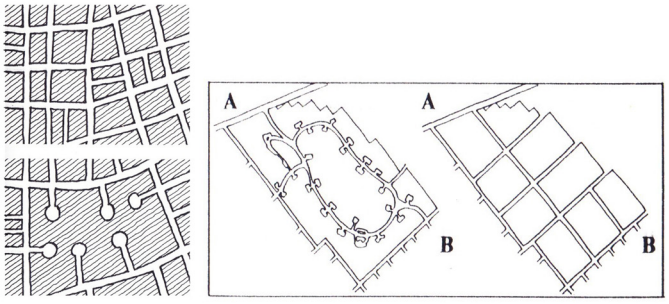

Figure 5. *Different approach alternatives in the permeability sense for the same area (left) and small block requirement between A-B axles (right) (Bentley,Alcock,Murrain, McGlynn, Smith, 1993).*

On the other hand, Crankshaw (2009) states that permeable street walls could be provided by the door entrances, windows and stores. A monolithic building without any openings creates insecurity and it gives you a disturbing feeling like you are all alone, walking naked along a street (Crankshaw, 2009).

2.3. Urban vitality / commerce in the sense of mixed utilization

It is clear that the urban vitality in the urban structure of the commercial functions has very important place in the vitality of the life. The commercial life particularly in the town scale is related to the accommodation functions of the town, the interactions, solidarity and living together in the same area. When considering the opposite angle in terms of the solidarity of the parties, in the understanding the modern town planning (however, the functional difference is essential in this understanding), despite the fact that the sub center settlements focused on the commercial activities when they become deserted at the night time. Jacobs, who emphasized mixed-use over separated dwellings or commercial places, also prioritized the liveliness of the people in current neighborhoods in her book which is full of the most original and powerful claims of her age (Jacobs, 1961). There is no doubt that in the sense of the urban vitality and "commercial vitality" street understanding that is the supporting element in the mixed utilization, the interaction along the street and the supporting attitudes are more than important even if they are competitors.

It is possible to see the examples in the traditional and historical structure of Istanbul. When approaching to the end of 18th century, Istiklal Street that has many opposite buildings and in which complete design was completed in the second half of 19th century (Cadde-I Kebir) is one of the most important street where the luxury buildings, European types of stores, recruitment and resting places are located after the reorganizations, nowadays, it keeps the same style indeed so that the commercial vitality has been observed. On the other hand, the spice

bazaar that is one of the oldest shopping centers has the covered street plan where many stores are located. The interaction between small commercial units (such as the flower bazaar, street) which stick to external, blind walls as required by the inward-oriented structure and the commercial units at the ground floors of the buildings that are located opposite the street, they are the most significant elements in the union of the bazaar with the surrounding pattern (Figure 6).

When talking about the urban vitality, the availability of the stores is required. On the other hand, in our history, from the shopping stores (arasta) to the local bazaars, streets, and covered bazaars and even in our modern world, large shopping centers, shopping malls (that contrary approach to our opinion – withdrawn huge masses) has mutual shop units. In this plan approach, face to face organization, sequence and interaction are basic elements.

The pavements are social spaces. The streets, pavements need ultimate attention to continue their living powers apart from the channels where the pedestrians use. They should be encouraged to create social interaction and activity together with their adjacent external selling areas in front of the stores and pavement cafés (Crankshaw, 2009).

3. Model

Ralph B. Taylor (1987) separated the scale organized from the least serious to the most serious in the figure called as the continuum of disorder. He showed the graffiti in the condition concept and he included the vandalism in the crime case based on the most serious step.

The graffiti that could be defined as using the private and public properties by unpermitted letter or paints. Their existence affected the environmental image and it has created the negative effect on the sense of security. The graffiti could be performed under the direction various purposes. The "gang graffiti" that could be a sign how power the gangs and illegal organizations could be used as interaction tools to show their powers and to remove others from these areas (Taylor, 1988).

On the other hand, one of the graffiti type is the "taggers" graffiti etc. Each graffiti has not written by the member of the gang. These could be used to state how to find the drug, drug users etc. They could have some threat messages against other races, religious and genders. Some graffiti is the sample of the swearword and profanity. Some of them could reflect the politic views and some also could be classified as "gum balloon" like " Ali loves Ayse" etc.

The type of the graffiti could be changes based on the time and place. However, the graffiti is possibly coming from the "taggers" who sign their activities by their typical names. The taggers expect and hope that they would be admired because of their respective activities and personal based works. The taggers could seek excitement. Such excitements could include the danger to make graffiti in the high place or to violate the laws accordingly. The taggers could act alone or they could be gang to make graffiti as a team.

In the recent researches, there are different approaches on the graffiti. Some researchers think that the graffiti is a kind of vandalism that is located on the roads, in the public transportation and stations, commercial regions and residential areas and some researchers think that these are urban artwork (Figure 7) and some of them consider that the graffiti is an activity to draw the attention of the young people to positive study fields.

Figure 6. *Two- sided commercial using of the streets, İstiklal street and Çiçek Pazarı street (Apak, S. 2015).*

Figure 7. *An example of graffiti as an art work and a vandalism example on the same street in Kadikoy (Apak, S. 2015).*

When dealing with undesirable action, it is seen that various methods have been applied to be prevented. Apart from the publications and internet possibilities that facilitate the processes what we should do especially for raising the social awareness, there are precautions towards prevention the crime factor. Such precautions have been dealt and evaluated in three categories in the researches such as "law application and implementation" where the law application precautions are provided by means of the criminal proceeding system, "perpetration on time" to minimize the damage and lost and "potential guilty prevention" to care about the young people and to draw their attention to the different places (Stafford & Pettersson, 2003).

Though graffiti might give messages in some cases such as the gang graffiti, it disturbs the society as an illegal act regardless of its content or form (whether it has an artistic value or not). When it damages to the public and private properties and when it is against the authority, in the context of the environmental image, they are significant signs weakening the environment's potential to create the feeling of safety.

Apart from such messages provided to the users, it affects the environment and the population deeply. The value of the properties could be decreased and possible commercial advantages could be lost. The population could be self-enclosed, the neighborhood relations could be weaken and the sensitivity could be lost as well as these could be the reason for social-economic damage and disruption. While they might indicate negligence, dereliction or ignorance they might also indicate that social/environmental control is lacking or there is unwillingness to perform such control. Even if some part of the society think that these are not important, they create illegal environment and they provide clue for illegal behavior possibilities and such kind of behaviors.

As a result of such negative effects of the graffiti, it has created an important fact as the indicator of the weakness related to the trust and confidence in the current urban fabric especially in the intersections of the gated islands. Without emphasizing the reasonability of the graffiti, the factors that facilitate the application and that enable the environment to be created as is defined in the theoretical framework of the activity are surveillance/ visibility, permeability, vitality, syntactic integration value. The availability or lacks of such factors are the reason of presenting, decreasing or increasing the graffiti applications.

The key component of those factors is based on the permeability. Due to the fact that it has a one by one effect on other factors if a piece of urban texture is permeable or not and these could affect directly or indirectly the graffiti applications. As it is seen in the current model, permeability, within the context of visual permeability, by eliminating the possibility of identifying the route through the external user and surveillance/visibility of the external area through the internal user, the minimal occupancy, uncontrolled areas and routes have been created (Figure 8).

On the other hand, when considering the physical permeability, it has minimized the neighborhood relations together with the adjacent current urban fabric. Because of the immense deathfullness created by the walls as the border element, such borders have lost the chance to transform the lively, illuminated areas such as shopping store, café, etc. It has minimized the vitality at those areas and it has prevented the possible potential development accordingly. It has also created negative

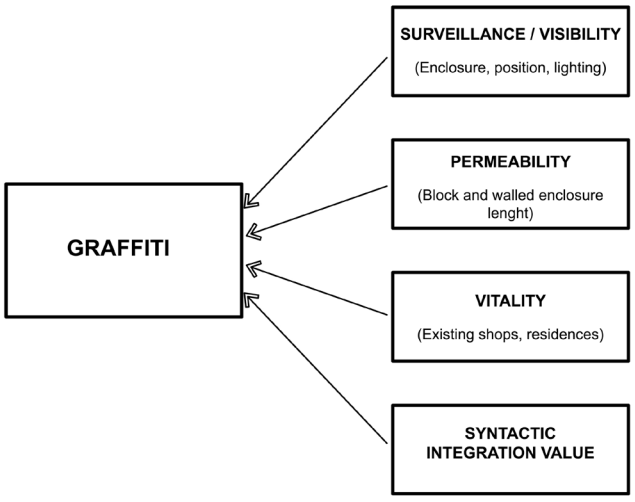

Figure 8. *The cart of the theoric model.*

effects on the vitality of current tissue. In these areas, decreasing the vitality means decreasing the number of the responsible eyes that will provide the social control at those areas and decreasing the opportunity of being supported. This huge area where the permeability is not available has provided their relations with the external world by one or two controlled doors and they have turned their backs to the current urban fabric. Their relations are almost little or nothing. In this case, it has created important effects on the syntactic integration values. The syntactic integration values that are not integrated with the network of the current urban fabric is minimized and disconnected, uncontrolled, desolate environments have been created.

These environments provide more comfortable opportunities for the graffiti applications that could be perceived as the indicator so that the most important crimes could be committed. These factors that have unilateral or bilateral interactions could increase or decrease the applicable physical ground and opportunity of the graffiti.

4. Method / Case studies

While determining the case study areas, the attention was paid that they should be neighbor with the unplanned and undeveloped urban structure, new gated community islands. The purpose here is to catch the clues clearly to reflect the relations of such islands with their surroundings. In this framework, "Maslak-İstinye Park" that is neighbor to Pınar district that is illegally structured area (Figure 9a), "TEM1 Avrupa Residences" which are located at 4th Region slum prevention area of Gaziosmanpaşa Town which has developed badly in a mixture of planned and unplanned construction (Figure 9b) and "Zeytinburnu Kiptaş Topkapı Merkez Residence" (Figure 9c) were selected as case study areas.

Main common points of these areas are the weakness socio-economic structure along with an unplanned and badly developed urban structure and side by side closed residence islands addressing the particular income group and their ownership characters .

Maslak-İstinye Park Residence among the case study area was constructed as 19 blocks was composed of 406 residential units. The entrance to the island is made from one gated access. On the other hand, TEM1 Avrupa Residences is composed of 36 blocks includes 3100 residential units and the entrance could be provided from three points. Topkapı Merkez Evleri is also composed of 803 residential units including 5+7 and totally 12 blocks. In each of two staged island, there are one entrance point.

In the selected three case study areas, the method is applied to obtain data based on the observations regarding the current urban structure around the gated community areas and intermediate zones. As the assessment variables, the users living in the vicinity of islands have been taken into the account. The intensity route or points in the urban area regarding the user and their experiences have been recorded. Regarding the physical environment, the environmental quality was determined as the scale of good-medium-bad and in the adjacent environment and intermediate zones, the availability of the graffiti and vandalism is searched and the determination of the places were achieved accordingly.

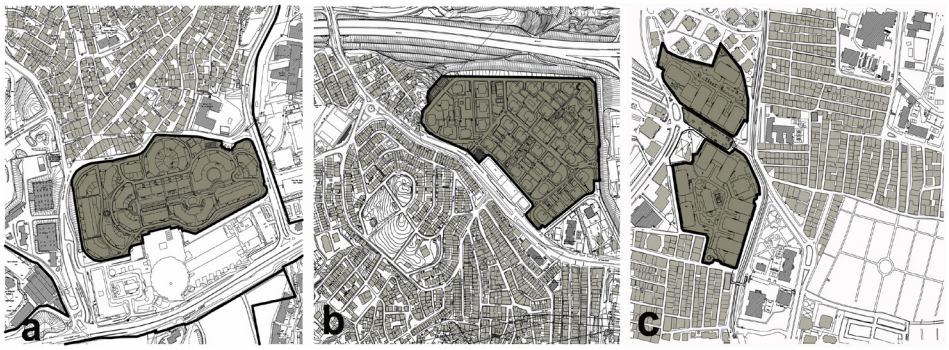

Figure 9. The case study areas, a; Istinye Park Residences-Maslak, b; TEM Avrupa Residences – Gaziosmanpaşa, c;Topkapı Merkez Residences – Zeytinburnu.

In the parallel of these studies, updated maps regarding these three areas that have been defined based on the observation criteria. The reason for having the updated maps is to reveal the rapid development of Istanbul and to show that new settlements have been performed in last 5-6 years. The integration where the updated maps have been used as data input that is the second important step for the determination of the syntactic integration analysis. The principle spatial element is the axes of the urban structure. The organization of the building or the district is based on the organization of its axes, that is, they reflect the behaviors, the sequence of behavioral experiences. The axis is fundamental because the experience of architecture is an experience of movement (Hillier 1996).

For the analysis of the syntactic integration, the Syntax 2D program by the Michigan University is used. By selecting axial line analysis and preparing axial maps, it is aimed to define the integration values of the close neighborhood around the these gated community islands.

By the achieved observation data, the integration values are compared and they are searched that if the low-high integration area and graffiti is overlapped or not. According to the hypothesis, the main task that is searching if there is any correlation between the deep integration values and increase of graffiti or not. In particular, the research concentrates on the specific places in the vicinity of gated islands, the occurrence of the graffiti applications and their meanings, their syntactic integration with the physical environment.

5. Discussion

5.1. Graffiti points observed around the sampled gated community islands

According to the determinations based on the observation, around the gated community islands of the three case study areas, the availability of the graffiti is observed. The long deaf walls extending uninterruptedly and their horizontal plane form may be quite appropriate space for graffiti. In the north of Istinye Park Residences, on İğde Street in the intermediate section of "Pınar Mahallesi (District)" (Figure 10a İ1), in Sarıyer Street and its opposite and in the walls of Enka Schools (Figure 10a İ2), in the western part of Gaziosmanpaşa TEM1 Avrupa Residences, on the walls located in 1612th Street and its extension (Figure 10b A1), in western part of the Kiptaş Topkapı Merkez Residence, G-36th Street (Figure 10c M2) and on Gümüşsuyu Davut Paşa Street (Figure 10c M1), the graffiti samples are mainly observed areas.

By going around the surrounding

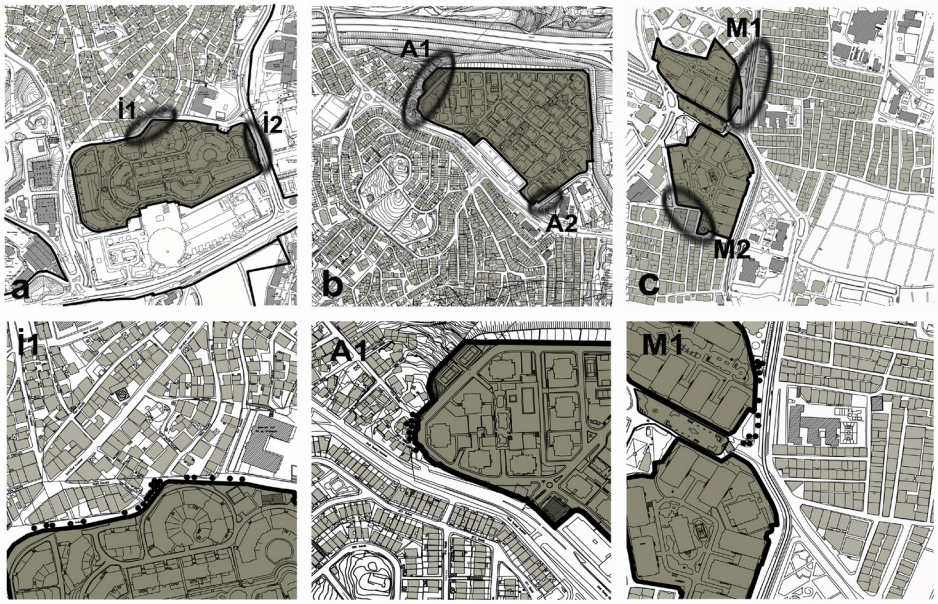

Figure 10. *The regions where the graffiti was applied on the walls of the gated community islands.*

walls of each three samples, the place and number where the graffiti has been applied are signed and determined on the plans. In the determinations that have been made, the type and size of the graffiti is ignored. The existence of graffiti has been recorded numerically. In accordance with these determinations, the graffiti has been recorded intensively applied in these case study areas.

It was observed that the walls of İstinye Park Residence is on İğde Street and partly in Kılıç Street. The determined graffiti number around the wall on this street is (Figure 10-i1) (26 İğde Street+13 Kılıç Street) totally 39 points (Figure 11).

There is also graffiti situated in Gaziosmanpaşa TEM1 Avrupa Residence, and at the same, an intensive graffiti has been observed on the wall throughout 1612th Street with the adjacent current urban fabric (Figure 10-A1). The number of graffiti that was signed by counting on those walls are 22 indicators (Figure 12).

In the Zeytinburnu Topkapı Merkez Residence part 1 and 2, the intensive graffiti applications that have been frequently used, applied and re-painted have been observed on the throughout street and stair walls that provides connection between recreation area (that located two parts of the gated residences) and Davutpaşa Gümüşsuyu Street (Figure 10-M1). The graffiti paint number that was determined at the time of observation are 12 in stair walls and 16 on the walls at Gümüşsuyu Street and totally 28 at the same region (Figure 13).

It was observed and determined that the contents of these graffiti could be political, class difference and they could also be inserted as the type of "gum balloon" that is not important.

5.2. The determinations regarding the permeability specifications of the sampled gated community islands

As it is known that the basic principle of the gated community is to prevent the uncontrolled entrance and to create impermeable areas where the controlled entrance is provided. In order to provide the security, to prevent the infrastructural using share, to cre-

Figure 11. *Graffiti on the walls of the island of İstinye Park Residence (İ1) and İğde Street (Apak, S. 2015).*

Figure 12. *Graffiti on the walls of the island of TEM1 Avrupa Konutlari (A1) and neighbourhood (Apak, S. 2015).*

Figure 13. *Graffiti on the walls of the island of Topkapi Merkez Evleri (M1) and parked cars (Apak, S. 2015).*

ate the social status living types and similar groups, firstly under the direction of providing the physical impermeability, the basic approach is to surround these areas by the walls. For the sake of minimizing the internal-external irritation and increasing the security, apart from the height and type of those walls, the visual impermeability is provided and internal-external relation has been cut completely (Table 1).

The number of blocks and resident units, size of the covered areas and shortest – longest lengths of the areas belongs to these three case studies are given in table 1. Also quantities and qualities of these surrounding walls are important features for permeability.

The total length of the walls that surrounds İstinye Park Residence, Gaziosmanpaşa TEM1 Avrupa Residences and Zeytinburnu Topkapı Merkez Residences are 1238 meters, 1665 meters and 1524 meters. There is only one entrance-exit door at İstinye Park Residence and Topkapı Merkez Residences 1- 2. (seperately). On the other hand there are three entrance-exit doors at Gaziosmanpaşa TEM1 Avrupa Residences due to its size of the covered area (Table 1).

The heights, qualities and materials that have been used for each surrounding walls of three case studies are given in Table 2. These walls are prohibiter as the visual permeability, the transparency that provides communication,as well as the physical permeability. All these features could be completely or partly observed in each samples.

The front of the walls on Abdi İpekçi Street that is the important artery was concealed by the green plants. The height of the bottom reinforced concrete part around 1612th Street where this wall is interacted with the current urban fabric was approximately increased from 40 cm. to 160 cm (Table 2). On the other hand, in order to end the visual relation, the back of the iron fences was closed by semi opaque plastic panels. Zeytinburnu, Topkapı Merkez Residences are composed of two parts. For second section, there

Table 1. *The quantitative specifications of the sampled gated residential areas and the length of surrounding walls.*

	Number of block	Number of Residence	Area (m2)	**Perimeter (m)**	Number of Ent-Exit door	Length - short	Length - long
İstinye Park Residence	19	406	75395	**1238**	1+ (1 from mall, pedest.)	226	430
Gaziosmanpaşa TEM1 Avrupa R.	36	3100	141082	**1665**	3	445	550
Topkapı Merkez Residence sec.1	5	803	22780	**704**	1	156	240
Topkapı Merkaz Residence Sec.2	7		34300	**820**	1+ (1 from mall, pedest.)	185	280

Table 2. *The qualitative specificaitons and the heights of surrounding walls of the sampled gated residential areas.*

	The height of the walls				The quality and materials of the walls		
	Base (cm.)	Mid. (cm.)	Top (cm.)	Total (cm.)	Base	Mid.	Top
İstinye Park Residence	200	170	-	370	reinforced concrete	natural panel wire fence	-
Gaziosmanpaşa TEM1 Avrupa R.	40	180	80	300	reinforced concrete	forged iron fence	double razor wires
Topkapı Merkez Residence	300	150	40	490	reinforced concrete	natural panel wire fence	single razor wires

are also pedestrian accesses from the shopping. In the middle of both section, there is a recreation area and open shopping units for public and these two sections could be considered as two different gated islands. The quality of the walls that surround these islands could be regionally different. The recreation area between two islands is defined by the shopping units' facades. It is also observed that 2nd part of island walls on Davutpaşa Gümüşsuyu Street and G-32th Street are composed by shopping units' facades which is constructed under residential blocks. In Topkapı Merkez Residences, together with the physical obstacles and by the massive material such as concrete, the visual barrier was maximized. The positive side of this sample is to provide residential blocks together with the shopping units.

5.3. The integration analysis of the sampled gated community islands and surroundings

In each three case studies, surrounding gated community islands, neighbor streets integration-n of Syntax 2D values have transformed into the table. For each case study, approximately 30 streets give us an idea about general characters of the close existing urban texture. For each area, the mean of integration values are calculated and when we compared the integration-n values of the cross sections around the gated community, the significant results are emerged.

The mean of the integration-n values of 25 street belonged to the current settlement surrounding Istinye Park Residence is 11590,98. On the other hand, the mean average of the integration-n values belonged to the roads surrounding Istinye Park walls is 2023,35. When these values are calculated based on 30 streets surrounding TEM1 Avrupa Residence, it was achieved to 10998,55, on the other hand integration- n values of the roads adjacent to surrounding walls are calculated as 2786,95. In Zeytinburnu Topkapı Merkez Residence, the mean value of 30 streets adjacent to the current settlement is 12039,80. Average values are calculated in the parallel streets of islands' borders, around 1st section is about 344,71 and in the second section, it is performed as 2355,65 (Figure 14).

Hillier (1996) stated that the distribution of integration in the axial map defines an "integration core" which generates not only a movement pattern but also a distribution of land uses such as shops and residences which are sensitive to movement. In the axial line analysis of Pınar Mahallesi (District) and Istinye Park Residences, when considering the integration-n diagram, the integration value of the İğde Street (3796,28) adjacent to the Istinye Residences where graffiti is applied is very low. However, Çamlıbel Street (Figure 15) that is the most populated street of the "Pınar Mahallesi (District)" has highest integration values (22555,91) in the red color scale and as is mentioned by the Hiller, it appears as the core of the integration. Naturally, on this street, due to the fact that there are many shopping units and due to the vitality of the street, it is more significant to overlap the core in the integration map.

It is observed that 1612th Street and its extension where the graffiti points are highly observed on the border walls of TEM1 Avrupa Residences in Gaziosmanpaşa has lowest integration values in the dark blue color scale in the axial line diagram produced for this region.

On the other hand, the integration values are rather low at G-36th Street axis hosting graffiti on deaf and castle type of walls surrounding Topkapı

Figure 14. *The Axial Line Analysis and Integration-n Values of the three case studies (Istinye Park Residence – Gaziosmanpasa TEM1 Residence – Topkapi Merkez Residence).*

Merkez Evleri and the vicinity of Gümüşsuyu Davutpaşa Street axis that are divided by the tram line.

5.4. The determined graffiti applications and syntactic integration analysis study

Along with the graffiti point maps achieved by the observations, the integration-n value maps obtained by Syntax2D are also compared and interposed and this paper reinforces that there is a high correlation between the increase of graffiti and low integration-n values around the gated communities (Figure 16).

The mean of integration-n values of 24 streets in Pınar District that is current urban fabric surrounding partly Istinye Park Residences is calculated as 11590,98. The axis numbered 81 that is the starting point of İğde Street connected to Camlıbel Street (where the mean value is 22555,91) is 7274,00 as integration value. The axis numbered 82 where the graffiti is intensively seen has a value of 3796,28 and it is located between İğde Street and Kılıç Street. The axis numbered 91 represents Kılıç Street. Its integration value is 2819,87 and 13 graffiti points determination is made on the walls at these streets. The integration value of the axis coded 92 is 1450,18 and it is part of the wall between Kılıç Street and site entrance door. The axes numbered 95 and 96 have the values of 787,22 and 807,81. These are connection ways between Kılıç Street entrance-exit door and Sarıyer Street connection. Due to the proximity to the controlled area with the security guard there are not any graffiti applications. On the other hand, because of their too low integration values, this area is a type of urban fabric has the weakest relations with their environments (Table 3).

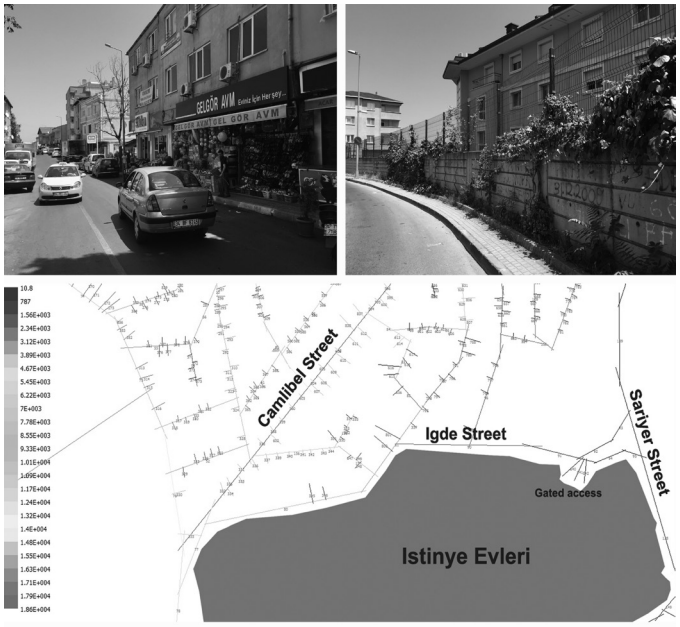

Figure 15. *Camlibel Street (on the left), Igde Streets (on the right) (Apak, S. 2015). Integration Values of Istinye Residence and Pinar Mahallesi district (below).*

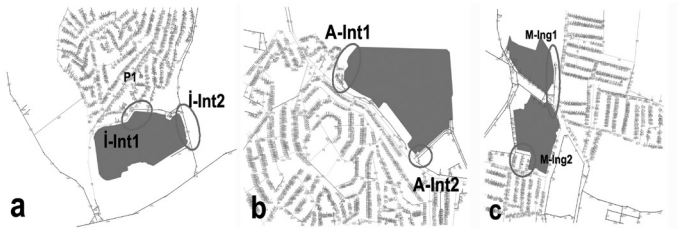

Figure 16. *The overlapping the determination maps of the region where the intensive graffiti applications are available in three case studies with the value map of the Axial Line Analysis / Integration-n. (a) Istinye Park Residence – (b) Gaziosmanpasa TEM1 Residence – (c) Topkapi Merkez Residence).*

The mean of the integration-n values of 30 streets related to the current urban fabric around Gaziosmanpaşa TEM1 Avrupa Residences is 10998,55. The axis coded 0 has the value of 2222,43 and it is entrance point to the existing adjacent fabric from Abdi İpekçi Street. The axis coded 1 is the entrance way to the current fabric from Abdi İpekçi Street (1277,87) and it is the part that provides connection to 1612th Street and on each two axes. We may oberve here that there is not any current indicator about the graffiti points. The axes of 2 (1274,28) and 3 (3419, 37) are extensions of 1612th Street and the adjacent walls to the of TEM 1 Avrupa Residences and particularly, there are graffiti points on these walls along two axes. The number of these points is 22. The axis coded 47 (2316,06) represents the entrance door and Abdi İpekçi Street connection way and the axis coded 48 (1140,71) represents the extension of the entrance door and they show the weak relation tie in the rare points where they could integrate with the integration values less than (10998,55) of current fabric average of Gaziosmanpaşa.

The arithmetic average of 30 streets was taken in the adjacent area of Zeytinburnu Topkapı Merkez Residences and

the integration-n values are 12039,80. The consecutive axes coded 116, 117, 118 represent the way between the 1st section walls and tramway station. Respectively, they have integration values of 960,50 – 375,17 – 237,99. We may consider that this region where the graffiti applications are intensively used. 16 graffiti points are determined. The axes numbered 148 (375,18) and 149 (228,91) represent the stairs to the public area between two sections from this region. The continuous graffiti applications are observed horizontally on the walls in both side of the stairs and this area has been restricted by painting through the administration. 12 graffiti points are determined on the day when the observation is carried out. The axis numbered 25 (175,52) in the 2nd section, the axis numbered 27 (257,14) in the 1st section that represents the pedestrian ways in front of the shopping units under the blocks that they face to the public area. Due to the fact that these areas are not eligible to apply graffiti and there are some monitoring residential units such as living rooms over the stores. These areas have very low integration-n values however it is hard to remark of traces about the graffiti activities (Table 3).

The integration values obtained from the axial line analysis of the surrounding streets limited by the walls are comparatively are very low, contoversially we may record that the high occurence of graffiti on the walls. The surrounding wall of the island has blue and dark blue colors that they represent the low values in the color scale. It means that the great gated islands that are not integrated with the current structure, and they make cool their environment as well. Such areas that are adjacent the gated community islands are the weakest and colorless routes of the urban/neighborhood interaction and they become the area as vacant car parking locations that may also cause blockading the pedestrian movements.

6. Result

Such case study areas like the representatives of the most of the gated community islands around Istanbul have the mean of their negative specifications. The negative aspects might also be found in implementations of state based organisations like Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI). The assessment of the valuable lands belonged to the public organizations within current urban structure on one public sector hand, and profitability of the different lands that are the properties of the private sector on the other hand, the both sec-

Table 3. *Comparing the sampled three gated community areas surrounding and adjacent street integration values and graffiti point numbers.*

	Integration value (Avg.)	Number of Graffiti points	Graffiti locations (frequently seen)		
			Code	Int. value	Name of the location
İstinye Park Residence	11590,98	39	81	7274,00	Igde Street
			82	3796,28	Mid part of Igde-Kilic S
			91	2819,87	Kilic Street
			92	1450,18	Kilic Street- Entrance
			95	787,22	Entrence-Sariyer Street
Gaziosmanpaşa TEM1 Avrupa K.	10998,55	22	0	2222,43	Abdi Ipekci St.-Existing t.
			1	1277,87	Abdi Ipekci St.-1612.St.
			2	1274,28	1612.St. adjacent to ex.t.
			3	3419,37	1612.St. adjacent to ex.t
			48	1140,71	Entrence –TEM1 Reside.
Topkapı Merkez Evleri	12039,80	28	116	960,50	Davutpasa Gumussuyu S.
			117	375,17	Davutpasa Gumussuyu S.
			118	237,99	Davutpasa Gumussuyu S.
			148	375,18	Stairs
			149	228,91	Stairs

tors may boost these problems around the constructed neighborhoods.

The weakness in the local town-planning applications, the lack of authorization of producing local town-planning and codes and the planning and design cosiderations as the isolated islands of the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ) create continuously the lack of the urban plan integrity, permeability and vitality problems within the existing urban life.

In the location selection of the gated community islands, the economic feasibility has been become the most basic factor.However, the social-cultural-economic structures of the adjacent areas of the islands coexisted within the current urban life at surroundings have not taken into the consideration and the permeability of human movements and the structural continuity of the districts are completely ignored.

The results within the scope of the research show that the interaction in the current structure is declined around the island walls. As it is seen in the syntactic integration analysis clearly, the mean of the integration values achieved by taking the current urban fabric are the strongest evidence in this comparison. It is observed that such the mean values are time by time higher than the integration values of the street surrounding the gated community areas. In these areas, when the intensive of the graffiti points increases, this indication is the proof that those areas are becoming so desolate areas. Besides, it could be seen that by the analysis that the current situation is sharply overlapping with the real life and how the vitality and permeability notions in planning issue how they are removed.

By the analysis of the observed and calculated data, the zones between such wealthy islands and existing life at surroundings are isolated and ineffective formations. As supported by analyses, they come up that these available spaces for graffiti cause to disturbance and displeasure among the neighborhood situated around the endless walls. Psychologically, existing graffiti on long walls is a kind of a message and scream to the sensitive community. It is also a sign for threatening indicator damaging safety and moreover it creates the weakening for the perception of the feeling of safe and uncontrolled environment.

At this point, it could not be expected to break the walls and to bring very different social –economic and cultural communities together. Such a kind of expectation cannot been demanded by parties at this moment. At presently, the gated community users could not accept different social and physical structure so that they have been injected. They cannot communicate as much as possible in the vicinity. They attempt to make connection with the towns by their private cars without communicating with close social areas .

The solution is based on defining new gated settlement locations and integrated and permeable areas. In the local applications, for the sake of the economic income, instead of producing gated community islands, it is better to develop open structures that might be integrated with the environment and to reveal the district based on the synthesis as well. In the large scale, without establishing exact lines, sharp sides, the aim must be an urban planning approach comprising more peaceful and transitive altitude (from low income to high etc.) and to process and to apply more productive urban planning understanding that will not cause any attempt to the high income groups to have a right to implement hidden and wealthy gated community solutions.

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Kent konut alanlarının parçalanması: Mahalleler ve yeni kapalı konut yerleşmeleri

Türkiye ve İstanbul'da özellikle 2000'li yıllardan sonra kapalı konut yerleşmeleri büyük bir hızla üretilerek kent kullanıcılarının kullanımına sunulmaya başlanmıştır. Sermayesi gelişmiş özel girişimciler ve / veya özel – kamu işbirliği ile planlanan bu yeni tip yaşam anlayışlı sunumlar, bir mega kent olan İstanbul'un dahi bu oranlarda hiç karşılaşmadığı ölçek ve sayılardaki yeni konut alanlarıyla hazırlıksız bir şelikde karşı karşıya kalmalarına neden olmuştur. Bu yeni kapalı yerleşim alanları ve yaşam tarzının oluşturduğu kentsel lekeler, İstanbul'un içlerinde ve eteklerinde hızla belirmeye ve yayılmaya başlamıştır.

Bu lekelerin, yapay adacıkların kent için en büyük problemi, mevcut kent dokusuna yapışarak veya mevcut doku içlerindeki mevcut veya kentsel dönüşümle elde edilen boşlukları doldurma yöntemiyle mevcut dokuyu iteleyerek sıkıştığı alanın kendisine ait yarattığı iç dünyasının tersine dış dünyasında etkileşimsiz alanlar yaratmasıdır. Mevcut dokudan koparılan bu parçalar ile mevcut alanların birbirleri ile olabilecek olası etkileşim, birleşme şanslarının da ellerinden almasıdır.

Tüm bu olumsuzluklarının yanı sıra, bazı durumlarda, duvar ve parmaklıklar ile sadece kendilerine ait donatılara erişimi değil, caddelere, kaldırımlara, parklara, plajlara, nehirlere, patikalara, çoçuk oyun alanlarına, lokal tüm vatandaşlar tarafından paylaşılacak tüm kaynaklara kamusal geçişi de engelleyebilmekte, zorlaştırabilmektedirler

(Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Mevcut dokunun ihmal edilip dışlanması ile karşı komşulukları ile etkileşim şansları ellerinden alınarak, bu sokak kullanıcıları yalnızlaştırılmakta, geçirgenliği sağlayacak, arttıracak, doku ve sokak süreklilikleri kesilmekte, kentsel canlılığı zayıflatılmış, ticaret potansiyeli azaltılmış çevreler yaratılmaktadır. Neticede kullanıcı yoğunluğunun endişe yaratacak boyutta azaldığı, doğal gözetim olanaklarının ortadan kaldırılıp, güvenlik hissinin zayıfladığı kuşaklar yaratılmaktadır.

Makalenin teorik tabanında, güvenli ortam yaratma bağlamında doğal gözetim, kullanımı teşvik ederek sosyal kontrol perspektifinden pozitif yoğunluk yaratacak bir bütünleşme aracı olarak geçirgenlik ve fonksiyonel ayrışmışlık yerine karma kullanım unsurları ortaya konularak derinlemesine irdelenmiş ve makalenin yaklaşımı doğrultusunda kuramsal bir çerçeve oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Mevcut kent dokusu içleri ve eteklerine serpiştirilen, gerektiğinde tıkıştırılan bu lekeler, bu farklı dokuların yarattığı ara kesitler bağlamında, düzen ve güven ortamının zayıflık göstergesi olarak duvar yazıları (grafiti) ve vandalizm ele alınmış, özellikle duvar yazılarının fiziksel çevrenin niteliği ve bu çevrenin kullanıcılar üzerindeki psikolojik, sosyolojik ve ekonomik etkilerini konu edinmiş düşünsel ve araştırmalara dayalı çalışmalar ortaya konulmuştur.

Mevcut doku ile sırtı dönük adacıklar arasındaki temas bölgelerinin geçirgenliği, kullanım tercihliği ve yoğunluğu, canlılık ve sosyal kontrol, doğal gözetim varlığı veya yokluğu ile güvenlik hissine etkisi bağlamında duvar yazılarının varlığı, uygulanabilme ortamı bulabilmesi ve verdiği mesajlar makalenin ana omurgasını oluşturmaktadır.

Bu açıdan çalışma alanlarının seçiminde mevcut kent dokusu ile yakın temas halinde olan kapalı konut adacıklarının seçimine özen gösterilmiştir ve özellikle plansız veya kötü gelişim göstermiş kentsel dokuyla komşu, iç içe geçmiş, yeni kapalı konut adalarının bu özenli seçiminde amaçlanan, lüks tüketim özellikleri gösteren bu adaların çevreleri ile olan ilişkilerinin dışa yansımasının ip uçlarını daha belirgin olarak yakalayabilmektir.

Çalışma yöntemi açısından mevcut dokunun kendi içindeki geçirgenliği, bütünleşmesi ve bu dokunun kapalı konut adacıkları ile bütünleşmesinin, aradaki bağların varlığının, bağların zayıflığı veya kuvvetliliğinin yani bütünleşme değerlerinin tespiti önemli bir bileşeni oluşturmaktadır. Diğer bileşen olarak, kapalı konut adalarının yakın çevrelerindeki mevcut kent dokusunun ve ara zonlara ilişkin gözlem ve bu gözlemlere dayalı verilerin elde edilmesi gelmektedir. Gözlem değerlendirme kriterleri olarak, ada dışı kullanıcılar ve fiziki çevre nitelikleri üzerine odaklanılmıştır. Fiziki çevreye ilişkin tespitlerde, yakın çevre ve ara zonlarda grafiti ve vandalizmin varlığı araştırılmış ve olan / yoğunlaşan yerlerin tespiti yapılmıştır.

Bir binanın veya kent dokusunun organizasyonu, deneyimlenmesinin ardışıklığı nedeniyle, akslarının organizasyonudur. Mimarinin deneyimlenmesi, bir hareketin bir akımın deneyimlenmesi olması sebebiyle aks esastır, temeldir (Hillier 1996). Bu nedenle, bütünleşme değerlerinin saptanmasi için Axial line analizi seçilmiş ve çalışma alanlarına uygulanmıştır. İntegrasyon analizi için Michigan Üniversitesinin geliştirdiği Syntax2D programı kullanılmıştır. Güncel haritalardan axial line haritaları herbir bölge için ayrı ayrı Autocad programı ile hazırlanmış ve hazırlanan bu haritalar Syntax2D programına aktarılarak integrasyon değerleri hesaplanmıştır. Axial line haritalarının hazırlanmasında bölgenin sokak örüntü ağı ve bu ağı oluşturan sokaklara açılan herbir kapının eklenilmesi esas alınmıştır.

Elde edilen gözlem verileri ile entegrasyon değerleri karşılaştırılması yapılarak, Düşük-Yüksek entegrasyon alanları ile grafiti Varlığı- Yokluğu örtüşmelerinin ve değişkenler arasında bir korelasyon bulunlup bulunmadığı araştırılması yapılmıştır. Özellikle sık grafiti uygulamalarının olduğu noktalara yoğunlaşılmış, bütünleşme değerleri arasındaki ilişkilerdeki anlamlılıklar sorgulanmış, fiziksel çevre niteliği ve kullanımına yansımaları irdelenmiştir.

Gözleme dayalı yapılan tespitlere

göre, her üç çalışma alanının kapalı konut adaları çevrelerinde grafiti varlığına rastlanmıştır. Doğal olarak metrelerce kesintisiz uzanan bu sağır duvarlar grafiti için çok elverişli düşey düzlemler, grafitiye altlıklar oluşturmaktadır. Grafiti nokta haritaları ile Syntax2D ile elde edilen integration-n değer haritaları enterpoze edilip karşılaştırıldığında çok büyük bir oranda örtüşme olduğu görülmektedir. Pınar mahallesi semtinin ve İstinye Evlerinin axial line analizinde İstegrasyon-n diyagramını değerlendirdiğimizde "Pınar Mahallesi" semtinin en işlek caddesi olan Çamlıbel Caddesinin, koyu kırmızı renk sıkalasında en yüksek integrasyon değerine sahip olduğu hesaplanmakta ve Hillier'in de ortaya koyduğu gibi bölgenin bir integrasyon çekirdeği olarak belirmektedir. Buna karşın, İstinye Evlerinin duvarlarına yapışık İğde Sokağının integrasyon değerinin oldukça düşük olduğu ve gözlemlerle elde edilen verilere göre özellikle yaya kullanım yoğunluğunun çok az olduğu, ticari birimlerin yer almadığı ve duvar yazılarının yoğunlukla yer aldığı çevresiyle bütünleşemeyen bantlar olarak göze çarpmaktadır.

Kapalı konut adalarında bir çok ayrıcalıkların sağlanmış ve kontrol edilebilir halde tutulması yeni yerleşim yatırımlarını ekonomik açıdan daha karlı hale getirmektedir (Görücü and Pektas 2014) ve yatırımcı firma veya girişimciler tarafından en önemli bu tercih sebebi olmaktadır. Kamu ve özel sektörün elindeki boş veya farklı fonksiyona sahip arsaların kapalı konut adaları inşaası yoluyla daha fazla kar elde edilebilir hale getirilme isteği ve ekonomik fizibiliteler bu uygulamaların lokasyon seçiminde en önemli öncelikli unsur olmuştur. Enjekte edildikleri mevcut kent dokusunda oluşturulan adaların bitişik çevrelerinin sosyal – kültürel-ekonomik yapıları dikkate alınmamış, mahallelerin dokusal sürekliliğine dikkat edilmemiştir. Verilerin analizi ile ortaya konulduğu gibi, bu refah adacıkları ile mevcut doku arasındaki zonlar etkileşimsiz, yalnızlaştırılmış alanlar haline dönüştürülmüştür. Bu zonlarda doku uyuşmazlığı ortaya çıkmıştır (http://gophaber.com/haber-3847-arsiv.html). Analizlerin desteklediği gibi, uçsuz bucaksız duvarlara komşu, bitişik çevrenin rahatsızlık ve hoşnutsuzluğu grafiti olarak ortaya çıktığı gözlemlenmektedir.

Gelinen bu noktadan sonra duvarların yıkılıp çok farklı sosyo-ekonomik, kültürel yapıda kesimlerin bir araya gelmesi şüphesiz ki beklenemez. Zaten böyle bir beklenti, talep taraflarda da bulunmamaktadır. Çözüm mevcut doku içindeki yeni kapalı yerleşmelerin lokasyonlarının belirlenmesinde mevcut sosyal doku faktörünün ön plana çıkarılmasıdır. Lokal uygulamalarda, ekonomik rant uğruna kapalı konut adaları üretmek yerine, mevcut bünyenin kabul edebileceği, çevre ile bütünleşebilen açık dokunun geliştirilmesi, mahalle anlayışının ön plana çıkarılmasıdır. Daha üst ölçekte ise, keskin cepheler, hatlar oluşturulmadan, daha barışkın, geçişken bir kademelenme anlayışı ile kapalı konut adacıkları uygulamalarına gerek bırakılmayacak kentsel planlama anlayışının ve uygulamasının hayata geçirilmesi olmalıdır.