CHAPTER IV

NEOLIBERAL WORK, RISK, UNCERTAINTY AND GATED COMMUNITIES IN ISTANBUL

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1. Introduction

There are some studies on the gated communities of Istanbul, however they are mostly focus on neoliberalization, globalization of Istanbul, and the increasing link between Turkey and global markets/economy, suburbanization, emerging new middle class, urban segregation etc., however our approach is a novel one. This paper takes the issue of gated communities from a broader perspective and focus on the questions: why have the gated communities become so popular? Why so many people feel they need to live/reside/take refuge in them? And above all what is the relationship between globalization, neoloberalization of the city (Istanbul) and anxiety, fear, insecurity, risk society and uncertainties, erosion of trust which have become prevalent in Turkey and rising popularity and demand of gated communities?

For a long time, cities have been seen as spaces of physical expression of social interactions, actions and ideologies (Fainstein, 2001; Harvey, 1985). For that reason, physical changes in public space may be highly explicative in understanding large scaled public changes. As a matter of fact, cities may take a main role in the formation of daily life, as in the example of neoliberalism. Even though the efforts of authors such as (Harvey 1989 and 1985; Hackworth 2007, pp. 79-97) and Smith (1996; 1990) become prominent in that area, the lack of sufficient studies still remains as a general problem. This is especially true for Turkey too. In this study, we evaluate the public fear and uncertainty experienced recently in Turkey, especially in Istanbul in neoliberal changes context. Within this scope, this paper attempts to find out the realities related to risk and uncertainties of the daily lives of the individuals living in 'gated

communities' that have emerged in the process of neoliberalism in Istanbul.

In the mid-1970s, the consequences of rising neoliberal policies all over the world soon turned into a reality that influenced all areas of daily life (Harvey, 2007). But the political and economic moves on to neoliberlization in Turkey, we see mostly in the 1980s. These years have also been the years when the public shrunk rapidly through privatizations and free market practices have become the dominant determinant factors (Keleş, 2008). While all these transformations were taking place in the metropolitan area in Turkey with the 1990s (especially in Istanbul) a 'new middle class' which was the product of global works/employment and the new services sectors had emerged and gained visibility as an urban reality. The fact that all kinds of work activities of these 'new middle classes' take place in global contexts it has brought about the everyday life that brings with them close and indifference to local operations and local city experiences. In addition, as the levels of income, combined with their higher education levels, which were increasing comparing to the local laborers, the 'traditional modern city' experiences have become 'unwanted social burden' in the name of their everyday lives. Therefore, as all such other examples seen in the world, an unique urban practices so called 'gated communities'-a new kind of residential production-has emerged as a specific new requirements of this 'new middle classes' in Turkey in the 90s.

In the process of becoming a globalized world city, Istanbul is filling up with the gated communities, modern office buildings, five-star hotels,and luxury consumption areas that offer world famous brands by the 2000s. The rapid and unprecedented expansion of gated communities took many as surprise. Considering that the number of houses in Istanbul is 5.3 million, more than 10% of the current city is located in such settlements and more than 1 million people live in such settlements in total (Şahin, 2019). Gated communities have emerged as a significant sociological phenomenon in Istanbul so we decided to carry out the field research in the city.

In this context this chapter has two key aims. First, to broaden our knowledge of the nature and extent of gated communities in Istanbul, second, it considers the emergence of gated communities in the neoliberal city context in relation with culture of fear, anxiety, risk society and uncertainties, and discusses the reasons for their increasing numbers and popularity.

2. Risk and anxiety in the new era

Risk, according to the Douglas, can be understood as a social and political construct. Nothing is inherently risky "out there", but anything can be treated as a risk if a group of people claims that it has the potential

to adversely affect their interest and values (Dougles and Wildavsky, 1982, p. 7). In other words, `each form of social life has its own typical risks portfolio. Common values lead to common fear and, by implication, to a common agreement not to fear other things` (ibid., p. 8). In addition, `risk crystalizes, categories, and normalizes dangers, fears, and anxieties that define and limit a given society` (Hacking 2003, p. 17). On the other hand, for Beck, reflexive modernization has dissolved the traditional parameters of industrial societies. Traditions that used to directed and shaped life course, like class culture and consciousness, gender and family roles, the nuclear family, and life time employment have now been weakened and challenged. This development accompanied by high levels of anxiety and insecurity in return, these detraditionalizations happen *in a social surge of individualization* (Beck 1992, p. 87). Risks produced by late modernity are also the result of dramatic changes in the structure of private lives (Tulloch and Lupton, 2003, p. 4).

We see a distinct type of divergence carried within the present capitalist stratification comparing to the previous forms that we consider crucial in terms of our work in the analysis of modernism. What is common point in such types of analysis is the idea of impossibility of modernity to explain the reality experienced through 'holistic narratives' (Lyotard, 2014). The meaning of such an expression is that in these days we no longer live in similar conditions to the conditions of the early stages of modernism (Beck, 2011; Lyotard, 2014; Giddens, 2010).

Giddens argue that the modern institutions differ from all the former public order styles in that; their dynamism, traditional customs, the level of attrition of habits and global effects. At the same time, modern institutions affect the very personal parts of our lives as well as completely altering the nature of our daily lives in public interactions (2010, p. 11). In this context, the assumption of Giddens on 'beyond tradition societies' of today's era is, in a way an emphasis on the fact that the rational one is being opposed to 'the determinations of the traditional one'. This process which opposes to the routines and determinations belonging to the traditional one is the narrator of a process in which the suspicious one is being cantered. Another outcome of this process is the conversion of scientific criticism to daily routine lifestyle. The conversion being discussed resulted in the questioning based on 'radical doubt' to be pervasive. In all these contexts, daily conditions related to traditional life has been redesigned coherent to a new time and space construction (Giddens, 2010, p. 13). What we state about late modern/neoliberal is the redesigning of daily life according to ever radicalizing conditions. Thus, the changes modern life faces are amongst the main factors of the reason why emerging gated communities exist in cities. For this reason, throughout the study, we are going to continue to debate modern city as 'traditional modern' and 'late modern' city

according to its content and daily style by putting the stance of Giddens at the heart.

This change what Giddens expresses as it reorganization of time and space is also an emphasis of a narrative of uncertainties building a spatial context. In this respect, one of the most important qualities of late modern era (for us, neoliberal era) is it to form a new life form specific to the changes public space undergoes.As a consequence, what we come across where life's standards start to be shaped by a context of uncertainty, as well. Indeed, the neoliberal city reality that appears as a big uncertainty process has been reforming specific to mentioned contexts. The emergence of 'gated communities' (in our opinion) -just as in Istanbul- constitutes one of the ever-radicalizing spatial formation trends specific to uncertainty and fear atmosphere. As Douglas emphasizes (2005) 'security is a reality being built on the stability of the space'. However, when in neoliberal environment city and space is shaped around uncertainties day by day, gated communities appear as one of the reflexive life strategies of 'late modern individuals. In this respect, the demand of late modern individual of neoliberal city can be said to be one of the solution processes to stabilize life against the radical uncertainties of life with radical doubts.

When had a closer look to the emphasis of Beck on 'reflexive modernity' context, it is also the reality which led to gradual rise of 'passivity that condemn public attitude' stated by Furedi (2001, pp. 13-19). The housing presentation which is not independent of neoliberal employment (hence, new middle-class) is not unattached to the demand of a specific lifestyle to neoliberal jobs. Bauman -like Beck- points out the current state is inherent to neoliberal changes (Bauman, 2011; 2012a). Anxiety and fear factors which have become the main part of daily life have normalized fear culture that has never been seen before (Baumann, 2011, p. 59). He continues:

"Numerous locks on the house and yard doors, multi security systems, alarms, and surveillance cameras have passed to middle-class spaces from upper-class villas. Living behind mechanical locks, electronic walls, alarms, pepper gas, tear bomb and laser guns is a part of the survival strategies of an individual in cities."

According to Bauman, based on these behaviours such as avoiding, isolation or passivation have their specific economic backgrounds. Such uncertainties which come out with the transition from liberal conditions to neoliberal conditions turned the life of a late modern individual to a horror episode (2011). As part of world risk society, non-Western societies share with the West not only the same space and time, but also the same basic challenges of the second modernity (Beck, 2005). Therefore, this is paper suggests that Turkey have become part of the world risk society. In this respect studies like Delibaş (2017; 2013) and

Şahin (2019) dealing with various aspects of risk, anxiety, fear and uncertainties prevalent in contemporary Turkish society.

3. Neoliberal city, global jobs, insecurity and shift in everyday lives

As global jobs are rising on the hyper spacing networks (Jameson, 2009); in opposition, passivity and isolation strategies in local areas, namely the tendency to live in gated communities' increase. As a matter of fact, the state of uncertainty and uncanny of the jobs of late modern individuals produce similar 'risk, fear and uncertainties' in their lives. In this respect, the aim of 'questioning daily life shaped by employment' of this study is because of the valuable details being observed in terms of employment and life during our study. It is possible to utter that gated communities are preferred by the ones who work at neoliberal jobs, for they contain neoliberal lives within their scope. In this aspect, it is not seen possible to go very far without taking into account the content of neoliberal market where the images of 'new city' (neoliberal or late modern city) is being spoken. Because Bauman (2000) says that lives shaped on uncanny is resulted by markets full of uncanny and uncertainty. In such a world where permanency has become insignificant, building all the relationships on transience is merely an outcome (Sennett, 2011).

In this regards, Bourdieu emphasizes that these conditions make the future a ball of uncertainty, for the instability of today has been becoming a process which does not permit holding on to the future and planning it. For someone who cannot control the present, the future is nothing but an uncertainty. Individual lives that are outcomes of neoliberal conditions are being shaped on the basis of a huge future anxiety and uncanny anymore (1998). What make uncanny permanent are those repetitive conditions to weaken individuals as an actor. Hence, 'suspicion' is one of the important criteria of living safely where uncanny is at rise (namely, public space) (Giddens, 2010). In such conditions where permanent narratives comes to an end, stability increasingly becomes impossible; thus, flexible lives are turning into realities that are inured to base on the increase in 'uncanny'(Bauman, 2011, p. 142).

Another attractive property of neoliberal market conditions that attribute various compositions to individuals is that it is shaped in the 'flow' context. The 'real power' like Castells states in the new market conditions has become a power which exceeds the countries and reaches the global hallmarks anymore. However, the main feature of the real power is its 'state of flow' (Castells, 2008). This 'flow'; on the other hand, threatens every sort of stability and long-term narrative; therefore, interaction (Bauman, 2012b; 2017). When the images which arise in the new conditions are 'transient incidences', products of the flow, the narrative of traditional stability are getting worthless. Institutions which

take responsibility are vanishing one by one in a world where flow and transience has been normalized (Bauman, 2011, p.132). When individuals are obliged to take responsibility of every situation, they make 'personal biographies' or 'stories' 'closure' a way of life. The less effective and valuable 'institutions' with traditional sorts of social liabilities become against the global actors, the more this situated is gotten used to. In this respect, new market eradicated the social responsibilities of the heads in local as they free them (Bauman, 2012b; 2017).

In the new market in where individual performances are cantered on the stage, individuals perceive biographical solutions as difficult and laborious. However, when there is no institutional identity taking responsibility, the solutions can only be temporary, instant and even 'imaginary' qualities (Sennett, 2011; Bauman, 2012b). In a place where uncanny is at rise and individuals cannot produce permanent solutions to overcome depression it is necessary to compensate the absence of approachable solutions with imaginary solutions (Bauman, 2011, p. 133). The consequence is the rise of uncertainty and the permanency of unsafe living conditions. In this respect, while neoliberal labour market puts the flow in the context of freedom and self-confidence at the centre, it fundamentally advises in the context of risk those individuals to be driven into unstable lives. These new conditions, shaped in the context of 'more freedom`, and steadily moving away from permanent narratives, essentially promise more 'uncertainty' under the name of 'flexibility' (Sennett, 2012, pp. 10-11).

New economic conditions have begun to make work-induced instabilities (naturally, uncertainties) as deep as ever. This situation not only demolishes stability, but also it makes transience into the most logical life strategy. The business environments which are carried by the global financial actors have started to create a new business environment renewed by 'new capitalism' -or neoliberal economic conditions-, and a new concept of public relationships. 'In this new decentralizing world' (Hayek, 2010; Friedman, 2008), 'getting bored quickly' (and also not bearing the burden) has become one of the most classical behaviours. It is no longer possible to postpone gratification or living disciplinarily while amorphous working conditions encourage foresighted lives. Temporary lives are outcomes of new impermanent conditions and especially work conditions (Sennett, 2012, pp. 29-30). As a result, long term neighbourhood and neighbour interactions of traditional modern city have altered to social burdens 'late modern individuals cannot bear.

There is no obligation to show self-control in this world, for self-controlled behaviour is unable to regulate when all is transient. Impermanent relationships have rendered human interactions worthless (Bauman, 2011). As the 'arrow of time broke', shallowness has become a way of life. However, shallow lives channelled individuals to itself by

defeating all the public characters. This focus is in fact is withdrawing to oneself. People live facile lives any longer because profundity and permanency-indexed life styles are much different to abilities to bear responsibility. In order to deal with the ambiguities existing in the space where everything is temporary, the individuals particularly avoid the permanent contacts and the social obligations of their products. For this reason, superficiality has become the best everyday life strategy. It is not possible to descent deep where flexibility and flow dominate. Sociality which does not have a realistic touch and that does not even allow it, and city life that is compatible with it is the norm. "The flexibility process creates a wall between the surface and the depth; the weak rules of the flexibility regime can only grasp what is on the surface" (Sennett, 2012, p. 74). For this reason, in the new era, permanent types of relationships are becoming increasingly unworthy. While life is lived amongst uncertainties permanency cease to be logical (or rational). In this case, uncertainties based on public life subsequently present significant details. Hence, the answers to the uncertainties of public life or the real reason for insecurity are becoming clearer.

4. Methodology

Our study was conducted in contexts that are specific to the qualitative research, and our target audience was selected within the framework of 'non-probability sampling model'. However, due to the prudence of the concerned audience and their avoidance of using the public spaces of the traditional modern city, access to them was difficult. For this reason, it was tried to reach the appropriate samples by using the 'snow boll technique' in order to reach the relevant audience. The interviews were started with 5 people reached within the framework of our different references at the beginning and by using snow ball technique we reached in total 57 people (29 male, 28 female). The entire interview group consists of people living in gated communities in various parts of Istanbul (13 different regions).The reason for the termination of the study in 57 th person was due to the fact that the responds were frequently repeated itself and the research team decided to finalize the field work after 57th person. Interviews conducted during the field research were conducted through in-depth interview technique and audio recordings were taken during each interview with permission from the interviewers. A total of 50 hours (49.13 hours) of audio recording was compiled and analysed within the context of discourse analysis within the context of discourse analysis technique. In spite of the large data group, the data group shared in this study is a small scale in terms of our study. In terms of the fact that we can continue to argue as a 'case study' based on what we consider to be very important in the context of the construction of the relevant research, we did not see a limited sharing of

this faceted sharing dimension on the grounds that it did not cast a shadow on meaning.

5. Results

5.1. Uncertainty and the employment

The most distinctive feature of the interview group in this study was the fact that they had very intense and uncertain work tempo. A vast majority of the interview group within this investigation stated that it was not likely to separate working time and private time (in terms of working at home vs. at work) in terms of themselves or their partners. Participants expressed that they generally do similar jobs related to their employment in their private lives -in other words, outside the work-. In addition to working tempo, answers related to the uncertainties of working hours were usually encountered.

As a first example, 'Participant 9',[1] working as a general manager at a shipyard with extensive global connections, has used expressions that emphasize the extent of the uncertainty of the excessively intensive business climate that has existed for many years. The 'Participant', in his speech expresses that intensive working hours produce 'necessities' which steals from his private time. The reason for excessive work tempo is closely related to the uncertain rhythm of his job. For people like him, 'when neoliberal job sets its aims on top of uncertainties' (Sennett, 2012), every situation that the job is not finished make it hard to perceive a permanent success in life. Therefore, that is the reason why employees make such a work discipline 'an obligation' or 'a need' by themselves. When the success criterion of the job becomes ambiguous for the workers, the job turns into a tempo aiming to finish the job given. However, the 'ongoing' context of a new job is a way of justification their long and tiring working pace.

> We work 11- 12 hours a day… We start working at eight am. We go home at 20.30-21.00 in the evening. On Saturdays, I work until 4 pm (15.00-16.00). I have not been working on Sundays for the past five years, but I worked on Sundays before. I used to always work two -three Sundays of the month. As we institutionalized, it got lesser... but we used to work 15 hours a day before that. Nobody tells me to "stay. We have responsibilities, we have consciousness. I have to stay at work. (Participant 9, aged 42)

Another participant who stated the uncertain work tempo and very intense working conditions is 'Participant 37'.[2] When looked at how he expresses the intensity at work, the fact that there is no "notion of

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[1]Participant 9; 42 yearsold, maleengineerworking as general manager at a shipyard.

[2] 'Participant 37'; 43 yearsold, a maleengineer- company consultant,working as a consultant in a company.

space" for him is easily understood. Because, he says that there is no such notion as "weekend, or day-night" for him

The points 'Participant 37' makes, is the stamen of how he could not manage to clear out the boundaries between his job and personal life in his daily life. What he expresses as "the pace is always rising" is nothing but his working rhythm pulling himself to its swirl. In such a condition, when jobs dominate social life, success is merely getting caught up in work. For this reason, 'when no progress is a failure criterion in a new job', it is necessitated to let the flow of jobs which includes all sorts of uncertainties dominate social life by workers. He (Participant 37), naturally had to "marry his job" in a case where the job dominates the social life of him. Because, the job controls the borders of his life (time, space, sociality, etc.) by making it uncertain in every aspect.

5.2. Neoliberal employment, flow and flexibility

As employment/working flows on the basis of 'mobility' under the new conditions, it became a reality which no longer can promise permanency. Under such conditions, given that all is overlaid on 'transience', 'traditionalism' has turned into unnecessary repetitions for those who work at such jobs. Because, in the new world where 'the flow and mobility of the job' is important, such things like traditionalism or locality are realities which may hinder the flow and the mobility. In this respect, global mobility and pace inherent to the 'nature of the new employment' are the explicative of the lost permanence of daily lives as well as making individuals 'movement freak'. As a matter of fact, the statements of the 'Participant 52'[3] tells the story of the situations that make 'uncertainty' permanent by getting caught up in the flow of the job.

At this point, when success cannot produce a social narrative about life, it ensures that the individual's satisfaction with the job makes not to stop until the job is finished a job responsibility (or ethics). Because in their lives there is not a permanent indication which give feedback to them other than the state of the package works.

When looked at the rhythm of the flow, the house that the Participant tells has strayed from being a product of fixed and permanent conditions to a stopover point where their global flows are organized; moreover, a mere "train station" -phrased by Sennett- (2012). When his business trips, which he says to happen two or three times a month, has become the work rhythm of his partner, the organization of private life reveals an organizational condition in the context of "no conflict of business trips" instead of in the context of their togetherness. Inevitably, the house becomes a space designed according to this organization. In fact, what emerges without these individuals being aware is the fact that the house is

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[3] 'Participant 52': 39 yearsold, is a femaleengineerworking as a manager in a company.

not a private space belonging to them, but it to become a space where they are taking a break in the name of their jobs in the flow of their businesses.

> I have business trip tempo due to my employment. It mainly consists of domestic business trips... My partner also has travel tempo. We are paying attention these trips to coincide. In order to be able to look after children… We have an assistant here to support us. (Participant 52, aged 39)

Participant 1',[4] like 'Participant 52' emphasizes 'necessity of the job' as he tells the dizzying state of the flow. The intense travel pace of the Participant's job due to its global (neoliberal) connections has turned into a very ordinary situation in his life. This case corresponds to the point which Bauman (2012b) states 'touristizingglobals'. As a matter of fact, for these people, as movement is a lifestyle, 'stopping' or 'being based on the local' is the biggest worry factor. This is the reason why such individuals avoid permanent relationships in the city and their daily lives.

Participant 37, is telling us how 'flexible job' and 'flexible time' condition had appeared. The 'flexible capacity of his work' has been the cause of his losing control of the boundaries between his private life and working life. The point which made: "for me there is no difference between home and work" is in fact the narrator of how much work can be a part of his personal life.

5.3. New Jobs, competition and the breakdown of permanent relationships

Our data indicates that almost all of the participants have attributed positive meanings to past experiences (traditional modern city experiences in their childhood). In addition, in the 'cities of their childhood' that each Participant described while telling their stories regarding 'traditional modern city'; it is seen that they say positive things about 'agoras', 'types of relationships', socialites, solidarity networks, and security conditions. On the other hand, close to all of the participants expressed that all of these features have been lost in the present city (late modern city or neoliberal city).

The account of 'Participant 17',[5] who works in an international fleet company, seem to belong to an employee's assessment who has internalized the conditions of 'the new jobs'. Because he, `Participant 17`, reveals the uncertainty, flow and instability of the job, even career competition and destructiveness as "needed constructivism". Stability -

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[4] 'Participant 1'; 42 yeasrold, is a maleengineerworking as a company partner.
[5]'Participant 17'; 29years old, maleeconomist,workingfor an internationalfleetcompany.

according to Sennett (2011; 2012)- means a deadlock in the name of the people of the 'new world', or falling in the centre of the failure notion. As Bauman put it (2003; 2006), when the future gets a ball of uncertainty in such a world, permanencies as a result of the long-term narratives jobs may produce has stopped to be among situations that are wanted or expected. Because, success itself is no longer long-term. Now success is purely individual, and career path is about destroying the others. The ambiguity of the job; therefore, confines the story of life to intimateness. In such an environment common cases as a product of permanent narratives become invalid and meaningless things.

5.4. From traditional to late modern city

In the context of neoliberal work and employment women's position has changed considerably. Social sciences yet need to reflect women's' perception, work and daily interactions in this new social arrangement. To this date, it is not fully grasped. Women's position became quite important when considered especially in the context of neoliberal jobs/employment, neoliberal city, market and family conditions. Since the beginning of the 1980s, women begun to show up in the job market with men, in almost all professional fields, by getting very good education in all business lines and by becoming competent. From the early 1980s onwards, more and more women got universities degrees, gained professional skills and became visible in all sectors; from banking to health care; from university/academic positions to media and so on. Considering the increased sense of insecurity, fear, paranoia, perception of risk and uncertainties, like Beck's subject of risk modernity. On the one hand, as the very demanding necessities of the traditional modern city and family life, more and more people feeling escape behind the walls of gated communities.

A 31-year-old- female medical doctor ('Participant 46'),[6] who works at the 'new capitalist' conditions speaks of the woman, as she confronts to the ones she says as "us" is the traditional modern woman who no longer has a part in the public space and whose traditional roles still continue. What she says in her interview as to what she "owns thanks to working" is the story of how she has gotten senseless (unwilling) to social interactions outside the house, or outside in general, in the neoliberal process where both partners have intensive work tempo. This intensity caused by the work flow reveals that they can no longer "find time" for the traditional ones, stated by her. For this reason, she states that there is no room for long-term social interactions that she truly needs to 'invest in' such as 'neighbours'. This; as a consequence, brings out a process, the way she puts it, "closes them to all the social interactions outside". In this respect, uncertainties become more of conditions that

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[6] 'Interwiever 46'; a femaledoctorwhoworks as a specialist in a researchhospital.

determine the type of social interaction beside the rhythm of the jobs. The point that the she suggests is that "*people naturally do not trust each other for they do not get to know one another because of their work*" is a narrator of how life depending on work can be loaded with social uncertainties. This is an outcome of how life changes as the business changes.

> Working life is not like before anymore. The sense of trust has gotten different, as well. People no longer trust each other, because everyone is working. There used to be more housewives; naturally, the neighbours were more intimate and intense." (Participant 46, aged 31)

Our next participant (Participant 45'),[7] is 35-yare-old male academician in a medical faculty, is also telling how the traditional modern city's specific relationships have changed its way of life in terms of his own. What he says as "human interactions fall behind because of work life" is a determination that details the new human interactions as a result of 'new employment' conditions. The things that he utters in the form of "we are very busy" and "we are lying fallow in this way while we are constantly rushing" and "we are not willing" are essentially the expressions stemming from their business cantered lives that is 'the reason why they isolate themselves in the gated communities'. In this respect, his emphasis on "our socio-economic profile has altered due to our financial change" is the teller of the reason why they [the residents of gated communities] are 'reluctant' for the traditional neighbourhood interactions. It is not unusual distrust towards the local and traditional to rise up -Baumann (2012b)-when uncertainty prevails. When life becomes a solely individual battle, local or traditional roles turn into a burden/inessentiality. What the Participant says in this respect is a result of this situation.

> It seems to be stemming from the business life. New relationships or human interactions come after work. The work is very intense, we are constantly rushing and we are in constant struggle. Those feelings get blurred. However, I felt it when I was young. For example, the place we lived in was like a neighbourhood. We used to know everybody in the neighbourhood. (Participant 45, aged 35)

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[7] 'Interwiever 45'; he is a maledoctorwhoworks as an associateprofessor in a researchhospital.

5.5. 'My mother use to have good neighbours':Loss of the Neighbourhood

The 'Participant 41',[8](36 years old - female with a PhD) who is also an academician, has returned to Turkey after staying a long time abroad (in the USA) by getting her doctoral degree. The participant emphasizes that "my childhood has passed in the suburbs in Istanbul". What she portrays as "outskirts" has the accents of intensely active 'interfaces' (agoras) regarding the city for them. The street being a sharing space (even a playground for them) was a space that could promise security, very far from the notion of 'a dangerous space' as a product of uncertainty or uncanny. On the other hand, the participant emphasizes that, even though she lives in the gated community, she does not feel that her own children are safer comparing to the past in her own childhood in Istanbul (reference to her childhood in Istanbul). The point she makes is regarding her childhood as "life was simple" includes a situation where 'daily practices' were also simple. This simplicity was the ability to be involved in agoras which used to be active. However, as this simplicity diminishes; it leaves its place to uncertainties. Increasing popularity of the gated communities are results of the fear coming from the uncertainties of her job. The 'notion of security' she had touched upon regarding her childhood is the notion of 'security', which is a product of active use of the city, that in return can eradicate uncertainty. The lifestyle in 'their gated communities' that cannot go past the uncertainty notion even though it is closed to 'active use' of individuals; hence, protected to outside, ensures that he perceives their lives' practices as 'dangerous'. When their living space is closed to their daily practices it fails to promise a permanent security to their perceptions.

> I lived in the outskirts of Istanbul in my childhood… We could very easily go out and play there in our childhood. We can bear let our kids out in these gated communities nowadays…" (Participant 41, aged 36)

In addition, she says: "my mother had neighbours with responsibilities" is in fact the narrator of the close relationships constructed by unplanned interactions and uncanny. The encounters that allow unscheduled routines as it is in the kind of city where her mother lived, are social concepts which make the private lives of the individual open to the foreigners. For this reason, unplanned, uncanny and unaccountability that existed in her mother's life also made her active against where she lived. These encounters in her mother's public relationship were instruments that ensured stabilization and security in her

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[8]'Participant 41'; is 36years old, famale (PhD) InternationalRelations-Lecturerworks at a privateuniversity is a scholar.

daily life. The disappearance of uncertainty had a parallel reality to being open to the outside. What he exemplified as "as a neighbour calls, my mother would turn down the stove and go", was actually a style of relationship that was the reason why her mother could feel safe in her resident. As much as her mother's unplanned and uncanny behaviours made social sharing possible, it also made encounters (in terms of diminishing uncertainties) rather common. At this point, security was ensured solely by the police forces or it was rather a mere perception of our relationship types as opposed to physical equipment (Jacobs, 2013). In this respect, the relationships of his mother, who is a traditional modern woman, not only allows permanent togetherness but also promises security as a result of this.

He, unlike his mother, chooses to buy 'artificial stability conditions' in the name of reducing uncertainties in his residential area where there is no permanent relationships. "Nannies", "rules" etc. are the control arguments that are tried to be bought, which are results of 'social funds' his life lacks.

> "Mom had long lasting friendships there. Forty years, and they are still in contact. I'm still seeing my friends from there. A lot of people there are still like that. But now my life is not so... Street was a very good concept for me. The sidewalk and street was like a playground… At those times, there was both trust and love in human relations ... We used to stay there for a week until my mother came home. Where are such neighbours now? But we leave our children to the nannies only. We are setting rules so they can raise our child accordingly." (Participant 41, aged 36)

6. Discussion and conclusion

This paper has tried to find out the underlying causes of growing popularity of gated communities and discusses the major driving forces that brought their constitution in Turkey.It is estimated that there are, in the metropolitan area of Istanbul, 560 thousand gated communities with more than one million inhabitant in such developments suggests their growing popularity as well as patterns of interaction and separation which imply widespread bearings of on the one hand the globalization and neoliberalization of the city, work/employment and its impacts on everyday life and on the other hand, underestimated implications of culture of fear, anxiety, erosion of trust which are best telling signs of growing perceptions of risk and uncertainties which have gained prominence in late modern societies of late twenty end early twenty-first century.

In this paper we have tried to suggest that two aspects of gated communities particularly significant. First, our findings show that the gated communities emerged and gained popularity as a result of macro-economic changes which Turkey became part of from the early 1980s. As one of the best examples of global city Istanbul have become the bastion of neoliberal transformation. Results show that one of the strongest drivers for residents to move into gated communities is the neoliberal middle-class jobs that require new living space that reflects the necessities of work and living conditions.

Neoliberal city, work and life conditions is one of the key points to understand why gated communities proliferates particularly in Istanbul. They emerged as a perfect match for the flow, flexibility and mobility-indexed features which 'new working conditions' encapsulate. New job being functionalized around global work tempo's flow and mobility has become a wanted standard in the city, as well. For this reason, whatever stops the flow and mobility (including the permanent relationships of daily life) has turned into burdens for neoliberal individuals. 'New employment' experiences that are pretty open to global interactions has a rather distant stance to local interactions, and even its results; daily life practices. The more distant the notions regarding global jobs get towards the local, the more distant it gets to its stability, tradition and routine practices.

Besides, lives of new jobs, which are built upon hard to control, ever flexible time and space, and uncertainties, make traditional relationships of 'late modern city individuals' a threat in terms of their routines. Uncertainties which make what is job and what is not, thanks to this, result in a permanent work tempo which makes the boundaries of life even harder to grasp day by day. When this is the case, the probability of individuals to face the uncanny and uncontrollability of traditional city experiences morph into fear and uncertainty factor they cannot overcome. In this respect, gated communities that promise stability for 'late modern individuals' have been getting more and more common as public spaces which pledge stability as opposed to permanent uncertainties inherent to the lives being a product of flexible jobs. In addition, in the new market conditions where career battles are the main determinants, bearing traditional social burdens have increasingly become unnecessary. In this respect, traditional city experiences (neighbours, neighbourhood relationships, etc.) turn into unnecessary, even boring stuff in terms of their responsibilities and burdens. When such analysis throughout the study is taken into consideration, gated community residents present much distinct reactions from the practices of the city of their childhood or their parents live.

In their influential study of gated communities, Blakely and Snyder (1999) point out that `in this era of dramatic demographic,

economic and social change, there is a growing fear about the future in America` (1999, p. 1). `Many feel vulnerable, unsure of their place and stability of their neighbourhood in the face of rapid change` (Ibid., p. 1-2). According to Tulloch and Lupton, people have become compelled to make themselves the centre of the conduct of life, taking on multiple and mutable subjectivities, and crisis are seen as individual problems rather than socially based. In the absence of fixed norms and expectations such as those which had structured modern societies (marriage, gender roles, employment etc.) individuals are forced to produce their own biographies and invent new certainties (2003, p. 4). As already established, from the early 1980s and as result of neoliberal restructuring policies, Turkish society challenged by a very rapid demographic, economic, cultural and social changes produced what Back (1992) termed as reflexive modernization and detraditionalization of traditional certainties which is led to high levels of anxieties and insecurity.

Second, gated communities are growing at a time when insecurity, culture of fear, anxiety, erosion of trust, risk society and uncertainties have become the predominant characteristic of not only the western societies but also developing societies as well. Beck argued that "in world risk society, non-Western societies share with the West not only the same space and time but also- more importantly- the same basic challenges of the second modernity" (2005: 2). Our findings suggest that majority of informants chose to live in the gated communities because of increased sense of risk and uncertainty in all aspects of everyday life. It is seems one of the most important reason behind the growth of gated communities in Turkey is widespread fear and heightened perceptions of new kinds of risks associated with public space, streets, fellow citizens as `strangers` or the `unwanted other`, environmental risks, and especially, `free floating fears` that can virtually be associated with anything and everything. In a similar case study of gated communities in the US, Low has found that residents experience 'feelings of insecurity, fear, paranoia, worry and status anxiety' (Low, 2008, p. 49 quoted in Blandy, 2018, p. 139).

Although many of our informants were raised in traditional-modern city neighbourhoods in where the streets were a sharing space (even a playground for them), interpersonal relations were strong, people trusted each other. As often mentioned, 'life was simple' in those days. However, nowadays streets are 'full of strangers`. The spatial refuge of the gated development can also be viewed as way of protection against risks such as crime, poor environment and unwanted social contacts (Atkinson and Flint, 2008, p. 890) or fear of stranger as the `unwanted other`. As trust in other people diminishes, the home becomes a protected haven, ever more disconnected from the public realm (Blandy, 2018, p. 137). This is particularly true for Turkey. The country has been scoring

the lowest levels of trust of all kinds; from public bodies to media; from politicians to jurisdiction trust has been diminishing over the last decade or so (Delibaş, 2017).

As sensitivities to contact with outsiders increase, the imperative to shield becomes greater with strategies employed to manage the exposure to perceived risks and desired social contact and spatial environments. `Life at gated communities', which have emerged as the 'beyond tradition residential areas' of neoliberal city, have turned into lives which presents stability and permanence in the context of risk, fear and uncertainties that had formed because of the nature of the new jobs.

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