

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

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Abstract:

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

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

Introduction

There have been an abundant amount of research that examines people-environment relations on various basis and scales, where environment may refer to vast spatial settings as well as undetermined boundaries of communities. Regardless of its scale, spaces are capable of affecting human behaviour and communal organizations. Scott (2005) reminds Barker's theory where the behaviour setting is an objective, naturally occurring phenomenon with a specified time-space locus occurring outside the individual. People enter the setting by choice, but once in the setting, they usually conform to its constraints. The stress felt in a foreign environment can be dealt with in time (Lawton & Nahemov, 1973). It is the setting itself that directs their behaviour, not the individual personalities or differences of the inhabitants. Settings change over time, and participants play roles in these changes. They play these roles as components of the setting, not as individuals.

In urban areas, the cognitive linkage between the settlement units and occupants are continuously renewed as the city expands, or as the population grows. In cases of determined social and physical boundaries however, the outcomes may imply unexpected differences. People tend to tolerate stress, if they have some control over the social and physical environment. On the other hand, environmental satisfaction is also related with the ability to control the residential environment (Canter, 1983; Cooper & Rodman, 1994; Rohe & Basolo, 1997). As the perceived control is easier to achieve at smaller scales, the social structures of the smaller units are important for discussion of the environmental identity. As Keskin (2008) summarizes that the individuals prefer to live close to others like themselves and decisions about whether or not to move and where to locate are influenced by a perception of the behaviour and characteristics of the current and potential neighbours. Small scaled environments give a chance to explore the certain encoded or embodied cognitive schemata and images shared by the inhabitants. This could be one of the reasons why, as the people of modern world suffer the stresses of the larger city, many families prefer to settle in smaller suburban units, without attaching great importance to commuting distance.

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

Rapoport (1982) indicates that, environmental evaluation is largely affected by images and ideals, whereas the life style refers to certain self-consciousness about ways of acting, which emphasize certain behaviours and downgrade others. A person acquires a sense of belonging and purpose which give meaning to his/her life, through personal attachment to geographically locatable places. Lewicka (2008) defines place attachment as having three components of affection, cognition, and behaviour, where the affection is the most frequently measured emotional component. The home is considered to be the "place" of greatest personal significance in one's life—"the central reference point of human existence" (Proshansky et al., 1983). Hernandez, et.al 2007 states that one of the most important predictors of place attachment is length of residence, and it is often seen that persons who have lived longer in a place feel greater attachment to it. However, there are also other indicators such as the number of relationships within a community, or home ownership that show the level of attachment.

Place attachment is developed through personal experiences with the physical environment and requires certain levels of adjustment and social and/or physical adaptation, which are the natural coping strategies of behaviour for survival. Place attachment also means belonging, which deals with human bonding to the physical environment are the dynamic aspects of the human-environment relationship that are developed within a specific context of cognitive and behavioural bonds and may differ according to persons, groups, or cultures (Low & Altman, 1992; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Attachment to place refers to the feeling of possessiveness that an occupant has toward a particular territory. Attachment involves care and concern about the place which encourages the individuals to participate in actions against environmental degradation or deterioration, such as in the case of gated communities, where the scale is manageable to take the necessary action.

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

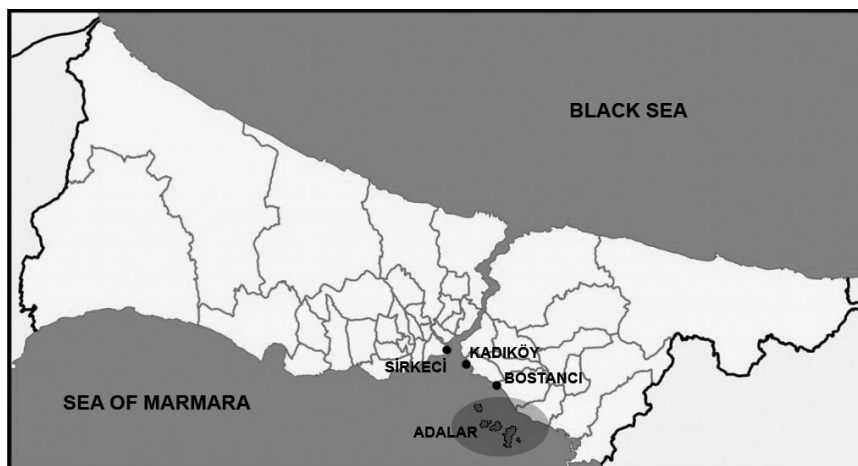


Figure 1. Location of the Prince Islands and proximity to major ports of Istanbul

The islands housed many religious centres, and each island has historically accommodated homogeneous ethnic structures such as Jews, Greek Orthodoxies and Armenian Gregorians along with Muslims. Keskin (2008), denotes that in terms of the property characteristics, living area in the housing unit has the largest impact on the housing price. This is followed by

the site characteristics that have been crucial in Istanbul, since the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, which led high income level households to move towards the peripheral areas of the city. Lewicka (2008) argues that historical sites create a sense of continuity with the past, embody the group traditions and facilitate place attachment. Although the islands are traditionally famous for the summer houses and their unique architectural characteristics, through the years, and especially after the 1999 Marmara earthquake, they have lost the majority of their ethnic population, due to decreasing market value of the island properties. However, due to their unique physical structure and historically well preserved natural and architectural environment, Prince Islands have not remained abandoned for a long time. As Istanbul attracted an increasing ratio of migration within the last few decades, the social structure of the islands have also gone through a gradual modification, causing a heterogeneous society especially in downtown Büyükada. Back in 1960's the islands' population was close to 20.000 whereas the census records of 2000 obtained from the local municipality, shows that the permanent winter population of the islands is approximately 1/10 of the summer population. This proportion is even greater for summer weekends, as the tourist population rises up to 150.000. Winter permanent figures are 7000 for Büyükada, 5200 for Heybeliada, 800 for Burgazada and 550 for Kınalıada; where Heybeliada owes most of its population to the naval base and marine education academies.

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

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

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

Case study area and pedestrian perception

Having almost a 2000 years old settlement history, Prince Islands are composed of nine islands of various sizes located at the north-eastern part

of Sea of Marmara (<http://www.adalar.gov.tr>). Although there are settlements on the five of these nine islands, the research area is set to be the four largest islands, Büyükada, Heybeliada, Burgazada and Kınalıada, whereas Büyükada is the downtown island of the group located approximately 6 km from Bostancı, 11 km from Kadıköy and 20 km from Sirkeci ports of mainland Istanbul (Figure 2). These four islands are selected on the basis of largest permanent population, existence of minimum social facilities, and regular public transportation to Istanbul ports. Thus, although shown in the figure, Sedef and Kaşık islands are left out.

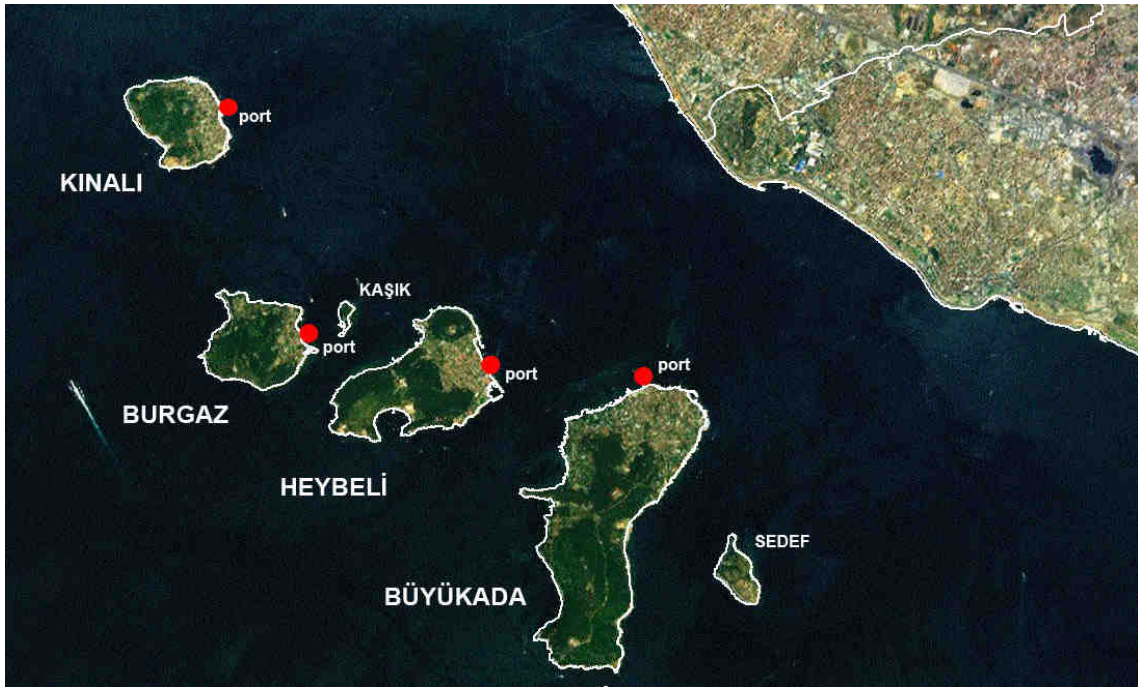


Figure 2. Physical structure of the Prince Islands and ports (Gates)

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

conceptualized in relation to flexibility as the ability of actors to adapt to the direction of flows.

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

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

Bamberg (2006) stresses that the habitual car uses may cause unawareness towards the qualitative context changes in the environment. Owing a car is an indicator of social status; in islands the equivalent of this however is having a boat. Since except for the summer tourists and fishermen of winter population, only a very small percentage have this opportunity. In this case, for the newly migrated occupants, island society seems to be relatively easier to adjust. On the other hand, the islands have

more than 500 phaetons and over 1000 horses. Riding, caring and guarding these horses and the carriages are among the favourite professions of the newly migrated. However, as they add up to a number of 600 which is larger than Kinaliada's winter population, it won't be wrong to say a socially different community happened to be created and settled on forest skirts of the islands in a way that resembles service ghettos surrounding gated neighbourhoods.

Theoretical restrictions and method

The fundamental concepts regarding this research are the place attachment - place identity and the gated neighbourhood - island relationships, observed both for existing and new users of the case study area. As Havermans, Smeets, (2010); and Hernández, et al., (2007) argue unlike many approaches that consider them as the same or overlapping concepts (Lalli, 1992; Steadman, 2002), place attachment and place identity are two different things. Being highly attached to one place does not necessarily mean that the place is a part of the self identity, or the feeling of belonging to a place does not necessarily force people to continue living in that certain place. Hernández, et al., 2007 also stress in their work that native persons with a long length of residency show high levels of both place attachment and place identity. In the case of Prince Islands the distinction between these two concepts however, is rather unclear, and the concepts overlap both for the existing islanders and the newcomers. Lewicka's (2008) suggestion that many cities are defined by their inhabitants as national rather than local symbols; and attachment to a residence place should stimulate interest in the place's past and this in turn should result in richer historical knowledge, may explain the newcomer's behaviour. Apart from the period of residency, connection with relatives and/or friends still living in the previous location, one of the reasons for this confusion arises from the national identity cards of the Turkish people, especially for the case of the newcomers. In Turkish identity cards, other than the place of birth, the region of the country of origin, which is derived from the region of father's family registration, are both shown. These sometimes two different locations, give the people automatic labels of belongings, as well as preference of one contrary to the other location, explaining Lewicka's (2008) suggestion that attachment due to national identity should result in more ethnic bias than attachment due to local identity. In this sense, including the place of current residence, cases of triple identities may occur. Although in the face to face interviews, we used the term, in order to receive an accurate response, in this research, disregarding the identity or place identity, we preferred to use place attachment as the determining concept.

Gated communities which first started in the US become a global phenomenon and have grown in both developed and developing countries. Concerns of fear, security, isolation, privacy, predictability of the community and real-estate values are the triggering reasons for the development of gated communities along with trendy labels such as high living standards, exclusivity, prestige, and fashion. According to Havermans' and Smeets' work (2010) gated neighbourhoods have physical functions that secure residents and properties within an architectural identity and types of amenities; economic functions that enhances the property values; social functions that give visual or spatial privacy while controlling the residents in terms of obliging to determined behavioural rules and lastly, symbolic functions that convey the status and power of the community.

Yönet and Yirmibeşoğlu (2009) suggest that gated community concept resembles especially medieval fortress settlements. As the walled areas in medieval times symbolized the way of security provision by the ruling power, nowadays it became a symbol of economic power and control. They further add that security elements in gated communities, such as walls, bars, or gates, have a broader meaning than solely being simple barrier elements, and living behind the gates increases the fear of the unknown that is outside. Baycan-Levent, and Gülümser (2007), express that gated community development in Istanbul started in the 1980s following economic and political changes. With the appearance of a new social class, initially, gated communities emerged in both the inner and the outer city close to business districts; in districts such as Göktürk-Kemerburgaz, Zekeriyaköy-Demirciköy, Bahçeşehir, Büyükçekmece on the European side and Beykoz and Ömerli on the Asian side. However, today they can be located all over the city. This trend fortunately could not be seen in the islands because of land prices and more important, the conservation rules and regulations being applied for the islands, historical peninsula and the skirts of Bosphorus, thus leaving the islanders observing this development from their “walled and secure” domains.

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

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

The second part of the case study is related with the numerical outcomes of the social data and is based on the spatial qualities of the built environment which possesses cues about the various expressions of socio-cultural differences. The data analyses are studied both in island wise separately and in period of residency as newcomers and existing occupants. The

findings are analysed through Pearson X^2 tests. As the sample size is relatively small due to the permanent residents' population, although significant and meaningful, the results of the research should be considered as observations and tentative results rather than statistical facts.

Results of the case study

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

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

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

Place attachment rests on symbolic meanings. We attribute meaning to landscapes and in turn become attached to the meanings. Meanings and attachment are formed through experience with the landscape, where humans have the agency to create significant symbols on the basis of preferred experiences (Tuan, 1977; Steadman, 2002). Kearney's research (2006) on the effects of natural environment to the neighbourhood satisfaction implies that as the residents visually gets closer to the natural space the more satisfied they are with the level of nearby nature. Panorama, forests and landscaping increase neighbourhood satisfaction more than actual physical proximity to these elements. Landscape and topographic

characteristics of the Prince Islands also present similar satisfaction findings to that of Kearney; whereas the percentage of the expected period of residency for both groups, indicate that 87.50 % of the existing inhabitants, and the 69.57 % of the newcomers do not want to move to other places within 10 years of time, stressing the natural qualities as an advantage for the inhabitants. However, social relations play a more major role for the newcomers as will be discussed later.

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

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

According to Goodman's (1982) place-effect theory, in-migration to an area, changes that place in a way that induces non-immigrants to leave because of the changes in neighbourhood relationships and housing market. These changes in the local or neighbourhood scale also increases the stress among the non-immigrant inhabitants. On the other hand, an increase in the friendship among the neighbours decreases the mobility. Thus, in places where the mobility rate is high, it is also difficult to establish friendly relations with the neighbours. Panorama and the concept of living in an island do not present a major significance to the newcomers, as it does to the existing occupants. The structure of social relations is considered a more important aspect of island living for the newcomers compared to the existing occupants. Lack of traffic and vehicle noise is considered very important for the newcomers compared to the existing occupants. On the other hand, existing occupants are discomforted by the foreigners as the newcomers are not. Expensiveness is regarded as a discomfort for the newcomers while the existing occupants accept this as an indicator of social status.

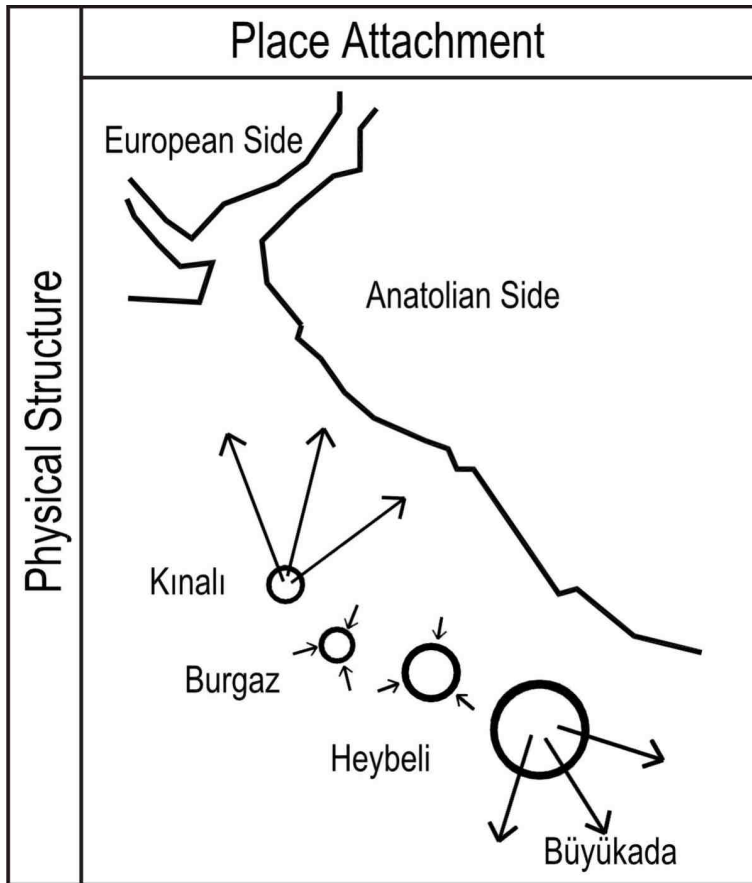


Figure 3. Place attachment of the islanders

In their research of grocery-shopping behaviour, Wang and Lo (2007) emphasized that although traditional normative approaches to consumption are rooted in neoclassical economics in which individuals are viewed as economic men who optimize their shopping itinerary based on utility maximization, consumption is less about economic rationality and more about cultural values and meanings, whereas location preferences are based on image and identity rather than narrow economically driven criteria. Shopping modes in the islands however, present similar trends for both existing and newcomer user types, in favour of economical aspects contradicting with Wang and Lo's argument. The habit of food and clothing shopping present different results both for island locations and period of residencies. Shopping modes present implications also on the physical scale. On the other hand, Candan and Kolluoğlu (2008) emphasize that residents of gated communities prefer to use private maintenance instead of municipal amenities and they locate specific places within the city to fulfil their social or recreational needs thus further shrinking themselves to even smaller units. The downtown island Büyükada and the second largest Heybeliada can supply the needs of their inhabitants. However, being farther from the downtown island, thus closer to mainland Istanbul, Kınalıada and Burgazada inhabitants prefer to shop from Istanbul stores located close to the ports, such as Bostancı, Kadıköy or Sirkeci. Figure 4 simplifies this tendency showing shopping location preferences of the islanders. In case of Kınalı and Burgaz, arrows point out to major ports of Istanbul, while for Büyükada and Heybeli arrows point inward, indicating the tendency of local shopping preference.

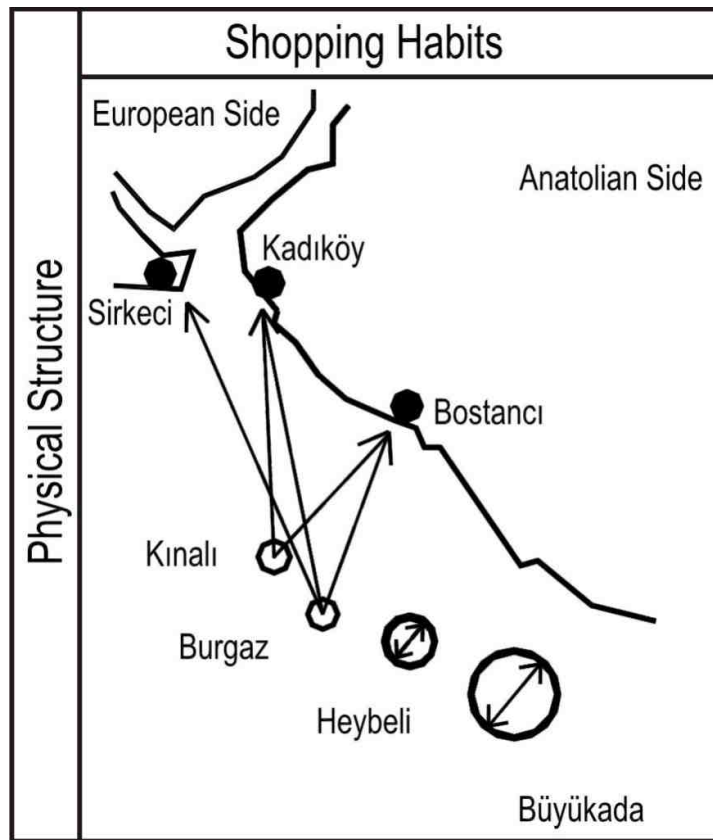


Figure 4. Shopping preferences of the islanders

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

Shopping opportunities are dependant to the central island due to the recently opened chain markets; however as the intra island boat travels are not cost free anymore, it is possible to assume that small islands will be withdrawn from the central island's economy and residents will eventually restart shopping from local next door stores concentrating shopping habits to a specific centre even more.

Table 1. Shopping behaviour correlations of the islanders

	EXISTING USERS				NEWCOMERS			
PER. OF RES. X FOOD SHOP.	Chi-Square Tests				Chi-Square Tests			
		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	31,304*	2	,000	Pearson Chi-Square	7,307*	6	,293
				Likelihood Ratio	8,376	6	,212	
				Linear-by-Linear Association	,858	1	,354	
				N of Valid Cases	23			
	a. 4 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .13.				a. 11 cells (91.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.			
PREV. LOC. X FOOD SHOP.	Chi-Square Tests				Chi-Square Tests			
		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	22,933*	8	,003	Pearson Chi-Square	10,355*	4	,035
				Likelihood Ratio	10,150	4	,038	
				Linear-by-Linear Association	3,885	1	,049	
				N of Valid Cases	48			
	a. 12 cells (80.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .25.				a. 8 cells (88.9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.			
PER. OF RES. X CLOTH. SHOP.	Chi-Square Tests				Chi-Square Tests			
		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	4,591*	2	,101	Pearson Chi-Square	14,056*	6	,029
				Likelihood Ratio	4,847	2	,089	
				Linear-by-Linear Association	3,296	1	,069	
				N of Valid Cases	48			
	a. 3 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .29.				a. 11 cells (91.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .26.			

Existing occupants and newcomers show different trends in various relations. For example, place attachment and satisfaction parameters are agreed to usually be affected by the period of residency and indicate a protective behaviour not only towards the spatial or physical environment itself but also to social relationships (Tuan, 1977; Proshansky et al., 1983; Vorkinn & Riese, 2001; Stedman, 2002). Period of residency provides people a wider perception and cognition of a relatively wider area, affecting the person's behavioural modes and preferences. It provides people a wider perception and cognition of a relatively wider area. Majority of the existing inhabitants share similar opinions and define certain points as the most important places in the island, while the newcomers present a dispersed perception of differing locations. Figure 5 simplifies this approach which can also be seen in the figures where $X^2=17,804$ $df=8$ $p<0.02$ for existing users (Table 2). Although there hasn't been found any correlation between spatial perception and place attachment or shopping behaviour, histograms still imply a connection. For existing users, port and certain historical buildings share a total of 60.4% in focal point perception; however for the newcomers this figure adds up to 34.8%, meanwhile shopping districts or beaches gain more importance for this group, reaching up to 39.1%.

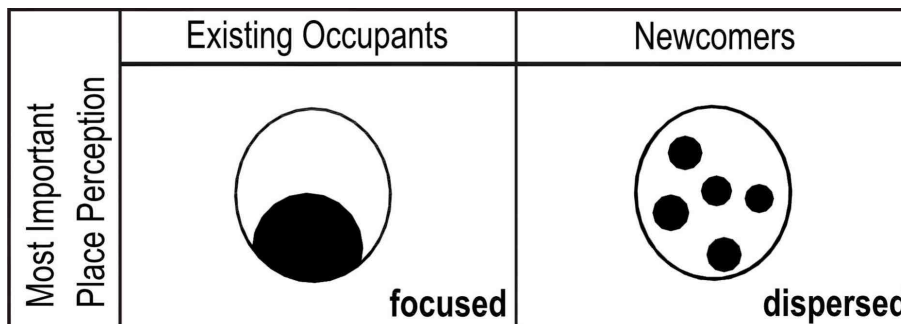


Figure 5. Comparison of spatial cognition

Table 2. Neighbourhood perception correlations of the islanders

	EXISTING USERS				NEWCOMERS			
IMP. POINT X PLA. BIRTH	Chi-Square Tests				Chi-Square Tests			
		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	17,804*	8	,023	Pearson Chi-Square	8,538*	8	,383
	Likelihood Ratio	18,488	8	,018	Likelihood Ratio	10,743	8	,217
	Linear-by-Linear Association	2,884	1	,089	Linear-by-Linear Association	1,274	1	,259
	N of Valid Cases	48			N of Valid Cases	23		
	a. 13 cells (86,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,08.				a. 15 cells (100,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,17.			
SECU. X SETTLE. IDENTITY	Chi-Square Tests				Chi-Square Tests			
		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	9,081*	2	,011	Pearson Chi-Square	,804*	2	,669
	Likelihood Ratio	8,989	2	,011	Likelihood Ratio	1,176	2	,555
	Linear-by-Linear Association	,004	1	,951	Linear-by-Linear Association	,707	1	,400
	N of Valid Cases	48			N of Valid Cases	23		
	a. 3 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,81.				a. 4 cells (66,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,09.			
SECURITY X PLACE OF BIRTH	Chi-Square Tests				Chi-Square Tests			
		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	1,966*	2	,374	Pearson Chi-Square	10,977*	2	,004
	Likelihood Ratio	2,023	2	,364	Likelihood Ratio	5,454	2	,065
	Linear-by-Linear Association	,977	1	,323	Linear-by-Linear Association	4,697	1	,030
	N of Valid Cases	48			N of Valid Cases	23		
	a. 2 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,52.				a. 4 cells (66,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,09.			
SETT. ID. X REAS. ARRIVAL	Chi-Square Tests				Chi-Square Tests			
		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	11,304*	6	,079	Pearson Chi-Square	9,954*	4	,041
	Likelihood Ratio	13,659	6	,034	Likelihood Ratio	9,348	4	,053
	Linear-by-Linear Association	1,041	1	,308	Linear-by-Linear Association	3,297	1	,069
	N of Valid Cases	48			N of Valid Cases	23		
	a. 9 cells (75,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,06.				a. 8 cells (88,9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,17.			

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

Place attachment and quality of life parameters that are closely related with solid benefits or opportunities, may show differences according to person, place, culture or period of residency. Hummon (1990) indicates that the newcomers typically seek a rural ambience, peace, safety, good schools, and nature rather than the unique identity and qualities of a particular small town so precious to old-timers. As the social relations increases among the neighbours, the ratio of moving tend to decrease; however, old-timers can envision living no place else, while many newcomers are loosely attached to places and often expect to move on (Goodman, 1982, Salamon, 2003). Potter and Canterero (2006) base the overall quality of life to four major domains; physical, socio-cultural, economic, and public services, where the physical environment includes housing conditions and the neighbourhood; socio-cultural aspects include family relations, neighbours, and a sense of community; economic circumstances include employment and retail conditions; public services include the facilities that residents have access to, such as police and fire protection, recreation, and transportation. They assume that the long-time residents and newly arrived residents will differ with regard to the quality of life characteristics they deem most important to their residential satisfaction, where their research in Crete showed that the

difference of quality expectation of the newly arrived and the long-term residents is congruent with Abraham Maslow's theory of needs; denoting the newly arrived residents, are primarily concerned with the physical issues, such as housing conditions, whereas the long-term residents are concerned with improving the community in a feeling of self actualization need. The case is similar with the Prince Islands inhabitants. The existing occupants find the safety in the islands is an important aspect of residency preference resembling the case of gated neighbourhood behaviour. Place attachment and security factors indicate $X^2=9,081$ $df=2$ $p<0.02$ level for this group (Table 2). In case of newcomers, security is related with the family background; as it can be seen in Table 2, figures suggest that $X^2=10,977$ $df=2$ $p<0.004$.

For the newcomers place attachment is also related with the family composition along with economic opportunities; indicating the correlation between the place attachment and reason of arrival with the $X^2=9,954$ $df=4$ $p<0.05$ level (Table 2). Proximity to Istanbul is an important indicator stressing the unique physical structure of the islands and its relation to place attachment. In Hernandez, et.al's research (2007) comparison of identity and attachment as separate cases were presented regarding three different environments: the island, the city and the neighbourhood. In that research bonds of native individuals were found to be significantly higher than those of extra-island individuals in all cases, as expected. Similar to the present case, existing users of the Prince Islands show higher levels of belonging to city of Istanbul compared to newcomers as denoted in the figures where $X^2=7,773$ $df=2$ $p<0.021$ (Table 3); this tendency is also supported by settlement identity versus the previous location figures $X^2=16,076$ $df=8$ $p<0.04$ denoting the belonging earned by birth or childhood.

Table 3. Spatial preference correlations of the islanders

	EXISTING USERS	NEWCOMERS																																																														
SETT. ID. X PROX. TO IST.	<p>Chi-Square Tests</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Value</th> <th>df</th> <th>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Pearson Chi-Square</td> <td>7,773^a</td> <td>2</td> <td>,021</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Likelihood Ratio</td> <td>7,887</td> <td>2</td> <td>,019</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Linear-by-Linear Association</td> <td>,367</td> <td>1</td> <td>,545</td> </tr> <tr> <td>N of Valid Cases</td> <td>48</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>a. 3 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,88.</p>		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Pearson Chi-Square	7,773 ^a	2	,021	Likelihood Ratio	7,887	2	,019	Linear-by-Linear Association	,367	1	,545	N of Valid Cases	48			<p>Chi-Square Tests</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Value</th> <th>df</th> <th>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Pearson Chi-Square</td> <td>,306^a</td> <td>2</td> <td>,858</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Likelihood Ratio</td> <td>,306</td> <td>2</td> <td>,858</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Linear-by-Linear Association</td> <td>,269</td> <td>1</td> <td>,604</td> </tr> <tr> <td>N of Valid Cases</td> <td>23</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>a. 4 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,87.</p>		Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Pearson Chi-Square	,306 ^a	2	,858	Likelihood Ratio	,306	2	,858	Linear-by-Linear Association	,269	1	,604	N of Valid Cases	23																								
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For the new comers however, this belonging only develops within time, as the period of residency increases, so as the proximity to Istanbul gains importance indicating $X^2=8,758$ $df=3$ $p<0.04$ level of correlation. Place attachment and period of residency correlations indicate $X^2=12,827$ $df=6$ $p<0.05$, strengthening the above assumption.

Conclusion and discussion

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

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

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

In this research, it is expected to find a set of equivalent results confirming that when place of origin and length of residence are taken into consideration, the existing user's attachment is quite strong, on the other hand the attachment of newcomers show an affection by the homogeneous place identity inside all the interrelated bonds of a gated community. This research shows similarities to Hernandez, et.al's work (2007) regarding the place attachment, and spatial awareness level of the existing users (natives) compared to the newcomers (non-natives), however the differences appear when the sample size, and neighbourhood size is taken into account. In

Prince Islands, lack of neighbourhoods, denoting every island in itself is a gated neighbourhood, create. shared values and symbols, concluding that, there is little difference between bonds among existing users and newcomers regarding the island's social gated nature.

Related to the homogeneity of the territories within the physical, economical, social and symbolic functions, development of attachment is evident. The individuals symbolically interact more with the island than the city. In other words, the islands are heavily charged with content and relevant meaning.

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

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

Giriş

Ölçeğinden bağımsız olarak, mekanlar insan davranışını ve toplumsal düzenlemeleri etkileme yetisine sahiptir. Kişiler tercih yaparak herhangi bir ortama girerler ancak, ortama girince, genellikle ortamın kısıtlamalarına uyarlar. İnsanların davranışlarını yönlendiren, kişilikler değil ortamın kendisidir.

İnsanlar, eğer sosyal ve fiziksel çevre üzerinde kontrole sahip olurlarsa, strese dayanabilirler. Çevresel hoşnutluk da yaşam çevresini kontrol edebilme yetisiyle bağlantılıdır. Algılanan kontrolün sağlanması küçük ölçekli çevrelerde daha kolay olduğu için, küçük birimlerdeki sosyal yapı, çevresel kimlik tartışmaları açısından önemlidir. Ortaya çıkışları farklı sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik nedenlerden kaynaklansa da, kapalı yerleşmeler küçük ölçekli ve kullanıcıları için kolaylıkla kontrol edilebilir çevreler sunmaktadır. Sosyal homojenlik, kimlik, statü, güvenlik, çocuk odaklı aile yaşantısı, trafik ve suç bulunmaması, komşular arasında güvenin kurulması, yaşam kalitesini artırma gibi ölçütler, kapalı yerleşmelerin özendirici yönleridir.

Kişiler aidiyet duygusunu ve yaşamlarına anlam katacak amaçları coğrafik yerlere kişisel bağımlılıklarıyla elde ederler. Kullanıcının belirli bir bölgeye karşı hissettiği sahiplenme duygusu, o yer ile ilgili dikkat ve endişe içerir. Eğer kullanıcı ölçeğin daha idare edilebilir olduğu kapalı yerleşmelerdeyse, çevresel bozulmalara karşı önlem almaya yönelir.

İstanbul'un Prens Adaları, iskelenin girişi, yani kapıyı simgelediği fiziksel ve topografik özellikleriyle doğal bir kapalı yerleşme ortamı oluşturmaktadır. Uzun yıllar boyunca zengin, elit ve genellikle gayrimüslim orta üst tüccar sınıfın yerleştiği adalarda, ulaşım yalnızca teknelerle sağlandığı için anakaraya olan fiziksel uzaklık sosyal statüyü koruyan en önemli etmen olmuş ve tarifeli vapur seferleri başladığında bile adaların kapalı yerleşme algısı varlığını korumuştur.

Önceleri her adanın kendi belirgin dini ve etnik azınlık kimliğine sahip olduğu ve özellikli mimarisiyle genellikle yazlık kullanımda olan adalar, 1999 Marmara depreminden sonra, gayrimenkulün değer kaybetmesiyle birlikte, bu etnik kimliğin önemli bölümünü yitirmiştir. Bu süreçte zaten birkaç on yıldır göç almakta olan İstanbul'un sosyal yapısı adalarda da görülmeye başlamış ve özellikle merkez ada konumundaki Büyüka'da heterojen bir toplum oluşmaya başlamıştır. 1960'larda 20.000 civarında olan daimi ada nüfusu 2000 sayımına göre 13.500 düzeyine gerilemiş ancak yaz nüfusu 150.000'lere fırlamıştır.

Ada hayatı ve fiziksel izolasyon sınırlı sosyal ilişkiler seçeneği sunduğu için, sosyal ve mekansal çevreye uyum gereklidir. Rosnet ve diğ. (2000) içe dönük insanların, kutup istasyonları gibi sosyal açıdan uyarıcı olmayan çevrelerdeki zor şartlara daha kolay uyum sağladıklarını belirtir. Ada fikri de izolasyon algısını içerdiği için, sakinler arasındaki bağ güçlüdür ve örneğin yeni göçmenler ada hayatına, şehire olduğundan daha kolay uyum sağlayabilmektedirler.

Prens Adaları'ndaki toplum, anakaradakilere göre ortak üstünlük algısına sahip olmakla birlikte, davranış modları normlar, statü, ekonomik fırsatlar, nüfus, kültür, tarih ve sosyal ağlarla oluşturulmuştur ve Tönnies'in (1955) tanımından daha heterojendir. Prens adaları bağlamında, bu araştırma,

- İzolasyon ve fiziksel devamsızlık uyumu ve dolayısıyla yere bağımlılığı güçlendirir mi?
- Mevcut kullanıcılar ile yeni adalılar arasındaki deneyim farkı algıda ve dolayısıyla mekansal tercihte farklılık yaratır mı? sorularına yanıt aramaktadır.

Konu alanı ve yaya algısı

Marmara Denizi'nin kuzeydoğusunda, yaklaşık 2000 yıllık bir yerleşim geçmişi olan Prens Adaları'ndaki 9 adadan beşinde yerleşim vardır, ancak bu araştırmada daimi

nüfus büyüklüğü, sosyal altyapı ve düzenli vapur seferleri varlığı temel alınarak, 4 büyük ada kullanılmıştır. Büyükada'nın merkez ada olduğu grupta diğer adalar Heybeliada, Burgazada ve Kınalıadadır.

Motorlu araçların acil durumlar hariç yasak olduğu Prens Adaları'nda, hareketlilik, yalnızca günde 18 saat çalışan teknelerle sağlandığı ve zor kış koşullarında bu bağlantı da sık sık kesintiye uğradığı için, ada yaşantısında kabullenmişliğin getirdiği bağlılık ile izolasyon duygusu güçlüdür; bu diğerlerinden farklı olma durumu ise, bir tür kapalı yerleşme özelliğini andırmaktadır.

Otomobilin olmadığı küçük ölçekli ve özellikle karmaşık örüntülü tarihi yerler yayaya olduğundan daha büyük görünür. Karmaşıklık, topoğrafyadaki iniş çıkışlar, yokuşlar ve dönüşler yolun olduğundan daha uzun algılanmasına neden olur. Vorkinn ve Riese (2001) yerel ölçekteki yere bağlılığın ev ve gidilecek yer arasındaki uzaklıkla ilişkili olduğunu, böylece sakinlerin yerel mekanları ülke çapındaki kullanıcılara oranla daha çok kullandığını savunur. Bu hipotez, kış koşullarının zorluğu bir yana, ada sakinlerinin neden anakaraya gitmekte isteksiz davrandıklarını da açıklamaktadır.

Kuramsal kısıtlar ve yöntem

Bu araştırmanın temel kavramları mevcut ve yeni gelen kullanıcılar bağlamında, yere bağımlılık – mekansal kimlik ve kapalı yerleşme – ada yaşantısı ilişkileridir. Bu çalışmada yere bağımlılık ve mekansal kimlik kavramlarının farklı oldukları kabul edilmektedir. Ancak, kullanıcıların verdikleri yanıtlar esas alındığında bu kavramlarının kimi zaman birbirinin yerine geçtiği görülmüş, bununla birlikte, kimlik (aidiyet) kavramının etnik temelleri de dikkate alınarak, yere bağımlılık kavramı tercih edilmiştir.

Adaların su ile çevrili doğal sınırlarının oluşturduğu engeller, tam anlamıyla güvenli giriş sayılmasa da iskelenin oluşturduğu kapı algısı, kısıtlı ulaşım olanakları, düşük suç oranı, düşük nüfus oranı, yaya temelli dolaşım kuralı, içe dönük topluluğu, benzersiz mimari ve doğal karaktere sahip küçük alanlar gibi özellikleri ile çalışma alanının kapalı yerleşmeler ile yakınlıklar gösterdiği kabul edilmiştir.

Araştırma yöntemi 4 adadan rastgele seçilmiş 71 kullanıcı ile yapılan ankette elde edilen sayısal verinin sosyo-kültürel arda alan, demografik özellikler, adalılık süresi ve eski kullanıcılar ile yenileri arasındaki mekansal tercih ve algı etmenlerinin karşılaştırılmasına dayanmaktadır. Bulgular korelasyonlar ve Pearson X² testleri ile incelenmiştir. Ancak daimi nüfusun azlığından kaynaklanan örneklem sayısının azlığı, sonuçların da anlamlı olmakla birlikte, istatistiksel gerçekler olarak değil, gözlemler olarak değerlendirilmesini gerektirmektedir.

Alan araştırmasının bulguları

Sosyal arda alan verileri, mevcut daimi ada nüfusunun yüzdesini vermektedir. Adaların kalış süresi 15 yılı aştığında mevcut kullanıcı olarak adlandırılmıştır. Mevcut kullanıcıların büyük çoğunluğunun, İstanbul dışı doğumlu olmaları, ada nüfusunun zaman içinde azaldığı ve adaların göçe açık olduğu gerçeğini desteklemektedir. Yeni göçmenler arasında ev sahipliği oranının az olması, yere bağımlılık ve uyumun fiziksel şartlardan başka gerekçelere de bağlı olabileceğini göstermektedir.

Prens Adaları'ndaki peyzaj ve topoğrafik özellikler de kullanıcı memnuniyetine olumlu etki etmekte ve hem mevcut hem yeni kullanıcılar için adadan taşınma beklentilerini azaltmaktadır. İklim ve sert poyraza rağmen, adalardaki yerleşim genellikle kuzey yamaçlarda yoğunlaşmıştır, bu nedenle adalılarının bilinçaltında kendilerini İstanbul'a ait hissettikleri de düşünülmektedir. Ancak anakaraya olan görsel yakınlık İstanbul'a yönelik bir aidiyet etmeni olarak ortaya çıkmazken, adaların birbirlerine olan yakınlıkları, konumları ve görüş açıları adalara olan bağımlılıkla ilişkilidir.

Manzara ve adada yaşama olgusu yeni kullanıcılar için önemli değilken, bu grup sosyal ilişki yapısını daha önemli görmektedir. Eski kullanıcılar için trafik ve gürültü azlığı önemli değilken, yeni kullanıcılar için bu belirgin bir ölçüttür. Yeni kullanıcılar yabancılara karşı daha hoşgörülükten, eski kullanıcılar mesafelidir ancak eski

kullanıcıların sosyal statü olarak gördükleri pahalılık ise yeni kullanıcılar için önemlidir. Diğer yandan, alışveriş alışkanlıkları ile adaların konumları ve kullanıcı eskiliği arasında bağlantı bulunmaktadır. Merkez Büyükkada ve Heybeliada sakinleri, yiyecek ve giyecek alışverişlerini kendi adalarından yaparlarken, Burgazada ve Kınalıada sakinleri ana kara dükkanlarını tercih etmektedirler. Yiyecek gereksinimi alışkanlıkla ilişkili olarak, her iki grup için de büyük oranda adalardan sağlanırken, giyecek ve dayanıklı tüketim malları için anakara tercih edilmektedir. Ancak bunun nedeni yeni kullanıcılar için ekonomiklik, eski kullanıcılar için ise marka tercihidir.

Yerleşim süresi, kullanıcılara tercihlerini etkileyecek, daha geniş bir alanda daha geniş bir algı ve bilişim sağlar. Mevcut kullanıcıların büyük çoğunluğu, adalardaki nirengi noktaları hakkında ortak görüşe sahipken, yeni kullanıcılarda bu algı daha dağınıktır. Mevcut kullanıcılar için güvenlik önemli bir yerleşim tercihidir, ve yere bağımlılık ile ilişkilidir. Ancak yeni kullanıcılar için yere bağımlılık aile yapısı ve ekonomik olanaklarla ilişkilidir.

Sonuç ve tartışma

Bu araştırmanın sonuçları, izolasyonun ve fiziksel yapının kesintiye uğramasının uyumu, yere bağımlılığı ve grup kimliğini güçlendirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Eski ve yeni kullanıcılar arasındaki deneyim farklılıkları algılarda ve mekansal tercihlerde çeşitliliğe neden olmaktadır. Küçük ve sınırlı yerleşim alanlarında kullanıcıların sosyal uyumu, algı, bilişim ve yerleşme sürelerine bağlı olarak, somut fiziksel parametreler ve sosyo kültürel tercihlerle ilişkilidir.

Küçük ölçekli çevrelerde sosyal bağları güçlü, güvenli, ortak, ideal bir yaşam tarzını vaat ettikleri için, kapalı yerleşmeler kişilerin ayrılma düşüncesi olmadan girdikleri varış noktaları gibidir. Kapalı yerleşme benzeri olarak davranan adalarda da iskelenin kapı olduğu bir ev algısı vardır. Görsel ve fiziksel izolasyonun sosyal bağları ve yere bağımlılığı güçlendirdiği adalarda yaşam, şehire ait bütün sorunların kapıda, yani iskelede bırakıldığı, geniş ve güvenli bir bahçede yaşamaktır.