

PSYCHO-SPATIAL REFLECTIONS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION: THE CASE OF AYAZMA - BEZIRGANBAHCE IN ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

Throughout history, urban space has undergone significant changes. From urban space to housing, the urban transformation has revealed important effects. In recent years, the issue of urban transformation has been frequently discussed with its social, psychological and economic aspects. In this study, it is aimed to examine the psycho-spatial reflections of urban transformation on the user. Houses designed for users who are placed in different regions as a result of large-scale transformations are designed by ignoring the intangible needs and habits of the user. As a result, users experience the problem of adaptation to the places they are placed in. In this case, two different attitudes are exhibited. Users try to continue to maintain their old habits in spite of the changing space, or they intervene in the space to make the space fit for their habits. In this sense, the experiences of Ayazma and Bezirganbahce Houses are examined and user opinions are evaluated through qualitative research. In this context, semi-structured interviews are conducted with the participants (n=8) that resident in Bezirganbahce Houses to measure the satisfaction. This method enables the asking of additional questions with which the subject could be deeply analyzed depending on the course of the interview. The results obtained were analyzed by thematic analysis method. Results basically show that residents try to pursue their cultural habits through changing the primary or given functions of the spaces they are settled in. Urban transformation may lead to socio-psychological problems. The pace of urban transformation and failure to take into account the user culture and needs resulted in psycho-spatial processes not to function properly. It is important to examine the cultural and individual needs of the users in the large-scale urban interventions to be carried out in the next years and to take into account the findings of the investigations conducted in the implementation phase.

Keywords: *Urban Transformation, Psycho-Spatial Mechanisms, Housing, Culture.*

KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜN PSİKO-MEKANSAL YANSIMALARI: İSTANBUL AYAZMA-BEZİRGANBAHÇE ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZ

Tarih boyunca kentsel mekân önemli değişikliklere uğramıştır. Kentsel dönüşümün kentsel mekandan konuta ve bireye kadar, önemli etkileri gözlemlenmektedir. Son yıllarda kentsel dönüşüm konusu sosyal, psikolojik ve ekonomik yönleri ile sıkça tartışılmıştır. Bu çalışma özelinde kentsel dönüşümün kullanıcı üzerindeki psiko-mekânsal yansımalarının incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Büyük ölçekli dönüşümler sonucu farklı bölgelere yerleştirilen kullanıcılar için tasarlanan konutlar, kullanıcının ihtiyaçları ve alışkanlıkları göz ardı edilerek tasarlanmaktadır. Bunun sonucunda ise kullanıcılar yerleştirildikleri mekânlara karşı adaptasyon sorunu yaşamaktadırlar. Bu durumda iki farklı tutum sergilenmektedir. Kullanıcılar, ya değişen mekâna rağmen eski alışkanlıklarını sürdürmeye devam etmektedirler, ya da mekânı kendi alışkanlıklarına uygun hale getirmek için mekâna müdahalede bulunmaktadırlar. Bu çalışma kapsamında Ayazma'daki kentsel dönüşüm uygulaması ve Ayazma sakinlerinin yeni yerleştirildikleri bölge olan Bezirganbahçe Konutları değerlendirmeye alınmıştır. Bu anlamda, Ayazma'daki ve Bezirganbahçe Konutlarındaki yaşantı incelenmiş ve nitel araştırma yaklaşımı yoluyla kullanıcı görüşleri değerlendirilmiştir. Bu kapsamda Bezirganbahçe Konutları'nda yaşayan katılımcılar (n=8) ile memnuniyetlerini ölçmek için yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu yöntem, görüşmenin seyrine bağlı olarak konunun derinlemesine analiz edilebileceği ek soruların sorulmasını sağlar. Görüşmelerden elde edilen sonuçlar tematik analiz yöntemi ile incelenmiştir. Sonuçlar, en temelde, sakinlerin yerleştikleri mekanların birincil veya verili işlevlerini değiştirerek kültürel alışkanlıklarını sürdürmeye çalıştıklarını göstermektedir. Kentsel dönüşüm sosyo-psikolojik sorunlara yol açabilmektedir. Kentsel dönüşümün hızı, kullanıcı kültürünün ve ihtiyaçlarının dikkate alınmaması, psiko-mekansal süreçlerin sağlıklı işlememesine neden olmuştur. Önümüzdeki yıllarda gerçekleştirilecek büyük ölçekli kentsel müdahalelerde kullanıcıların kültürel ve bireysel ihtiyaçlarının incelenmesi ve gerçekleştirilen araştırmaların bulgularının uygulama aşamasında dikkate alınması önemlidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Kentsel Dönüşüm, Psiko-Mekansal Mekanizmalar, Konut, Kültür.*

INTRODUCTION

Cities undergoing changes in both physical and social terms have lost their property of being “livable” places due to the intensity of the urban population in certain regions and the imbalances in the distribution of labor force together with the impacts of respectively industrialization, modernism and globalization in various parts of the world (Keleş, 2015). Those living in cities and settling in cities afterwards could not adapt to this transformation undergone by the cities. At this point, the problem of not being able to be urbanized / not being able to belong to that place occur. This situation causes to social, psychological and economical problems. People either could not sustain the individual and social habits they have attained during their lives together with the change of their living areas or they have an attempt to change the environment for their own good to sustain their habits. As a result of this effort, they could continue to carry out the actions not in accordance with the social norms of the region they have newly settled. They have a problem of adaptation to the environment in both situations. Besides, the individuals with low life standards and living under the conditions whose spatial infrastructure is not sufficient to try to adapt to an environment which is in a struggle for modernization causes to economic problems for the ones with low-income level.

Urban transformation has been a subject for the academic studies conducted in the recent years (İncedayı, 2004). Gürsel (2004) gave examples of qualified urban transformation practices in Berlin and mentioned the political aspects of urban transformation by stating that unique strategies should be developed for each country and city experience. Göksu (2004) stated that there is a need for urban transformation projects of various scales, new understanding and innovative models in which the private

sector and non-governmental organizations can work in cooperation in urban transformation processes. Armatlı K rođlu and Yal ıner Ercořkun (2010) stated the socio-spatial impact of urban transformation on the character of Ankara's urban space, with the case-study in which they explained the rapid transformation of  ukurambar neighborhood from slums to high-rise residential blocks in Ankara.  nl  (2011) discussed the urban transformation issue with the morphological analysis method through the Mersin example, and mentioned the need for a coordinated approach to design control that deals with different transformation scales. Gen  (2014) examined the historical process of laws and policies related to the problem of squatting. Wolfram and others (2016) made a meta-analysis on urban transformation research and explained the status and perspectives of urban transformation research through systems and sustainability concepts. Farhan and others (2018) investigate the urban transformation of traditional city centers with the Holy Karbala case study. K  uk and  zden (2019) measured the perception of users about whether urban transformation areas are safer places compared to the old settlements in the context of urban safety. Peris and Bosch, (2020: 1) stated to a paradox in planning of urban transformation whit the sentences: “although urban planning necessarily incorporates the values and rules of the currently dominant urban systems, it also has the potential to create windows of opportunity for niche innovations to emerge at district or even city level”.

In this study, it is aimed to examine the psycho-spatial reflections of the urban transformation. Within this context; interviews have been conducted with the users placed to Bezirganbahce houses as a result of the urban transformation carried out in Ayazma. The degrees of the users extracted from their habitats due to urban transformation for sustaining their previous habits in the regions they have been newly placed or their ratios of adaptation to the region and the interventions they have made to adapt have formed the subjects of the study. The spatial and social situations caused by the adaptation problem they live and their ways of intervention to their new houses and environment in architectural and spatial meaning in this adaptation process have been examined.

UNDERSTANDING URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Urban space has undergone significant changes under various headlines in history. Pre-industrialization city expressed as traditional city used to present a morphology formed according to the political and military arrangements. Cities underwent a rapid change and development process together with the process of industrialization in 19th century. The developments in the construction and transportation technology (finding of new materials and construction systems and the invention of railway etc.) supported this change. Motor vehicles were dominant in the post-industrial city of 20th century. Cities have changed their face once more with the impact of globalization in the period from the end of 20th century until today (Carmona and others, 2006).

Although the city dynamics are different in Turkey, cities have undergone similar process. Turkey faced another problem causing to rapid urban change especially after 1950 migrations and squatting. Together with the legalization of squatters, the squatter regions have re-shaped in the hands of contractors and started to become “urbanized”. Not only the squatter regions, but also the administrative small settlement areas that could not resist to the tendency of urbanization (towns, small districts) have also taken their share from the shaping process of the cities by contractors. What we have observed within the frame of neoliberal policies in the period after 1980 in our country is that the viewpoints and policies of the local administrations and state institutions not being able to consider the city as a whole have occurred as the mechanisms inverted as the usage of the concepts belonging to the rational planning of the natural and physical environment such as earthquake and sustainability especially in the recent decade and accelerating the urban transformation. Social memory has also started to disappear together with the character of the urban space in the settlements changing out of the conscious desires and preferences of the people. People have started to lose their sense of place in the urban regions to which they could not “understand” and whose changing meanings they could not adapt to together with the change of the physical space and they have had to develop a new concept of place obligatorily.

Urban transformation policies have shown different approaches since the 19th century. The approaches to urban transformation evolved over the years, and affected from the dominant socio-politic attitudes of the period (Roberts, 2000). The style of urban intervention until 1945 is urban renewal. Applications have been made to increase public spaces against environmental pollution, irregular and unhealthy construction after the industrial revolution. In this context, Birkenhead Park in Liverpool, Victoria Park in London, and Central Park in New York were built (Akkar, 2006). Likewise, major interventions were made to open wide boulevards and avenues in the city center during the Haussmann period in Paris (Panerai et al., 2004). In 1933, according to CIAM's Athens Charter, the idea that the modern city should have clean, healthy and beautiful environments was adopted (CIAM, 1933). During this period, improvements were made to solve the physical problems of the cities. After 1945, it is seen that the urban development strategy was also implemented. In this period, the central government started to cooperate with local governments. Urban improvement and urban renewal projects were carried out between 1960 and 1970. In this process, it has been accepted that the physical problems of the subject and the social problems are related. In the 1980s, the policy of 'urban redevelopment' became widespread in order to provide economic revitalization in idle areas. In these practices, where public-private sector cooperation comes into play, the profit of the investor is prioritized rather than the public welfare. The new images brought to the cities were used as a marketing strategy. The most common style of intervention applied since the 1990s is 'urban regeneration'. In this period, it was accepted that there were urban transformation processes based on multi-actor and multi-sectoral collaborations. However, in the answers given to different transformation problems in Turkey, transformation problems are generally reduced to the transformation of physical space; The social, economic and environmental dimensions of the transformation have been ignored. (Akkar, 2006).

PSYCHO-SPATIAL CONCEPTS RELATED TO URBAN TRANSFORMATION

The examination of the concepts regarding the psycho-spatial results as well as many social, economic, architectural, politic etc. variables that could be the reason or result of the urban transformation may provide original contributions to this literature. The physical, psychological and sociological dimensions of urban transformation can be considered. The transformation of physical space is in direct interaction with the basic user needs and the activities taking place in this direction. The removal of individuals from the place they have adopted and bonded with due to an external factor such as urban transformation can lead to some psychological consequences. In addition, urban transformation applications require the displacement of a community rather than individuals. This results in the destruction of the cultural continuity of the community in its former places.

In this study, a generic literature review motivated us to conduct qualitative research towards the case selected considering the psycho-spatial issues related to the reflections of urban transformation. In accordance with the nature of qualitative research approach, specific concepts are obtained in the end of the case study, while they are presented in the beginning while writing about the research. In this sense, the results of the case study reveal that three psycho-spatial concepts define our case: **User needs, sense of place, user culture.**

Maslow made the first attempt to realize this with his theory of the hierarchy of needs in 1943. If no need is met in the hierarchy, the needs in the lowest level, the physiological ones become dominant on the behavior. When these are met, the individual passes to the next stage in the hierarchy and this goes on like this (Pizam and Mansfeld, 2000: 7). The innate needs (primary needs or motives) are physiological: such as food, water and air. The needs attained afterwards (secondary needs or motives) are the needs learnt within the scope of the environment and culture. These are self-realization, prestige, impact, power etc. The secondary needs are generally psychological. It occurs from the subjective psychological state of the individual or his/her relations with other people. Besides; the type of the house s/he lives in could be the result of the secondary needs (Schiffman and Kanuk, 2000: 64). The expression of motivation is general and it should be examined together with the concepts of motive, need, desire and benefit. Motive is a continuous tendency, inner stimulation or "driving factor". Need is the

reification of the motive (in psychological context) (Pizam and Mansfeld, 2000: 107). Similarly; desire (manifest of the need) is the target object and benefit are the aim of the behavior (expected by the user from the product) (Foxall and Goldsmith, 1994). Motivation and need are the main ones of the inner properties which are determinative while choosing a product or object. In the event that the needs are not in disturbing dimensions, other personal and social properties are included in the process.

Needs such as belonging, relationship and prestige, among the secondary needs of the individual, are closely related to the concepts of 'place' and 'culture'. The space, which meets the physical need of shelter, becomes a 'place' if it is adopted by the user and a sense of belonging occurs. It is through culture that the individual's social relations develop and gain respect in the 'place'.

Place is defined as the physical formation in which the human experiences and interpretations are realized by becoming different from the concept of place as the space to which meaning has been assigned by the individuals (Turner and Turner, 2006). Because the sense of place contains the symbolic meanings assigned to a settlement (Stedman, 2003), a sense of place could be mentioned on the scale of what the human life and experiences add to the space (Lobo, 2004). The person to have a feeling about the place brings together the recognition and adoption of that environment in certain degrees. On the study conducted by Caroline Lobo (2004), the study of Shamai (1991) has been referred to and the degrees of the sense of place have been mentioned. These degrees starting from not having any sense of feeling could go up to the degree of making sacrifice for the place. Place attachment being one of the sub-concepts forming the sense of place expresses the positive emotional bond developing between the people and their environment (Stedman, 2003) and expresses the bonds carrying emotional content developed by the people regarding a place (Scannel and Gifford, 2017). It has been separated into two in the literature: functional and emotional. While functional place attachment means the resources to provide opportunity for the individuals to meet their needs or aims, emotional place attachment indicates how the person contributed to his/her identity and the emotional aspects of person-place relation (Payton et al., 2005).

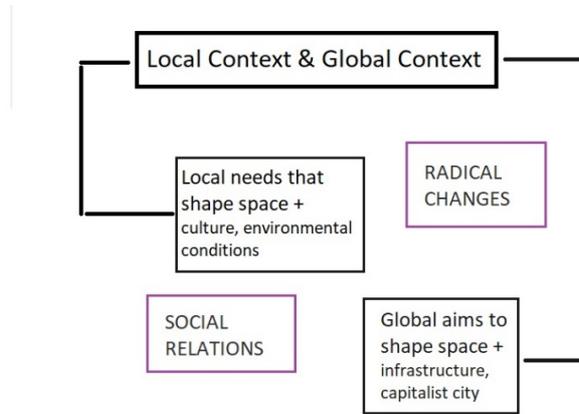
Culture is considered as the complement of all material and nonmaterial values formed during the historical and social development process and the tools used in their formation and transfer to the next generations in verbal or written ways and showing the scale of the sovereignty of the human being to his/her natural and social environment (Anonymous, 1997: 492). The social structures separating a group and a society from others and the artistic, religious and thinking properties (Anonymous, 1991: 355). The complement of material and nonmaterial values formed within the social life process, giving qualifications to a society, nation and civilization and non-existent in another nation, society or civilization (Anonymous, 1993: 1488). Human being struggles to establish an order in his/her environment as of his/her birth. This general order is called as culture (Norberg-Schulz, 1974: 79). There are many levels of culture from the general aspects of the society to very small social units (Altman and Chemers, 1980: 3). It includes shared values, beliefs and behavior ways are transferred to others and especially the children and after that, culture helps the socialization and education of the new members and the protection of the agreement between one generation and the next generation. The values, beliefs and practices of a society contain much more things than the "cognitive" and "behavioral" processes; culture occurs in objects and physical environment. House designs, society order and public buildings frequently and clearly reflect the values and beliefs of a culture (Altman and Chemers, 1980: 4).

A CONCEPTUALIZATION ON THE PSYCHO-SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION

While local context generally coming to the forefront in the formation of the traditional urban environment is a concept shaped with the parameters such as local needs, cultural needs and environmental conditions (Rapoport, 2004; Tekeli, 2011), neo-liberal urban formations and transformations meet us as the new reflections of capitalism in the universal context especially in the period after 1980 (Keleş, 2015). The urban aims of neo-liberalism meet the local context only in the

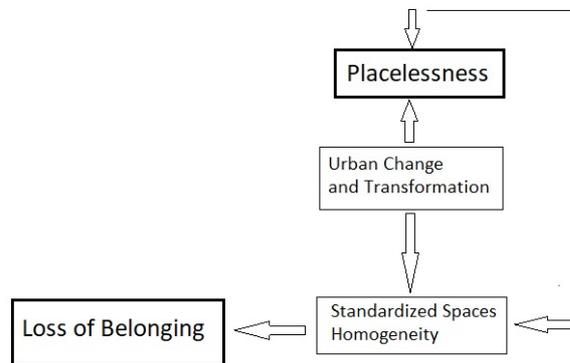
instrumentalization of the cultural and environmental conditions for economic aims. While universal aims request the radical changes in a rapid way, the cultural universe and social relations formed by the local context cannot reach this speed (Table 1).

Table 1. Local and Universal Relations Forming and Transforming Spatial Environments



Rapid urban transformation could access the speed it aims with the unvaried, standardized and homogenized spatial environments except for the local. While rapid urban transformation forms the state of placelessness with the memory destruction at one hand (Batty, 2007); on the other hand, it cannot respond to the cultural and psychological needs with the concrete standardized places (Trancik, 1986) and as a result, it causes to the loss of place attachment (Manzo and Perkins, 2006) (Table 2).

Table 2. Psycho-Spatial Destruction Which is The Result of Urban Transformation



METHODOLOGY

In this study, it is aimed to examine the psycho-spatial reflections of urban transformation. A multidimensional social phenomenon is discussed with a case study on the example of Ayazma-Bezirganbahçe. Therefore, instead of conducting quantitative research that supposed to reach a generalized cause and effect relationship, a qualitative research approach in which a case study is handled in depth on a conceptual basis has been preferred. According to Neuman (2016), qualitative researches carry out an inquiring and open-ended repositioning process on a theoretical basis, rather than focusing on a specific question in the narrow sense. The results from the study are limited by circumstance, not context-free. It requires theme analysis, not statistical analysis. Owing to these properties, qualitative research approach is adopted in the study. The thematic analysis method was used, and observation and semi-structured interviews were used as data collection techniques.

To collect data, observations made in the site and semi-structured interviews have been conducted with the participants settled in Houses after the urban transformation in Ayazma. The use of semi-structured

interview technique has been preferred due to the fact that it will provide flexibility to the study. This technique enables the asking of additional questions with which the subject could be deeply analyzed depending on the course of the interview and the researcher may not ask the same question if the participant gives the answer of another question within the answer of a question. In this way, a study with a systematic interview protocol has the opportunity of being able to be arranged in a more efficient way depending on the course of the interview (Türnüklü, 2000). The questions asked to the users in the semi-structured interviews and the conceptual inferences expected to be obtained from these questions are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Questions and Purposes to Ask Questions in the Semi-structured Interviews

Structured questions	Questions asked if needed	Conceptual motivation for the question
Q1 How was your previous place, how is it now?	How do you wash and dry the laundries?	Without any direction, firstly the users were asked a general question about their previous and current places. According to the interview additional questions asked. With the conversation started with this question it is aimed to have ideas about any kind of changes in lyfe style such as physical, psychological and social.
	How do you cook and eat? Do you eat together with your relatives?	
	How do you heat the houses?	
	How do you wash carpets? Security?	
	How was the neighborhood and kinship, and how it is now?	
Q2 Can you use your old items from Ayazma?		It may be due to financial impossibilities that the displaced users continue to keep their old items in their new spatial environment. Moreover, the presence of familiar old items may be related to the habits or anxiety to reduce the feeling of unfamiliarity in a new environment. Based on this, the concepts about lifeworld continuity and people's sense of belonging were investigated in this question.
Q3 Where and how did you do your weddings, engagements, important days, how is it now?		With the third and fourth questions, it is aimed to investigate possible changes in the social activities of the users and the spatial needs required for these activities.
Q4 Children and young people, where would they play, where would they gather, how is it now?		
Q5 Have you made any changes in the house?		Users may exhibit the behavior of continuing their old habits despite the changing space, or rearranging the space according to their habits. User interventions for physical space may have the potential to create a sense of belonging. From this point of view, it is aimed to investigate the concepts about physical needs and sense of belonging and adoption in this question.

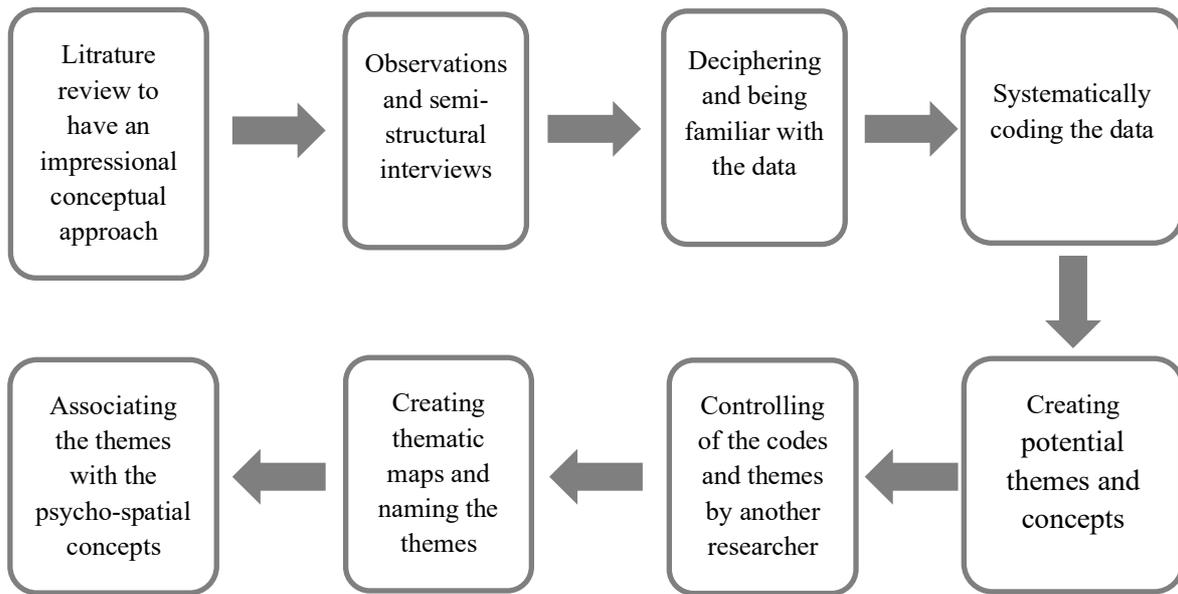


Figure 1. The Flow Diagram of the Methodology

Data collected from semi-structured interviews were analyzed through thematic analysis method. At this stage, the thematic analysis stages defined by Braun and Clarke (2019) were used. The methodological steps of the study were carried out as follows. First of all, a general conceptual approach was formed by a literature review. In this framework, observation and semi-structured interviews were conducted by going to the field and audio recordings were taken from the interviews. Audio recordings were deciphered and read through to become familiar with the data. All data was then systematically coded. Potential themes and sub-themes were created. This process made by two researchers in consensus has been checked by another researcher in a different period of time and its accuracy has been reinforced. Then the thematic map was created and the themes were named. Lastly, the themes were associated with psycho-spatial concepts. The flow diagram of the methodology is shown in Figure 1.

Table 4. The Relations between the Questions of the Interviews and the Psycho-spatial Concepts

	User Needs	Sense of Place	User Culture
Question 1	✓	✓	✓
Question 2		✓	✓
Question 3	✓		✓
Question 4	✓		✓
Question 5	✓	✓	

The relations between the questions of the interviews and the psycho-spatial concepts obtained as a result of the study is summarized in Table 4. The associations are formed after the case study is finalized in accordance with the nature of qualitative research approach.

Research Site

The urban transformation application in Ayazma that could be seen as an example of the psycho-spatial destruction of urban transformation and Bezirganbahçe Houses in which Ayazma residents have been settled form the subject of this study (Figure 2) (Figure 3). Within this context, the status of Ayazma before the urban transformation has been examined and data have been collected about the life style and habits of the public before the transformation. Furthermore; Houses in Bezirganbahçe in which the Ayazma residents have been settled have been assessed. The layout plan of the state and flat plans has been examined and the photos of the social life in the site have been taken. Moreover; the social, psychological and spatial reactions of the public towards here have been examined with the interviews conducted with the site residents.



Figure 2. Layout Plan of Bezirganbahçe Houses (Reproduced by the authors from Turgut and Ceylan, 2010).

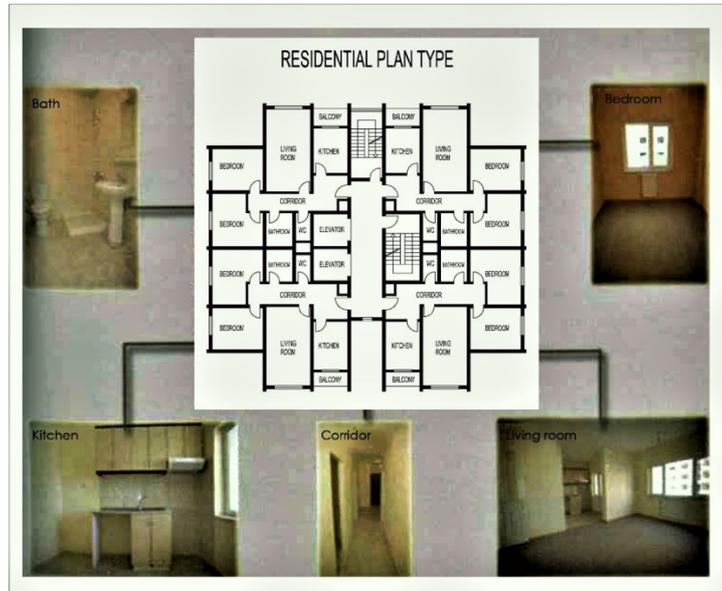


Figure 3. Floor Plan in Bezirganbahçe Houses (Reproduced by the authors from Turgut and Ceylan, 2010)

Participants

In the selection of the participant group, those open for interview have been preferred among the users who have previously lived in the squatters in Ayazma and have been settled in Bezirganbahce Houses due to the urban transformation. Support has been taken from the mukhtar office and site administration to be able to reach and convince the users for interview. It has been learned that most of the users who meet these specifications have moved to a different location from their Bezirganbahçe residences. It was possible to interview 8 users who were willing to be interviewed. In the literature, it has been mentioned that studies can be conducted with fewer participants in qualitative research compared to quantitative research (Neuman, 2016), and there are other qualitative studies in which in-depth interviews are conducted with a small number of participants (Aktepe, 2011; Çakırer Özservet, 2013). In sample selection, convenience sampling and snowball sampling (Neuman, 2016) techniques were applied together. The first interview was conducted with a user who is directed by the mukhtar and the site administration (convenience sampling), and other users are directed by the previous user (snowball sampling). Findings are given by coding the identities of the users from K1 to K8 with letters and numbers.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Questions have been asked to the users within the frame of the ways their in-house needs and social needs are met in Ayazma and Bezirganbahce Houses. The approaches changing while meeting these needs in two different living areas, the tendency ways of the users against these changes and their ways of intervention to the environment have been observed. In these interviews, voice recording has been made within the knowledge of the users and they have been written and filed after the interview. Audio recording in scientific research carries the risk of causing false results as the interlocutor does not feel safe. In this study, it was stated that the audio recordings taken would only be used for research results, and they would not be published anywhere, so that the users would feel safe. At this stage, the files have been checked by a second researcher to ensure their reliability. The answers taken from the users have been categorized and systematized after the semi-structured interview. The headline concepts and sub-heading concepts occurring with the analysis of the data are as follows;

Comments Regarding the Physical Comfort Conditions: Comments Regarding the Infrastructure, Comments Regarding the Insufficiency of the Place, Comments Regarding Security

Comments Regarding the Social Relations: Relations of Kinship and Neighborhood, Social Relations of the Children and Youth

Comments Regarding the Habits: Habits Continuing Despite the Changing Living Area, Interventions Made to the Place Depending on the Habits

The findings attained with the analysis of the interview data have been collected under three main themes and seven sub-themes as the comments regarding physical comfort conditions, social relations and habits.

Comments Regarding the Physical Comfort Conditions

Comments Regarding the Infrastructure

7 out of 8 users have expressed that they are happy with Bezirganbahce Houses in terms of physical infrastructure. One of the users has expressed his/her ideas as follows: *“It was a squatter, it was free and we were happy; but it had so much dirt, there was no water, we took water from the tankers. We resided there for 12 years and suffered so much. Here is more comfortable. There was no canalization. We used to light the stove. There is natural gas here.”* (K1). Another participant has supported this comment with his/her following expressions: *“Here is beautiful, in every aspect. There was no water, no canalization, and no toilet. Here is more comfortable”* (K4). Despite this, a user has expressed his/her uncontentedness in the issue of the infrastructure in Bezirganbahce Houses with his/her following expressions: *“There is nothing in the issue of elaborare, whoever you ask. Elaborare is zero. Here is no*

infrastructure and no environment planning. Here is a burst every day and due to the smell, people ...” (K7).

Comments Regarding the Insufficiency of The Place

Users have specified that Bezirganbahce Houses they have newly settled cannot meet the spatial and activity needs of the crowded family population. It has been seen that the houses with an average usage area of 90 m² are insufficient when the number of individuals in the family is above 4. This situation has been expressed by the users in the following way: *“They were two brothers there and they shared. We sat in some of them and they sat in some of them. We used to build houses every year. We came here from there. 6 people are too crowded for here.”* (K1) and *“Most of the people coming to here from Ayazma returned. Family cannot fit here both because of economic reasons and crowdedness. It seems we are the least one with 4 children. Because I have four male children, I spared one room for them, but it would not happen if there were two males and two females.”* (K4). Besides; a user has expressed his/her comments regarding the insufficiency of place for the activities in the following way: *“We had a garden; we were more comfortable there. We used to plant things like tomato. There is no space here, it is small.”* and *“We used to lay carpet on the garden and sit there”* (K2).

Comments Regarding Security

While 2 out of 8 users have expressed that they have found Bezirganbahce Houses more convenient in terms of the security of themselves and their children, 3 users have specified that the security precautions taken are insufficient. 3 users have not specified any idea in this issue. One user has expressed his ideas in the following way: *“Children are playing in the street and going to the park. Here is very safe. We know who is coming and going. We already know one another. Everyone was foreigner there. I only had my brother-in-law. We did not have any dialogue with other foreigners, because we could not trust them and our house was not safe. All the doors and windows were too weak. We would sometimes go somewhere and when we came, the doors would be broken”* (K2). Moreover; another user has supported this situation with his/her following comments: *“Here is in the site. Here is definitely safer. A car could suddenly emerge there, but here is not like that. At least the road the cars go is obvious”* (K3). In contrast; some users have specified their ideas in the issue of the insufficiency of the security precautions in Bezirganbahce Houses as follows: *“There is nothing changing in terms of security. There is security, but there only is.”* and *“Everywhere is open, security guards are just staying there.”*

Comments Regarding the Social Relations Relations of Kinship and Neighborhood

Users have declared comments very different from one another in the issue of the relations of kinship and neighborhood. 2 out of 8 users have expressed that there has not been a serious change in the issue of the relations of kinship and neighborhood and specified that their social relations in their new place is stronger. The following expressions of the users indicate that they are trying to sustain their relations of kinship and neighborhood in another spatial system: *“We get on very well with our neighbors here. It is not so there, it was far. We had neighbors there, but we were not engaged like this. We cannot drink tea here without each other”* (K2), *“Neighbors were good, too. It was also good there, but I am happy with the neighbors here, too.”* (K4), *“We left the neighbors there, we miss them. We wanted to be altogether; but fortunately, we did not have any trouble with the neighbors here. We make tea and go to park together. My neighbor comes to me and stays with me when my husband is not home. When we cook, that meal goes to at least two or three houses. We do not eat alone.”* (K4). Furthermore; 5 users have stated that the relations of kinship and neighborhood are weaker when compared to their previous places. For instance; users have stated with the following expressions that the relations of kinship and neighborhood are stronger in Ayazma when compared to Bezirganbahce Houses: *“Neighborhood and kinship were good. It was not like the first day we came here, but I like here more. The neighborhood in there was better. There was a relative or acquaintance in every step.”* (K3), *“Of course it will not be like there now. There was a garden there and people would sit there. Ladies would always sit and chat when I came from work. That conversation is not existent here.”* (K5), *“Normally everyone would know*

each other there. For example, they would go there to get water to the tanker, meet on the way, and personally know each other, because all of them are in one place...” (K6), “There is no neighborhood, nobody knows anyone. There is also no relative.” (K7). One user has not declared any statement.

Social Relations of the Children and Youth

When the areas in which the children and youth could socialize have been taken to the assessment regarding Ayazma and Bezirganbahce Houses, it has been seen according to the expressions of the users that there is not a serious change. Some comments in this issue are as follows: “Children play in front of the house. They go to park. Here is very safe. We know who is coming and going. We already know one another. Everyone was foreigner there. I only had my brother-in-law.” (K2), “They come to the house. Their friends come. They sit and play at home until late hours.” (K4), “We used to have gardens and they would play there. There were roads also, but cars would not pass so much. Here is in the site.” (K3) and “Elder bro, we used to play in the street. Now, we come to this park. There is Astroturf.” (K8).

Comments Regarding the Habits

Habits Continuing Despite the Changing Living Area

According to the findings attained from the conducted interviews, it has been seen that some habits existent in the living areas in Ayazma still continue in the new settlement area. Continuing to perform the organizations such as wedding and engagement in the street or open areas with their own means and the activities such as washing and drying the clothes and carpets could be shown as the examples for this. The fact that the wedding and engagement organizations continue in the same way is expressed by the users in the following way: “It goes on in the same system. They are doing them in the outside.” (K1), “It goes on in the same way. But Ayazma was more beautiful. We are always together even if it is in the outside or wedding hall.” (K4).

As it could be understood from the interviews and the conducted observations, it has been seen that the users generally continue their carpet washing activities in the garden in Bezirganbahce Houses in the same way and they want to continue to do this in the event that there is an opportunity (Figure 6). The comment of one of the users is as follows: “We sometimes wash them in the outside. Sometimes we have to give them to the carpet washing company. But the company cannot wash them well. They should make a carpet washing place in the buildings after this moment.” (K4). Besides, in a conscious way, there are also users having the aim of adapting to their new settlement area; “People have to send them to the company because there is no space here, but people used to wash their carpets in front of their door there. It is also necessary to adapt to here. Where will you wash them here?” (K7) (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Carpet Washing Action in the Garden of the Site (Source: Authors)

It has been observed that the process of drying the laundry continues in the outside just like the carpet washing activity (Figure 4) (Figure 5). In this issue, the answers of the users to the question “How do you conduct the washing and drying of the laundry?” are as follows: “*In the outside, but at home in winter.*” (K1), “*We are drying the laundry on the irons in balconies.*” (K4).



Figure 4. Clothes Hanger in the Common Usage Area in Bezirganbahçe Houses (Source: Authors)



Figure 5. Drying of the Laundry in Ayazma (Photo: Saner Şen. Exhibition Photos; Ayazma: A Story of Metamorphosis)

Interventions Made to the Place Depending on the Habits

According to the data attained with the conducted interviews, just like users have sustained their old habits despite the change in their living areas, they have arranged the place they live according to their own habits. As the most concrete examples for this, it has been seen that the open kitchen designs taking place in Bezirganbahçe Houses have been changed by the users. In addition; changing of the European style toilets taking place in the existent bathrooms with the Turkish style toilets takes place in the

examples that could be given for the arrangement of the place. The comments of the users in this issue are as follows: “*The toilet was the European style, we broke it and made it Turkish style. There is also in the bathroom, but we left it. There was American style kitchen, we closed it. Everybody closed it. We all closed it. Those in the houses we went before also closed them. Only the one in the 4th floor is open. All the meal smells you do in the kitchen is in here. We should not call it hall, then, call it kitchen.*” (K4), “*Mine is passing directly from the hall to the kitchen, I closed it.*” (K5), “*So-called American style kitchen it is, we changed all of them.*” (K7), “*We built closets. We made alcove to the entrance. We closed the arch in the kitchen.*” (K8).

Thematic map was created from the findings obtained from the semi-structured interviews and presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Thematic Map of the Semi-structured Interviews

Codes for Ayazma	Codes for Bezirganbahçe	Sub-themes	Themes	Concepts
Dirt, no water, suffering, no canalization, no toilet	More comfort, natural gas, bad elaborare, no infrastructure, no environmental planning, burst, smell	Infrastructure	Physical Comfort	User Needs
Having a garden, more comfort	Crowdedness, cannot fit, no space, small,	Insufficiency of the Place		
Not safe, week doors and windows, broken doors,	Knowing users of the site, safer, obvious driwing ways, No changes, not safe, no security.	Security		
Far from relatives, good neighborhood and kinship, missed neighbors, better neighborhood, encountering a relative or acquaintance, sitting in gardens, chating in front of doors, knowing each other, meet on the way to water tank.	Being well - happy with neighbors, eating and drinking – going to park with neighbors, supporting each other, neighborhood is not like in Ayazma, no conversation, no neighborhood.	Kinship and Neighborhood	Social Relations	Sense of Place
Children plays in gardens – street.	Children and youth play in front of house – park – home – street – astroturf.	Social Relations of the Children and Youth		
Organizations such as wedding and engagement are outside – wedding hall, washing carpets outside, carpet	Same with Ayazma, washing carptes outside, carpet washing company, asking for carpet washing place, no space for carpet washing,	Habits Continuing Despite the Changing Living Area	Habits	User Culture

washing in front of the door.				
-	Broking European style toilet and making Turkish style, closing American style kitchen. making alcove to the entrance.	Interventions Made to the Place Depending on the Habits		

Some findings of this study overlap with the results of previous studies in the literature.

It is seen that the architectural planning of the Bezirganbahçe residences does not match the cultural needs and habits of the users coming from Ayazma. On the other hand, users have made arrangements with their own means in places such as kitchen, living room and toilet. Examples of this situation seen in previous studies. As specified by Rapoport, the interventions made to the place with development purposes in some conditions may result in negatively for the user group and spatial interventions for turning to the old version may occur (Rapoport, 2004). Similar situations have also been experienced in Turkey previously. The houses given to the villagers after the earthquake have been designed by neglecting the needs and habits of the villagers. For this reason; villagers have not lived in these houses, used them as storage and built themselves new houses which are convenient for their own habits. In contrast to this situation, there are also successful examples of design processes in which user participation has been provided. The houses designed within the direction of the culture and habits of the villagers in Ankara, Temelli have been adopted by the users and used for many years (Dökmen and Dökmen, 2011).

A group of users have stated that the relations of neighborhood and kinship and the activities conducted within this frame have not undergone any changes. They have specified that the activities such as wedding and engagement continue in the same way. Moreover; another group has expressed that the old neighborhood and kinship relations could not be sustained and they have become alone in their new settlements. The process of water carrying from tanker specified by one of the users within the expression “*For example, they would go there to get water to the tanker, meet on the way, and personally know each other...*” (K6) has been a tool for socialization in terms of the individuals although it is a physical hardship (Figure 6). As expressed by Rapoport, a “developing” action in a village in North Africa such as bringing the river to every house has finalized an activity ensuring the socialization of the women by bringing water from the well (Rapoport, 2004).



Figure 6. Water Carrying Action as A Hidden Tool for Socialization in Ayazma (Photo: Kerem Üzel, (2006) Exhibition Photos; Ayazma: A Story of Metamorphosis)

Within the direction of these attained results, it is seen in the monotype collective housing structures designed without taking the individual, social and psychological needs of the users into consideration that users conduct spatial interventions or try to sustain their old habits and cultural motives within the forms not in convenience to the urban life style. As expressed by Karakurt Tosun, factors affecting the life quality are two-dimensional. While the first dimension consists of the physical factors, the second dimension consists of the perception way of these physical factors by the users (Karakurt Tosun, 2010).

CONCLUSION

It has been observed in the point reached as a result of the study that the people changing their places with the urban transformation applications sustain their habits at a certain scale and within this direction, they arrange and change the places according to their habits. In this meaning, users have shown a behavior between the adapting or intervening in the environment they live according to their physical and social needs. Specific to Ayazma sample, the majority of the users have stated that they are happier in Houses they have been newly settled than the squatters in Ayazma. The existence of the opportunities such as water, electricity and natural gas in the new settlement area and their non-existence or limited existence in the squatters has been a subject emphasized by the users. Some users to approach critically in a timid way right after expressing their contentedness could be considered as the fact that the adaptation occurring regarding the spatial environment has reflected as contentedness in the minds of the users and also it has become concrete in the minds of the users after considering the fact that they have lived in Bezirganbahce Houses for approximately 10 years. Adaptation reflects as contentedness in the perception of the users due to the fact that some habits and needs of the users have been affected from the social environment they stay in the course of time.

In addition, it has been observed that the floor plans are not in accordance with their traditions and for this reason; they have made interventions to the plans of the houses and the common usage areas in a way that they will be in convenience to their own life style. Closure of the existent open kitchens and their separation from the hall observed in all the interviewed users are the clearest examples for this situation

Although the infrastructure conditions of the places have been developed when compared to the previous living conditions in Bezirganbahce sample, the habits and needs of the users have not been sufficiently assessed.

It is clear in today's metropolis shaped with periodical "interventions" that people "cannot make themselves feel at home" due to various reasons. The mentioned "transitory lives" significantly negatively affect the life quality of the people. However; the people living in a certain environment for a long time develop a social/collective memory in relation with the space with the contribution of their individual memories. Social memory binds people to the space. It forms a bond between them and the space. In this way, the space goes beyond being a space and turns into "place". It gets rich with the meanings people assign to them. The "experiences" occurring in the space forms the sense of place. However; the changes in our cities sometimes interrupt these "memories".

Users produce their own solutions to be able to get over these situations. These individual and unplanned interventions mostly affect the space quality negatively and increase the responsibility on the individual. Especially in the examples in which the transformations such as urban transformation applications occur in a dramatical speed, the problem of adaptation may cause to social traumas. At this point, it will be beneficial to examine the social and psychological needs of the users in architectural and spatial context and assess the findings attained for the designed spaces in the social interventions to be made in the future. One of the main purposes of the designers is to form spaces in which people could meet their needs and live-in peace. Therefore, it is obligatory to know the mechanisms occurring at the point in which city parameters and the parameters belonging to the people meet.

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