

Human Territoriality in Gated Communities

Nida Nosheen

National institute of Psychology,
Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad

Asir Ajmal

Dean of Social Sciences, Gift University, Gujranwala

&

Anis-ul-Haque

Prof. Psychology, National institute of Psychology,
Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad

Abstract

Home, a primary territory allows people to exert control over its space, and in turn the home dictates behaviors and attitudes of its inhabitants. This paper explores extended territory beyond home, which includes other homes in gated spaces. Gated spaces and its community are bounded by a wall with gates and has restricted throughfare traffic. These gated spaces provide vivid territorial physical markers which influences thinking of the community about an 'extended home'. Two research sites were selected on the basis of size (large and small) and permeability (active and permeable) of throughfare. Photographs, field inspection, interactive participant observation, and semi-structured interviews were taken from residents at these two Sites. The results suggested that residents viewed territorial physical markers as extension of their house and believed that these provided a physical safety net extending a sense of home.

Keywords: territoriality, gated home spaces, territorial physical markers, home, organized living

Human territoriality, similar to animal territoriality, defines relationship of individual with their physical environment. Broadly classified in two areas of study, ethological and socio-political, territorial behaviors control inhabited spaces and assert power to control them. The ethological view emerged in early to mid-20th Century when studies explained how animals managed and defended their territories (Grant, 1993; Maher & Lott, 2000). The available resources like food, shelter or refuge were important for the animals to survive and procreate (Burt, 1943; Trivers, 1972; Lewontin, 1978). The studies revealed patterns of spatial organization, for example territorial defense, an exclusive occupation (marking or aggression) of a territory to access available resources (Corlatti et al., 2013; Haley, 1994; Houston & Davies, 1981; Possingham, 1989). This proposal was later borrowed by anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists to explain human territorial behaviors.

Edney (1976) for instance suggested, like other species humans understood the significance of territories. Lorenz (1966/2002) claimed that humans, like animals, predominantly used aggression to protect their living spaces. Ardrey (1966) added territorial behaviors served same functions for humans as they did for animals like having a place to live, have access to resources and procreate, in fact he argued that defending physical space was more primal than sex drive, not reducible to other more basic instincts.

Many scholars criticized this point of view because it overlooked cultural and environmental factors that influenced territorial and aggressive expressions in humans (Alland, 1972; Elms, 1972; Hall, 1959; Taylor, 1988), for example, humans use of space is multi-purpose (Soja, 1971); territories can be protected without aggression; humans do not need territories to fulfill basic needs of food and shelter; humans can have multiple territories (home, office etc.); territories can be shared by other humans; space can be used without conflict (Hall, 1959; Edney, 1974; Malmberg, 1980; Taylor, 1988). Socially territories could be viewed as primary, secondary and public, where humans exert more control over primary territories like a home, lesser over secondary territory (areas outside the boundary walls of a house) and very limited control over public territories like parks, streets, and beaches etc. (Altman, 1970).

Sommer (1966) added ownership of primary space and objects in it were marked by putting fences, walls, and name plates, sending message to outsiders that the space was exclusive and distinct (Sommer, 1959; Malmberg, 1980; Knapp et al., 2013).

Human territories are studied by many fields with different objectives, for example industrial and urban studies look at small scaled social and spatial settings like individual buildings, neighborhoods, organizational and other urban setting (Brown, Crossely & Robinson, 2014; Childress, 2004; Herbert, 1997; Kintrea et al., 2010; Michney, 2006; Vischer, 2008; Xu, 2015). On a much bigger scale geographical studies look at territories at global level where land is owned and maintained by countries (Storey, 2001) or studied in psychology, sociology and anthropology that study political and social power in homes and gated neighborhoods (Storey, 2001). And then there are geo-social movements (Foucault, 1979, 1980) that explored power dimension of territoriality that signified "who controls whom for what purpose," a power dynamic that occurs in different territories at various scales (Cox, 1991, 2001; Delaney, 2005; Sack, 1986). As Robert Sack explained,

territoriality is a geographical medium through which social power is asserted upon people by organization and control of space (Sack, 1986).

To exert control or claim a territory, territorial markers small and large are used, from putting a jacket on a seat to convey that it has taken, to writing a name on an office chair to placing family photos on an office desks to hanging degrees or diplomas on walls to indicate that the space belongs to a particular person (Becker & Mayo, 1971; Brown & Zhu, 2016; Sommer & Becker, 1969). In the same fashion, gangs use different graffiti to make claim over an area to make it exclusive and make it inaccessible to other gangs (Dawkins et al., 2015). Bigger territories include buildings, fences and walls around residential units to communicate legitimacy of territorial ownership (Brown & Zhu, 2016; Taylor, 1988). Studies that have looked at home spaces show that the presence of territorial markers (fences, gates and signs of no entry) is associated with the sense of safety, maintenance behaviors and personalization of home space (Lay, 1988). These markers are employed to control space and keep the unwanted people outside; and their effectiveness can moderate social interaction and encounters (Altman, 1975; Taylor, 1988; Xu, 2015). Defending a territory from outsiders provides social cohesion in the gated space, and invokes a sense of belongingness and ownership (Abdullah et al., 2018; Brown, 2005; Brown & Robinson, 2011; Groves, 1990; Horelli, 1990; Iranmanesh, 2012; Monaghan & Ayoko, 2019; Smith, 1993, 1994; Xu, 2015). In addition, territory is an expression of personal and social identity of residents which they proactively maintain (Abu Ghazee, 2000; Altman, 1975; Brown, 2005; Brown & Altman, 1983; Brown & Robinson, 2011; Cooper-Marcus & Sarkissian, 1986; Edney, 1976; Taylor, 1988; Xu, 2015). That is why town planners have invested in defensible housing units to prevent crime and keep neighborhoods safe in the US, a trend that has gained popularity in other countries also (Newman, 1972).

Theoretical background for the present study is based on Taylor et al., (1988) position on home spaces. He suggests immediate and adjacent spaces of home like front or back yard, porch, alleys, sidewalks, and streets are also part of a home. He believed that these spaces are important to link individual household to the local social fabric. Taylor in his famous Baltimore study (1981) divided home space as, home, near home and off block territory, to which Kusenbach (2008) adds an 'enclave' consisting of people with similar socio-economic backgrounds and lifestyles.

The present paper conceptualizes gated home space as near home territory as 'territorially rich environment' that has psychological and social significance for its residents. Empirical understanding of immediate home spaces for Pakistani gated communities is scarce, therefore this study aims to shed light on explaining territorial behaviors by qualitatively sampling insights of residents that live in

these communities. Furthermore, the study wants to confirm that gated home spaces offer safe home that is linked to physical markers in these gated communities by addressing the following questions using grounded theory approach.

1. What is their perceived and real function of territorial markers are present at two gated home spaces in Lahore?
2. What is the meanings territorial markers in these gated home spaces?
3. How do territorially rich gated home spaces (large gated space) inculcate a stronger sense of home in its residents compared to small gated spaces where where markers are small and few?

To address these questions we used grounded theory, which is highly scientific for qualitative research (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012) and uses a developed set of procedures that produce substantive theory out of any qualitative data. It involves collecting specific data through in-depth research such as in-depth interviews, formulate concepts and categories based on continual review and comparison of the data (codes) leading to theoretical sampling to achieve theoretical saturation, and development of new theories and their refinement in a recursive fashion (Charmaz, 2005, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Schwandt, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Method Sites

For the purpose of this study, field inspection was carried out to select two Sites out of more than 24 gated communities in Lahore. These two gated communities are situated at the western border of the city along Multan Road and Abdus Sattar Edhi Road and were comparable in geographical terms. The main difference was size, such that one (Site A) was more than three times larger than the other (Site B). Site sampling and extraction was a non-random procedure based on size and accessibility (active and permeable) as parameters for selection (Tort, 1986). Active gated communities require documental identification to enter or visit the space and community, (more restrictive), whereas permeable gated communities require such identification more informally, letting visitors enter the space without IDs, verbal inquiries or resistance.

Site A (Active). EME (Electrical Mechanical Engineers) Housing Society (DHA Phase 12) is one of the larger (area: approximately 7.77km²) housing societies in Lahore and is a gated residential space. The space is well organized and maintained with nine blocks (A-H and J) and more than 2500 houses. To enter the society, nonresidents are required to provide identification and public transport is not allowed. Large territorial markers are visible like the main entrance, seven gates, minor entrances and a wall. In addition, this gated space has many physical markers, that comprise of indoor gyms, swimming pool, and fields for playing football, hockey and cricket, parks and mosques (see Figure 1).

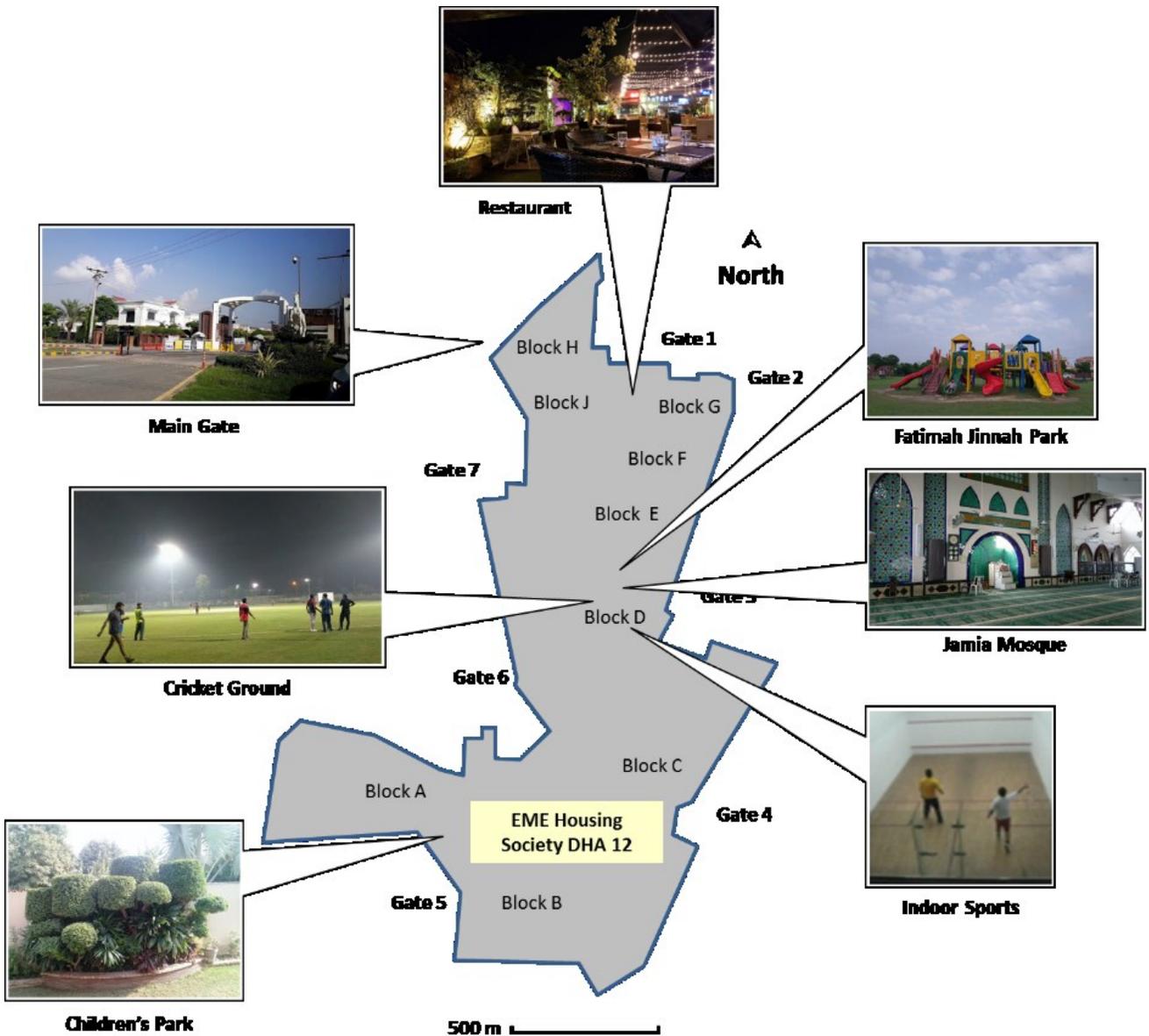


Figure 1. Shows a schematic map of EME Housing Society with its nine blocks and eight gates or entrances with some prominent territorial markers like mosque, indoor and outdoor sports areas, parks and a restaurant roughly located in the map. Five gates have become nonfunctional because of other gated developments that have erected around the community wall. Photo credits: author and the internet.

Site B (Permeable). Eden Canal Villas is housing development that is tucked in the corner of Mohlanwal and Abdus Sattar Edhi Roads, and is much smaller in size (area: approximately 2.50km²) than EME Housing Society. This project

like other Eden Housing Projects is famous for its small, compact and architecturally identical houses. The company sells built houses instead of plots, and keeps the architecture and color schemes for all houses is similar, which depicts a uniformed view of community. The Site was developed in 2005, is compact and well managed gated community with more than 250 houses. The community has parks, theater, and mosque, tennis court, a small shopping area and a restaurant (see Figure 2). The territorial markers are permeable where documental identification is not always needed; nonresidents can get in based on facial familiarity and gender (especially women).

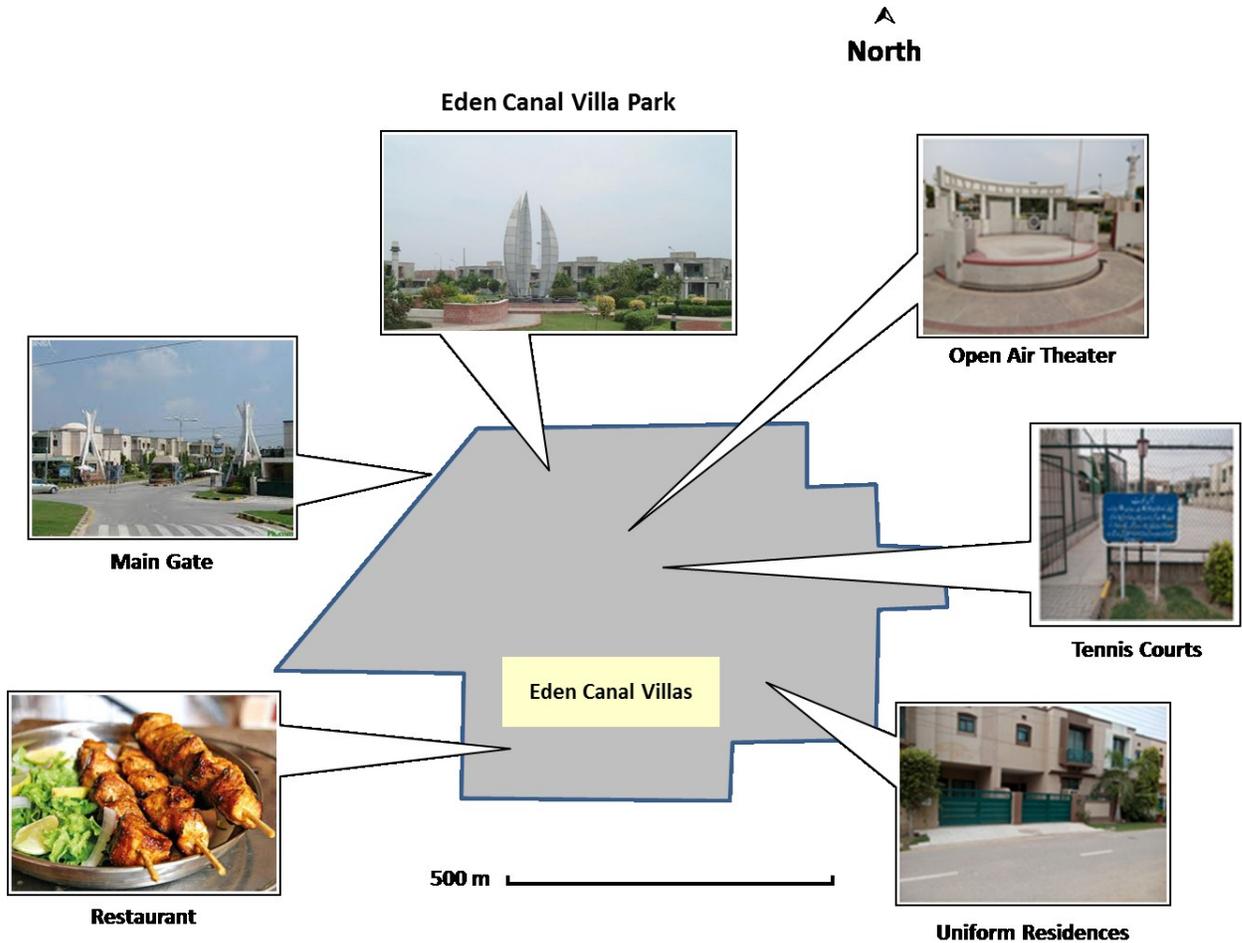


Figure 2. The figure is shows a schematic map of Eden Canal Villas and its main gate used for entry and exit. Some prominent territorial markers include park, open air theater, indoor sports areas, uniformity of houses, and a restaurant are shown on the map. Photo credits: author and the Internet.

Both Sites are close to each other (less than a mile) and belong to similar neighborhoods, and since the big difference between them was size, residents of EME Housing Society believed a residential block was like home space, whereas residents of Eden Canal Villa it was their community that was included in home space.

Resident Sample

Eleven women and 14 men conveniently extracted using snowball sampling technique were selected from Site A, with ages that approximately ranged from 20-60 ($M = \sim 38$) years; seven participants belonged to extended and 18 to nuclear families and the average duration of occupying a home was eight years. From Site B seven women and ten men with ages that approximately ranged from 20-50 ($M = \sim 37$) years were taken; four of these belonged to extended and 13 to nuclear families, and the average duration of occupying a home was about eight years. Overall, the samples from the two Sites were fairly similar (see Table 1).

Table 1

Demographic Information about Participants at both Sites

| Participant* | Interview (Min) | Gender | Age | Occupancy (Years) | Occupation | Family |
|--------------|-----------------|--------|-----|-------------------|-------------|----------|
| A01 | 56 | Man | 50s | 6 | Employed | Extended |
| A02 | 74 | Woman | 40s | 17 | House wife | Extended |
| A03 | 66 | Woman | 40s | 4 | Employed | Nuclear |
| A04 | 92 | Man | 60s | 12 | Retired | Nuclear |
| A05 | 87 | Man | 60s | 16 | Businessman | Nuclear |

| | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|
| A06 | 60 | Woman | 50s | 5 | Employed | Nuclear |
| A07 | 78 | Woman | 40s | 3 | House wife | Nuclear |
| A08 | 56 | Man | 20s | 8 | Student | Nuclear |
| A09 | 64 | Woman | 30s | 5 | Employed | Extended |
| A10 | 86 | Man | 50s | 14 | Businessman | Nuclear |
| A11 | 48 | Woman | 30s | 10 | Unemployed | Nuclear |
| A12 | 62 | Woman | 50s | 11 | Employed | Nuclear |
| A13 | 58 | Woman | 20s | 5 | Student | Nuclear |
| A14 | 71 | Man | 40s | 17 | Employed | Extended |
| A15 | 59 | Man | 40s | 3 | Employed | Nuclear |
| A16 | 53 | Man | 20s | 6 | Student | Nuclear |
| A17 | 47 | Man | 30s | 13 | Employed | Extended |
| A18 | 42 | Woman | 20s | 4 | Student | Nuclear |
| A19 | 56 | Woman | 40s | 9 | Employed | Nuclear |
| A20 | 65 | Man | 50s | 7 | Businessman | Extended |
| A21 | 48 | Man | 30s | 3 | Businessman | Extended |
| A22 | 71 | Woman | 20s | 5 | Student | Nuclear |
| A23 | 55 | Man | 40s | 8 | Employed | Nuclear |
| A24 | 35 | Man | 50s | 8 | Employed | Nuclear |
| A25 | 77 | Man | 40s | 2 | Employed | Nuclear |
| | 62.64 | W (11); M (14) | 38.40 | 8.04 | | E (7); N (18) |
| B01 | 43 | Woman | 30s | 11 | Unemployed | Nuclear |
| B02 | 86 | Woman | 40s | 13 | Employed | Nuclear |
| B03 | 53 | Man | 50s | 13 | Businessman | Nuclear |
| B04 | 92 | Man | 20s | 8 | Student | Nuclear |
| B05 | 48 | Man | 30s | 10 | Employed | Nuclear |
| B06 | 55 | Woman | 40s | 5 | Housewife | Extended |
| B07 | 71 | Man | 30s | 2 | Employed | Extended |
| B08 | 66 | Man | 50s | 8 | Employed | Extended |
| B09 | 74 | Man | 20s | 10 | Student | Nuclear |
| B10 | 58 | Woman | 20s | 5 | Student | Nuclear |
| B11 | 65 | Woman | 30s | 9 | Employed | Nuclear |
| B12 | 43 | Man | 40s | 2 | Businessman | Nuclear |
| B13 | 46 | Woman | 30s | 6 | Employed | Nuclear |
| B14 | 73 | Man | 50s | 5 | Employed | Extended |
| B15 | 37 | Man | 50s | 7 | Employed | Nuclear |
| B16 | 40 | Woman | 50s | 10 | Housewife | Nuclear |
| B17 | 57 | Man | 50s | 10 | Employed | Nuclear |
| | 59.24 | W (7); M (10) | 37.06 | 7.88 | | E (4); N (13) |

Note. W = Woman, M = Man, E = Extended, N = Nuclear

*Participant number A01, A02... etc. represent participants at Site A and B01, B02, etc. at Site B.

Only homeowners who lived at least for over a year were recruited and renters were excluded from the study, because literature had suggested that territorial attitudes and territorial

tendencies towards dwelling units are affected by place of ownership (Taylor, 1988; Abu-Ghazee, 2000; Xu, 2015).

Design

Data was collected through field inspection, photography, interactive participant observation, and semi-structured interviews. After site sampling we carried out detailed field inspection of each site taking photographs wherever possible seeking permission from the residents and societies of these gated communities. During the Interactive Participant Observation, residents were requested for a tour of their community and photographs were taken in their presence (only two residents from Site A and one from Site B agreed on interactive participant observation) its facilities, this was followed by semi-structured interviews of each resident in the sample. Questions about participants overall residential history and specifically their experience and preference of choosing to live in gated community were explored. Interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed for analysis. To analyze the data a grounded theory approach was carried out on interview data that is often

discursively used to refer to generating theoretical ideas that begins with data (Schwandt, 2007).

Results

Figure 3 below outlines the process of establishing grounded theory (Xi, Du & Long, 2019). After reviewing literature on human territoriality, collecting data from two gated sites (active and permeable; large and small) was coded and analyzed. This helped us develop a theory about human territoriality, which was tested to saturation, we propose human territoriality in gated communities in Pakistan much like other similar gated communities; it is strong and residents believe their homes were an extension of their gated space.

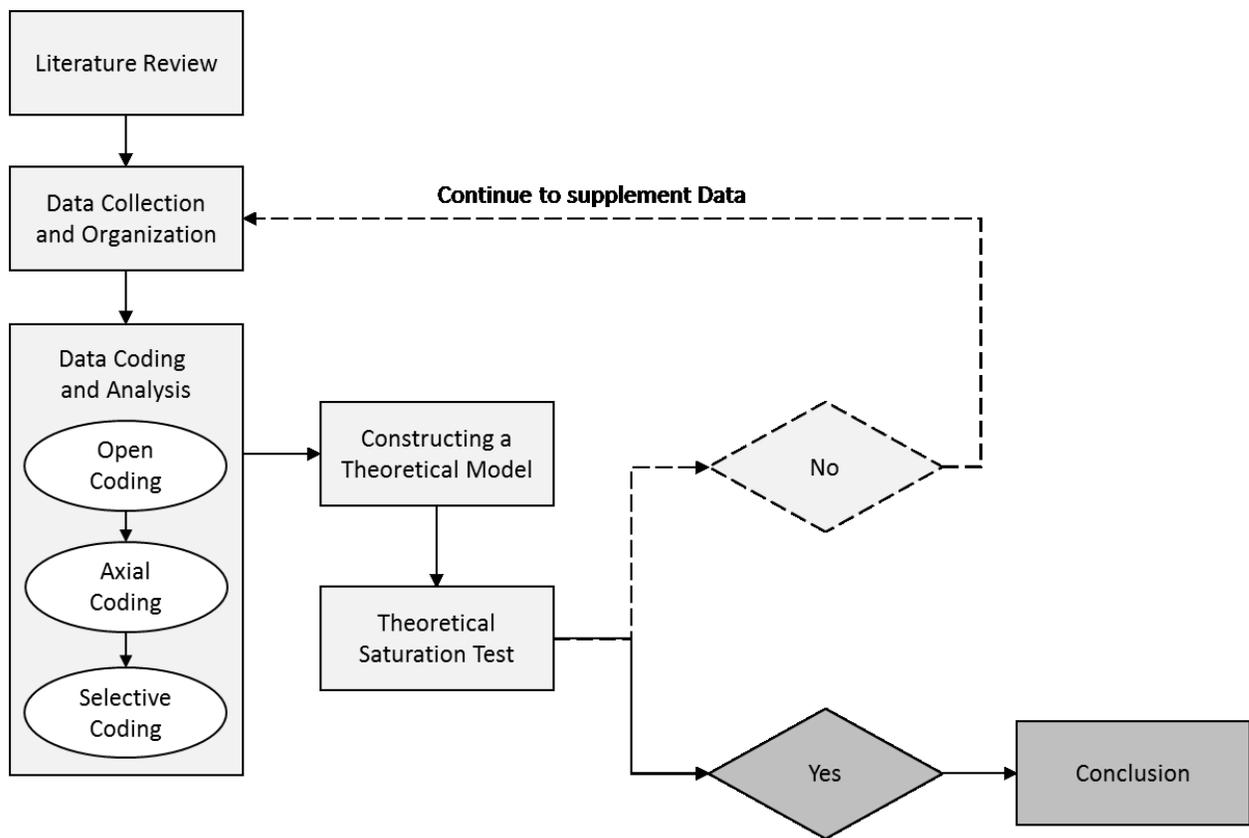


Figure 3. Adapted from Xi, Du and Long (2019) presents a schematic model of how grounded theory assists in formulating a model using qualitative data.

Territoriality Defines Home Space

The analysis revealed presence of physical markers (gates, walled boundary, barriers and surveillance equipment and security personels) in gated home spaces turn these communities into *territorially organized home spaces*, which like the previous literature suggests the importance of near home spaces in a gated community (Lay, 1988).

The data revealed that the phenomenon of gated home spaces offers people the opportunity to own a home in a secure geography. Unlike open residential areas these *home enclaves* offered a territorially organized home space to its residents by

putting up boundary walls, gates, barriers and human or digital surveillance systems. All interviewed residents for this study had migrated from different open home spaces and liked their homes and their gated communities so much that not a single resident expressed the desire of going back to their open home community or communities like that. It was assumed initially that the residents from the permeable (Site B) site would show some inclination towards moving to their old residence space but we found that they had the desire to move to a more secure or territorially active home community and not moving back to their old home space. This

suggested that gated spaces offer security, seclusion and like-minded cohesion with other members of the community.

Functions of Territorial Markers

Territorial markers provide residents a sense of safety, territorial control and sense of community, however the nature of these markers influenced the perception of safety, ownership, territorial control and sense of community in the residents. For example at more active Site A, the functionality of these markers was much stronger than permeable Site B.

Despite permeability of the two sites any disruption or unrest could be controlled with fair ease, and residents know this implicitly. During the recent pandemic of COVID-19 it was easy for these gated communities to establish quarantine zones by controlling throughfare and reduce the number of affected cases in their localities. Similar observations were made worldwide for similar transitions in gated communities (Seanders & Maroofi, 2021; Hamama, 2020).

Permeability of a gated space leads to liking it, less permeable a space, more likely it is that residents would covet it. Residents that moved from highly permeable communities aspired to less permeable spaces were happier and felt more secure. One male resident from Site A expressed:

“Certain issues arise here [Site A] too but I am overall satisfied with this society. This is one of the best societies I ever lived in my entire life. Security is good here no one can enter without showing identity cards, even our relatives had to show their ID cards. I think it is best for everyone. When I was living in open community, I always had one side of mind at home because there was no security outside the house” (A08).

Geographical size of gated home communities impacts neighborhood ties, community activities and social relationships. People living at Site B that was geographically smaller were more closely tied together compared to people at Site A. A female resident from Site B said:

“I moved here from Iqbal Town [non-gated community] and the day I came here people from society came to welcome us. Actually this is a small society so everybody knows one another. We gather together every week for Quran reciting and I can recognize any stranger outside of home, as a matter of fact I investigated a man few days back who was roaming in the street and it turned out that he was a guest in one of the neighbors” (B13).

In our observations at Site B, we saw children playing in the streets and in the playgrounds and front doors of many houses were unfastened, suggesting that a sense of *trust* prevailed in the community. We propose community at Site B was tightly knit because of its small size and territorial markers that reminded children that home was near and accessible and adults felt children were not far from home. Data suggested residents at this site had a unified sense of collective and knew one another at personal levels as one male said:

“This is a small society. We all know one another by face. I go outside and I can tell you which person is resident here and which is stranger even guards know everyone by face... yes the moment I saw the sign of our society outside I feel like I am home because it’s a small community you can visit the whole community in ten minutes” (B04).

This unified sense of collective was not observed at Site A despite its less permeable space. We propose larger size of this space dilutes a sense of knowing others and trusting them. Territorial markers signal proximity to an approaching home but not offer a sense of ingroup ties, as one male interviewee said:

“Well I don’t really feel that I am home when I cross the gate my society but yes when I see the Java Restaurant sign near my block then I feel like I am almost home” (A21).

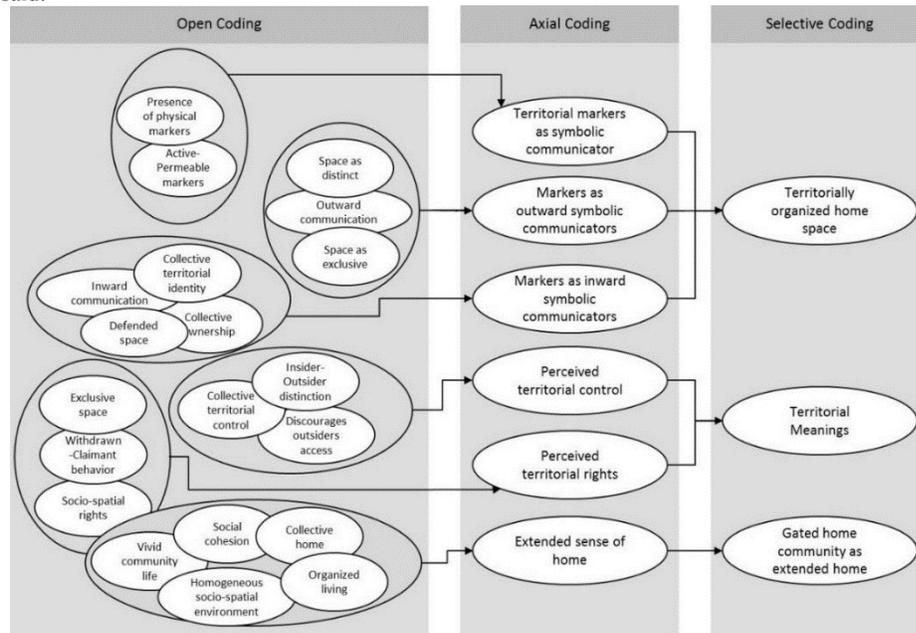


Figure 4. Shows 20 open codings were extracted from data, converged on to six axial codings followed by three selective codings. Conclusion or model was based on these three codings.

Markers as Symbolic Communicators

Figure 4 presents a general plan of codings that were extracted from data to develop a theory about human territoriality. Territorial markers serve as symbolic communicators, and send *inward* safety messages to residents and *outward* stayout messages to nonresidents. Safety and security that residents feel from these communicators portrayed a collective spatial identity and ownership based on similarity (of socioeconomic status) and association (based on class) that forms their territorial identity:

"We are similar kind of people here and it made it easier for me to go out and meet with other members...by similarity I mean that we are financially and socially more or less similar like we belong to the same social class. I don't know if it's right or wrong to say but I think it's the advantage of gated communities that it brought the same kind of people in one place..." (A05).

Gated home spaces by design provide similar size plots in a row or block which clusters people with similar socioeconomic class in one place. All residents are usually aware of their social, economic and spatial similarity that they share and somehow, knowledge of this similarity helps them to develop territorial identity which reflects in words such as 'our community', 'our club' or 'our park'. For instance, in one such case at Site A, residents related themselves within their respective blocks and use reference as 'J block or B block committee meeting'. Here spatial similarity along with physical proximity played a vital role to inculcate sense of community. The feeling is depicted in a verbal account of affection (feelings towards gated community) and loyalty as one female resident expressed:

"Oh, if you ask me...I will say this is my favorite home. All the homes I have lived in this is the best...well the reason is we are small community and we live like a family as you know Eden housing is small scale gated community I think we have 250 houses so it's different than other large gated communities, so everyone knows everyone here...." (B02).

Where territorial markers serve as symbolic communicators to express collective spatial identity, collective spatial ownership, defended space and territorial control. These *outwards* symbolic communicators announce territorial messages to outsiders (non-residents) that this particular place is private property and defended collective home space which is exclusive to its residents.

Perceptions about Territory

Perceptions of territory was based on two themes, *collective territorial control* and *collective territorial rights*. The collective territorial control refers to an active sense of territorial control. Result revealed *active* residents expressed control by engaging in community activities (e.g. using community clubs, parks, sidewalks, religious places and attaining membership of local resident's committees, clubs and other facilities) more often than residents that were *passive*. These residents verbalized a general sense of dissatisfaction over diminishing physical resources and were withdrawn from mingling with others (e.g. avoid visiting parks, markets and avoiding committee meetings). As on male resident from Site A said:

"Well this is a good community but over time it's getting over populated...now when I go to the park I find may unfamiliar faces and it makes me uncomfortable... but you know I

can't complain about it probably they also live here...residents of other blocks but I can't know for sure...and same is with our club. I suspect management gives membership to non-residents too to generate money...so I feel uncomfortable" (A10).

Collective territorial rights were manifested in perception of *accessibility* to the gated space by residents and non-residents; who should and should not be allowed in the community. The analysis revealed, residents with strong perception of territorial spatial rights viewed their residential space as mutually exclusive and resisted accessibility of outsiders. They hold strong sense of territorial possessiveness and ownership compared to residents with weaker perceptions. Residents at both gated communities expressed the notion of 'exclusive space' and believed that only residents of the community should be allowed to have access to the resources. A common reaction to the question, 'should nonresidents be allowed to come and use available facilities? Was met with resistance, "why? They don't live here" or 'that's our community why should they be allowed?'

It is important to note, on the question of privatization of public space participants agreed on social segregation, and though parts of these gated communities are still developing, many residents expressed extreme discomfort at nonresidents roaming freely in their residential spaces. As on participant described it:

"Yes nonresidents can come...our relatives come to visit us...they don't live here...domestic workers also come in but I believe any nonresident should come with legitimate reason and go through the security process...this is not Mohala system you need to understand that...that's why people come here to live in peace" (A16).

It is evident for such expressions, that residents of these communities ought to have access and right over their spaces and its use, and outsiders should have minimal or partial access.

Collective Sense of Home

The sense of home is manifested in resident's account of *home like* feelings projected to their gated residential community. The data revealed that people express the need to feel the certain level of sense of *homeness* from the surroundings of their home unit. As Taylor and Brower (1987) pointed out, "home does not end at the front door but rather extends beyond."

The analysis revealed that residents express different level of homely feelings towards their gated residential communities. Many participants reported they perceived their gated residential community as home. The themes of strong end of sense of home are labeled as extended communal sense of home as participants view their residential unit as collective home territory. Many interviewed participants of gated residential developments reported that they view their residential community as extended home territory and expressed this feeling by saying:

"when I see the monument of two horses outside the gate, I immediately feel like I have reached home" or "when I cross the barrier or security post, I feel like I am home"

Participants from Site B which is geographically small community majority of interviewed participants reported strong homely feelings towards their residential community as compared to the participants from Site A (geographically and densely large community) who expressed diverse homely feelings. The conceptual understanding of this dispersion is that the

geographically and densely large communities make it humanely impossible for residents to get acquainted with all the co residents which could lead to weak perception of homely feelings. As one female resident from Site B said:

"this is the best home and neighborhood I ever had...our community is very well acquainted and whenever any new resident comes, we plan to go and greet them into community...it's like our family..." (B06).

Not all respondents expressed that they somehow view their residential unit as home or extension of home. The themes of weak end of sense of home are labeled as withdrawn communal sense of home because these themes express the resident's weak homely perception towards dwelling unit (residents do not perceive gated community as collective home). They carefully distinguished their feelings of 'being at home' as one male resident from Site B said:

"well yes when I enter the society's gate, I feel relaxed, but you know I feel I'm home when I actually reach home and not before that" (B04).

A male resident from Site A shared the same feeling with less intensity:

"well when I cross the barrier, I feel like I am closer to home...but when I see the club house which is at the corner of my street, I feel like I am home" (A24).

The data revealed that even the residents with weak sense of home did not express the complete absence of homely feelings towards their Gated residential surrounding.

Discussion

The present study intended to explore the territorial physical markers present in gated home spaces in Lahore Pakistan. The study found that territorial markers helped in turning these areas into 'territorially organized home spaces'. Territorial markers have been studied as behavioral expression of human (and animal) territoriality that serve the purpose of defense and demarcation (Taylor, 1988; Becker & Mayo, 1971; DeLong, 1970; Edney, 1976; Sommer & Becker, 1969). Consistent with the previous research (Altman, 1975; Taylor, 1988, Abu-Ghazze, 1994a,b, 1995a,b; Brower, 1980; Edney, 1976; Lavin, 1981; Rapoport, 1981, 1990; Xu, 2015; Brown & Zhu, 2016) that physical markers in gated home spaces are a conscious human effort (Taylor, 1988; Abu Ghazee, 2000; Garaham, Gosling & Travis, 2015) of personalization of collective home space. Although, it is observed that in gated home spaces the physical markers are more dynamic in nature and they are not only an act of collective personalization of gated home space but also facilitate residents to develop collective spatial identity.

It is important to note research is available on human territoriality at workplace (Brown et al., 2005; Brown, 2009; Brown & Robinson, 2011; Brown et al., 2014; Monaghan & Ayoka, 2019) but limited studies are available for residential settings for last two decades (Xu, 2015; Garaham, Gosling &

Travis, 2015; Meagher, 2019; Gold, 2019). The present paper attempted to gain understating of territorial markers in gated spaces and their impact on group thinking and behavior. It is obvious from the results that the meaning of physical markers go beyond demarcation and defense as some recent studies indicated (Xu, 2015; Brown et al., 2005; Brown, 2009). In gated home spaces it is found that the cognitive interpretation of these markers help residents not only to establish collective spatial identity but also help in perceiving their gated community as near home territory.

Theoretical approaches on human territoriality in psychology believe that home territories are psychologically more significant than other types of territories (Altman, 1975; Edney, 1976; Taylor, 1988). The assumption based on Taylor's (1988) work on home and near home territories and their psychological significance will increase for gated community residents. The present study confirms this assumption as significant number of residents of gated home spaces views their gated community as an extension of their home.

A new concept of collective sense of home emerged from the analysis. Graham, Goslings and Travis (2015) in their paper, psychology of home environments, stressed the need to explore the construct of home and its attributes in different settings. They found that the ambiance of different rooms illicit different emotional responses to its occupants. The impact of physical attributes of home and home environment are under study within the field of behavior-environment studies; and a substantial review purposes spatial boundary of the dwelling and emphasizes its control and security, operating at different socio-spatial levels (Despres, 1991).

The current study found, physical attributes of home environments significantly influences sense of home in a residential community, and it is safe to conclude from present research that territorial markers turn residential community into a collective organized home for its residents. Moreover, the findings of present research confirm that spaces adjacent to one's home contains psychological significance and have potential to illicit 'extended home' feelings under appropriate environmental settings.

Conclusion

The findings demonstrate the effectiveness of territorial physical markers in gated home spaces. These markers have turned the residential compounds into territorially organized home spaces which are not only a source of collective identity but also collective sense of home. The findings of present research suggest that while living in territorially organized home space residents tend to assert collective territorial control and share a collective sense of home. Furthermore, the present research concludes that the functionality of physical markers goes beyond the notion of defense and demarcation. The cognitive interpretation of these physical markers significantly impacts their home like feelings towards gated home spaces.

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