THE DEMAND FOR MORE/PRIVILEGED (THINGS):
Leisured Women, Consumption Practices, and Gated Community

Nilüfer TALU[*]
Burcu TAŞKIN[**]

Abstract

The great body of people struggles for identity construction through the things and practices to live up to a lifestyle. Living in the gated community means bordering the lives from the city life. By means of privileged houses, a gated community functions for the terms as privilege, prestige, safety and hygiene. This study questions consumption practices of women of a gated community in Izmir. While the informants having different education levels, they spend their leisure times in a similar scheme of life. They behave as social club members. They alter their personalities through their possessions, commodities and daily life objects that consumed in terms of design, fashion, style, and brand articulations. This paper analyzes consumption practices as leisure time activities and discuss material relations as the values of commodities in this socio-spatial context. Their happiness, the issue of 'demand for more' and satisfaction levels in relation with this living concept are emphasized.

Keywords: Consumption Culture, Leisured Women, Consumption Practices, The Values of Commodities, Gated Community

1. Social Identities in Consumption Culture: The Demand for More

Cultures could be examined with reference to some behaviors and practices of the society. The society is not only the aggregation of the individuals, but also a system with organizations and relations. Social life is created by human interactions that make the society unit (March et al., 1989: 160). The individual in a social network takes a social role to act as a cultural subject by the help of cultural traditions and everyday life. The social position of individual as a cultural subject of consumer society is understood as consumer practices within space and place contexts and material relations through the routine of daily life.

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[*] Öğr. Grv. Dr. İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü, Mimarlık Fakültesi Endüstri Ürünleri Tasarımı Bölümü,
E-mail: nilufertalu@iyte.edu.tr
[**] Arş Gör. İzmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü, Mimarlık Fakültesi Endüstri Ürünleri Tasarımı Bölümü
E-mail burcutaskin@iyte.edu.tr

Today we live in a consumption culture as a condition in history of modernity. The practices and spaces are referred to the division of society and 'the demand for more' that is considered in relevance of symbolic struggle--symbolic values of commodities. Centralization of media, shopping as the routine of everyday, and participation in leisure are characteristics of this cultural condition. The commodities as possessions are displayed for life styles in association with social identities. The great body of people struggles for identity construction through the things and practices to live up to a lifestyle. Or the lifestyles are grouped and named in relevance of the things, practices and identities. For Mansvelt (2005: 81), "[…] individuals create, affirm and contest social identities through consumption practices." The consumption goods are defined as 'touchstone' for identity construction (Rowland, 1994: 150). While the shopping practice is routine, identity construction is relational, or posititioned according to the other (Mansvelt, 2005: 82). Similar practices, similar spaces and their material relations positioned social identities within social groups as exogenous conditions. Baudrillard (1998: 193) defines that as "[…] the tragic dimension of identity."

Dominant classes dictate symbolic struggle for luxury rare things, distinctive life styles and the withdrawal from the common things and practices outmoded (Bourdieu, 1984: 251). The notion of taste works as a marker of social boundaries: explains taste as: "At each level of the distribution, what is rare and constitutes an inaccessible luxury or an absurd fantasy for those at an earlier or lowerlevel becomes banal and common, and is relegated to the order of the taken-for-granted by the appeereance of new, rarer and more distinctive goods; and, once again, this happens without any intentional pursuit of distinctive, distinguished rarity" (Bourdieu, 1984: 247, 249).

The demand for more expensive things; fashion products as equivalent of style or the things harder to obtain are supported by advertising strategies of media. Fashion is operative for the privilege of upper classes, and the value is produced in change and novelty. Fashion asserts the change as the dialogue between identity and cloth, cosmetic and body related material means (Kawamura, 2005). Even happiness is defined in relevance of demanded possessions with symbolic meanings. Baudrillard (1998: 50) words: "Happiness has to be *measurable*. It has to be a *well-being*

measurable in terms of objects and signs […]" Happiness is produced in values as equivalent of having such possessions of people's imaginations and beliefs. Of course, the meaning of well-lived life standard is different from culture to culture as Igor Kopytoff (1986: 66) mentioned. However, among other things, there is always different life standards for societies that are controlled by the media. For Veblen, any modern community requires for physical comfort, and there is a desire to live up to the conventional standard of living in association with the amount of things consumed. Since the desire is not rational, the standards are flexible and extremely increasable. There is no invariable standard. When people adopted to any large scale of conspicuously wasteful expenditure, it becomes indispensable. Once they are accustomed to large scale integrating it into the daily life, it is very hard to recede from this scale or high living standards to a relatively lower (Veblen, 2007: 70). Marx (1976: 741) explains how extravagant wastefulness becomes a conventional degree as 'an exhibition of wealth,' 'a source of credit' and 'a business necessity' for the capitalist: "Luxury enters into capital's expenses of representation."

2. The Demand For More/Privileged: The Theory of Conspicuous Consumption

The demand for more for social esteem, the desire to increase wealth and consumption scale, it is the well-known leisure class context, remains to be criticized in many writings (Odabaşı 1999: 18, Erkip 2005: 90-1). The argument needs to acknowledge Veblen's work, the theory of leisure class. His theory on 'conspicuous consumption'and 'conspicuous leisure' is still functioning to examine 'greed of our culture' and upper circles of society's desire for privileged life to lower level (Veblen, 2007). The main characteristics of conspicuous leisure is abstention from productive labour that is evidence of pecuniary strength. The vulgarly productive occupation is a mark of poverty. Moreover, "Abstention from labour is not only a honorific or meritorious act, but it presently comes to be a requisite of decency" (Veblen, 2007: 31). He explains the term 'leisure' as: "[It …] nonproductive consumption of time. Time is consumed non-productively (1) from a sense of the unworthiness of productive work, and (2) as an evidence of pecuniary ability to afford a life of idleness" (Veblen, 2007: 33). Conspicuous consumption manifests in the vicarious consumption of goods as another means of gaining the respect and emulation of the others. The consumption of certain foods and beverages indicates the superior class. The most effective form is

hiring livery servants in great number. Another form is the consumption of food, clothing, dwelling, furniture and domestic goods by the lady (Veblen, 2007: 49). In Veblen's teory, there are three traits: 1. Through the practices and things, vicarious consumption is based on symbolic value; 2. Conspicious consumption is indispensable for class struggle. 3. Emphasize on woman figure who is characterized as a lady manifesting all vicarious markings--from luxury and abstention from labour--on her body. "The consumption of luxuries, in the true sense, is a consumption directed to the comfort of the consumer himself, and is, therefore, a mark of the master" (Veblen, 2007: 51). Conspicuous consumption of luxury and rare goods is indispensable requirement for gentleman's reputation (Veblen, 2007: 53). In the guidance of pecuniary decency, the lady is positioned as valuable as the evidence of pecuniary strenght. Thus "She is useless and expensive, and […] valuable […]" (Veblen, 2007: 99). Her clothing must be expensive, luxury, up to date. Dominant norms of dress indicates the means of abstention from labour work (Veblen, 2007: 113).

3. Gated Community: A Privileged Living Style in Socio-Spatial Context

"We get into place, move and stay there with our bodies. But the fact is neither innocent nor trivial; it is momentous in its consequences. It is also massively obvious, despite being massively overlooked in previous treatments of space and place" (Casey, 1997: 239).

Gated community is simply defined as "[…] a spatial zone that is separated from its surroundings by a wall or fence, with access controlled by gates" (Lemanski, 2005: 2). Gated community, of course more than this, is a new form as the dream of modern culture providing safety place to its alienated individuals. It creates its own community in modern individualized world. In his *Community: Seeking Safety in an Insecure World,* Bauman (2001) points out community as a 'paradise lost' where we could relax and feel safe. House is the symbol of mother's womb (Freud, 1955: 435). It is the place, where we need to feel safe. For Porteous, home is the territorial core (Porteous, 1976). It is just possible to construct safe house in relevance of place. If the place is safe then the house is safe. Thus, a house in a community refers safety and security. Paul Stollard, whose research is focused on improving community safety

through housing design, points out six criteria: surveillance, neighbourhood (people who know their neighbors, watch over and protect their neighborhoods as part of their territory), the strict differentiation between public and private spaces; potential hiding places; comprehensive approaches (more secure site layout; security of private areas including safer car parking; making entry into dwellings more difficult); collaborative approaches (regulations, management) (Stollard, 1991: 21-9). Accordingly, in literature, the gated communities are defined as secure places behind the walls and gates, full-time security system for residents. Many of them have serious legal mechanisms to manage the lives inside these spaces.

The four key dimensions of socio-spatial relations are territories, places, scales, and networks. For socio-spatial theory, the tendency to privilege is examined on at least one of these dimensions and their interactions. The distinct issues on territory, place, scale, and network reflect differences in research object, shifts in their relative importance in different research fields and historical contexts, and, to some extent, intellectual fashion cycles (Jessop et al., 2008: 389-401). To define gated community, requires to understand socio-spatial perspective and the emphasize on spatial dialectics. It involves elit, privileged social class with similar consumption behaviours providing the rich examination of historical materialism. The gated communities and their privileged class could be analysed in relevance of spatial dialectics. Socio-spatial organization functions as territorial framework of capitalism. The spatial problematics position class struggle within class relations of organized spaces. Spatial struggle seems to substitute for class distinction (Soja, 1980: 215).

One of the most criticized issue could be the creation of space as privileged isolation. It refers to the term, 'lived space' that is exactly divergent; the space of representation, complex symbol systems and resistance (Allen 2014: 260, Ryan 1993). The space that is separated with barriers such as security system and walls, creates isolation from public use. This feature of gated community stimulates social fragmentation. (Usal, 2009: 2). Identities are the socio-spatial productions of lived spaces where the names are not important but the narratives of lived on the margins and social positioning in relevance of the other. The other is named to keep spatial territory (Allen, 2014: 270). These borders become barricades for low cost housings and inferior social classes around it (Lemanski, 2005: 5). For Renaud Goix and Chris

Webster, the idea of gated communities does not originate in America, many lands have isolated communities in different forms. Besides, they claim "the social and systemic costs--territorial outcomes--of cities made up of residential clubs, considering, in particular, the issue of segregation" (Goix et al., 2008: 1189). The people of gated communities do not socialize with the outer neighborhoods. Since they are only members of their 'clubs'. The leisure time activities are determined by the club, according to the opportunities that gated community supplies. The individuals alter theirselves from the other citizens in this socio-spatial context. Like the Veblen's leisure class this new type of society is revitalization of the leisure class. It indicates withdrawal from common spaces operating areas as gross markets, shopping centers, educational areas, greenery areas behind its walls and controlled gates. Evan Mckenzie (2005: 187-203) claims that the gated communities have not happened in a vacuum, they share similar characteristics with common interest developments.

Social systems, A business, a company, an army, or a nation, only exist as long as people pay attention to the goals of systems. Thus, social systems emphasize their goals, and in turn these goals structure their members' attention, giving shape to the selves of those who are part of the system. The relationship between social systems and personal consciousness, each structuring and being structured by the other, is so delicate as being circular: "The process that explains how social systems survive by structuring the attention of individuals -and incidentally, avoids circularity in the argument- is socialization. Whenever a person begins to interact with another individual or a group, at first the respective goals will tend to be out of phase" (Csikszent et. al., 1981: 7).

When the distance of land to the city center decreases, the exchange value of land increases. Design concept of gated community and the demand for the issues such as security, hygiene, social status, prestige also makes the land valuable. Main characteristics of gated communities could be rest on the items: globalization and socio-economic dynamics; the statement of new elites and their life-styles; the need for class and individual differentiation; individualization with fashion as expression of tastes and values; the need for security, and safety in city; and the privatization of public space (Baycan et al., 2007: 3).

The advertisements focus on gated communities as a new desire concept. Woodlands is the first residential neighborhood estate in South Africa. As one example of hundreds, the advantages of living in a gated community are summed up successfully in the website of Woodlands: health and fitness; living close to nature; high-level security; information technology, and living in style (Landman, 2002: 7). In Turkey, the advertisements produced the statements such as 'this is your dream house', 'you will find what you want'. For instance, in the advertising text of İstanbul Akasya, it is enlisted that: artificial lake, schools, greenery area, theatre, cinema, restaurants, concert hall, and shopping malls with new luxury brands. As another example, in the webpage advertisement of İzmir Yüksek Vadi, the statistics of occupation of households are given to emphasize the households' intellectual and educational levels. This behavior originates in the Turkish proverb 'do not buy a house, buy a neighborhood', which means do not buy any house without knowing the people around it. People do not only desire a good and safe house, but also desire to live in a neighborhood where prestigious people of upper classes live. The advertisements of the gated communities usually produce discourses putting emphasize on professions of people who prefer to live these houses.

The advertisement codes the idea that living in a gated community means living in an ideal or a style. For instance, unlike the Europe (Gooblar, 2002: 321-34), in the Turkish case, the major reason to live in a gated communities is not fear of crime (Baycan et al., 2007). The ideal of 'westernization' supports the gated community as housing type and European life style for the middle-income society.

Demanding a house more than a humble home is only understood in terms of economic, and symbolic values as style, prestige, identity and self. It is demanding for a place having capacity to reflect our lifestyles. It represents who we are. Just as Marcus examines house as 'a mirror of self' and searches the deeper meaning of home as an expression of social identity. The cost; the style; the neighborhood location; the level of maintenance involved all are perceived as a vehicle of communication and display. The symbolic role of the house functions to understand the identity of owners through their income levels, statuses, cultural values, and so on (Marcus, 1997: 9). A house in a gated community is a commodity, that has exact exchange value and it is

always a potential commodity, even it becomes singular such as family home, heritage. It has prestige value as a representational and divergent space.

To sum up, in these communities behind the gates, the social space is stated as a representational world through sign and symbolic values in the context of privileged class.

4. Case Study: A Gated Community in İzmir

The number of gated communities increases day by day in İzmir. The selected gated community is an identical one that located in the north İzmir on around 350.000 m^2 in 2011. The study interviews with its ten individuals without focusing on gated community as a brand with its name. It currently hostesses thousand families. Having upper-middle income, the individuals are generally married, and well-educated. The community is characterized mainly in safety and priority issues in its advertisements. Safety is emphasized as follows: gates; three infrared cameras around it; quake-resistance report of the location. Then the priorities are listed to motivate the potential customers: various house plan types, regulations, and leisure activities. It has eight different architectural plans, varying from 60 m^2 to 180 m^2. The community creates its own regulations, management rules to keep its proper sphere and to sustain the standards of the place for its survivals. Opportunities for leisure activities are ballpark, mini golf course, shopping mall, play ground, restaurant, and recreation area. It also offers specific regulations, control system, and specialized leisure activities. The personal information about the individuals of community are not provided by the management of community.

5. Research Methodology

The main literature on consumption theories determines the gated communities as a social club that has similar interests and characteristics even the intellectual and economical differences. In the light of the literature, the research questions the individuals as atoms of this community. The study searches the main criteria of individuals to prefer to live in a gated community. The daily needs of them in relevance of practices and things are searched. The values of the objects are aimed to be contextualized in the socio-spatial perspective. For these purposes, this qualitative research is conducted with interviews as individual documentary-style. Ten

individuals ranging in ages from twenties to fifties, in income levels from middle to upper-middle are interviewed. All participants are women. To remind that Thorstein Veblen's conspicuous consumption cannot be considered without the role and the position of women figure. The research pursued with a survey based on the elements such as security, hygiene, division of the social class economically, and intellectually, consumption practices, material relations, outcomes of being far from the city centre and object-value factors through their lifestyles. The research focuses on the practices, things and material relations to define the demands of the individuals in this socio-spatial context. While doing this the study also questions their happiness in relevance of living in a gated community.

The survey based on four key factors to explore;

1. General identification (Gender, age, educational degree, husband's occupation, home ownership, and number of household)

2. The consumption practices (Market types, shopping frequency, transportation preferences and consume/use ratio)

3. The demand for more/privileged (The values as symbolic, exchange and functional)

4. Object preferences, (Design, style, brand, functionality, safety, quality, eco-friendly, healthy, and price)

Interviews are conducted at participants' homes. The interview questions are open-ended and the participants do not limited by the survey. The study observes that during the interviews, the participants are very eager to be critical for their neighbours in the context of conspicuous consumption. The households' critics about their neighbors are taken into consideration as fifth factor to understand this 'social club:'

5. Critiques on neighbours (Positive and negative)

For the research, the survey part had difficulties to access the informants because of the lack of confidence of people in the gated communities. This situation could be a part of analysis of the social mistrustfulness in Turkish gated communities. Thus, the study do not prefer to give the name of the gated community. Besides, the study finds it unnecessary. Since the main focus of the study is consumer society.

6. Findings

6.1. General Identification

Participant 1 (P1) is 34 years old, having university degree in Art. Her husband is an engineer. Participat 2 (P2) is 40 years old marine engineer. Her husband is shipmaster. Participant 3 (P3) is 23 years old economist. Her husband is craftsman. Participant 4 (P4) is 46 years old with university degree in sports academy. Her husband is shipowner. Participant 5 (P5) is 55 years old nurse. Her husband is doctor. Participant 6 (P6) is 40 years old with high school degree. Her husband works as self-employment. They have a child. Participant 7 (P7) is 42 years old with elemantry school degree. Her husband is craftsman. Participant 8 (P8) is 31 years old with high school degree. Her husband is technician. Participant 9 (P9) is 38 years old with high school degree. Her husband is bookkeeping clerk. Participant 10 (P10) is 30 years old with elementary school degree. Her husband is jeweller. They all are homeowners except P3. P1,6 have two cars. P2,3,4,5,7,8,9,10 have one car. The ages of women are various and balanced between 20s-50s. Educational levels are five university degree, three high school degree, two elementary school degree. The number of households are two persons for P1,3,4,7; three persons for P2,6,8,9,10; and four persons for P5. Four participants live as husband-wife; five participants live as husband-wife plus one; and one participant lives as husband-wife plus two. All participants do not prefer to work except P1. P1 thinks to get a job as soon as possible. The income levels are analysed as upper-middle and middle income levels.

6.2. Consumption Practices

Ten persona (P1, ..., 10) all hire menial service to get cleaned their houses. The period of cleaning is very flexible that it changes according to the informants' want from once a week/month to three times a week. The only two persona (P1, and 7) are interested in domestic productions such as knitting.

Six persona (P1, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 10) prefer having dinner at home. P2 usually orders dinner to home. P3 usually has dinner at restaurant. P6 has dinner either at home or restaurant. P8 has dinner either at restaurant or order to home.

Three persona (P1,9, and 10) go shopping just for needs. Seven persona (P2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8) state that shoping is fun rather than need. To them, they often buy

the uncessary things in their shopping practices. Five persona (P1, 4, 6, 8, and 10) wear less than %50 of their clothes and the other five (P2, 3, 5, 7, and 9) wear more than %50 of their clothes. All participants accept that they have too much clothes more than their needs. Four persona (P1, 2, 3, and 8) read more than %50 of their books; while six persona (P4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10) read less than %50 of their books.

Two persona (P1, and 8) spend their leisure times in producing at home for hobbies as knitting. Eight persona (P2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10) spend their leisure times as shopping. The routine visited places are marked as mall, market, bazaar, internet and foreign country. The most visited place for shopping is exactly mall and the second place is internet. Daily life needs are various as foods and drinks, dress and finery, cosmetics, household goods, electronic products and books.

Table 1. Objects-Markets Relations

	Shopping from…						
	Mall	Internet	Market	Bazaar	Boutique	Foreign country	Other
Daily needs (food, drink, etc)	P2,3,4,5,6,7,8		P1,10	P9			
General needs (furniture, electronics, household goods, etc)	P2,3,5,6,7,8	P9	P10	P1		P4	
Fashion products (Dress and Finery)	P1,2,4,5,8	P1,3,6,9			P7		P10
Cosmetics	P2,3,5,6,7,8,10	P9				P4	
Books	P2,3,5,6,8,10	P4,9					P1,7
Total (persona)	5-7	1-4	1-2	1	1	1	1-2

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Six persona (P2, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 10) go shopping in all leisure times more than three times a week. P1 goes shopping less than once a week when she really needs.

Two persona (P3, and 6) go shopping twice a week. P 8 goes shopping at weekends. The distance to the most visited market is 0-3 km for four persona (P1, 2, 3, and 4). For five persona (P5, 6, 8, 9, and 10), the distance is 0-5 km. Only P7 visits a market in walking distance and only P9 uses public transportation. All the other goes shopping by their cars. Two persona (P6, and 7) consume fuel oil tank once a month; while six persona (P1, 2, 3, 4, 9, and 10) consume more than once a month; and P8 consumes more than twice a month. All of them use plastic bags. All them says that they would prefer eco-friendly products. Four persona (P1, 3, 8, and 10) cash payment or credit card. Six persona (P2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9) pay with credit card with taxes. Six persona (P3, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) wait for discount. Three persona (P2, 9, and 10) buy lottery tickets.

Table 2. Frequency of Shopping

Frequency of shopping		
In all leisure times		When it is necessary
Three times a week and more	Twice a week	once a week
P2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10	P3,6,8	P1
6 persona	3 persona	1 persona

Table 3. Leisure Time Activities

Spending leisure time with…			
Shopping	Hobbies	Domestic productions	Resting
P2,3,4,5,6,8	P1	P7	P9,10
6 persona	1 persona	1 persona	2 persona

6.3. The Demand for More/Privileged

Except P1, all of them state that they desire more priviledged, expensive house (Table 4). Only P1 says that she wants to live in a modest village house. The others; P8, and 9 says that they would prefer to live in a residence; and P10 want to move a villa. Five persona (P2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7) want to live in a water side house with high security which is really dream as very hard to obtain. For P1, the distance of a village house to her husband's working place is the main obstruction (Table 5). P6, and 8 states that their dream house; a luxury residence, is not exist in Izmir. Six persona (P2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7), saying simply too expensive, confess how their dream as waterside

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house is based on superior pecuniary strength. Only the P1's dream house requires lower pecuniary level. Nine persona (P2,…,10) desire to live more privileged houses that require higher pecuniary level.

The study asks them: Are you happy living in a gated community? Eight of them says yes, who at the same time imagine to live in a higher standard; but two of them, P1 who wants to live in a village house and P6, the dreamer of water side house, say no (Table 6).

7 persona (P2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 10) clarify that they live in a gated community since it is safety (Table 7). P6 says that we live in here since it is far from the crowd of the city. P9 says that living in a gated community is privileged and to buy a house in this place is very expensive. P1 does not consider gated community as a privileged space. Eight persona (P2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) support privileged education as private school or private lessons, but two persona (P1, and 2) express negative views (Table 8).

Table 4. Dream Houses

…. is my dream house			
Waterside house with high security	Villa House with garden	Village house as natural environment	Residence as advanced design
P2,3,4,5,6,7	P10	P1	P8,9
5 persona	1 persona	1 persona	2 persona

Table 5. Obstructions for Dream House

The reason behind not living in dream house….		
Distance	It does not exist in Izmir	Expensive
P1	P6,8	P2,3,4,5,7,9,10
1 persona	2 persona	7 persona

Table 6. Questioning for Happiness

Happy in gated community	
Happy	Not Happy
P2,3,4,5,7,8,9,10	P1,6
8 persona	2 persona

Table 7. Questioning of Gated Community in Socio-Spatial Context

Gated community is priviledged or not			
Safety	Far from city crowd	Expensive	No, it is not priviledged
P2,3,4,5,7,8,10	P6	P9	P1
7 persona	1 persona	1 persona	1 persona

Tablo 8. The Demand for Privileged

The Demand for Privileged		
Supporting/Affording private school	Supporting/Affording private lessons	The demand for more priviledged, expensive house
P2,3,4,6,7,9,10	P2,3,4,6,8	P2,…,10
7 persona	5 persona	9 persona

6.4. Object Preferences

P1 buys mostly materials and tools for her hobbies and mostly interested in books. P1 prefers buying 'design' products. She puts emphasize on the term design. P2 mostly buys and follows dress and finery and domestic goods. She prefers buying branded things. P3 buys mostly clothes and follows fashion products as dress and finery. She always buys brand products. Four persona (P4, 5, 7, and 10) mostly buy clothes and follow clothes; P4 emphasizes the cheap price of the product as the most important criterion. For P7 the most important criterion to buy a product is its comfort. As for P10, its optimum price and being its eco friendly. P6 mostly buys cosmetics and follows fashion products. She chooses according to aesthetic value. P8, and 9 mostly buys kitchen tools and products; and P8 follows magazines. P8 buys eco friendly products; while P9 buys products with the cheapest price. The terms appears as design, brand, fashion, (cheap and optimum) price, comfort, eco-friendly, and aesthetic value. All these terms interact with the shoppers in terms of symbolic, use and exchange values.

6.5. Critiques on Neighbours

Three persona (P1, 2, and 3) meet her neighbours once a week; while four persona (P7, 8, 9, and 10) twice a week. The negative thoughts of participants about the neighbours: they are impolite (P1); they are beggar on horseback(P2); P6 does not

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like her neighbours; they are gentle and modest but high flown (P9). Positive thoughts: they are elite people and superior (P4); they are modest people (P7); they are very tolerant (P8); they are sophisticated and tolerant (P10). Five persona (P3, 4, 7, 9, and 10) say that when they buy something new, they show them to their neighbours. Some of them are very critical; P4 says that: "The neighbours want to show how they are rich. They are always meeting with friends to talk about their money;" and P9 amazingly gives a weight to an anecdot: "The wedding ceremony of one of our neighbour's son was surprised us... He always purchases very expensive rare brand cloths and has high priced things. Thus, our expectation was that 'they will rent very extravagant place for the ceremony', but they rented a cheap ghetto place of inferior class. Besides they said that 'we choose this place because we will fly to Miami for honeymoon', but they are in Antalya. They are very vulgarian."

7. Conclusion

Gated community is another form of introverted social clubs in socio-spatial context. The terms territory and place are operative on the concept of privilege life scheme. In the guidance of the scheme of life, individuals become similar. The individuals are atoms of this society. They live like members of a social club in ease and comfort. The focused women manifest theirselves as daily life shoppers. They have certain practices as patterns of their daily lives: visiting malls, driving and fulling oil tank, shopping, and meeting with neighbours. Although their educational levels are very different, their practices and material relations are very similar. Since the gated community functions for them as a social club. The shopping practice is centralized leisure time activity in their life scheme. They mostly buy clothes and ordinary daily life things -design, brand, and fashion products- raher than rare things that hard to obtain.

In consumption society happiness is measured according to the standard of living. It is a desire to live up to the conventional standard of society. Having exact possessions is indispensable requirement of the canon of pecuniary decency, that manifests in happiness discourses of individuals. Individuals in the same social group tend to compare their possession with the others. So they search happiness, at the same time, in the equality of possessions. But individuals are never satisfied with what they

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have and desire more. Because the standard is flexible and extensible. The individuals are easily accustomed to an exact standard of living and desire to raise upper level and larger scale of expenditure in the amount and grade of goods consumed. Most of the interviewes state that they are happy living in these privileged houses. But again, they demand to live more privileged houses like a waterside house that is exact mark of superior. Participants' dream houses are the desires that focused on the possessions' symbolic and exchange values in relevance of pecuniary emulation and socio-spatial differentiation.

Within middle and upper-middle class, there is an unsatisfied-leisured women living in a gated community. They appreciate exact statuses what they have but demand for more privileged, besides invest value shopping for clothes in leisured times. Thus, individuals of consumption society seem to be unsatisfied.

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