

THE RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOOD AS A SPATIAL HABITUS: THE
LIVED SPACE OF YENİMAHALLE, ANKARA

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submitted by **MERVE OKKALI** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Architecture in Architecture Department, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Head of Department, **Architecture**

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Supervisor, **Architecture, METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ela Aral Alanyalı
Architecture, METU

Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel
Architecture, METU

Prof. Dr. Zeynep Uludağ
Architecture, Gazi University

Date: 17.07.2019

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Surname: Merve Okkalı

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOOD AS A SPATIAL HABITUS: THE LIVED SPACE OF YENİMAHALLE, ANKARA

Okkalı, Merve
Master of Architecture, Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. F. Candaş Bilisel

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The neighborhood is a fundamental socio-spatial phenomenon in the urban environment. The neighborhood culture manifests itself in the urban space through the spatial patterns of everyday life. Hence, the lived space of the neighborhood can be defined as a narrative of different life forms of different social groups. The lived space includes the diversity of functions, activity patterns and relationships between man-and-environment. Therefore, the architectural features of a neighborhood has implications in its spatiality and community life. In this respect, the neighborhood-unit idea has been influential in the way Ankara was built as a capital city, and is still present in terms of its architectural, cultural and historical values. However, in the recent years, both the physical and social patterns of the residential neighborhoods have been shaped or transformed as mass housing or gated communities due to some economic, demographical, sociological and cultural reasons. However, the neighborhood is constituted of environmental, cultural, moral, communal and local values within the city life. Thus, these values should be taken into consideration in the planning and urban design processes. In this context, this thesis defines the neighborhood environment as meaningful milieu within which the inhabitants are being enabled, and their lifestyles can be enhanced. Hence, the neighborhood as a

living environment is conceptualized as a spatial habitus which refers to the cultural embodiment of physical space, and this thesis focuses on the features of the lived space of a residential neighborhood, and critically examines the relationship between inhabitants' life forms and neighborhood-unit spaces in terms of habitus. A specific site is chosen in Yenimahalle as an example of a residential neighborhood to document both physical and social features of the neighborhood and the lived experience of its inhabitants in the context of habitus.

Keywords: Neighborhood Unit, Habitus, Lived Space, Social Space, Urbanism

ÖZ

HABITUS OLARAK MAHALLE: ANKARA, YENİMAHALLE’NİN YAŞANAN MEKANI

Okkalı, Merve
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık
Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel

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Mahalle, kent çevresinde temel bir sosyo-mekansal fenomendir. Mahalle kültürü, kent yaşamında günlük hayatın mekansal kalıplarıyla kendini gösterir. Bu nedenle mahallenin yaşanan mekanı farklı sosyal gruplarına ait farklı yaşam biçimlerinin bir anlatımı olarak tanımlanabilir. Yaşanan mekan, fonksiyon çeşitliliği, farklı etkinlik düzenleri ve insan-çevre arasındaki farklı ilişkileri içerir. Dolayısıyla, bir mahallenin mimari özelliklerinin o mahallenin mekansallığı ve toplum yaşamı üzerinde etkileri vardır. Bu bakımdan mahalle birimi fikri, Ankara’nın başkent olarak inşaa edilme biçiminde etkili olmuş ve mimari, kültürel ve tarihi değerleri bakımından halen mevcuttur. Ancak son yıllarda, konut alanlarının hem fiziksel hem de sosyal kalıpları bazı ekonomik, demografik, sosyolojik ve kültürel nedenlerden dolayı toplu konut veya kapalı siteler olarak biçimlendirilmekte ya da dönüştürülmektedir. Fakat mahalle, şehir hayatında çevresel, kültürel, ahlaki, toplumsal ve yerel değerlerden oluşur. Bu nedenle, kentsel planlama ve tasarım süreçlerinde bu değerler dikkate alınmalıdır. Bu bağlamda tez, mahalle çevresini yaşayanların etkinleştirildiği ve yaşam tarzlarının desteklendiği anlamlı çevre olarak tanımlar. Bu sebeple bir yaşam çevresi olarak mahalle, fiziksel mekanın kültürel şekillenmesini ifade eden mekansal bir habitus olarak kavramsallaştırılır ve bu tez mahallenin yaşanan mekanının

zelliklerine odaklanmakta ve mahalle sakinlerinin farklı yařam formlarıyla mahalle mekanları arasındaki iliřkiyi habitus kavramı aısından eleřtirel bir biimde incelemektedir. Mahalle biriminin hem fiziksel hem de sosyal zelliklerini ve mahalle sakinlerinin mekansal deneyimlerini habitus baēlamında deēerlendirip belgelemek iin Yenimahalle’de bir alıřma alanı seilmiřtir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mahalle Birimi, Habitus, Yařanan Mekan, Sosyal Mekan, Kentleřme

To my brother Sefa...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Definition of the Problem

The housing problem in Turkey has been the subject of a number architectural and urban studies. The daily life of inhabitants, the structure of urban space, the design of residential units, the relationship between individuals and the built environment, the public and private spaces, all have been persistent problems with various aspects and components. With increasing population and migration, the cities have been transformed rapidly and the living spaces of inhabitants have been by this transformation. This is also apparent in Turkey, especially in big cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, Adana, Mersin. consequently, the need for housing space and the search for different housing areas in the city have given way new types of residential settlements towards pluralistic approaches which can reflect the different life styles and be affordable for different income groups in the city. As John Turner pointed out, “housing is a verb”. The importance of housing importance as a need is not just because of the relationship between individuals’ thinking about houses and architectural quality of the houses but because “they are the locus of much of our everyday life.”¹ The housing space -both outdoors and indoors- frames activities for different forms of life. And housing environments are cultural artifacts that contain meanings for people. These meanings are collectively determined, experienced and memorized. In this context, the housing phenomenon, its spatiality and the forms of life are intertwined with each other. Explaining the role of space and its relation to

¹ Rakoff, R. M. (1977). Ideology in everyday life:-the meaning of the house. *Politics & Society*, 7(1), 85-104. p.88.

daily life of inhabitants in the concept of housing needs to be evaluated according to a theoretical framework. A series of dispositions and practices are taking place in the housing environment, and its architecture provides inhabitants with knowledge about how to act in the space in different given circumstances. Pierre Bourdieu, who is a French sociologist and anthropologist, explains this with his notion of *habitus*. Habitus, as a concept, can be described as a “sense of individual’s place and a sense of social group’s place”. He explains that individuals’ experiences determine their behavior and let them adapt or modify the dispositions. Habitus indicates a web of complex processes that link the physical, the social and the mental. It creates a foundation for our perception of the place and other people in the world. With respect to that, the study emphasizes the argument that the inhabitation combines mind and body and the concept of habitus offers a meaningful relationship between the built environment and its inhabitants in the residential environment. Therefore, in this study, housing architecture is approached as a spatial habitus to reveal the importance of design solutions as the spatial expression “to be able to translate the needs and resources of society into physical solutions.”² The architectural design of the housing environments is related to the current and future needs of individuals’ form of life. Hence, the concept of housing includes the meaning of spatial habitus as resulting from the perception of individuals or social groups. The quality of residential environment should be handled with optimal integration of local sources and neighborhood connections by taking into consideration the inhabitants’ form of life, their needs and housing standards. Therefore, lived space of inhabitants becomes important for the architect, planner or designer to physically, socially and historically contribute to the quality of the residential environment. However, in the case of Ankara, the lived space of the residential environment has started to lose its socio-cultural identity in the recent period. The reason behind is that today’s cities are subject to rapid urban transformation process. Urban transformations, urban growth

² OIKODOMOS. (n.d.). OIKODOMOS Housing Concepts. Retrieved June 15, 2019, from http://www.oikodomos.org/resources/housing_concepts.pdf. p.6.

and expansion processes have been important planning problems of Ankara in the last decade because they embody different urban and societal residential problems. The main motivation of the study is that Ankara has been designed as a capital city by including different forms of life at different scales. This has been applied for different settlements from the date of its first city plans. However, the residential environments we live in today are undergoing rapid changes. As a process of modernization in the city, people have started to live in high-rise high-dense residential areas. Instead of the search for a housing neighborhood which gives importance to the inhabitants' sense of belonging and the formation of social bond to the place, new emergent housing areas produces an urban environment that lacks identity.

Before going into detail about the urban transformation in the case of Ankara, it is important to mention the definition of the concept of urban transformation. In the planning theory, the concept of urban transformation has been defined differently in different periods by referring to the paradigm shifts in planning history.³ According to Nuran Zeren Gülersoy and Ebru Güler, urban transformation can be reconsidered in three major categories which are heritage conservation-based urban transformation, regeneration-based urban transformation and (re)development-based urban transformation. Heritage conservation-based urban transformation is practiced in the urban areas which have historical and cultural significance. The fundamental focus of this transformation is the protection of culture in the area. If the existing urban environment harbors different potentials according to function, its activity pattern, its sociality or economic development, regeneration-based urban transformation should be processed by producing multiple parameters such as spatial, social, economic etc. On the other hand, (re)development-based transformation process focuses on upgrading physical environment and restructuring socio-economic situation in the environment. Therefore, it focuses mostly on renewal and rehabilitation as a method and produces policy-based frameworks to create a strategy in the planning and design

³ Gülersoy, N. Z., & Güler, E. (2011). Conceptual challenges on urban transformation. *ITU A/ Z*, 8(1), 10-24. p.1.

of the urban space. Different processes should be designed for different urban environments according to their potentials and needs. In the case of Ankara, new projects are conducted by the state as a part of urban transformation, some of them are practiced in squatter areas, some are carried out in historical places in the city and others are implemented in the reserve areas of the city center. While these projects should be processed differently according to local needs and quality of existing situation of lived space, but they don't materialize in that manner. Generally, the history of urban planning and architecture, existing life patterns in places, socio-situational values of spatial habitus, architectonics of current settlement and analysis about lived space are not considered in these transformation projects. However, the architectural space of the residential environments is a total web of relations containing social, psychological, and economic aspects. It is not only a recognition of physical relations but associational values, too.

The transformation projects as mass productions in neighborhoods aim to reduce designing and building costs by repeating the same model many times in Turkey. These mass housing projects have some deficiencies in terms of understanding the urban culture and context, land use and building orientation, and in terms of revealing the quality and authenticity of the landscape and social situations in the city environment. They are representations of returning public space to corridors with walls. The projects are mostly gated community projects that are walled off from their surroundings. Independent of their location, these monotype gated communities have been carried out as a residential environment model in different neighborhoods of Ankara. It is a fact that transforming the living residential environments, which have different spatial and social characteristics, into monotype gated communities, and creating a place without any identity concerns have led to dramatic spatial and social changes in the inhabitants' life and urban life in the city. As Ayca Ergün and Ceren Kulkul, urban sociologists, stated that "as space becomes broader and more divided,

everyday life becomes accordingly wider and more fragmented.”⁴ By creating the fragmentation of urban space and social interaction, neighborhoods with gated housing projects have been perceived as protected spaces and create the feeling of more security in the lived space. Thus, they present fully isolated space mostly for the upper middle-income group. Segregating themselves from the rest of the society has become characteristic of belonging to the upper-middle income group.⁵ As a result, people’s interest in these enclosed residential areas have increased in different sections of the society for different reasons such as security. Yet, the culture of dwelling gradually influences the socialization of inhabitants and their habitus and vice versa.

The same debate has also been prevailing in the world as a criticism regarding the housing issue, and architects have been internationally criticized to have an uninformed attitude toward sociality and locality. Returning to examples from Ankara, the housing environments, which are artificially produced, lack conditions to generate diversity and multiplicity in space and social situation along with ecological concerns. It is difficult to ecologically identify and mediate architectural elements according to different architectural aspects and components in most of the housing projects implemented in the recent decades. Also, they demarcate physical barriers and isolations from the urban context. They have no variety of different spatial expressions of the activities for different ways of life. Rather than designing a space in-between public and private, outside and inside and taking into consideration the local - physical and cultural- needs, professionals’ attitude makes the field of architecture questionable about “sources of architectural expression.”⁶ As explained by Uğur Tanyeli, architect and academician, architecture creates appropriate platforms for social programs and the design of private and the public spaces prepares the appropriate milieu for the

⁴ Ergun, A., & Kulkul, C. (2018). Defining semi-public space: a case study in the gated communities of Yaşamkent, Ankara. *Turkish Studies*, 1-18. p.2.

⁵ Ibid. pp.2-3.

⁶ Habraken, N. J. (2007). *Palladio's Children: Essays on Everyday Environment and the Architect*. Taylor & Francis. p.93.

bodily practices of the inhabitants.⁷ However, the projects do not satisfy inhabitants' habits concerning the web of social relations in the neighborhood environment. Being rather independent from the quality of the urban environment, these projects present a superficial on architectural space in an urban environment. These projects, conducted by both the state and construction sector, do not produce urban regeneration in the city. As stated before, urban regeneration is rather based on investment, consumption and employment of people by both the state and the local community. Moreover, enhancing the quality of life within the urban environment becomes an important topic in the process. However, both the urban environment and the housing units in these projects have no flexibility to provide possibilities of change for different social needs in the future. The design of the residential units and the diversity of public spaces which can provide the inhabitants' shopping, education, sport and socializing needs, have not been considered all together. Therefore, it creates car-dependent inhabitants and increases traveling in the city. It is a fact that the design of these residential environments is not architecturally, socially, psychologically and economically compared to the urban neighborhoods that can be appropriated by individuals in the city, the new gated housing projects offer more sterilized environments, and thus cannot create their own social identities. In this context, it is understood that there is no urban philosophy nor ideology in the produced design projects implemented in Ankara during the last decades, depending a lack of consideration of the urban context and its neighborhood life in their architectural design.

Cities are environments where architectural traditions are produced; architecture is enriched by the mutual interaction between inhabitants and their environment; and neighborhoods are creations of the community; they contain layer of habitation. Accordingly, the present study aims at putting into question the understanding of urban transformation in Turkey, which causes the urban environment to lose variety of forms of life in the architectural space in residential environment as spatial habitus

⁷ Tanyeli, U. (1998). Mekanlar, projeler, anlamları. Üç Kuşak Cumhuriyet, 101-107.

and people have started to live in monotype lived space in Ankara. Hence, the study focuses on the housing issue and how the neighborhood shapes the mutual living conditions of inhabitants and habitat. To do that, the study jointly references Perry's neighborhood-unit concept and Bourdieu's notion of habitus. Moreover, it tries to investigate the codes and the complex relationship behind the production of space of the neighborhood in the case of Ankara. And to do that, Henri Lefebvre's triad dialectic provides an appropriate conceptualization for reading the spatial diversity of the neighborhood concept.

1.2. The Theoretical Framework of the Study

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on three main branches. First, there is the neighborhood-unit idea as spatial habitus, secondly, the historical analysis of architectural and urban dynamics of Ankara to decode the understanding of neighborhood-unit implementations in the city, and thirdly, the analysis of the built environment of a neighborhood as a case study.

It is necessary to emphasize the difference between the notion of neighborhood and the neighborhood-unit. The notion of neighborhood refers to a district and a community within a city.⁸ Neighborhoods exist in every country, society and culture with different characteristics. They can be planned or not, but the phenomenon of the neighborhood corresponds to the self-evolvement process, both socially and physically. American historian and sociologist Lewis Mumford mentions the term of neighborhood and relative terms such as district, borough, parish and quarter in his book *The Urban Prospect* before explaining the concept of neighborhood-unit.⁹ While

⁸ "Neighbourhood | Definition of Neighbourhood in English by Oxford Dictionaries." Oxford Dictionaries | English. Accessed June 02, 2019. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/neighbourhood>.

⁹ Mumford, L. (1968). *The urban prospect*. Harvill Secker. p.58.

the neighborhood is defined as a district or community in Oxford Dictionary, the district is defined as a relatively large area in the city by Kevin Lynch, American planner and one of the founders of Urban Design, in his book *The Image of the City*.¹⁰ He explains the district as a thematic continuum which contains a variety of architectural details, urban textures, building types and activity patterns. Another term used by Mumford is the borough. It is defined as a town or district by referring to it as an administrative unit.¹¹ The notion of borough has a British administrative root. The notion of Parish is originally a French word and it includes the meaning of neighborhood traditionally in relation to a church and a square. Therefore, it defines an area served by a church and refers to a level of local administration. The Church serves as a community center and the notion of Parish is reminiscent of the medieval city which is built on the neighborhood principles.¹² According to Mumford, the quarter is also defined by referring to the medieval city up to the sixteenth century. It is mostly used for Italian cities to address a traditional neighborhood.¹³ Furthermore, the Ottoman neighborhood concept, which is *mahalle*, has been an important part of spatial formulation, management and economic systems of cities. Historically, the mahalles were important parts of cities in Ottoman era. Istanbul is one of the most characteristic aspects of the Ottoman cities consisted of ‘a web of mahalles’. As mentioned by Cem Behar, who has studied the neighborhoods in the Ottoman era, the mahalles were for local identities during that time. They were significant urban units and contained various mechanisms designed for regulating public ethics. Hence, the social life was collective, durable and strong at that time.¹⁴ In accordance with that,

¹⁰ Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city* (Vol. 11). MIT press. p.66.

¹¹ "Borough | Definition of Borough in English by Oxford Dictionaries." Oxford Dictionaries | English. Accessed June 02, 2019. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/borough>.

¹² Mumford, L. (1954). The neighborhood and the neighborhood unit. *Town Planning Review*, 24(4), 256.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Behar, C. (2012). *Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul, A: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap Ilyas Mahalle*. SUNY Press. p.4.

Behar defines the concept of mahalle as a *cellular structure* in its relation to the city and a structure that generates the architectural identity in the city environment.¹⁵ This is also what is emphasized in the concept of neighborhood-unit theory which became influential in New Urbanism Movement. The notion of neighborhood-unit is the idea of self-contained residential environment which was conceptualized in 1920s by Clarence Perry who was an American planner and sociologist. According to Perry's definition, the neighborhood-unit is a unit of a larger whole and a distinct entity in itself. It has four main spatial components which are residential environment, elementary school, parks and playgrounds, shopping areas. As a theoretical framework, the reason for using the notion of neighborhood and neighborhood-unit in the study is the significance of its relation to the community, identity, locality within the architectural space.

The neighborhood-unit idea will be discussed theoretically in detail in Chapter 2 alongside the notion of habitus and lived space. And in Chapter 3, neighborhood-unit concept in Ankara will be investigated.

1.3. The Aim of the Study and The Research Questions

Ankara contains a diversity of neighborhoods as city and in that context, the main hypothesis of the study is that Ankara still houses different layers of forms of life that can be subjected to aesthetic judgement. This multi layered living environment should be documented, and it can be considered in the process of the improvement and transformation projects. In that manner, the spatial organization of the neighborhood environment offers some possibilities to the inhabitants to convert it into different lived experiences. Hence, the relationship between functional units and activity patterns of people determines the quality of the living environment. The design

¹⁵ Ibid. pp.3-5.

principles of the neighborhood settlement should produce a life which is worth living by people and the places should enrich and inspire the life of inhabitants. New Urbanism also focuses on the effects of spaces on people and offers a design principle to uplift the quality of everyday space for people, to create a sense of place and to design a space sensitive to human scale. However, as mentioned before, due to the understanding of urban transformation in Ankara, the argument of this thesis is that the spatial qualities in the residential environment have started to disappear and different forms of life cannot produce their own spatial organization in the lived space of the city. Hence, the spatial diversity and fertile lived experience of the inhabitants in their neighborhood life should be analyzed to protect cultural richness of different individual-environment relationships in the habitats of Ankara city. The question that motivated this research is how the situation of the current neighborhoods that- can be evaluated with Bourdieu's habitus concept, which includes the process of architectural practice and its physical and social manifestations, and what kind of spatial learning from the concept of neighborhood-unit as spatial habitus. Therefore, it is important to discover how to sustain diversity of forms of life in the neighborhood environment by upgrading the existing socio-spatial patterns in the city life to create new conditions for individuals. This can mediate the change of the existing understanding of urban transformation.

Despite the abundance of historical, analytical and descriptive studies about Ankara city, especially on transformation and gentrification issues, transforming urban environment to fit the contemporary needs by considering current cultural codes and existing life patterns is one of the predominant challenges in the field of architecture. While these transformation processes are carried out within a complicated infrastructure, a wide variety of chances to gain advantage of existing cultural diversity, spatial organizations and structures can be harnessed through them. To synthesize the lived experience of architectural habitus in the urban environment for long-term planning, the combination of "*applicable spatial theory*" and "*innovative analytical methods*" and a "*comprehensive toolkit of flexible design methods*" is

needed in Ankara.¹⁶ From the individual house along a way of the block to the whole neighborhood, the architecture is created from a need of design feature recognition. This thesis is a study on researching interfaces of architecture and its environment to reveal qualification of form of life in the habitats. Dwelling culture of different architectural identities presents different aesthetic experience of inhabitants. In this thesis, the purpose is to investigate the authenticity of spatial experience of inhabitants in the neighborhood environment.

Therefore, two issues become important. Firstly, the main task is to understand what “lived-space”, “form of life” and “habitus” mean for architectural design in this context in the case of Ankara. Secondly, the current use of the neighborhood needs to be documented and analyzed for the future development of the city itself. Consequently, answering the main research question requires the following sub-questions to be answered, too;

- 1- ‘What does diversity of form of life mean in the neighborhood environment?’
- 2- ‘Which design patterns exist in the neighborhood environment which make it possible to appropriate different spatial settings for the inhabitants?’
- 3- ‘What possible connections can be created between research and design to approach socio-spatial characteristics in the neighborhood?’

¹⁶ Paans, O., & Pasel, R. (2014). *Situational Urbanism: Directing Postwar Urbanity: an Adaptive Methodology for Urban Transformation*. Jovis p.5.

- 4- ‘How can existing socio-spatial patterns be translated into design process to create a new understanding of transformation/new design strategy in the urban environment of the neighborhood?’

Within the scope of the study, it is determined that socio-environmental concerns about lived space should be theoretically resolved within the concept of spatial habitus, especially in the discipline of architecture. To do that, it is necessary to investigate socio cultural factors, identity, locality specifications, perception and experience of neighborhood environment in relation to the concept of neighborhood idea. According to that, in Chapter 2, the neighborhood as a living environment is conceptualized as a physical embodiment of social space together with Bourdieu’s perspective about social space and habitus. After that, in Chapter 3, the emergence of neighborhoods in Ankara according to the history of the city planning is analyzed. In Chapter 4, the existing situation of Yenimahalle as an exemplary case of the neighborhood-unit idea is a point of focus. The reasons behind this choice is that Yenimahalle was designed with the purpose of being a well-defined neighborhood in Ankara, it still has a neighborhood identity, it defines some specific social practices as a neighborhood, it contains meaning for its inhabitants, and it offers different spatial organizations in the neighborhood environment. Hence, comparative architectural analysis is applied revealing the spatial characteristics of the neighborhood in Yenimahalle. Moreover, interviews were conducted with the inhabitants of Yenimahalle to understand human-and-environment relationship in the neighborhood.

1.4. Research Methodology

1.4.1. Literature Review

Neighborhood environments in the city are spaces shared by people. The definition of “neighborhood”, which grounds the “sociality” and “sharing” ideas, leads us to the discussion of the understanding of various urban forces - relations between functions, architectural spaces and people.¹⁷ Architecture is formed in the middle of this multiplicity rather than singularity. Therefore, to understand the built-environment of a residential area as a multiplicity of spatial organization of human life and architecture as a discipline shaping it, the architectural research needs to be informed from different fields and disciplines. Therefore, the theoretical analysis of the study is formed not only by the literature of architecture studies but also the field of sociology, urban design, phenomenology and philosophy. The literature review of the study mainly contains books, journal and conference papers, magazines and online sources about the analysis of housing environments. The thesis is mainly based on the notion of lived space, habitus, form of life and its relation to space theory and architectural theory. The ideas of Clarence Perry are discussed in the study while conceptualizing the neighborhood and neighborhood-unit idea. At the same time, Pierre Bourdieu’s studies are examined to understand the concept social space in the neighborhood environment. Hence, Bourdieu’s habitus concept becomes a key notion for the study. Moreover, this study benefitted from the French philosopher and sociologist, Henri Lefevre’s studies on the notion of lived space and the studies of the notion of thirdspace by the urban theorist and geographer Edward Soja. For the investigation of the lived experience of inhabitants in the neighborhood environment, French philosopher and phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s thoughts and those of the

¹⁷ Dovey, K. (2016). *Urban design thinking: A conceptual toolkit*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Finnish architect Juhani Pallasma are referred to. Additionally, the studies of the architect and anthropologist Amos Rapoport are discussed to emphasize the role of cultural variables and identity issue in architecture. Also, the architect and planner Ali Madanipour's research has helped in the analysis of the public and private space of the neighborhood environment.

After a discussion on the international literature to reveal critical points of socio-spatial aspects of the residential environment, the habitus of architectural space, its relation to architectonics and different dispositions of the human habitat, the historical background about the architecture and urban development of Ankara are presented. Mainly, the studies by Ali Cengizkan, Esra Akcan, Cânâ Bilsel, İlhan Tekeli, Baykan Günay are discussed to understand the history of Ankara's city planning and the development of neighborhood-unit idea in Ankara. Their ideas are investigated to reveal how Ankara city has formed and produced its socio-spatial culture from history to present in the neighborhood environments.

1.4.2. Mapping Spatial Habitus of Residential Environment in Yenimahalle

As mentioned by Otto Paans and Ralf Pasel, architects who have studies on urban design and architecture, while disciplines of natural science, social science and humanities have large amounts of knowledge and methods, the architectural research needs different applicable processes and tools.¹⁸ Therefore, developing the relationship between research and designing action needs to explore new theoretical territories. As a result, they have developed a method named as "Situational Urbanism" which combines urban spatial theory and comparative cases. The analysis of a living environment is an integral part of design practice for them. Hence, they see

¹⁸ Paans, O., & Pasel, R. (2014). *Situational Urbanism: Directing Postwar Urbanity: an Adaptive Methodology for Urban Transformation*. Jovis. p.15.

the living environments as collective structures.¹⁹ They state that “to map the chances and potentials of this neighborhood”, they “developed a so-called situational analysis.”²⁰ They made the translations to the mappings from observations, quantitative and qualitative data of the current situation of areas. Instead of studying sociological and demographical aspects of the urban issues, both the problems and the potential of the situations are identified visually in this method. In Chapter 4, the spatial characteristics of Yenimahalle are documented by situational analysis method to identify the neighborhood form, urban functions and the processes of changes in the architectural space. The analysis is investigated by mappings including layers of used public and private spaces of the neighborhood.

1.4.3. A Survey in Yenimahalle

American sociologist Early Babbie states that “the social life is really a matter of interactions and their residue.”²¹ All the social patterns and their structures are fundamentally experienced in a space and the social life is sustained in the physical space of daily life. Hence, as to investigate the relationship between sociality and physicality in architecture of the neighborhood, a questionnaire was constituted of 19 questions. The questions were formulated in an open-ended manner to which the respondent was asked to get his/her own answers. In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted verbally with 12 people who live in the site of Yenimahalle. The interviews aimed to indicate the meaning of neighborhood life for inhabitants, the perception of architectural properties of the neighborhood environment and the relationship between

¹⁹ Ibid. pp.43-51.

²⁰ Paan, O., Pasel, R., & Ehlen, B. (n.d.). *Architectural Representation, the Controlled Future and Spatial Practice*. p.11.

²¹ Babbie, E. R., & Babbie, E. R. (1999). *The basics of social research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Pub. p.30.

environment and inhabitants. While preparing the question statements, the issues of formulating appropriate question forms, making questionnaire items clear for interviewees, avoiding double-barreled questions which have double directions and informal fallacies, and avoiding negative and biased items were carefully considered.²² In Chapter 4, the aim of the interview, the structure of the questions and the answers are discussed in detail.

²² Ibid. pp. 263-267.

CHAPTER 2

THE LIVED SPACE OF THE RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOOD AS SPATIAL HABITUS

2.1. The Origin of the Concept of Habitus

Before diving into the rich notion of “habitus” for architecture and its contemporary concept, which is propounded by Pierre Bourdieu, it makes sense to explain first the theoretical and historical concept of the notion in some depth. The concept of habitus, articulated in the study, is based on the idea of looking into the dwelling act. Therefore, the historical background of the idea of *the nature of habit* is important to comprehend the concept of spatial habitus and simultaneously its approach in space theory in architecture. Gisella M. Vorderobermeier, a scholar who studied the sociology of Bourdieu, mentions in his book *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies* that it can be easily recognized that Bourdieu’s habitus concept converges into the philosophical tradition, and reflects the Aristotelian-Thomistic body of thought²³. While Bourdieu acknowledges Aristotelian-Thomistic historical background of his habitus concept²⁴, he “completely rethought” the habitus concept.²⁵ The notion of habitus dates back to the initial Aristotelian formulation of the idea of εἶς - Hexis in Greek.²⁶ Hexis refers to “having”, and in a sense it means an “activity”. The action happens as “an act of

²³ Aristotelian-Thomistic approach has been arisen from Thomism school of philosophy. It was built as a legacy of the thought of Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas disputed questions and commentaries on Aristotle.

²⁴ Vorderobermeier, G. (2014). *Remapping Habitus in translation studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. p.9.

²⁵ Bourdieu, P. (1990). *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*. Stanford University Press. p.10.

²⁶ Aristotle, & McMahon, J. H. (2018). *The metaphysics*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.p.5.

making” between one thing which makes and one thing which is made. In another sense, “having” refers to a “disposition”. It means the way in which something is placed or arranged in relation to other things either in space or in form.²⁷ In the Aristotelian perspective, disposition has been driven by the engagement in certain modes of activity when an individual encounters an object or a situation. According to that, Thomas Aquinas, an Italian philosopher and theologian in the tradition of scholasticism²⁸, redefines the application of the concept of habitus, particularly in the context of ethical reasoning of moral and aesthetic virtues. According to Aquinas’ thoughts, in relation to personal habits, a person who lives through effort and training towards being virtuous can cultivate the aptitude to act morally. This is a person for whom moral behavior becomes second nature.²⁹ Therefore, the concept of habitus refers to a reflection on the collective dimension of behaviors shared by a social group. The French sociologist Marcel Mauss explains the habitus notion as an aspect of culture and as the entire set of “collective practical reasons” between individuals and society.³⁰ Accordingly, habitus refers to associational values of an activity that takes place in the physical space and generates sociality in human life. Tullio Viola states that the art historian Erwin Panofsky’s technical use of the notion clarifies certain limits of *posture* and *physical attitude*.³¹ Panofsky studied the sociology of art and the

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Scholasticism is a method of critical thought which a way of teaching by the academia of medieval universities especially in Europe from 1100 until about 1600. It was based on Aristotelian logic and emphasizes the tradition and dogma. Scholastic universities were a school of philosophy, theology, law, history, literature, medicine etc. Especially, philosophy provided to many independent fields of studies which can be physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, politics, economics etc. While many early modern philosophers criticized the thought of Scholasticism, their objection to this medieval understanding was not to contain wrong information of methodologies to reach the knowledge but rather having barbarous in style and attaching more importance to their own opinions, Church of Christ than the Holy World. However, they had a strong emphasis on reasoning, conceptual analysis and careful drawing of distinctions.

²⁹ Omar Lizardo. 2013. “Habitus.” In Byron Kaldis (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Philosophy and the Social Sciences*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

³⁰ Mauss, M. (1973). *Techniques of the Body*. *Economy and society*, 2(1), 70-88.

³¹ Viola, T. (2012). Peirce and Iconology. Habitus, Embodiment, and the Analogy between Philosophy and Architecture. *European Journal of Pragmatism and American Philosophy*, 4(IV-1).

cultural meaning of architecture. The concept of habit emerges in Panofsky's perspective as an equivalent of *habit-taking* or *habit-forming* in Gothic Architecture. The approach is not only about relations between humans but also the interactions of humans with inanimate objects. Bourdieu translated Panofsky's book in his series *Le Sens Commun*, and he stressed Panofsky's use of habitus which serves as the determinant link between philosophy and gothic style in architecture. In his book *The Craft of Sociology*, Bourdieu mentions Panofsky's analogy between the principles of logical organization of scholasticism and the principles of construction of gothic architecture. He says that "Panofsky is led to identify the historical convergence which provides the object of his research with a hidden principle, the "habitus" or "habit-forming force"."³² Bourdieu ascertains that the architectural objects and their relationship with time, place and people are included in the concept of habitus by Panofsky. Moreover, according to Panofsky's architectural concept of habitus, Bourdieu discusses the social task of the architect who has the role of assimilating the set of habits in social life through Scholastic thought in Gothic Architecture.³³

In this context, habitus sets out a dynamic force to establish alternative analysis for multidimensional needs of both architects' and inhabitants' environmental perception of architecture. The properties of architectural object have within them cultural associations in the neighborhood life. Ananda Breed, an applied arts practitioner and scholar, addresses human relations and social systems from the perspective of experiencing the environment. According to her, the notion of our surrounding environment is as varied as the natural environment, architectural environment and cultural environment. All these concepts of the environment are part of individual's culture and create his or her own intellectual atmosphere, perception and experience. Therefore, the aesthetic perception of architectural space includes sense of reciprocity which arises between perceivers' dispositions and the forms which they participate

³² Bourdieu, P., Chamboredon, J. C., & Passeron, J. C. (1991). *The craft of sociology: Epistemological preliminaries*. Walter de Gruyter. p.191.

³³ Ibid. p.192.

in.³⁴ Hence, it leads us to identify individuals' environmental convergence with a hidden principle, a habitus. Thus, the study relates itself to the concept of habitus which emphasizes the process that can be defined as internalized habit of an individual or social group. Bourdieu introduces the concept to social situations, social classes and their differing lifestyles by referring to its historical background. Therefore, different from using the notion of habitat, habitus creates a way to understand individuals' perception of the social and physical world and reaction to them. It is defined as ingrained dispositions. These dispositions are usually shared by individuals with similar background like social class, nationality, education, profession or religion. Hence, Bourdieu uses the notion of habitus to break past accounts of the term habit which is used by, for example, William James in his book *Habit* (1976), Harold Garfinkel in his book *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (1967), Alfred Schutz in his book *The Phenomenology of The Social World* (1972), and Thomas Luckmann & Peter Ludwig Berger in their book of *The Social Construction of Reality* (1971).³⁵

On the other hand, Bourdieu has been influenced by Erwin Panofsky's Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism, which he translated. Also, Bourdieu constructs his own approach by referring to Husserl's 'habitualitat', Mauss's 'hexis' and Hegel's 'ethos'. He uses habitus instead of saying habit to emphasize generative principles of regular practices. The concept of habitus contains principles underlying and generating those practices. Michael Grendel, a professor in the education department and has studies about Pierre Bourdieu, Arts and Education Philosophy, explains Bourdieu's concept by emphasizing those practices. He says that those practices house invisible relationships to the untrained gaze. Also, Bourdieu explains in his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* that "because they are

³⁴ Breed, A. (2015). Environmental aesthetics, social engagement and aesthetic experiences in Central Asia. *Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance*, 20(1), 87-99. doi:10.1080/13569783.2014.986447. pp.87-96.

³⁵ Grenfell, M. J. (Ed.). (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: key concepts*. Routledge. p.55.

obscured by the realities of ordinary sense- experience.”³⁶ According to him, the notion of habit and the notions derived from it such as habitat or habituality are regarded as repetitive and automatic rather than productive. Therefore, the notion of habitus provides fertile understanding for representing objective and subjective realizations of the social world to understand social practices.³⁷ Here, while conceptualizing habitus in neighborhood-unit concept, what is important for the study is Bourdieu’s generic and relational mode of thinking to understand the daily activities of the neighborhood life because habitus is more than the practices and has its own properties and tendencies in the physical world. Bourdieu emphasizes socialized forms of actions to highlight the creativity of practices and explains why he uses the notion of habitus:

“Why did I revive that old word? Because with the notion of habitus you can refer to something that is close to what is suggested by the idea of habit, while differing from it in one important respect. The habitus, as the word implies, is that which one has acquired, but which has become durably incorporated in the body in the form of permanent dispositions. So the term constantly reminds us that it refers to something historical, linked to individual history, and that it belongs to a genetic mode of thought, as opposed to existentialist modes of thought ... Moreover, by habitus the Scholastics also meant something like a property, a capital. And indeed, the habitus is a capital, but one which, because it is embodied, appears as innate.”³⁸

According to that, Bourdieu shows us the relationship between our habitus and our practical mastery. For Bourdieu, Individuals’ or social groups’ objectives, expectations, beliefs and understandings about what is reasonable or unreasonable, what is obvious or unobvious actions or what shapes our decisions are rather

³⁶ Bourdieu, P. (2013). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge. p.22.

³⁷ Grenfell, M. (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (Vol. 2nd ed). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. p.56.

³⁸ Bourdieu, P. (1993). *Sociology in question* (R. Nice, Trans.). London: Sage. p.86.

conditioned by the habitus.³⁹ Through this perspective, habitus can be approached as a mediated form of social structure of society. Therefore, Bourdieu investigates different modes of capital with habitus such as the educational, cultural, social and spatial. And he analyzes their interrelations with practices, tastes and judgements in the daily life. Therefore, the concept of habitus is a phenomenon which is emergent from relations between actors of the habitus and their contextual social fields. Grenfell explains this relational structure of habitus even within itself and says that “habitus thereby aims to shape our habitus- it aims to help transform our ways of seeing the social world.”⁴⁰ Being different than habitat, habitus refers to lively social relations in the neighborhood environment and cultural embodiment. Habitus is subjected to different forms of life in architecture because it is forming the conditions, and concurrently it is a product of conditioning.⁴¹ According to Loïc Wacquant, a French sociologist who has studies on urban sociology, habitus is revealed in the Bourdieusian theory of sociology both as structured, which is determined by social forces , and structuring, which gives form and coherence to the various activities of a social group or an individual in the sphere of life.⁴² Crucially, the concept of habitus approaches social situations in the context of this interrelation between structured and structuring forms of activities.

The neighborhood as spatial habitus can be approached as both structured and structuring form of the social and physical situations in the city environment. Therefore, both practices and activities in the neighborhood environment architectural practices and activities pertain to the concept of habitus in that context. Accordingly,

³⁹ Erzen, J. N. (2015). *Üç Habitus: Yeryüzü, Kent, Yapı*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları. p.13.

⁴⁰ Grenfell, M. (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (Vol. 2nd ed). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. p.60.

⁴¹ Bourdieu, P. (1993). *Sociology in question* (R. Nice, Trans.). London: Sage. p.87.

⁴² Wacquant, L. (1998). Pierre bourdieu. *In Key sociological thinkers* (pp. 215-229). Palgrave, London. pp. 6-7.

spatiality of physical environment, especially residential environment, becomes an important issue to investigate the concept of spatial habitus in the study.

In the mode of critical spatial awareness in academic literature, spatiality in architecture means spatiality of human life. In the interaction of architectural theory and postmodern social theory, spatiality of architecture has started to be defined in different ways like “spatial sociality”, “spatiality of human life”, “spatial organization of human life”, “lived space” and “thirdspace”. Moreover, the spatiality of human life in the neighborhood environment includes associational values of the concepts of place, landscape, environment, locality, home, city, region, territory, geography etc. In the balance between physicality, historicity and sociality of space, Lefebvre conceptualizes the spatiality with three different notions in his book *The Production of Space*. These notions are “perceived space” that materializes spatial practices, “conceived space” that is defined as a representation of space, and “lived space” which is defined as a sequence of actions. This formulation is described as a trialectic which is a dialectic of triplicity. In addition, Edward W. Soja re-engages Lefebvre’s journey about social and historical significance of human spatiality. He defines thirdspace as another way of understanding to express spatiality of human life. It presents a new scope by readdressing the trialectic of spatiality. According to him, firstspace is an identification of the concrete materiality of spatial forms, secondspace is conceived in ideas of human spatiality in mental or cognitive forms. As mentioned by Soja, “these coincide more or less with Lefebvre’s perceived and conceived spaces, with the first often thought of as “real” and the second as “imagined”.⁴³ Thirdspace is a three-sided sensibility of spatiality, historicity and sociality. It is the space that lived through its associated cultural values, symbols and images. Both lived space and thirdspace are combinations of the practical and theoretical understanding of the spatiality of human life. They harbor three-sided sensibility of spatiality-historicity-sociality. Therefore, approaching residential space from the perspective of lived space or thirdspace brings

⁴³ Soja, E. W., & Chouinard, V. (1999). Thirdspace: journeys to Los Angeles & other real & imagined places. *Canadian Geographer*, 43(2), 209. p.10.

the study some flexibility. For architects, the role of designing the built form contains reflections from the culture. Xing Ruan, a Chinese academician in architecture, also mentions sociological aspects of architecture by referring to Bourdieu in *Allegorical Architecture* that is a book from the *Spatial Habitus: Making and Meaning in Asia's Architecture Series*. In which book, he is evaluating living myths and architectonics in Southern China;

“A building, after all, is mute. Its social life, after it leaves the hands of the architect, is unpredictable. Pierre Bourdieu sees this problem, but he tackles it from his field of ethnography and sociology. He asks: how does one act in social as well as physical space? Bourdieu realizes that human beings act neither like mechanical puppets nor like calculating game players in space.”⁴⁴

He explains that the concept of habitus can be both the product and the producer of the history of spatiality of human life. Habitus reproduces the conditions of space and Bourdieu emphasizes the process in practice to evoke into people that the concept of inhabitation combines mind and body both socially and physically.⁴⁵ It is called practice-based conceptualization which is a theory of how human beings make and transform the place where they live. It refers to a dynamic relationship between social groups, their environment and human agency- the human ability to act and change the world. In that context, as mentioned in Oxford Dictionary of Sociology for habitus, spatial habitus refers to a “collective system of dispositions that individuals or groups have in the space. Bourdieu uses as a central idea in analyzing structure embodied within human practice.”⁴⁶ As explained before, according to Bourdieu, cultural reproduction and consumption is not only dependent on economy but it is also based

⁴⁴ Ruan, X. (2006). *Allegorical architecture: living myth and architectonics in southern China*. University of Hawaii Press. p.8.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Scott, J., & Marshall, G. (2009). *Oxford dictionary of sociology*. Oxford University Press. p.260.

on different capitals like cultural, social and educational capital. Under these premises, sociality of individual is not merely dependent on his/her own economic capital, but also on different modes of capital which create different modes of sociality in the human life. Hence, Bourdieu's concept of space is not a concept of the relations between geography and the social but as explained by the anthropologist Deborah Reed – Danahay “Bourdieu developed a conceptual framework for connecting social practices and modes of sociality with physical space.”⁴⁷ According to Bourdieu's perspective, the social space is not referring to the physical space in which social interactions are happening. However, its meanings and uses is about the expressions of positioning in the physical space. In addition to that, while examining spatiality in Bourdieusian perspective, Reed-Danahay mentions three different sides of the subject in her article about Bourdieu and spatiality. She says;

“Bourdieu was influenced by the structuralist perspectives of Lévi-Strauss as well as by the more interactionist perspectives of theorists such Simmel (1950), Goffman (1963), and Halbwachs (1950), who wrote about social proximity and distance among social actors or groups of people in social space...Bourdieu's understanding of social space draws from the ideas of Simmel regarding the ways in which those close in physical space can be distant in social space, from the ideas of Goffman regarding the individual and their sense of place, and from Halbwachs regarding the emotional component of group affinity being linked to physical surroundings.”⁴⁸

According to that, Bourdieu approaches the spatiality of human life, the sociality of space and the lived space of inhabitants in terms of systems of relations because they are based on different forms of capital. The concept of spatial habitus includes the proximity issue in social and physical space, individual or social group sense of the place and the physical attributes to the affinity issues of different social groups. In this

⁴⁷ Reed-Danahay, D. (2017). Bourdieu, Social Space, and the Nation-State. Implications for Migration Studies. *Sociologica*, 11(2), 0-0. pp.2-3.

⁴⁸ Reed-Danahay, D. (2017). Bourdieu, Social Space, and the Nation-State. Implications for Migration Studies. *Sociologica*, 11(2), 0-0. pp.3-4.

context, lived space in a neighborhood settlement expresses the spatiality of positioning and the relationships between different modes of habitus.

The concept of spatial habitus refers to the link between personal choices and the collective memories which are embedded in cultural practices within the neighborhood-unit. Therefore, spatial habitus is the process that includes different categories of spatial perception and appreciation, sense of place and understanding of dwelling culture. Habitus does not refer to becoming fixed or permanent, it can be changed under unexpected situations or over a historical period. Hence, the identity issue and the space-time relationship are key concepts in the neighborhood-unit idea as spatial habitus. Also, habitus is neither an outcome of freewill nor a designation by social structure, but rather an interplay between these two. It follows that dispositions of individuals or social groups are shaped by individual experiences and the social structure. Dispositions shape current social practices in the environment and the social structure itself. The habitus concept points out the condition of people's perception and experiences. Thus, it can be said that the phenomenological habitus is another important concept to examine the neighborhood environment as spatial habitus. Time and space relationship, spatial materiality and its design process will be discussed within the socio-spatial context in this study. Besides, residential area in the city is also part of the ecological process of the city. In the interaction of architectural space and ecological process, habitats, activities and values of inhabitants are important to construct appropriate base for planning and design of a residential environment. Hence, these modes will be discussed in the following two sections which are identity and habitus formation, and phenomenological habitus. In that context, identity formation, spatial perception issue and socioecological situations between inhabitants, architectural space and biophysical world become key concepts in architecture culture to understand structured and structuring social situations in the residential environment.

2.2. Considering Identity of Space: Habitus & Identity Formation

Different architectural identities aim to uniquely design the space. The identity of space determines its positive and negative effects on the behavior of human and the built-environment generates its own cognitive impression on inhabitants. As explained by the Canadian geographer Edward Relph in his book *Place and Placeless*, the identity is a phenomenon which refers to a certain sameness within itself and a commonality that allows things to share some characteristics different from the others. Hence, it establishes itself on both the individual or the object and also on culture. However, the identity paradigm in architecture is neither static nor uniform, but varies as conditions vary, and it has several characteristics, components and forms. This tells us that space is not experienced independently, but it is found in all layers of identity which includes a combination of experience, memory, present situation, individual intention and social circumstances in the neighborhood.⁴⁹ Manuel Castells, an urban sociologist, states that “the construction of identities is fundamental to the dynamic of societies and that cultural identity is the process by which social actors build their own meaning according to cultural attributes.”⁵⁰ Moreover, the Indian architect and urban planner Charles Mark Correa defines the identity as a process rather than an end product. He explains that “the search for identity is a byproduct of looking at our real problems rather than self-consciously trying to find identity as an end itself, without worrying about the issue we face.”⁵¹ Correa propounds that the issue of identity in the architecture does not only give us an understanding about the environment but also its relation to ourselves or the society in which we live. Hence, as explained by Simon Frith, a British sociologist who has studies about identity and society, the identity is

⁴⁹ Relph, E. C. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited. pp.29-49.

⁵⁰ Mahgoub, Y. (2007). Hyper Identity: The Case of Kuwaiti Architecture. *International Journal of Architectural Research: ArchNet-IJAR*, 1(1), 70-85. p.70.

⁵¹ Ibid. p.71.

not a consideration of ‘being’ but at the same time it is about “becoming”.⁵² Therefore, it can be explained as belonging to the future as well as to the past. It refers to a self-in-process and narrates the social side in the individual, and the individuality in the social world. From this perspective Frith describes “self” as an organization of social, physical and material entities.⁵³ In addition, Stuart Hall, a sociologist and cultural theorist, explains the issue from two different viewpoints which are: identity as a shared culture reflecting shared socio-cultural codes, and as an inheritance reinforced by generations. The second viewpoint explains the operative world of the identity issue which contains both similarity and continuity. Therefore, Hall emphasizes that the identity can be increasingly fragmented and fractured, and it is never singular or unified but more progressively constructed throughout time differences.⁵⁴ The perspective refers to the hyper nature of identity. This theoretical understanding of the identity tries to investigate dimensions of the issue in relation to the architectural theory. Yasser Mahgoub, who has studies about architecture and psychology, says that the three dimensions of identity can be time, place and culture and the fourth dimension would be defined as “change”.⁵⁵ Indeed, the identity issue in architecture, namely approaching architecture as spatial habitus, requires theoretically evaluating the notion and scrutinizing its reflections on the space theory and vice versa. Therefore, the concept of hyper-identity provides us with an understanding of the identity creation, formation, maintenance and transformation throughout time and place. According to American Heritage Dictionary, Hyper- means “existing in more than three dimensions and linked or arranged non-sequentially”⁵⁶ Accordingly, Marisa

⁵² Gay, P. D., & Hall, S. (2013). Questions of cultural identity. London: Sage. p.109.

⁵³ Ibid. pp.109-110.

⁵⁴ Ibid. pp.4.

⁵⁵ Mahgoub, Y. (2007). Hyper Identity: The Case of Kuwaiti Architecture. *International Journal of Architectural Research: ArchNet-IJAR*, 1(1), 70-85. p.71.

⁵⁶ Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company. (n.d.). The American Heritage Dictionary entry. Retrieved from <https://www.ahdictionary.com/>

Zavalloni, who has studies about identity and hyper-identity issues in the perspective of foundation of self and culture in the department of psychology, states:

“We can imagine the cultural space as an open "clipboard" to which anyone can affix a figure that describes those groups. A figure can take many forms: it could be a discourse, a text, a painting, an argument, an exemplary act or a metaphor, ranging from the trivial to the complex, from the innocent to the malevolent, which addresses a social group. These discursive and representational contents will be described as figures of hyperidentity. The term hyperidentity refers to social groups as a loose collection, of all the figures that are produced about them and that are exchanged in the cultural space. Some of these figures are internalized as expressing the Self.”⁵⁷

Hence, identity formation in architecture would require exploring the tangible issues between architectural space and individuals or social groups in which we live. While the space contains memory, it is a production of ideas, representations or a combination of both. Hence, the identity of the space can be seen a form of consciousness negotiated in a continuous transaction between an individual and cultural, architectural and historical context in the neighborhood settlement. Hence, the identity paradigm within architecture as habitus can be assessed in the hyper-identity context. It describes the continuity in the production of space in the residential environment. In addition to that, hyper-identity of residential environment can be described in a wide range of cultural creations in architecture and architectural representations of different kind of practices. Therefore, the term hyper-identity enables us to investigate the activity patterns of different social categories or groups, their intersections with each other in the housing environment.

⁵⁷ Zavalloni, M. (1993). Identity and hyperidentities: the representational foundation of self and culture. *Papers on social representations*, 2, 218-235. p.2.

In the book *Social Structure of the Economy*, Bourdieu approaches the word of house as a reminder by referring both to the dwelling and the totality of its inhabitants. The word house represents the material entity for the families who live there, and the social entity whose virtue reveals itself in relation to individuals. Also, he explains that “the house is the object of a whole set of activities which we might term “mythopoetic”⁵⁸.”⁵⁹ Hence, dwelling theme in architecture contains reproduction and reformulation of cultural settings and practices. Bourdieu’s perspective of the identity issue in spatiality of housing environment links physicality of space and sociality of space. The housing environment is a place where a variety of social and spatial practices are carried form belonging, closeness, isolation and brutality. Its existence has both social and geographical connotations which refers to “inhabitation”, “social grouping” and “community”. Perry also explains the concept of neighborhood-unit as a comprehensive physical planning tool which promotes community centric life.

The meaning and experience of dwelling varies among inhabitants, between inhabitants and lived space of the neighborhood. In this sense, the role of habitus affects the construction of the spatial characteristics of a place. Therefore, the concept of habitus includes complex and diverse predispositions. It is difficult to discuss the finality of identity in this context. Hence, habitus indicates an understanding of identity which interlaces past and present, individual and collective, and bodily and psychic.⁶⁰ Accordingly, the concept of hyper-identity renders the link between the social domain and physical characteristics. It figures architectural components of the identity formation in spatial habitus. This formation includes relational tools and symbolic power, it produces changes, and it addresses compatible aspects of

⁵⁸ Mythopoetic means ‘relating to the making myth or myths’. It pertains to myth-making and is described sometimes as a stage of human thought.

⁵⁹ Bourdieu, P. (2005). *The social structures of the economy*. Cambridge, UK: Polity. pp.20-24.

⁶⁰ Reay, D. (1998). ‘Always knowing’ and ‘never being sure’: Familial and institutional habituses and higher education choice. *Journal of Education Policy*, 13(4), 519-529. doi:10.1080/0268093980130405. p.521.

architectural space. Hyper-identity figures in architecture can be described as an embodiment of spatial habitus to satisfy some certain needs of different forms of life and they are produced by architects, planners, designers, and simultaneously by inhabitants and institutions. For that matter, Zavalloni believes that the concept of hyper-identity creates the freedom to think about diversity in spatial organization of different social groups and allows us to perceive the changing nature of identity issues. According to this perspective, with the knowledge of the relationship between physical stimuli and human response, design professionals can improve the quality of human habitat. Hence, environmental influences and design decision making process should be clearly understood to identify the lived space of people and the culture of dwelling. Function and form of space and time-body relationship designate a culture of dwelling. The composition of buildings, green areas, streets, squares, alleyways and the relationship between masses and openness determines the expression of places. Thus, different architectural interactions produce different subject-object and intersubjective relationships in the neighborhoods. By considering the place in terms of representing those diversities, it is a mode of act rather than a simple address in a point on a map. As mentioned by Relph, the identity of place houses different characteristics of human experience that both influences and is influenced by the experiences. Hence, it is not simply a realization of sameness and differences between places. The context is not only about the identity of the place, but rather the identity being what an individual or social group has with the place. In other words, knowledge of ourselves as individuals in the space is in correlation with the characteristics of physical world.⁶¹ Hence, architectural practices in the neighborhood environment and the experiences through them can determine one another. Paul Crowther, a philosopher who has studies on aesthetics, defines that as “the principle of reciprocity”.⁶² Therefore, architecture as a practice works not only on the ground of

⁶¹ Relph, E. C. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited. pp.29-49.

⁶² Savaş, A., & Osmay, S. (Eds.). (2017). *Jale N. Erzen anı kitabı = testimonial*. Ankara: Middle East Technical University. p.33.

characteristics of physical world but also it contains reflective knowledge of human experience through the space and time. This reflection also defines the characteristic of place for individuals. Accordingly, Relph emphasizes three major components of it. These are the static physical settings, the activities and the meanings.⁶³ Physical objects in the environment do not continue their own existence depended to human beings. However, the form, the meaning and the function of their existence are in correlation with human knowledge and disposition through them as objects. Crowther explains that in the same principle of reciprocity, “knowledge of an objective world and self-consciousness are reciprocally dependent on one another.”⁶⁴ This reciprocal relationship defines not only how things as architectural objects in the environment endure but also how their formative recognition appears gradually. Hall also defines the same thing as a man and his environment’s molding process.⁶⁵ The process determines the identities of socio-spatial characteristics of an architectural space in everyday life.

Ali Madanipour mentions that architecture, planning, social science and humanities contain studies that try to understand how the society and different concepts of space are structured in the city. Discussion of differences between inhabitants and their life patterns in the urban space addresses the complexity of everyday life, and it can stand against the notions of order as advocated by architects, planners and designers. However, an alternative way to understand the life patterns can be looking at daily life with its spontaneity, differences and disorder.⁶⁶ This alternative view can provide us with new dimensions for the understanding of residential space by acknowledging the different groups and their forms of life which are developed in the city. This includes the hyper-identity of space in the context of everyday life. The physical settings, which

⁶³ Relph, E. C. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited. pp.45.

⁶⁴ Savaş, A., & Osmay, S. (Eds.). (2017). *Jale N. Erzen anı kitabı = testimonial*. Ankara: Middle East Technical University. p.33.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Madani-Pour, A., & Madani, A. (1996). *Design of urban space*. Academy. pp.61-74.

are configurations of objects, and their phenomena generate a formative influence on how the identity of people and the identity of space emerges in spatial habitus. Therefore, as mentioned by Crowther, “architecture centered on the relation between its physical and experiential setting, its spatiality and its aesthetic status.”⁶⁷ According to that, the process of an architectural practice in the neighborhood-units, its physical and social manifestations gradually create different architectural status. Indeed, as discussed by İlhan Tekeli, the city constitutes a meaningful togetherness that can be subject to individual’s or social group’s aesthetic judgement by its living, non-living objects and natural settings. He explains the urban environment in relation to its internal dynamics which is being experienced in various activities in different times and different urban spaces. Those are parts of cognitive progress of an individual and a social group in the urban environment.⁶⁸ Therefore, the lived space of the urban environment becomes more than the eye can see and more than the ear can hear in the city. The art and architecture historian and critic Jale Erzen explains the city as an archeological site which contains different layers of forms of life. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the city was defined as a modern and technological cultural medium as can be observed in the film *Metropolis*. However, the contemporary city definition has started to change and the discussion about the spatial organization of architecture in the city has become a subject of social encounters and relationship issues. The architectural elements of the built-form carry rich spatial, temporal and historical meanings. Therefore, it is difficult to approach the neighborhood environment and its aesthetic perception only as an issue of the quality of physical form. The spatial organization of architecture, its designing process and aesthetic perception of lived space in the city include the contexts of social and environmental artifacts, cultural identity and inhabitants’ form of life.⁶⁹ Hence, the question of what

⁶⁷ Savaş, A., & Osmay, S. (Eds.). (2017). *Jale N. Erzen anı kitabı = testimonial*. Ankara: Middle East Technical University. p.33.

⁶⁸ Ibid. pp.29-32.

⁶⁹ Erzen, J. N. (2006). *Çevre estetiği*. ODTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı Yayıncılık. p.111.

kind of needs can appear in the act of design to understand the layers of spatial identification in the neighborhood environment should be criticized by architects, planners and designers during the design process. For these reasons, as mentioned in the book *Space Place Life*, architects, planners and designers do not only create urban schemas, projects or buildings but they set some spatial principles to build and regenerate place-communities.⁷⁰ These principles should satisfy the spectrum of diversity in urban life. Therefore, in the interactions between architectural practice and spatial criticism in the concept of habitus, different spatial identifications of built form can be analyzed to demonstrate different human aspects of neighborhood environment. The concept of habitus reveals unifying principles which transform inherent and relational characteristics of different forms of life into the neighborhood environment. Regarding this, Bourdieu explains:

“Habitus make different differences; they implement distinctions between what is good and what is bad, between what is right and what is wrong, between what is distinguished and what is vulgar, and so on, but they are not the same.”⁷¹

Consequently, the concept of habitus is a cognitive structure and an interpretation denotation. It belongs to different perception categories which construct different identities in both the sociality and physicality of space. This shows us that the impact of a culture, a way of living, individual’s or social group’s behaviors and different modes of capital mediate the spatial organization of dwelling. Amos Rapoport, architect and one of the founders of Environment-Behavior Studies (EBS), highlights

⁷⁰ Evans, B. M., & McDonald, F. (2011). *Space, place, life: Learning from place 1*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. p.6.

⁷¹ Bourdieu, P. (1996). Vilhelm Aubert memorial lecture: Physical space, social space and habitus. *Oslo, Department of Sociology, University of Oslo and Institute for Social Research*. p.17.

the relationship between the culture of dwelling, identity and lifestyle issues in his book *Human Aspects of Urban Form*:

“The cognitive definition of areas generally, and neighborhood specifically, is not a single, unitary concept. It involves the many elements already described (cognitive style, social boundaries providing a minimum population needed to support social institutions, maintain group cohesion and, through meanings, act as symbols of social identity; elements of territoriality and home range, social and service networks, the nature of the physical environment). The critical factor is the congruence among them - between physical and social space, between cognitive style and particular physical features of the environment; congruence among all subjective criteria and between subjective and objective.”⁷²

According to that, Rapoport emphasizes the impact of the invisible side of the dwelling issue that refers to the subjectivity of the way of living and its social organization. Variability of space is not only originating from differences in the physical and social aspects of space but also from architectural space the selective choice of houses with different physical indications and different cognitive schemas. Diversity of use in space is also emphasized in *New Urbanism Movement*, in their principle, neighborhoods should welcome mixed-use. Neighborhood-unit settlement should welcome people from different ages, income levels, education levels and ethnicities. Hence, a state of consistency between the physical environment and inhabitants' aspirations, values and meanings governs the appropriation of the neighborhood environment by different social groups. Bernard Lamy explains in the book *Urban Core and Inner City* that space usage and appropriation between different social groups are different according to aspects of activity patterns and social networks in the place. For example, workers maintain their social relationships in their own district in Paris, higher income groups or well-educated individuals choose different

⁷² Rapoport, A. (1977). *Human Aspects of Urban Form*. Pergamon. pp.167-168.

parts of Paris in which to live and socialize.⁷³ This shows that individual's or social group's dispositions and the identity of space are dependent on each other. Thus, the definition of neighborhood is partly identity-based, and both physicality and sociality of architectural space are variables. It does not only vary in terms of size, design or practices but it can also be about the degree of coincidence of lived space and can change by time. Therefore, hyper-identity of neighborhood has no clear absolute boundaries. Michel Maffesoli, a French sociologist, explains in his paper *The Sociology of Everyday Life* that everyday life contains the situations that we experience in various forms of collectivity. According to that, sociality is something different from the simple realization of it which defines solidarity, instrumentality, goal orientation and projects. However, sociality involves organic solidarity, symbolic dimensions, communication and concerns for the present, past and future. Thus, to observe the situations of everyday life and its spatiality, the researcher should take the position of a participant. This perspective requires subjective and intersubjective aspects of everyday life which are not present in the traditional emphasis of social sciences and humanities.⁷⁴ Neighborhood-unit design regards creating, regenerating, managing and enhancing the built environment's socio-spatial characteristics as sensitive to the context, identity and inhabitant's needs. To do that, understanding the socio-spatial characteristics of the neighborhood as spatial habitus, analyzing socio-spatial relationships and creating a holistic architectural program are significant requirements to generate the spatial quality in the neighborhood settlement.⁷⁵

⁷³ Lamy, B. (1967). The use of the inner city of Paris and social stratification. *Urban Core and Inner City*, Brill, Leiden, 356-367.

⁷⁴ Maffesoli, M. (1989). The Sociology of Everyday Life (Epistemological Elements). *Current Sociology*, 37(1), 1-16. Doi: 10.4135/9781473960954. pp.1-16.

⁷⁵ Billingham, J. (1994). *Urban design source book 1994*. Blewbury, Oxon.: Urban Design Group. p.8.

2.3. Phenomenological Habitus in Architecture: Embodiment of Architectural Space in the Neighborhood Environment

Pierre Bourdieu refers to some insights of the phenomenological tradition in his formulation of social being and action such as the body, habit and practice.⁷⁶ He presents the critique of phenomenology in his book *Outline of a Theory of Practice and The Logic of Practice*. Bourdieu's critical account of the phenomenology is to explore how culture becomes a servant of shaping the world of experience. In this chapter, the aim is to discuss how experiences in space can shape practices by scrutinizing phenomenological aspects of the neighborhood environment as spatial habitus. Urban places are designed and constructed by the physical context and human activities. The livability of a neighborhood is determined by the sensorial properties and experiences which are rooted in the built environment.⁷⁷ From the perspective of urban and architectural design, it is important to analyze the effect of built forms of residential neighborhoods on inhabitants because individual histories, activities, perceptions shape the built form and in turn shaped by it.⁷⁸ The concept of habitus is described as "how an individual or a social group acts or reacts to the world." Habitus is evaluated as a set of dispositions, and it generates practices, experiences and perceptions that are regular in the daily life. An acquired disposition literally molds the body of an individual and becomes a generative and transposable second nature.⁷⁹ In this sense, it reflects the social conditions of bodily experiences of daily life.

⁷⁶ Atkinson, W. (2010). Phenomenological Additions to the Bourdieusian Toolbox: Two Problems for Bourdieu, Two Solutions from Schutz. *Sociological Theory*, 28(1), 1-19. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9558.2009.01362.x. p.1.

⁷⁷ Martí, P., García-Mayor, C., & Serrano-Estrada, L. (2019). Identifying opportunity places for urban regeneration through LBSNs. *Cities*, 90, 191-206. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2019.02.001. p.191.

⁷⁸ Jones, P., Isakjee, A., Jam, C., Lorne, C., & Warren, S. (2017). Urban landscapes and the atmosphere of place: Exploring subjective experience in the study of urban form. *Urban Morphology*, 21(1), 29-40.

⁷⁹ Thompson, J.B. (1991) 'Editor's Introduction', in *Pierre Bourdieu Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. p.12.

According to phenomenological perspective, habitus specifies “conductorless orchestration”⁸⁰ which exists systematically and consistently with people’s practices.⁸¹ The mode of perceiving, experiencing and appreciating the lived world leads to some specific behaviors, attitudes or understandings to reshape both the physical and social environment that is initially informed by habitus. As explained by John Thompson, a sociologist, in Editor’s Note part of the Bourdieu’s *Distinction* Book translation,

“The habitus also provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives. It orients their actions and inclinations without strictly determining them... The practical sense is not so much a state of mind as a state of the body, a state of being. It is because the body has become a repository of ingrained dispositions that certain actions, certain ways of behaving and responding, seem altogether natural. Bourdieu speaks here of a bodily or corporeal “hexis”, by which he means a certain durable organization of one’s body and of its deployment in the world.”⁸²

Therefore, habitus expresses dynamic structural relationship between the habits and forms of life. Instead of seeing the social objectives of built environment as inactively framed habitat, phenomenological aspects of habitus show the relations of individuals’ or social groups’ social creativity, cultural environment, active habitualities of inhabitants and physical properties of the environment. According to that, for exploring Bourdieu’s critique and perspective on the subject and for understanding its phenomenological reflections, it is important to reveal his notions of *body hexis* and *doxa* along with the concept of habitus.

⁸⁰ The conductorless orchestra refers to a self-conducted orchestra or un-conducted orchestra which functions as an orchestra, but it is not directed by a conductor.

⁸¹ Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press. p.59.

⁸² Thompson, J.B. (1991) ‘Editor’s Introduction’, in *Pierre Bourdieu Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. p.13.

The term *body hexis*⁸³ is used by Bourdieu to express the various ways of bodily moves and positions in the lived world. *Body hexis* refers to the performative aspect of habitus, and it indicates “durable organization of one’s body” in the space. From Bourdieu’s perspective, an individual learns how to move, gesture or posture according to prescribed dispositions which are appropriate for particular social group or community. An individual’s behaviors, attitudes, appreciations and judgements are shaped by childhood in society or according to the social group they belong to. Hence, people navigate themselves through culturally constructed spatial configurations. Anthropologists Jason Throop and Keith M. Murphy evaluate the dwelling environment as an example of this informed spatial configuration of habitus.⁸⁴ Accordingly, *body hexis* denotes the position or movement of the individual’s body in the lived world, and it is formulated as habit patterns in the lived space. In Bourdieu’s view, *body hexis* is also bound up with the objects and their whole system.⁸⁵ Beate Kraus, a German sociologist, also discussed that the habitual body movements and their expressive orientations in the environment become a servant for sensual perceptions of the body or bodies of other people. She points out the collective dimension of the term and evaluates *body hexis* as the collection of ways that the body or bodies habitually practice to move, stand, walk, speak, hear or touch. In that way, the identities of individuals or environments are bodily grounded, informed and conditioned in the lived space of the daily life.⁸⁶ Accordingly, *body hexis* indicates a form of body memory which is comprised of practical interactions between people in the environment. Moreover, Bourdieu comes to view that the body is “socially informed body”. And the body is conditioned by habitual patterns of sense, taste and

⁸³ The term is originated from Aristotle’s Nichomachean Ethics. As mentioned before, Hexis means a relatively arrangement or disposition in Ancient Greek. It is also translated as ‘active condition’.

⁸⁴ Throop, C. J., & Murphy, K. M. (2002). Bourdieu and phenomenology. *Anthropological Theory*, 2(2), 185-207. doi:10.1177/1469962002002002630. p.188.

⁸⁵ Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. p.87.

⁸⁶ Kraus, B. (1993). Gender and symbolic violence: Female oppression in the light of Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of social practice. *Bourdieu: critical perspectives*, 156-177. p.161.

perceptions.⁸⁷ In that context, the architecture of neighborhood-units can be defined as serving a space for the habitual patterns which become an experiential threshold for people's perception. Hence, this chapter aims at understanding environment-related foundations of phenomenology of habitus by considering the process of spatial and cultural experiences of people in the neighborhood environment. Arnold Berleant, an American scholar in philosophy who has written on aspects of environmental aesthetics and phenomenology, explains the subject from the standpoint of phenomenology of environment. He points out that the human-and-space interactions and the social interactions between individuals are environmental in this context. He states that "the environment is rather medium in which we live, of which our being partakes and comes to identity."⁸⁸ In order to understand the perception of architectural space in the neighborhood environment, architects, planners and designers need to decode their process of designing a space with both its social and physical aspects in lived space. While forming shape of the built environment, considering the inhabitants' subjectivity of the physical and social aspects is essential to conceptualize lived experience of the designed space. Studies of spatial phenomenology indicate the importance of these dimensions and socio-cultural aspects of the perceived space. Bourdieu explains these aspects as self-evident of the social world with the term of *doxa*⁸⁹. It is another important term to explain phenomenological aspects of spatial habitus in the concept of neighborhood-unit because *doxa* refers to correspondences between objective order and subjective principles of the lived world. According to Bourdieu, *doxa* is the experiencing of a sense of reality created by habitus. It refers to the process through ways of perceiving and evaluating. The field of *doxa* is predicated on the compatibility between "objective

⁸⁷ Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. p.124.

⁸⁸ Berleant, A. (2005). *Aesthetics and environment: Variations on a theme*. Ashgate Publishing Limited. p.13.

⁸⁹ *Doxa* is a Greek term which originally means common belief or popular opinion. It is used by the Greek rhetoricians as a tool of argument by using common opinions. The word picked up new meanings by time and in the Bourdieu's view, it is the experience by which the social world appears.

structure” and “the internalization of self and social structures” in habitus. Accordingly, Bourdieu explains the term *doxa* as a set of prevailing common opinions and beliefs in the society.⁹⁰ While Bourdieu points out that having the identical experiences for every member of the same social group is impossible, he mentions the homogeneity of habitus. The mode of production of habitus produces a homogeneity of dispositions and interests in the same social group such as material conditions of life.⁹¹ Each individual agent belongs to different habitus to some degree. However, Bourdieu explains that each individual biography is a part of a collective history. While society shapes the individual experiences, society’s own existence depends on the actions of individuals. From that perspective, the neighborhood as a community both affects the inhabitants’ individual experiences and is affected by their experiences. The term of *doxa* helps us to conceptualize interrelations between subjectivity of an individual and the objective side of habitus. According to Bourdieu, subjectivism focuses mostly on the experience of an individual and his/her interpretations of it. On the other hand, objectivism ignores considering the autonomous nature of an individual’s actions, practices and relegating them to the society. Hence, Bourdieu constructs the concept of habitus to explain individual experiences associated with a set of relatively objective forms and structures in the social world. Therefore, Bourdieu criticizes some phenomenology studies about bodily experience in terms of mostly focusing upon individual mental operations such as intentionality.⁹² In the Bourdieusian perspective, the phenomenological endeavor should be considered from within the context of different capital interests.⁹³ Within the context of *doxa*, the body holds the representations of different social groups due to three factors which are individual’s social position, the arrangement and structure

⁹⁰ Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 164-166.

⁹¹ Ibid. p.85.

⁹² Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations*. Stanford University Press. pp.131-133.

⁹³ Throop, C. J., & Murphy, K. M. (2002). Bourdieu and phenomenology: A critical assessment. *Anthropological theory*, 2(2). p. 190.

of social relations of habitus, and development of judgment and taste.⁹⁴ According to these, the bodily-experience of an individual is described as an embodiment of habitus. Eugene T. Gendlin, an American philosopher who developed ways of thinking about living processes and bodily feelings in psychology, explains that the body is more than a physical machine and he points out the process of the body's ongoing embodying. According to him, the embodying as the process of individual's own experience introduces body-environment relation in the present. It is not only about the physically existing circumstances around an individual, but it is also related with individual's thinking process.⁹⁵ As a matter of fact, the concepts of *body hexis* and *doxa* clarify that habitus embodies itself habitually in the body. In this context, the quantity and quality of social contact between individuals are spatially based and the architectural characteristics of neighborhood space can be key factors to foster neighborhood relationships.⁹⁶ In the same manner, sociologist Chris Shilling reevaluates the body and its experiences as a form of cultural and physical capital same as other types of capitals such as economic, cultural, social and educational.⁹⁷ The idea is an explanation of the body as socially constructed. Thus, the body and its experience interact with social relations, activity patterns and habits in the neighborhood environment. Even though the body can acquire its basis from the nature and individuality, according to Bourdieu, it is also evaluated both as a condition and an occurrence of socio-cultural production in the space.⁹⁸ In this context, the architecture of neighborhood and its design process represent embodiment of spatial habitus because the body in the space is not only a pure biological phenomenon but also it is

⁹⁴ Tekin, F. (n.d.). Pierre Bourdieu Sosyolojisinde Beden ve Habitus: Bedenleşmiş Habitus. *AKADER*. p.85.

⁹⁵ Gendlin, E.T. (1981). *Focusing*. New York: Bantam. p.88.

⁹⁶ Martí, P., García-Mayor, C., & Serrano-Estrada, L. (2019). Identifying opportunity places for urban regeneration through LBSNs. *Cities*, 90, 191-206. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2019.02.001. p.191.

⁹⁷ Shilling, C. (2012). *The body and social theory*. Sage. p.127.

⁹⁸ Tekin, F. (n.d.). Pierre Bourdieu Sosyolojisinde Beden ve Habitus: Bedenleşmiş Habitus. *AKADER*. p.85.

a receptor. While it is shaping the environment as a generator, it is somehow shaped and constrained by physical and social environment. Therefore, in the interaction between the built environment and an individual, architects, planners and designers have a significant role and responsibility while making decisions during design. While they are shaping the built-environment to facilitate the life of human-beings in residential environment, they do not only supply the needs of humanity, but also they design space which is an existential base for human experience in the world. It is needed to conceptualize the balance of human needs with environmental conditions, and architects, planners and designers embody the material form and living experience.⁹⁹ For this reason, they are faced with challenge of interpreting the space's potential impact on the perception of human. According to that, residential environment and its spatial characteristics as spatial habitus provide the systems of perception, taste and action which come into practice in lived space. The design process of architectural space should not omit potential dialog with visual, auditory, tactile, proprioceptive¹⁰⁰ and kinesthetic experience of the space in the neighborhood. To do that, it is important to engage the bodily experience of users and aspects of built environment that contains spatial relationships between architectural elements. This holistic approach unites material and non-material characters of architecture. The process of mutual constitution between habitus and psyche provides this study to reveal socio-cultural aspects of different forms of life in the residential environment. It is a fact that there is a difference between the cognitive perception of a real object and the aesthetic experience of it. The aesthetic perception refers to and includes the faculty of judgement both sensually and intellectually. Moreover, the judgement about experiences is associated with the individual's habitus and vice versa. Accordingly,

⁹⁹ Berleant, A. (2005). *Aesthetics and environment: Variations on a theme*. Ashgate Publishing Limited. p.18.

¹⁰⁰ Proprioceptive means the sense of self-movement and body position in the space. It is a creation of overall representation of body position and movement. It is defined as sixth sense.

taking into consideration the aesthetic perception of architectural space in the design process is critical for the phenomenological aspects of spatial habitus.

2.3.1. Aesthetic Perception of Architectural Space

Architectural practices in the neighborhood environment offer their own characteristic possibilities for the human experience. The relations between functions of physical settings, activities in the space and meanings about the space are primarily relations of the perception of space. French phenomenological philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty identifies this perception as a power which enables the perceptions and the connection of things as a result of “living among things”.¹⁰¹ The architectural object which defines the space and the spaces which surround us condition how we see, how we hear, how smell, how cold or warm we are, how we move or how far we move and with whom we interact. Therefore, Merleau-Ponty emphasizes possibilities of the spatial properties of the body. In the concept of neighborhood-unit, the critical perspective of analyzing perception of an individual as “living among things” can address the manifestations of urban habitats. As stated by Merleau-Ponty in his book *Phenomenology of Perception*, “objects qua architectural elements are not just arranged in the space but the position of objects becomes possible in the space.”¹⁰² According to that, Merleau-Ponty emphasizes that habits facilitate improvisation in the space. The space houses potentials of different forms of innovation in practice. Bourdieu also emphasizes these potentials while mentioning the circle of social life, which generates habits in the space, and derives from the action’s creative potential itself. The space, with its materiality and perception, demands innovation and creation

¹⁰¹ Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of perception*. Routledge. p.284

¹⁰² Ibid.

of social life and different social agents.¹⁰³ Moreover, the American psychologist James J Gibson, who contributed to the field of visual perception, states that perception is not solely handling the information about the environment but also it is an affordance yielding information about what the possibilities can be regarding human purposes.¹⁰⁴ This generative and dynamic nature of individual perception modifies the concept of habit in the architecture as spatial habitus. The psychologist Stephan Kaplan, who studied on perception and environment, explains the aesthetic perception of environment as a complex process which is both perceiving objects and the space, and is reacting to them from the point of their potential usefulness.¹⁰⁵ Kaplan's approach refers to how the physicality, meaning and identity of physical settings are perceived in many ways. Moreover, psychologist Michael Turvey, who studies on experimental psychology, mentions "the environment offers many ways of life and a way of life is a set of affordances that are utilized."¹⁰⁶ On this matter, he adds that "aesthetics must, at least to some degree, reflect the functional appropriateness of spaces and things."¹⁰⁷ According to that, the aesthetic perception of architectural space is not only about finding a place beautiful or not, but it is also related with the concepts of *body hexis* and *doxa* which have a connection with the internal dynamics of the place and society. The experience of space is about understanding body's role in placing human-beings within the lived environment. The relationship between habitus and phenomenology creates a mediation between body

¹⁰³ Crossley, N. (2001). The phenomenological habitus and its construction. *Theory and society*, 30(1), 81-120. pp.96-97.

¹⁰⁴ Shaw, R., & Bransford, J. (1977). *Perceiving, acting and knowing: Toward an ecological psychology*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. pp.67-82.

¹⁰⁵ Kaplan, S. (1979). Perception and landscape: conceptions and misconceptions. In *In: Elsner, Gary H., and Richard C. Sardon, technical coordinators. 1979. Proceedings of our national landscape: a conference on applied techniques for analysis and management of the visual resource [Incline Village, Nev., April 23-25, 1979]. Gen. Tech. Rep. PSW-GTR-35. Berkeley, CA. Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Exp. Stn., Forest Service, US Department of Agriculture: p. 241-248 (Vol. 35).*

¹⁰⁶ Shaw, R., & Bransford, J. (1977). *Perceiving, acting and knowing: Toward an ecological psychology*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. p.241.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* p.242.

and space. Accordingly, Bourdieu explains the bodily experience of an individual by relating it to the status of the habitus which characterizes material, cultural, political, economic, social conditions of an individual.¹⁰⁸ In the concept of architecture as spatial habitus, the body is mentioned as a habitual body which does not exist interdependently, but rather interpersonally and historically. In this study, the dynamics of the bodily experience of an individual integrate habitual social schemata of the lived space in the residential environment which gives real clues about different spatial experiences of different forms of life of inhabitants. Thus, As mentioned by Rapoport, designing a space as the organization of space, time, meaning and communication creates a series of relationships among objects and people.¹⁰⁹ Hence, it is important for residential environments to address the interaction between physical environment and social environment which are primarily constructed by space. While space can be physically experienced as the three-dimensional extension of the world, it is not only a simple physically comprehensible concept. It is more than a three-dimensional constructed object.

American philosopher and psychologist John Dewey states in his book *Art as Experience* that perception is the organism which activates the environment. It does not only occur visually but rather bodily. He indicates that the living-body activates, awakens and energizes the space.¹¹⁰ Hence, the experiential world of human perception intimately grounds itself in ordinary environmental experience. Moreover, Berleant extends this active model of perception of environment with some additional factors. The consciousness of self, of lived body and of lived space should be considered while identifying the neighborhood environment and body relationship. This leads the way of different conceptualization of experiencing environment aesthetically. It is named

¹⁰⁸ Casey, E. S. (2001). On habitus and place: responding to my critics. p.717.

¹⁰⁹ Rapoport, A. (1977). *Human aspects of urban form: towards a man—environment approach to urban form and design*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. p.8.

¹¹⁰ Dewey, J. (2005). *Art as experience*. Penguin. pp.60-62.

as the participatory model by Berleant.¹¹¹ According to that, the residential environment as spatial habitus is not only determined or conditioned by the perception of a subject. Environmental features are defined by affecting and responding to the perceiver. In fact, this phenomenon is old enough within the theory of aesthetics, namely in the philosophy of art. However, Berleant suggest a new clarification by the participatory model. It is displaying the value of unique conditions for the aesthetics of environmental experience in architecture.

German-American psychologist Kurt Lewin, who was known as one of the pioneers of social organizational and applied psychology, also highlights environmental phenomenon and their features on the bodily experience. He presents a framework of the psychological environment of an individual as a governing force of behaviors. Activities, which take place within lived space of an individual or social group, can be evaluated as a group of behavioral developments. They lead to maturity of an individual like emotions, thoughts and dispositions, and they depend on the extent of activities' spatial quality.¹¹² Therefore, Berleant remarks that environmental conditionings invoke various forms of recognition of space.¹¹³ As mentioned before by referencing Lefebvre, every space has unique patterns of relationships both physically and socially. The neighborhood-unit consists of a totality of these unique patterns. Within the scope of this thesis, the aesthetic perception of architectural space in the residential settlement refers to coherence, complexity and legibility which provide quality in space and social meaningfulness to the community life of the neighborhood-unit. In this context, Kaplan explains in his article *Perception and Landscape: Conceptions and Misconceptions* that coherence means the quality of being consistent and forming a unified whole. It refers to the situation where the components fit together in a reasonable way by taking into consideration of suitability

¹¹¹ Berleant, A. (2005). *Aesthetics and environment: Variations on a theme*. Ashgate Publishing Limited. pp.6-13.

¹¹² Ibid. pp.8-10.

¹¹³ Ibid. pp.6-8.

in the architectural context. The aforementioned complexity indicates “diversity” and “richness” in architecture, and it refers to the quality of having interrelated parts or aspects in the environment which meets different social and spatial needs of inhabitants. Legibility represents the capability of being discovered or understood in the process of design action, and it refers to being able to see without being seen. It should provide an opportunity not to learn but to function in the space. Therefore, it is about dealing with the structuring of space with its differentiation and readability.¹¹⁴ Accordingly, as mentioned by Juhani Pallasma, a Finnish architect and professor in the department of architecture, “an architectural work is not experienced as a collection of isolated visual pictures, but in its fully embodied material and spiritual presence.”¹¹⁵ Hence, materiality of space plays an important role in human response, preference and experience of the environment. As mentioned by the Danish architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen in his book *Experiencing Architecture*;

“It is not enough to see architecture; you must experience it...observe how it was designed for the special purpose and how it was attuned to the entire concept and rhythm of a specific era. You must dwell in the rooms, feel how they close about you, observe how you are naturally led from one to the other. You must be aware of the textural effects, discover why just those colors were used, how the choice depended on the orientation of the rooms in relation to windows and the sun.”¹¹⁶

According to that, the form of an architectural object refers to experiential settings for the inhabitants. The form can give impressions of hardness or softness, heaviness or

¹¹⁴ Kaplan, S. (1979). Perception and landscape: conceptions and misconceptions. In *In: Elsner, Gary H., and Richard C. Sardon, technical coordinators. 1979. Proceedings of our national landscape: a conference on applied techniques for analysis and management of the visual resource [Incline Village, Nev., April 23-25, 1979]. Gen. Tech. Rep. PSW-GTR-35. Berkeley, CA. Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Exp. Stn., Forest Service, US Department of Agriculture: p. 241-248 (Vol. 35). pp.241-245.*

¹¹⁵ Pallasmaa, J., & MacKeith, P. B. (2005). Encounters: architectural essays. Helsinki: Rakennustieto Oy. p.345.

¹¹⁶ Rasmussen, S. E. (1959). *Experiencing architecture*. MIT press. p.33.

lightness, singularity or plurality and monotony or variedness. Therefore, materiality of architecture indicates the multiplicity of approaches both in experiencing it and in the design action by taking into consideration of the culture of architecture, its identity and the perception of an architectural space. Hence, in the concept of phenomenological habitus, the materiality of the architectural space means a return to the context of embodied conditions and the subject of experiencing.

2.3.2. Materialization of Architectural Space: New Materialism in Phenomenology of Architecture

In the concept of habitus, Bourdieu explains in his book *Outline of a Theory of Practice* that habitus is a socially constructed system of mental activities of everyday life, and these mental activities can be materially magnified in the social structure, which includes the relationships between groups of individuals in a society.¹¹⁷ Hence, the concept remarks on possible components of daily activities, examines multi-subjective perspectives and discusses the materiality of lived experience of the built environment. Accordingly, the architects, planners and designers should embrace the experience, and they should understand how the architectural space is perceived, how architectural surroundings affect inhabitants' daily routine, and thus address this in the design and construction of the neighborhood environment. In this study, to understand the architectural experience of the neighborhood space in everyday life, it is also important to clarify the embodiment of physical built elements and their impact on the inhabitants.¹¹⁸ Merleau-Ponty explains in his book *Phenomenology of Perception* that the experience arises from the perception of depth through embodied changes within

¹¹⁷ Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. p.76.

¹¹⁸ Peri Bader, A. (2015). A model for everyday experience of the built environment: the embodied perception of architecture. *The Journal of Architecture*, 20(2), 244-267. p.245.

the environment. Since physical objects are not just placed next to each other but their arrangements are relatively based on each other and the primordial depth¹¹⁹ can be characterized by this relative arrangement, physical characteristics, envelopments or sometimes overlaps.¹²⁰ Architecture does not just deal with embodiment of information but also of meaning and relationships in space. It can also signify resolution of humanity's material need.¹²¹ Besides, as explained by the Norwegian architect and architectural theorist Christian Norberg-Schulz, the basic modes of construction and their relationship to formal articulation of the space manifest environmental totalities of phenomenology of architecture. Spatial characteristics of the architectural space is determined by the togetherness which is about how things are made and the individual experience of them. Here, Norberg-Schulz returns to the concrete nature of the space in everyday life. While he questions how a settlement is related to its environment, he gives the phenomenology of architecture a realistic basis¹²² Also, Pallasmaa states that architectural space mediates the physical and the mental. He defines architecture as the art of making purposeful and meaningful spaces and according to his thought, this understanding of architectural creation can be achieved through the manipulation of materiality, scale, rhythm, light, structure and form. Hence, he remarks that continuous tradition of architecture is the study of spatial relationship, the study of numbers, the study of the motions of celestial bodies and the study of motions caught by the ear.¹²³ Hence, the Romanian sculptor Constantin Brancusi states;

¹¹⁹ Primordial depth refers a pre-objective standard of distances or sizes. It is the way we recognize and know the environmental relationship of the objects and comparison between them.

¹²⁰ Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of perception*. Routledge. p.266.

¹²¹ Perez-Gomez, A. (1987). Architecture as embodied knowledge. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 40(2), 57-58. p.57.

¹²² Schulz, C. N. (1980). *Genius loci: Towards a phenomenology of architecture*. Academy Editions. pp.15,58.

¹²³ McCarter, R., & Pallasmaa, J. (2012). *Understanding architecture: A primer on architecture as experience*. Phaidon Press Limited. pp.11-12.

“You cannot make what you want to make, but what the material permits you make. You cannot make out of marble what you would make out of wood, or out of wood what you would make out of stone... Each material has its own life, and one cannot without punishment destroy a living material to make a dumb sense-less thing. That is, we must try to make materials speak our language, we must go with them to the point where others will understand their language.”¹²⁴

Brancusi emphasizes the relationship between material form and formal imagination. He alludes to material projection on the artworks and profound experiences of them. Hence, it can be claimed that the essence of matter is in dialog with time and its process. The idea is also what is explained in the philosophy of *new materialism*¹²⁵ about matter.

New materialism puts theories about the potentiality of all matter to form transversal connections or networks with all other matter. It works against non-generative conceptions of the matter but supports plurality of methodological approaches about the essence of matter. New materialism responds to and synthesizes the culture questions about environmental studies, philosophy and cultural theories. It binds the vitality of matter, human and non-human identities and a collection of material to affect and be affected by each other in daily life. The materialization is circumscribed by a self-contained sphere of socio-cultural mediation. Hence, materialization of the neighborhood environment has more profound experiences, recollections, associations than merely looking at the design of the settlement immaterial abstractness, timelessness and geometric purity. In contrast with that, modern architecture emphasizes form and geometry over the mental and experiential suggestions of matter. Pallasma makes the same criticism about the Le Corbusier’s

¹²⁴ Mindrup, M. (Ed.). (2015). *The Material Imagination: Reveries on Architecture and Matter*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. p.65.

definition which is “architecture is the masterly, correct and magnificent play of masses brought together in light.”¹²⁶ According to Pallasma, this understanding of architecture is an example of looking at the architectural production as a predominantly visual and formal orientation. Moreover, he adds that those pure geometric preferences, minimalist expressions and reductive aesthetic perception of form weaken the experiential presence of matter in the environmental settings. Therefore, today’s contemporary housing environments with high-technological constructions do not mediate traces of time, identity, history or experiential settings of environment. Instead of supporting sense of belonging and appropriateness, they cause detachment and alienation in the space.¹²⁷ However, the notion of neighborhood and its spatial characteristics, materials and design elements include their own languages. As emphasized by new materialism, the depth, opacity, weight and aging of materials in the design process should be of interests by architects. Gaston Bachelard, a French philosopher who has studies about imagination and matter, gives some inspirations to the architectural thinking. He conceptualizes the language of matter in art and architecture as poetic chemistry.¹²⁸ This poetic chemistry, the depth, opacity, weight and aging of materials are to be held in an architect’s attention. Besides, McCarter and Pallasma allude to architecture as an acknowledgement of an individual’s perceptual need for basic existential experiences. They state in their book *Understanding Architecture*:

“The inescapable need for real sustainability puts a new focus on the qualities and production process of materials; what is sustainable in the final balance of energy consumption, use of resources and generation of pollution, is not self-evident. At the same time, materials technologies are introducing innovative materials that are self-maintaining or adjust automatically to various

¹²⁶ Corbusier, L. (1959). *Towards a new architecture*. London: Architectural Press. p.31.

¹²⁷ McCarter, R., & Pallasmaa, J. (2012). *Understanding architecture: A primer on architecture as experience*. Phaidon Press Limited. p.83.

¹²⁸ Bachelard, G. (2002). *Earth and reveries of will: An essay on the imagination of matter*. Dallas Institute of Humanities and Culture. p.46.

environmental conditions, such as temperature, moisture, air movement, light and noise, in the way of the living skin.”¹²⁹

In relation to that, McCarter and Pallasma remark on materiality and tactile sensibility of architectural space in the environment. In this understanding, materiality and sense of inhabiting culture recall experiences of architectural space, natural environment, temporal continuum and natural duration in the neighborhood environment because people do not only dwell in the architectural space, but they also inhabit a continuum of culture and memorial materiality surrounding them. In accordance with that, neighborhood-unit theory also defines values relating to the physical manifestation of the concept.¹³⁰ In this sense, McCarter and Pallasma call attention to the lively situations of the space. According to them, it is impossible to live in a placeless space and it is also impossible to exist in a timeless situation. Through that, matter reveals the culture, identity and time of space.¹³¹ Accordingly, a neighborhood cannot be defined as an arbitrary formal invention, and its architecture is not a sculptural creation in which we dwell. The neighborhood concept as spatial habitus arises from the togetherness of physical, material, cultural, functional, social as well as experiential causalities.

¹²⁹ McCarter, R., & Pallasmaa, J. (2012). *Understanding architecture: A primer on architecture as experience*. Phaidon Press Limited. pp.83-84.

¹³⁰ Lloyd Lawhon, L. (2009). The neighborhood unit: physical design or physical determinism?. *Journal of planning history*, 8(2), 111-132. pp.121-123.

¹³¹ McCarter, R., & Pallasmaa, J. (2012). *Understanding architecture: A primer on architecture as experience*. Phaidon Press Limited. p.84.

CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING THE CITY: DEVELOPMENT OF ANKARA AND ITS ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

3.1. Lörcher Plan of Ankara

In 19th century Ankara was a small mid-Anatolian city enclosed in city walls. It had a small city center and a trading center. End of the 19th century, the city had two different centers for different services. The upper-side (Yukarı Yüz) of the city was around the southern gate of the citadel and lower-side (Aşağı Yüz) was to the west of the citadel where new emergent facilities were generally located. After establishing Republic of Turkey and the declaration of Ankara as the capital, new primary concerns emerged for the new capital. One of the urgent and important problem of the city was obtaining a development plan to respond to new needs. One of them was a need of new housing projects due to increasing population. However, until 1923, the country had to deal with major threats and attacks and it is fair to say that there was neither time nor capacity for transformation of the physical space in the city environment. The decisions relating to the physical space in the city environment at that time were mostly about restoration of abandoned and burned houses and re-configuration of existing space.¹³² After relocating the Parliament to Ankara and simultaneously population growth in the city, the improvement of urban conditions became necessary. Indeed, the city did not only need improvement plans, but also it was also necessary to discipline, guide and plan the improvements for creating a capital for the Republic of Turkey accordingly. It is generally known that the first development plan of Ankara

¹³² Cengizkan, A. (2004). *Ankara'nın ilk planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı: kentsel mekan özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve bugüne katkıları, etki ve kalıntıları*. Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı. pp.13-14.

was constituted for the old town which is presented to the Şehremanets in 30th May 1924. All the drawings and explanations were prepared by the architect Carl Christopher Lörcher who was from Berlin.¹³³ Lörcher Plan of Ankara, which was supplied by Şehremini Haydar Bey, can be evaluated as the first documented plan of Republic of Turkey. To understand and address the complexities of urban lifestyles and spatial habitus of Ankara city from past to present, it is important to mention that Lörcher's way of understanding planning to find out what spatial organization was designed in the city, what shaped and enabled alternative dwelling for the city life, and how this first plan affected the following plans of the city. It is documented that Lörcher Plan constituted a basis map and created some limitation for further development of the city.¹³⁴ Lörcher plan can be evaluated as the first and single document of these years to understand the development zones and patterns of new settlement areas in Ankara until Hermann Jansen plan. Lörcher did not only plan Ankara city but he also submitted plans for İstanbul and Bursa in Turkey. The prepared plan of Bursa was compatible with the old urban patterns, putting emphasis on the current topography of the planned area and using green space as a design element of the urban space in the city. The plan separates the city into livable sub-parts in accordance with the principles of Garden City model.¹³⁵ Therefore, it can be presented that Lörcher was seeing the city, its suburbs and rural areas as a single system that evolves along with nature and the existing pattern of urban areas. In case of Lörcher Plan of Ankara, there are some architectural precedents as a planning model in Turkey. As stated in the Lörcher Plan report, it regarded the construction of a new and sample city in Turkey as a principle, yet the old district and the history of the city was taken into consideration. Regulation of modern public space, its structural and functional division within the city in terms of creating contemporary urban aesthetics and industrial facilities became key subjects in the plan. In addition to that, it is seen in the

¹³³ Ibid. pp.36-37.

¹³⁴ Ibid. p.36.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

drawings that the meaning of constructing an urban space, especially constructing a new urban image in the city, emerges out of a balance between roadway width, massiveness and serviceableness of structures. In this way, it is understood that urban phenomenon was perceived and had attached importance by Lörcher as a compositional creation just as the art of painting, sculpture as it comes from Renaissance. Therefore, the plan can be evaluated according to being open to developments until reaching a strong urban metaphor occurred by its own urban texture and spatial organization.¹³⁶ Again within this framework, Garden City Model as a planning model and its application was introduced to Turkey comprehensively through the understanding of Lörcher's planning.¹³⁷ The report of the plan does not only mention regulations and rules to be applied in the city environment but it includes depictions of experiences of the space and situations in the lived-space of the city habitus. The following words of the report are interesting;

“If the gifted talent by nature is well used and applied, the city, which seems today infertile and soulless, can be designed according to principles of garden city, within which includes green parks and gardens. In this context, the new landscape of the city will have a pleasant view with the green topography. As a result, it is important to aim to have green spaces which extends from the city surroundings as much as possible toward the city center.”¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Ibid. p.43.

¹³⁷ Lörcher Plan Report. no.2.

¹³⁸ Lörcher Plan Report. “Tabi’atın bahş ettiği bu kabiliyet hüsn-i istifade ve tatbik olunursa (güzelce yararlanılır ve uygulanırsa) bugün çorak ve ruhsuz görünen şehre, muhiti (çevresi) bir park yeşilliği için sarılmış bir bağçe şehri şekli verilebilir ve bu halde yeni şehrin manzara-i umumiyesi zemininin bugünkü kabartılarıyla ve tesadüfen mevcut olan serbest düzlüklerin yeşillendirilmesiyle en şirin ve şâyân-ı dikkat şehirler sırasında latif bir manzaraya mâlik olabilir. Binâen aleyh, yeşil zemin satırlarını (yüzeylerini) şehrin hâricinden başlayarak, ya’ni yeşil su mekra kuşağından i’tibâren şehir dâhilinde mümkün merteye içerülere kadar çekmek işimizde hedef ve gâye ittihâz olunmak lâzımdır (edinmek gereklidir).”

These words show us that urban narratives in the city environment were considered in the plan. Also, the report includes how the city environment exists at that moment and how the city environment will be taking shape or should be taking shape in the near future. Hence, while revealing the physical characteristics of urban environment in the city, desired urban identity and spatial meaning of Ankara was decided with some environmental objectives. However, as mentioned by Cengizkan, the implementation of the plan, its qualification and positive environmental decisions took 10 years to materialize. On the other hand, the city should have met some public space, housing and governmental building needs immediately. Hence, new housing projects have already actualized in New City (Yeni Şehir) as detached houses but these produced housings projects triggered important criticism in the city at that time. The criticism in the media as well as the arguments held in the Nation Assembly and the housing owners' complaints showed the existence of public dissatisfaction about that proposed living environment. Individuals complained about the artificiality of the physical space created. The distances of houses between each other resulted in the social distance of families.¹³⁹ Designed architectural space caused the social deterioration of lived space. Because of this, the spatial habitus of the neighborhood in "New Town" procreated the emergence of the differences between old and new culture. The conflict between old and new appeared throughout different platforms in the country especially during the first years of the Republic. These experiences in the produced living space allow us to re-read the identity and appropriation issues in the built environment. To understand and observe the situation at that time, reading some of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's words is beneficial;

"The Houses in the New City environment seem like the castle of individualism. First, these houses, which is surrounded by walls and are apart 40-50 meters from each other, seems to the observers as egoism slots. It is obvious that neither a community life nor a neighborhood life was able to live

¹³⁹ Cengizkan, A. (2004). *Ankara'nın ilk planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı: kentsel mekan özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve bugüne katkıları, etki ve kalıntıları*. Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı. pp.96-97.

here. Each family is drawn into its own ivory tower. Therefore, the New City is in constant silence and desolation. Not a single child plays in the gardens; a single song or an instrument sound is not heard from the windows. There is no cheerfulness or pleasure in the streets. There are many engaged people and new married couples in the New City. However, it is not apparent where they meet, have fun and make love. Here, all inhabitants is so drawn into himself, into his own shell, everyone is so distant and shy of each other that neither the anguish of a house nor the other family's news of happiness is aware of the other family.”¹⁴⁰

These words lead to question how this rapid change in the social life occurred, what reasons caused the isolation between the buildings and different social groups in the new neighborhood and how this artificiality was created physically and socially in the urban culture. The shortcomings of architectural projects and the reflections of the complex dimensions of forms of life in the architectural space criticized not only by design professionals but also by the users and the media. Inhabitant's perceptions and memories; effects of changes both in national and global scale was interpreted in terms of the quality of the architectural environment and questioned how the objectives can be defined in the architectural design process. Individual or social group narratives or expressions about the urban form affect the definition of lived space of the neighborhood environment. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu illustrates that the relationships between form, function, experiences of designed space and proposed formal and social codes have a strong impact on inhabitants in the neighborhood

¹⁴⁰ Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K. (2016). *Ankara*. İletişim yayınları. p.142.

“Yeni Şehir’de bütün evler, sanki, bir benlik ve benlikçilik kalesi gibidir. Etrafı bahçe duvarlarıyla çevrilmiş ve birbirinden farklı kırk elli metre uzakta duran bu evler, dışarıdan bakan herhangi bir müşahit gözüne her şeyden evvel birer egoizm yuvası şeklinde görünür. Bellidir ki, burada ne bir cemaat, hatta, ne de bir mahalle hayatı teessüs edebilmiştir. Her aile kendi fildişi kulesi içine çekilmiştir. Bu yüzden, Yeni Şehir, daimi sessizlik ve ıssızlık içindedir. Bahçelerde bir tek çocuğun oynadığı görülmez; pencerelerden tek bir şarkı veya çalgı sesinin aksettiği işitilmez. Sokaklarda, gençliğe mahsus bir neşve ve şetaret (sevinç) tezahürüne rastgelinmez. Yeni Şehir’de bir çok nişanlılar, bir çok yeni evliler vardır. Fakat, bunlar, nerelerde görüşürler, eğlenirler, oynaşırılar, sevişirler, hiç belli değildir. Burada herkes, o kadar kendi içine, kendi kabuğuna çekilmiştir, herkes birbirinden öyle uzak ve çekingendir ki, ne bu evin ıstırabından öbür evin, ne bu ailenin şevk ve saadetinden öbür ailenin haberi vardır”

environment as spatial habitus. Designing a space, which has a subjective character and is open to provocative discussion, can be “liberated from its own meta-narratives and biases.”¹⁴¹ In contrast to Lörcher’s approach and revealed urban metaphor in the city, micro-narratives in the lived space of the neighborhood environment lead to some discussions about socio-spatial characteristics of architectural space in the urban environment. Shared problems about the meanings of the new concept of lived space were also rooted in socio-economic and socio-political debates in the parliament. Ahmet Muhtar Bey, a former member of the parliament representing Trabzon, criticized the feasibility of urban standards in the city. He indicated that spatial organization and lay-out of “New Town” should have been determined according to user profiles. Otherwise, people could not afford the cost of owning a house, and only upper-class social groups could live in these high cost settlement areas.¹⁴² Hence, the appropriation of the newly planned area and access to healthy environmental conditions have become a factor that led to social segregation already at that time. The criticism about “New Town” necessitates multi-dimensional approach about the lived space of the neighborhood which includes a dialogue between conceptions, perceptions, memories and aspirations in the urban space. As referenced by Karaosmanoğlu, the efforts to own a house with modern architecture in the neighborhood environment by designing modernist cubic expressions in the city have been evaluated as superficial changes in both the social and physical characteristics of the city. Despite Lörcher Plan, the search for gaining modern qualities in the spatiality of the neighborhood remained insufficient for a while. As stated by Cengizkan, these are probably the most important points why the demand for a new plan arose. It is a fact that the role of architects and planners in the city has always been questionable, and there are some criticisms about the struggle between social realities and architectural ideas. As stated by Alfredo Brillemburg, Hubert Klumpner and Alexis

¹⁴¹ Alanyalı Aral, E. (n.d.). Mapping - a reflective tool for a realistic architecture. p.5.

¹⁴² Cengizkan, A. (2004). *Ankara'nın ilk planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı: kentsel mekan özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve bugüne katkıları, etki ve kalıntıları*. Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı. pp.96.

Kalagas, whġ are co-founders of interdisciplinary design firm Urban-Think Tank (U-TT), “rather than imposing change, architect must engage real-world logic and attempt to provide prototypical solutions for urban dwellers to give them better control over their evolving environments.”¹⁴³ The impact of professional power on the spatial habitus is considerably strong in terms of professional skills and moral attitudes. In the case of Ankara, the rapidly increasing population which received 75.000 new inhabitants in 1927 caused varying and multiplying different needs in the city. Accordingly, a new plan became necessary and an invitation-only competition was launched in Ankara.

3.2. Jansen Plan of Ankara

The three experts of city planning, who were invited to propose their planning ideas for the future city of Ankara, visited the city in 1927 and they submitted their works in 1928 to the jury. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was particularly interested in the competition. The jury announced Hermann Jansen, German architect who had the first prize in the Greater Berlin master plan competition in 1909, as the winner. They gave the second prize to Leon Jausseley, a French architect and planner who was the winner of Barcelona’s master plan competition in 1902 and the winner of Grand Paris master plan competition in 1919.¹⁴⁴ Akcan states that the decision of the jury did not just affect the future of the urban environment in Ankara, but at the same time it significantly affected the evaluation of German-Turkish relations and the understanding of the differences between offered écoles for the socio-spatial environment of Ankara. The master plans of Jansen and Jausseley were different in

¹⁴³ Brillembourg, A., Klumpner, H., & Kalagas, A. (2015). El Sur Global: Future Resilient City. *Architectural Design*, 85(4), 100-105. p.102.

¹⁴⁴ Akcan, E. (2012). *Architecture in translation: Germany, Turkey, and the modern house*. Duke University Press. p.45.

terms of the proposed residential environment for the city. Besides, they were differentiated from each other according to typology of residential units proposed and the usage of the old dwelling areas especially in the old districts around Ankara Castle. Jausseley offered to demolish the old town as a reason of having unhealthy and irregular environment and designed new modern large streets, circular junctions, huge monumental squares for the transformation of the old town.¹⁴⁵ The problems of Ankara were stated in a very realistic way in the report of Jausseley's Plan. It was stated that Ankara has excessive climate conditions and soil inadequacy for planting and vegetation. Also, the report pointed out the slope of the land and stated that the hilly landscape of the city made the development of the city center more complicated. After noticing such difficulties in the city, Jausseley developed two different ideas for the residential areas which were he named as "close system" and "open system". The first one, named close system, was designed for the city center and constituted a high-density environment in the city center. It consisted of attached housing which had five-storey and common courtyards in the backyard of the housing units. The second one, named open system, was for the peripheral of the city and defined a low-density low-rise settlement. It consisted of villas which have individual open gardens.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, Jansen offered to protect the old town of the city and Ankara Castle as a symbol of the city. For the residential environment, Jansen designed low-rise neighborhood-unit housings. The urban image was putting forward low dense settlement pattern by Jansen. Residential units were designed separately, and all new settlements were not more than three floors. Moreover, porches and basements were prohibited.¹⁴⁷ It is stated by many city planners, architects and academicians that the design geometry and planning patterns of Jansen Plan correspond to Garden City Movement. In addition to that, the planning understanding of Jansen is more culturalist

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Jaussey Plan Report, İzahname, pp. 60-63, 99-102.

¹⁴⁷ Jansen Plan Report. pp.13-14.

rather than being progressist.¹⁴⁸ Accordingly, it can be said that the decision of the jury was not just to designate the morphological properties of the city, but rather deciding how people move in the city, how they travel, in which areas they spend their free time, in which are they work. Also, it was the decision of how their life style changes, how the lived experience of the inhabitants takes shape, and how the neighborhood relationships/neighborliness emerge. Hence, in terms of spatial habitus, the plan of Jansen offers a social environment by conserving the existing architectural properties and social relations in the city. Jansen planned many neighborhoods for different social groups in the city center such as Hükümet Mahallesi, Yüksek Okullar Mahallesi, İşçi Mahallesi, Emlak Bankası Mahallesi, Ziraat Mektebi Mahallesi. He also designed suburbs in Ankara. Bahçelievler is one of his planned and designed area which was in the peripheral of the city. Instead of creating modern high-density residential areas in the city, the formation of neighborhood-based facilities can serve a variety of spatial purposes and different activities for different social groups. It was not just the design of an urban area but also the design that provided community-based approach at the neighborhood scale by its architectural design characteristics. Jansen did not prefer to design three-dimensional compactness in the city but rather compressed the urban fabric within the defined boundaries in two-dimension. This understanding is also evaluated by Jansen as “the ideal of new urbanism” in his final report.¹⁴⁹ Modern living space units were designed with agricultural, industrial and recreational facilities. As stated by Akcan, the other influence of Jansen was Camillo Sitte’s approach to the urban planning.¹⁵⁰ Camillo Sitte published his seminal book, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* in 1889. He stated his ideas with richly illustrated sketches and neighborhood maps in his works. He dwelled on the aesthetic experience of urban space as being a leading factor in urban planning. Together with

¹⁴⁸ Caliskan, O. (2003). *Urban compactness : A study of Ankara urban form* (Master's thesis). METU. pp.13-14.

¹⁴⁹ Jansen Plan Report. pp.13-14.

¹⁵⁰ Akcan, E. (2012). *Architecture in translation: Germany, Turkey, and the modern house*. Duke University Press. p.47.

Garden City Movement and Camillo Sitte's understanding of urban planning, Jansen, as an urban planner and an architect, did not only decide some physical architectural properties of the residential units, but he also manifested his view about the city culture, aesthetic perception of architectural space and life styles of inhabitants. The ideas of cooperative members also were taken into consideration during the neighborhood development. As mentioned by Akcan, Nusret Uzgören, the founder of the cooperative, had already been informed about the garden city ideal. He stated in the pages of daily newspapers during these days that "rather than apartments, we must choose the garden city system". Also, he mentioned about his unhappy childhood in the traditional houses of Ankara. These houses were denounced as being densely packed apartment blocks by him and he added "the unplanned neighborhoods stacked with countless wooden houses that had windows with wooden lattices looking out on narrow and dirty streets, and dim rooms with cracked walls letting insects and bugs, scorpions, and even snakes straight into the bed."¹⁵¹ On the other side, he also recalled the dissatisfaction about the new modern housing blocks with expensive rents and forced nomadic lifestyle. Hence, how the new residential environment for the middle-income group would be shaped became considerable in these years. One of the influential newspapers of the time, *Ulus* published an extensive questionnaire about the ideal housing environment in 1936. The editorial stressed the need of spaces for housing in the capital city. In the questionnaire, "Should houses for government officials be constructed as apartments or houses with a garden?" and "if garden houses are selected, would you prefer row houses in a garden or free-standing house in a garden?" were asked. Akcan states that the questionnaire was restricted the readers to two options which were apartments or houses in a garden. When the situation of the apartment of the late Ottoman period were criticized, the result has already been predictable.¹⁵² Therefore, the editorial supported clearly the European garden city model but at the same time it emphasized the role of the new Turkish governmental officials to choose their housing spaces. Besides, it is stated that almost every

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p.79.

¹⁵² Ibid.

respondent approved the cooperative housing by the reason of its affordability, shared infrastructure and unified image. Promoted garden city ideals with low-rise and low-density houses were identified as providing increased level of sunlight and air, sustaining better health in a housing unit with a garden, offering free spaces for children, presenting a vegetation space which help temper the arid and hot climate conditions of Ankara and the list continues.

In accordance with these, Jansen Plan defined a process of designing new spaces for the city housing needs. To do that, he developed a community-based understanding in the residential environment and researched the history of the urban. As mentioned by Akcan, Jansen integrated some local architectural elements which was different from his projects of German counterparts for the design of Bahçelievler. He provided private courtyards (*Gartenhof*) for each house that was a reminiscent of the private courtyards of old wooden houses of Ankara Citadel. He also used extension bays (*Çıkma*) on the upper floors of the houses. In the plan of the double housing units, he designed a loggia as a space which was reminiscent of the idea of *sofa* in the old Turkish houses. Jansen tried to create a modern living environment by referring to some local architectural properties of the city. However, the idea did not satisfy Turkish clients and the founders of the cooperative in Ankara and they criticized these regionalist qualities of the design. Even though Jansen did not agree with their comments and explained that the modern building style (*Baustil*) also includes local architectural properties, the members of the cooperative did not accept the use of traditional Turkish housing styles. For Turkish clients, living in a European style residential environment was a proof of social status. In that context, it can be concluded that the architecture has an important role in the habitus. The design of architectural space has a real effect on the appropriation of the neighborhood and the definition of the neighborhood environment becomes a part of the inhabitants' identity. Therefore, Turkish clients wanted to create a perceived superiority over the

people who were living in the old Turkish traditional houses.¹⁵³ Accordingly, Jansen's master plan and neighborhood implementation in the city can be evaluated in different ways with respect to the concept of spatial habitus.

Jansen visualized layers of information to embody temporal and historical dynamics of the architecture of the city. In the case of Bahçelievler, the area was designed with housing units with huge gardens as a suburban neighborhood. Indeed, at that time, Ankara had already consisted of vineyard houses with big gardens in suburbs especially in Dikmen, Etlik, Keçiören from 1920s until the end of the 1950s. These houses were constructed with a large gardens and the neighborhoods had some social and architectural properties in between urban and rural settlements.¹⁵⁴ Although it is a fact that Jansen's plan is accepted as the first model of neighborhood-unit idea and the implementation of the garden city model in Ankara, it can be said that Ankara has already had different settlements which had neighborhood-unit characteristics. Jansen proposed a garden-based suburban settlement which already existed in the city and its vicinity, and that model was appropriate for the urban identity of Ankara. It can be stated that Jansen took into consideration the existing spatial habitus of the city. At this point, Panofsky's observation would be interesting to re consider. Panofsky points out the relationship between the philosophical system of education and the architect's role in his book *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*. He evaluates the philosophical sense of an architect as "a principle that regulates the act."¹⁵⁵ By referring to Panofsky, Pierre Bourdieu explains the role of the architect in relation to habitus. While the architect has a role of internalizing the set of habits into the spatial habitus, he also shapes the built environment which constitutes the spatial capital of the society.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Akcan, E. (2012). *Architecture in translation: Germany, Turkey, and the modern house*. Duke University Press. pp.88-90.

¹⁵⁴ Ortaylı, İ. (2014). Ankara'nın eski bağevleri. *İDEALKENT*, 5(11), 112-115.

¹⁵⁵ Panofsky, E. (1957). *Gothic and architecture and scholasticism*. pp.20-22.

¹⁵⁶ Bourdieu, P., Chamboredon, J. C., & Passeron, J. C. (1991). *The craft of sociology: Epistemological preliminaries*. Walter de Gruyter. pp.191-193.

Accordingly, it can be pointed out that the design of Jansen presented the spatially embedded nature of the society's practices. His Bahçelievler model shows that existing lived space of the city were analyzed and socio-cultural world of existing identity of the city were considered. Jansen put forward a new modern urban image for Ankara city by taking into consideration the existing life patterns in architecture. In the concept habitus and identity formation, as stated by Akcan, although Jansen was asked to eliminate the regionalist references in his project, he continued to justify the importance of reflecting different forms of life in architecture instead of having an all-world style (*Allerweltstil*). According to Jansen, the members of the cooperative were unable to represent themselves, and their image of modern houses could not reflect different forms of life that they expected to have.

In the model of Bahçelievler neighborhood, in addition to different housing types, he also designed a school, a shopping center, a commercial area, a kindergarten, a public space and sport facilities such as a tennis court, a swimming pool and a playground. Also, from the ecological perspective, he proposed plantation of trees in the periphery of the settlement. The green strip was designed to connect houses to some social facilities and the education area. Hence, Jansen thought of nature as a space in his design and he constructed a green structure in the neighborhood-unit. He did not just offer green areas in the site plan two-dimensionally, but at the same time he designed the relation of the green structure with inhabitants. Moreover, the relationship between pathways, green spaces, roads were considered with respect to human proportion. Therefore, Jansen's master plan and his architectural design of the neighborhood-units in Ankara is important for the study to understand the background of modern neighborhood idea in Ankara.

3.3. From Bahçelievler to Yenimahalle

Even though Bahçelievler, as a garden suburb, was initiated to satisfy the housing need, the neighborhood became one of the most attractive residential area in the city center through the transformation process of the city. While the model has gradually transfigured from a garden suburb to an urban settlement, it has also gained a quality in the context of urban environment.¹⁵⁷ After the foundation of Bahçelievler and Güvencüler Cooperative, different neighborhood-units were also constructed through different cooperatives in Ankara. These are different from single apartment cooperatives like Hayat Apartment and mass housing cooperatives like Eti Blocks or İl Bank Blocks. Saraçoğlu in 1944, Yenimahalle in 1948, Mebusevleri at the end of 1940s, Subayevleri in 1950, Basınevleri in 1950s, Kalaba Evleri in 1952, 14 Mayıs Evleri in 1953, Merbank in 1958 are the first examples of neighborhood-units which comprise an important part of the housing production of Ankara.¹⁵⁸ As stated by Cengizkan, these neighborhoods were planned as low-rise settlements and the houses were distributed to the site as single or row house types with individual gardens. These settlements, according to their architectural principles, are similar to what Jansen put forward in his model of Bahçelievler. In the first plan of the Bahçelievler, Jansen designed three different residential types which were repeated in the site. These were free-standing houses (detached), double attached houses (double houses) and row houses (*Figure 3.1, Figure 3.2*).

¹⁵⁷ Başaran, B. (2002). From a Garden Suburb to an Urban District: An Evaluation on the Spatial Qualities of Bahçelievler District (Doctoral dissertation). pp.4-7.

¹⁵⁸ Bayraktar, A. N., Koçyiğit, E. S. A., & Bahar, D. (2014). Ankara'da Yerleşim Ölçeğinde Modern Konut Uygulamaları. In *Başkent Oluşunun 90. Yılında Ankara: 1923-2013* (pp. 137-156). Ankara Üniversitesi.

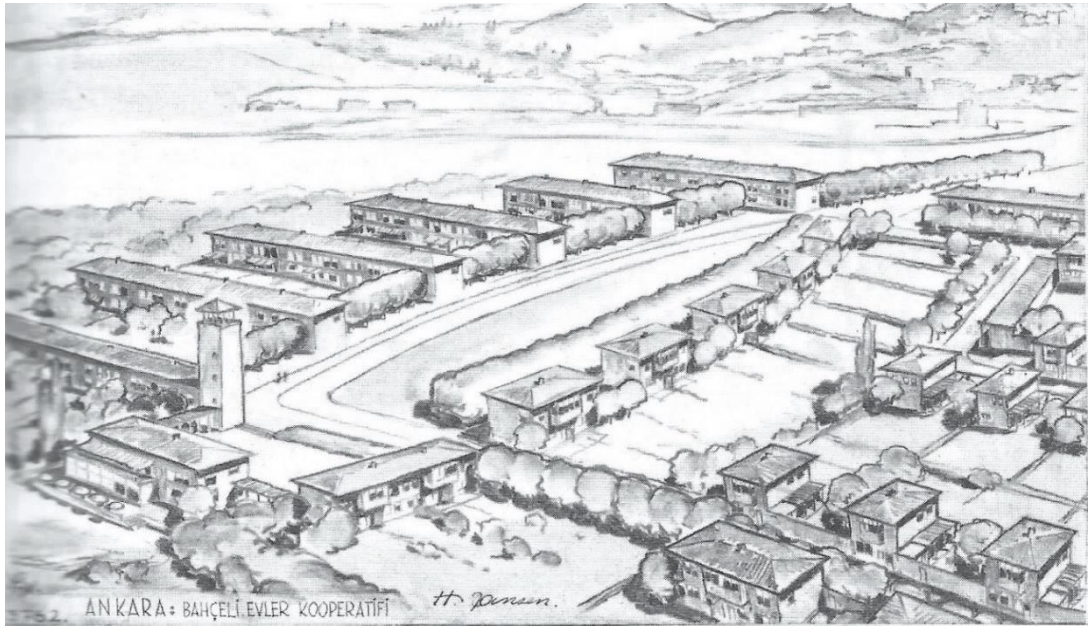


Figure 3.1. Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative Aerial Perspective, Ankara, 1935-36. Drawn by Hermann Jansen.

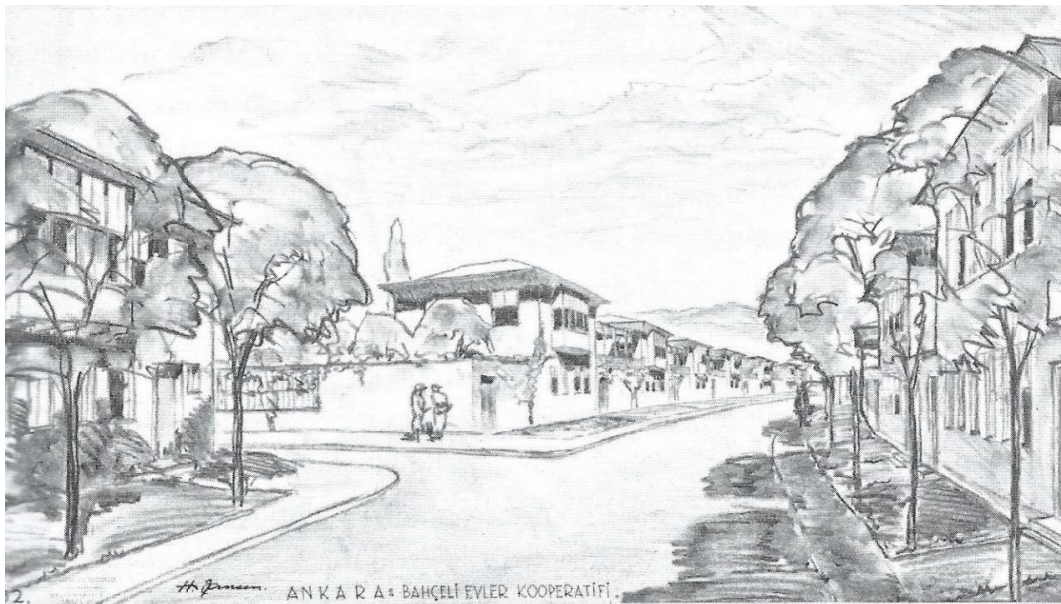


Figure 3.2. Perspective of a street with A-Type Houses, Ankara, 1935-36. Drawn by Hermann Jansen.

However, in Bahçelievler the families of the cooperative did not want double and row houses. Jansen changed his design with free-standing housing units in private gardens but a continuous facade towards the street was created by the walls of the gardens. However, in the built version, the garden wall was lowered and rather than giving a street continuous facade articulation, the repeating private housing units were placed as autonomous units in the urban space. This two-storey free-standing houses with a private garden became a symbol of a European lifestyle in Ankara at that times.¹⁵⁹ In addition to that, the housing units were planned jointly with educational facilities, social facilities, public spaces, kindergartens and green spaces.¹⁶⁰ Accordingly, the area defined a primary social circle in the city environment by having educational, intellectual, recreational and civic requirements.

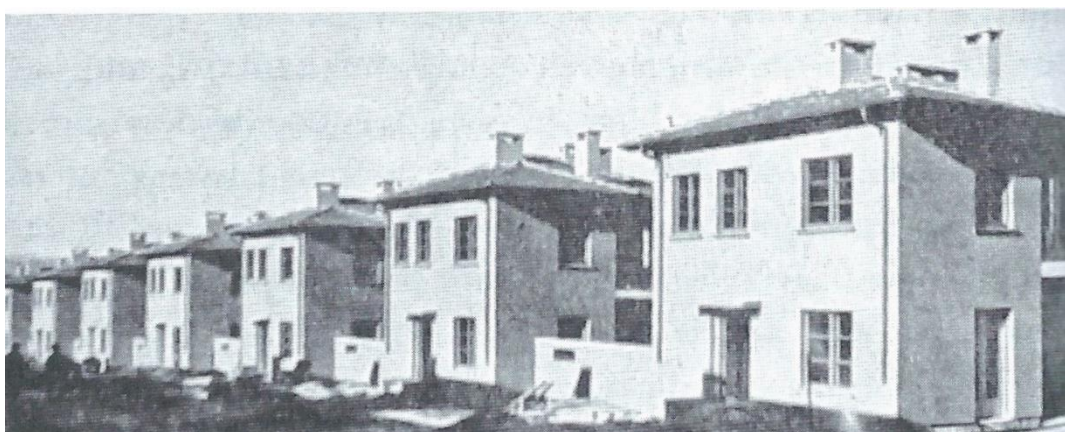


Figure 3.3. Bahçelievler as Constructed, Ankara (c.1940). Retrieved from Akcan, E. (2012). *Architecture in translation: Germany, Turkey, and the modern house*. Duke University Press.

The spatial characteristics of Yenimahalle's neighborhood design include similar approaches and principles with Bahçelievler. Akcan states in her book *Architecture in Translation: German, Turkey and the Modern House* that many of the milestones of

¹⁵⁹ Akcan, E. (2012). *Architecture in translation: Germany, Turkey, and the modern house*. Duke University Press. pp.92-93.

¹⁶⁰ Cengizkan, A. (2002). *Modernin saati. Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği-Boyut Yayıncılık*. p.176.

residential environment in Ankara pursued the same typology with Bahçelievler. In the same way what *Siedlung Treptow* was planned as an exemplary residential environment of the master plan of Berlin, Bahçelievler was designed to become model settlement (*Mustersiedlung*) of Ankara.¹⁶¹

The name *Yenimahalle* means *the new neighborhood* and the land located in the northwest of the city. Yenimahalle was planned in 1948 due to need of housing units especially for low-income social groups in the city.¹⁶² The impact of the decision of constructing a new neighborhood in Ankara was mainly to face with important immigration in that times. The migration did not only happen by the mobility of bureaucrats or state officers but a lot of people from mid-income and low-income social groups migrated to the city, too. Then, two law no.5218 and no.5228 were approved by the State in 1948 and the laws gives authorization to the Municipality of Ankara to produce new building areas in the city. Accordingly, Yenimahalle became the first implementation of this law in the city. Bahçelievler and Saraçoğlu neighborhoods had been already constructed as a neighborhood-unit in the city and it can be said that Yenimahalle was one of the earliest examples of neighborhoods in the city after them. Although the area was not defined as a residential zone within Jansen Plan, the site was selected by the Municipality, the planning of the new residential environment, the site plan of the area and housing types were obtained by separate competitions organized.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Akcan, E. (2012). *Architecture in translation: Germany, Turkey, and the modern house*. Duke University Press. pp.83, 95-96.

¹⁶² Ankara Valiliği Bilgi İşlem Web Büro. (n.d.). YENİMAHALLE. Retrieved from <http://www.ankara.gov.tr/yenimahalle>.

¹⁶³ Önen, Z. (1995). Yenimahalle: A Problem of Conservation in Ankara. *Unpublished MA Thesis, Middle East Technical University*. p.22.



Figure 3.4. An Aerial View of Yenimahalle Settlement from 1950s. Photographed by Erdoğan Menekşe.

Yenimahalle has endured a period of sixty-eight years in the city with high-density urbanization since its construction in 1951. Yücel-Uybadin Plan in 1957 did not create any big change in the area. However, in the following years the height of residential units was increased by the permission for additional storey. The process of change happened in 1965- permission for the third storey on Ragıp Tüzün Caddesi, İvedik Caddesi and the Central District, in 1968- the permission for the fourth storey in the district. Today, Yenimahalle is being filled up with reinforced concrete buildings in comparison to its historical background which was planned as a row housing unit with gardens (*Figure 3.4, Figure 3.5, Figure 3.6, Figure 3.7, Figure 3.8*). Although the density of the settlement has increased by time, some architectural patterns of the neighborhood have been protected. There are still gardens, public green spaces, sport facilities, recreational areas etc. in the area. As mentioned by Nuray Bayraktar in *Sivil Mimari Bellek: Ankara*, the residential units in Yenimahalle is still remarkable according to some architectural properties like proportion, façade features, spatial configuration etc.¹⁶⁴ Also, the socio-spatial patterns of the area function as a neighborhood-unit design and still contains social and architectural values in the lived space of the neighborhood.



Figure 3.5. Old Settlement of Yenimahalle. Şinasi Yüksel's Individual Archive. Retrieved from <http://www.sinasiyukse.com/blog/?p=17727>.

¹⁶⁴ Bayraktar, A. N., Ayhan, E. S., Uysal, Y., & Şumnu, U. (2014). *Sivil Mimari Bellek Ankara 1930-1980*. VEKAM. p.79.



Figure 3.6. A Residential Unit in Yenimahalle from 1960s. Şinasi Yüksel's Individual Archive. Retrieved from <http://www.sinasiyukse.com/blog/?p=17727>.



Figure 3.7. A residential Unit in Yenimahalle from 1960s. Şinasi Yüksel's Individual Archive. Retrieved from <http://www.sinasiyukse.com/blog/?p=17727>.



Figure 3.8. A residential Unit in Yenimahalle from 1960s. Şinasi Yüksel's Individual Archive. Retrieved from <http://www.sinasiyüksel.com/blog/?p=17727>.



Figure 3.9. A residential Unit in Yenimahalle from 1960s. Şinasi Yüksel's Individual Archive. Retrieved from <http://www.sinasiyüksel.com/blog/?p=17727>.

Similar to Bahçelievler, Yenimahalle was planned to comprise community facilities. This neighborhood-unit idea has found a place in the urbanization of Ankara. Parks, school facilities, local markets, shopping facilities and community centers were present in the site plan. The plan also has its flexibility in form and space. It can also be called an individualization of the neighborhood in the city. The neighborhood had a center and certain streets were leading to the neighborhood center which included parks, marketplace and municipal service buildings. Therefore, it can be said that Yenimahalle as a neighborhood was planned as a living-organism with its physical and social facilities. (Figure 3.10, Figure 3.11, Figure 3.12.) Yenimahalle was shaped by to create locality because the idea of neighborhood-unit has served to form a local community and the settlement did not only constituted a physical unit but also a social unit within the city. Neighborliness between inhabitants and the intimacy of association are also features of the neighborhood-unit idea.¹⁶⁵



Figure 3.10. Ragıp Tüzün Park in Yenimahalle from 1960s. Şinasi Yüksel's Individual Archive. Retrieved from <http://www.sinasiyukse.com/blog/?p=17727>.

¹⁶⁵ Johnson, D. L. (2002). Origin of the Neighbourhood Unit. *Planning Perspectives*, 17(3), 227-245. doi:10.1080/02665430210129306. p.239.



Figure 3.11. A Street as a Playground in Yenimahalle from 1960s. Şinasi Yüksel's Individual Archive. Retrieved from <http://www.sinasiyukse.com/blog/?p=17727>.



Miralay Nazım bey s. 149 Yenimahalle Ankara

Figure 3.12. A Wall Creates a Socializing Space. The Photo taken from Miralay Nazım Bey Street in 1960s. Şinasi Yüksel's Individual Archive. Retrieved from <http://www.sinasiyukse.com/blog/?p=17727>.

Therefore, Yenimahalle as a residential environment was a community design that contained different types of activity patterns for inhabitants. As mentioned, the process of urban transformation in the city, the area has become gradually a denser area and some of its socio-spatial qualities have started to get lost. Today, Yenimahalle is one of the most crowded and busiest central districts of the city. This raises the question of whether Yenimahalle as a spatial habitus can still play an important role in Ankara, despite losing its spatial, environmental and social qualities compared to the past. To answer this question, the existing situation of the settlement of Yenimahalle will be analyzed and evaluated with respect to the theoretical framework of the thesis which conceptualizes neighborhood environment as spatial habitus in terms of architectural and urban design qualities.

CHAPTER 4

FROM HERE TO THERE: YENIMAHALLE, ANKARA

4.1. Situational Urbanism for Lived Space

The design process is often taught in the design courses in three stages which are analysis, concept and design stage. The analysis method is about gathering data and information about the site, the concept phase is a step of unifying all this data and information and trying to contextualize your questions. And finally, the design is a stage of detailing and articulating the concept to solve the problems. This process is not a linear but rather a circular one. New data can be adapted to the concept and the design phase. This circular motion can happen several times in the design process (Figure 4.1).

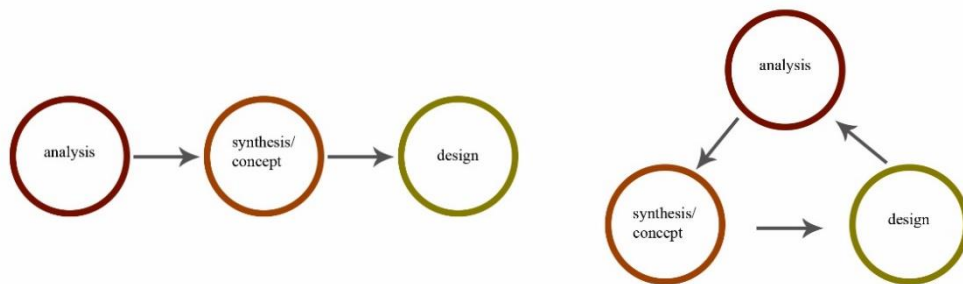


Figure 4.1. Linear and Circular Design Process. Source: Paans, O., & Pasel, R. (2014). Situational urbanism: Directing postwar urbanity: An adaptive methodology for urban transformation. Berlin: Jovis.

However, in the approach of situational urbanism these three steps are reconsidered, and the analysis and the design are conceptualized as two activities in one continuum rather than being stages. Accordingly, the act of analysis manifests ideas and devise some solutions, and the action of design can clarify the gaps in the analysis. Hence, the concept becomes dynamic. The synthesis of data can be practiced in a generic way. As mentioned by Paans and Pasel, “the concept is the driving and directional force during analysis and design. A way of visualizing the concept is to imagine them as constantly oscillating between the poles of “analysis” and “design” ”¹⁶⁶ (Figure 4.2).

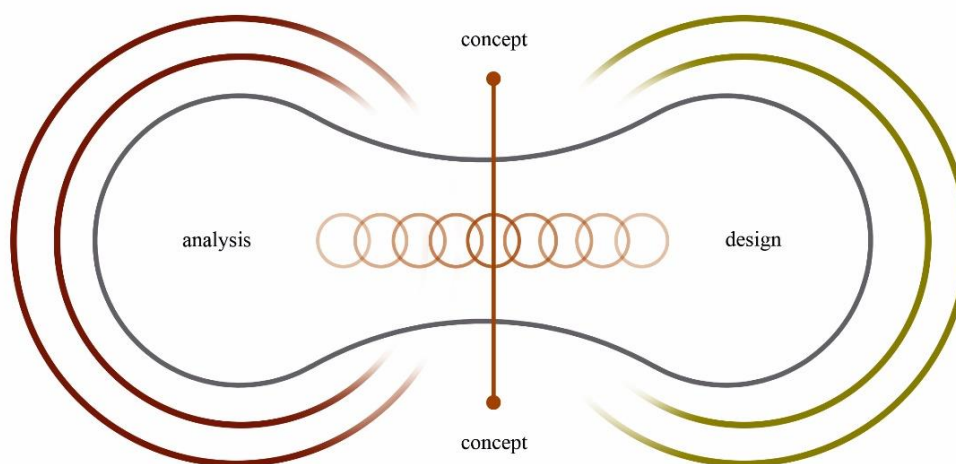


Figure 4.2. Proposed Design Process. Source: Paans, O., & Pasel, R. (2014). *Situational urbanism: Directing postwar urbanity: An adaptive methodology for urban transformation*. Berlin: Jovis.

In the context of situational urbanism, the design action and the architectural analysis method are together in the same process and create the core of processing architectural information. In accordance with that, the practice of situational urbanism develops

¹⁶⁶ Paans, O., & Pasel, R. (2014). *Situational Urbanism: Directing Postwar Urbanity: an Adaptive Methodology for Urban Transformation*. Jovis. p.32.

several key ideas on site analysis methods and use different tools in the process. The approach sees the site analysis as a part of the design process and the knowledge production in architecture does not have to be scientific or universal. It is rather a form of knowledge associated with the actual design process. Hence, the practice of analysis and the act of design happen simultaneously. Design researcher and educator Nigel Cross named this “designerly knowledge” in his book *Designerly Ways of Knowing*.¹⁶⁷ According to him, “the design action is the collected experience of the material culture, the collected body of experience, skill and understanding embodied in the arts of planning, inventing, making and doing.” In these circumstances, the practice of analyzing a site should be handled through “a conception and a realization of new things”, should encompass “an understanding of the application of planning, designing and material culture of a site,” and should develop “a language of mapping”. Situational Urbanism is one of the methods which guides them. While reflecting on what the architectural or urban design mean in a certain situation, especially for urban transformation issues, the method refers to Christopher Alexander and the Alexander’s patterns as a mode of representing design problems and solutions in a flexible way.¹⁶⁸ The patterns are the description of situations and they have potential to be adapted to a local context and to relate to other patterns. Corresponding to that, Paans and Pasel mentions that “pattern and diagram based process” which provide parametrical models for recurring problems and a range of flexible approaches to determine forms, compositions and organizations in people’s everyday life.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, the approach of situational urbanism is selected as a method to understand certain situation of the neighborhood space, to search in the everyday space of people and to map the lived space of inhabitants. Media tools are used to reach some outcomes

¹⁶⁷ Cross, N. (1982). Designerly ways of knowing. *Design studies*, 3(4), 221-227. pp.221-223.

¹⁶⁸ Paans, O., & Pasel, R. (2014). *Situational Urbanism: Directing Postwar Urbanity: an Adaptive Methodology for Urban Transformation*. Jovis. p.22.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. p.26.

about the urban and architectural quality of the spaces in neighborhoods. The situationist approach is not just an attitude, it is a way of processing, and it aims towards gradual improvements in the urban environment and allows inhabitants to connect with the changes. To do that, empirical facts, systematic studies and experiments are substantially important in the method yet the feelings, the perceptions and the emotions of the inhabitants are respected in the approach. Hence, they use some analytical methods to represent information from the site and try to collect information about the user's perception. This method analyzes both the physical facts of the situation such as geometry, density, traffic and pedestrian flow and routes, and the social factors, such as social situations of inhabitants, identity formation, appropriation issue, experience of architectural space, which have effects on the mood of inhabitants in the neighborhood environment. Thus, situational urbanism as a method is applied in the study to analyze the neighborhood of Yenimahalle as habitus. Therefore, the mapping of the neighborhood is produced to reveal current characteristics of neighborhood environment and the interviews are conducted to analyze the perception of inhabitants about the neighborhood environment.

4.2. Setting Theory in Motion: Case Study in Yenimahalle

Through the correlation of sociological aspects of the neighborhood environment and architectural design approaches in Ankara with international and national discussions, the neighborhood-unit as spatial habitus is examined within its current situations and changes through time. As mentioned before, the neighborhood-units have started to be planned in 1930s in Turkey after the requirements have been established by the urban planning organization.¹⁷⁰ Although Yenimahalle is one of the oldest neighborhoods in Ankara, after the urbanization process, the area of the neighborhood

¹⁷⁰ Tekeli, İ. (2010). *Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama ve Kent Araştırmaları Tarihi Yazıları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. p.98.

has expanded by development plans and Yenimahalle has started to define a large district in Ankara.

4.2.1. Yenimahalle District and the “Site” of the Neighborhood

In 1957, Yenimahalle was established as a district by the regulations of no.7033 and the border of the district included Kazan, Yenikent, Sincan and Etimesgut. However, firstly Sincan, then, Kazan, Yenikent and Etimesgut became different districts by the regulations established in 1983. After these regulations, the north and the south sides of the district have become apart from each other by having the connecting areas between them assigned administratively to other districts’ municipality (*Figure 4.3*).

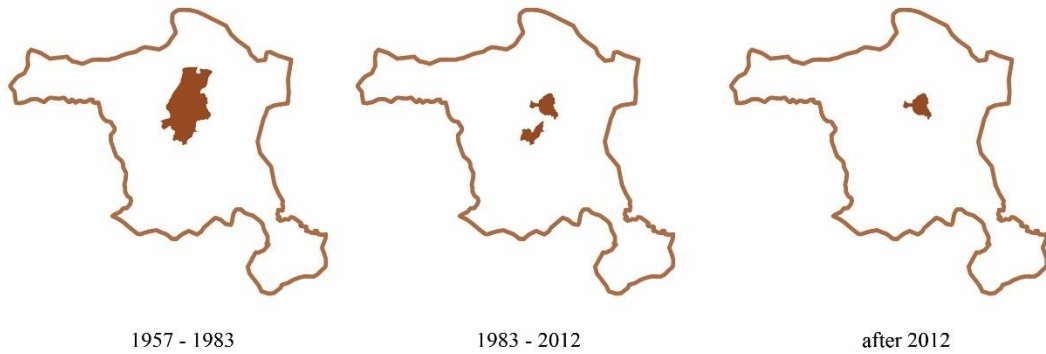


Figure 4.3. The Change of Border of Yenimahalle District. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

In 2012, in the south side of the district, the neighborhoods outside of the ring road of Alacaatlı and Dodurga areas, which are named Aşağı Yurtçu, Yukarı Yurtçu, Ballıkuyumcu, Fevziye ve Şehit Ali, were connected to Etimesgut District. Moreover,

the neighborhoods in the east side of the ring road of Alacaatlı and Dodurga areas, which are named Çayyolu, Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, Ümitköy, Koru, Konutkent and Yaşamkent, were connected to Çankaya district. Eventually, Yenimahalle district became located in the northwest side of the city center (*Figure 4.4*). After the final regulation, both the area and the population of the district were relatively decreased.

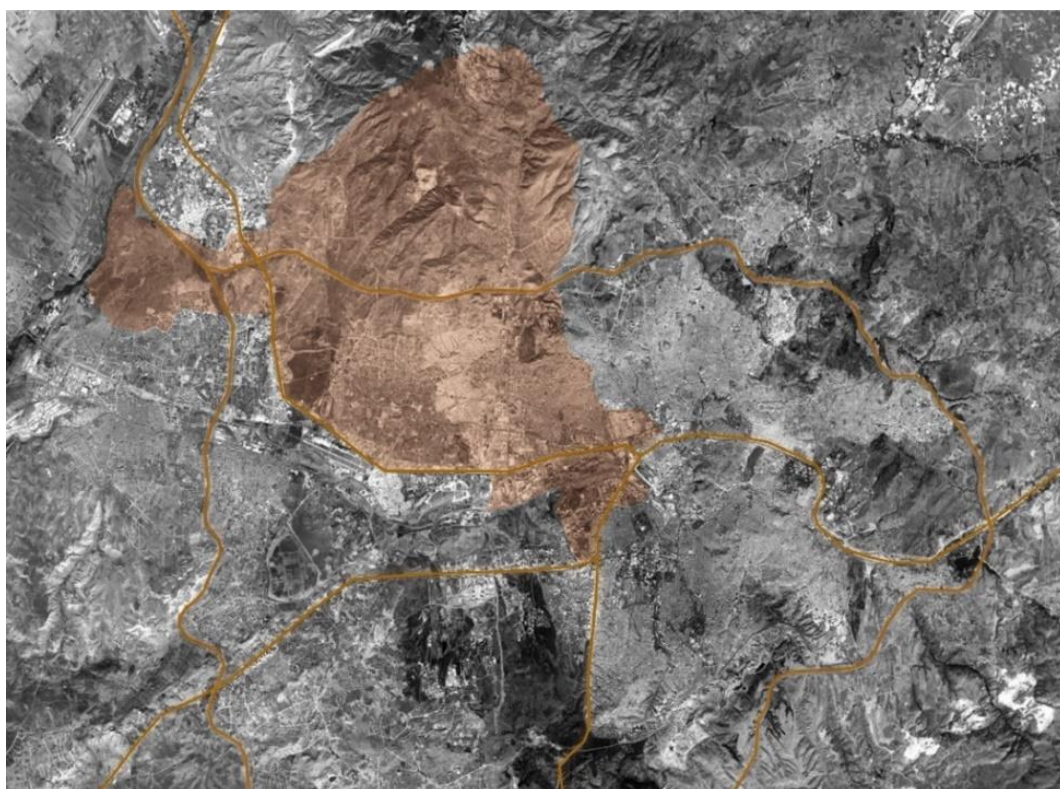


Figure 4.4. The Current Border of Yenimahalle. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

Today, the area of the district is 274 km² and the population is 663.580 according to the statistics by TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu) in 2018 (*Figure 4.5*).

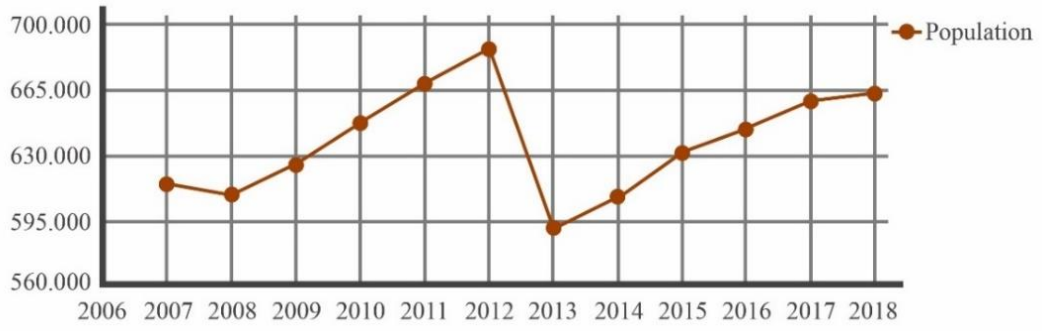


Figure 4.5. The population of Yenimahalle District. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

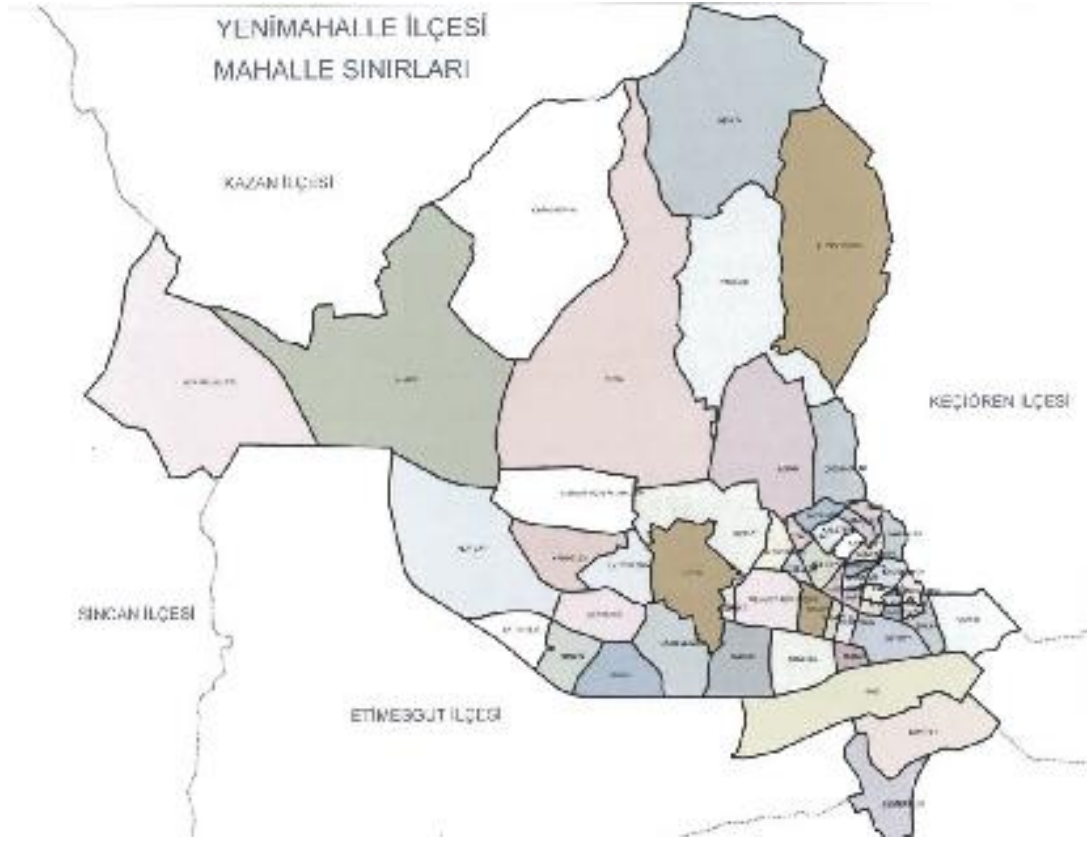


Figure 4.6. The Neighborhood Borders of Yenimahalle District. Source: (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.yenimahalle.gov.tr/ilcemiz>.

The district contains 57 neighborhood-units and some of them are suburbs and some are villages, especially in the northern side of the district (*Figure 4.6*). Accordingly, Yenimahalle as district has a wide variety of residential units that can be analyzed with different perspectives. However, for the case study, the first planned area of the district is chosen as the “site” of the case-study. It is meaningful to examine how the neighborhood-unit, originally built as a low-density settlement, has been growing denser and more crowded by transforming the low-rise single residential units to 4-storey apartment blocks. While the study establishes a theoretical framework regarding the neighborhood-unit idea in terms of the lived space of inhabitants, in this chapter the aim is to identify the architectural characteristics of the neighborhood-unit and focus on the social aspects of neighborhood environment, the spaces of the community life, and the identity formation of the architectural space in the neighborhood environment.

The site is located between İvedik street, Akın street, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı street and Çatalkaya Street (*Figure 4.7*). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the neighborhood-units have lost some of their environmental and social qualities compared to the past. Therefore, the question of whether Yenimahalle is a significant place in today’s Ankara, as a neighborhood-unit in terms of habitus, has emerged. To answer this question, the existing situation of the settlement of Yenimahalle will be analyzed and evaluated with respect to the theoretical framework of the thesis.



Figure 4.7. 'Site' of Case Study. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

4.2.1.1. The Size, Boundary and Residential Units of the Neighborhood

As shown in *Figure 4.7*, the site is bordered by Akın street from the west, Yahya Kemal Street from the east, Çatalkaya Street from the north, and İvedik Street from the south. In the middle of the units, Ragıp Tüzün Street serves as the neighborhood-unit center and has commercial services, a school, a kindergarden, parks and governmental buildings. For the boundry of the neighborhood-unit, Perry's principles suggest:

“The unit should be bounded on all sides by arterial streets, sufficiently wide to facilitate its by-passing by all through traffic.”¹⁷¹

Hence, the arterial streets can hold the traffic volume of the area and the internal streets of the neighborhood-unit are not affected by the traffic. However, in the case of Yenimahalle, the arterial streets cannot provide enough capacity to hold the traffic load and some streets in the neighborhood-unit have started to be alternatives to them. For example, it is observed that Dereboyu street became an alternative road to Yahya Kemal Street, and Çarşı Street started to be used instead of Akın Street (*Figure 4.8*).

¹⁷¹ Perry, Clarence. The neighborhood unit. LeGates R. and Stout, F. Early urban planning. London: Routledge / Thoemmes Press, 1998. p.35.

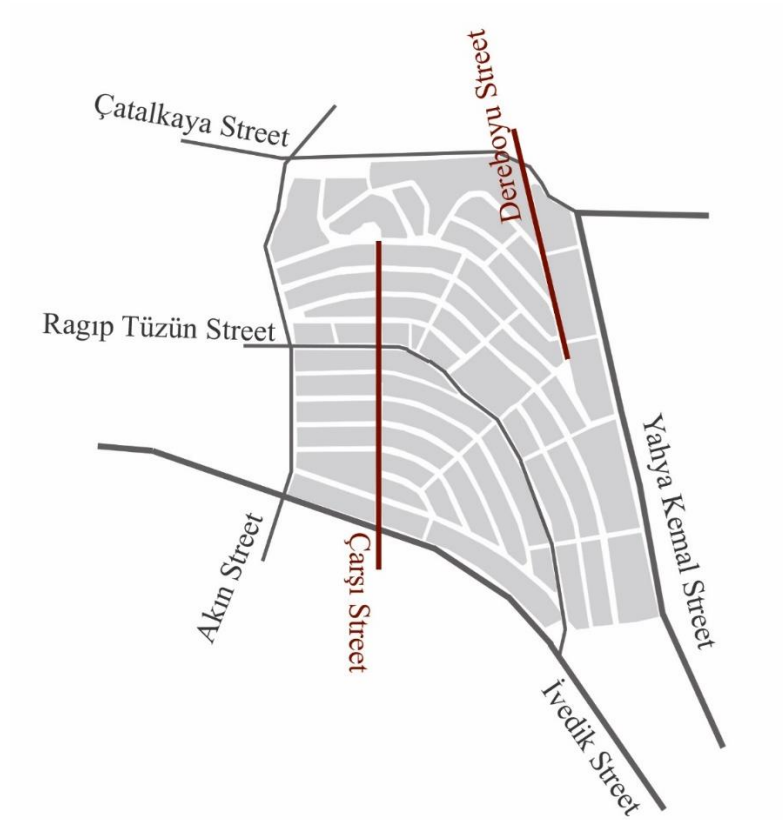


Figure 4.8. Dereboyu and Çarşı Streets. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

Secondly, regarding Perry's principle of size, one of the central points of the neighborhood-unit should be the elementary school. The principle exists in many neighborhood-units of different districts in Ankara. Perry states that:

“A residential unit development should provide housing for that population for which one elementary school is ordinarily required, its actual area depending upon population density.”¹⁷²

¹⁷² Ibid. p.85.

According to the principle, children go to the neighborhood school, and the size and population density of the neighborhood should be determined by schools' student capacity. This allows students and families to walk to their school. However, the walkability issue in the neighborhood settlement is not only about the size of the neighborhood-unit but also about the network of streets and the traffic which are important aspects for the safety of pedestrians. The neighborhood structure should enhance the walking experience inside the neighborhood via pedestrian-oriented streets. In that context, the neighborhood-unit as spatial habitus offers its inhabitants the experience of the living environment by neighborhood-walking. Street-walking is not just a journey from the house to the destination which can be schools, local markets, postoffices or banks, it is also a shared urban activity between inhabitants. Architecture has narrative qualities which are associated with bodily movement through space and the individual's engagement with the social practices in urban spaces. In that context, inhabitants become an active part of the creation of urban reality and street-walking creates a circulatory identity in the neighbourhood environment. Nowadays, it is observed that there are still students who walk to their school mostly with their parents. Also, inhabitants walk to the center of the unit to facilitate their daily needs. However, the traffic problem especially during the morning and evening times creates dangerous situations for people. Also, insufficient parking areas lead drivers to use pedestrian roads as parking spaces in the site. However, as also defined by the principles of new urbanism movement, parking lots and garages should rarely exit directly to the streets in the neighborhood. The parking areas should be positioned at the back side of the residential units, and the garage doors should be arranged to have no direct access to the pedestrian and bicycle roads. However, in the site, most of the gardens which are located in front of the residential units have been converted to car parking areas because of the lack of enough parking areas (*Figure 4.9*). This creates a negative impact on the street life of the neighborhood. To avoid this situation, the relationship between building volumes, the web of streets and parking areas should be reconsidered again. The backside of the apartment blocks can be re-designed properly as shared car parking areas.



Figure 4.9. Converting Gardens to Car Parking Areas. Visualized by M. Okkali.

Typical outlook of the residential environment has singularity in the context of the site. As mentioned before, in the first plan of the neighborhood, residential units were designed in 3 different typologies which were detached housing units, double attached housing units and row houses. Diversity in the typology created the spatial variation and flexibility in use. Also, it allows a wide range of approaches for future change and developments in the neighborhood environment. However, today, the residential area consists of similar apartment blocks which have different façade articulation and material use (Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10. Residential Units and Their Facade Articulation. Visualized by M. Okkal.

Although the inhabitants of the neighborhood belong to different social groups and their need of space in the housing environment changes by time (*Figure 4.11*), the residential units are inadequate to create different types of living spaces for different social groups.

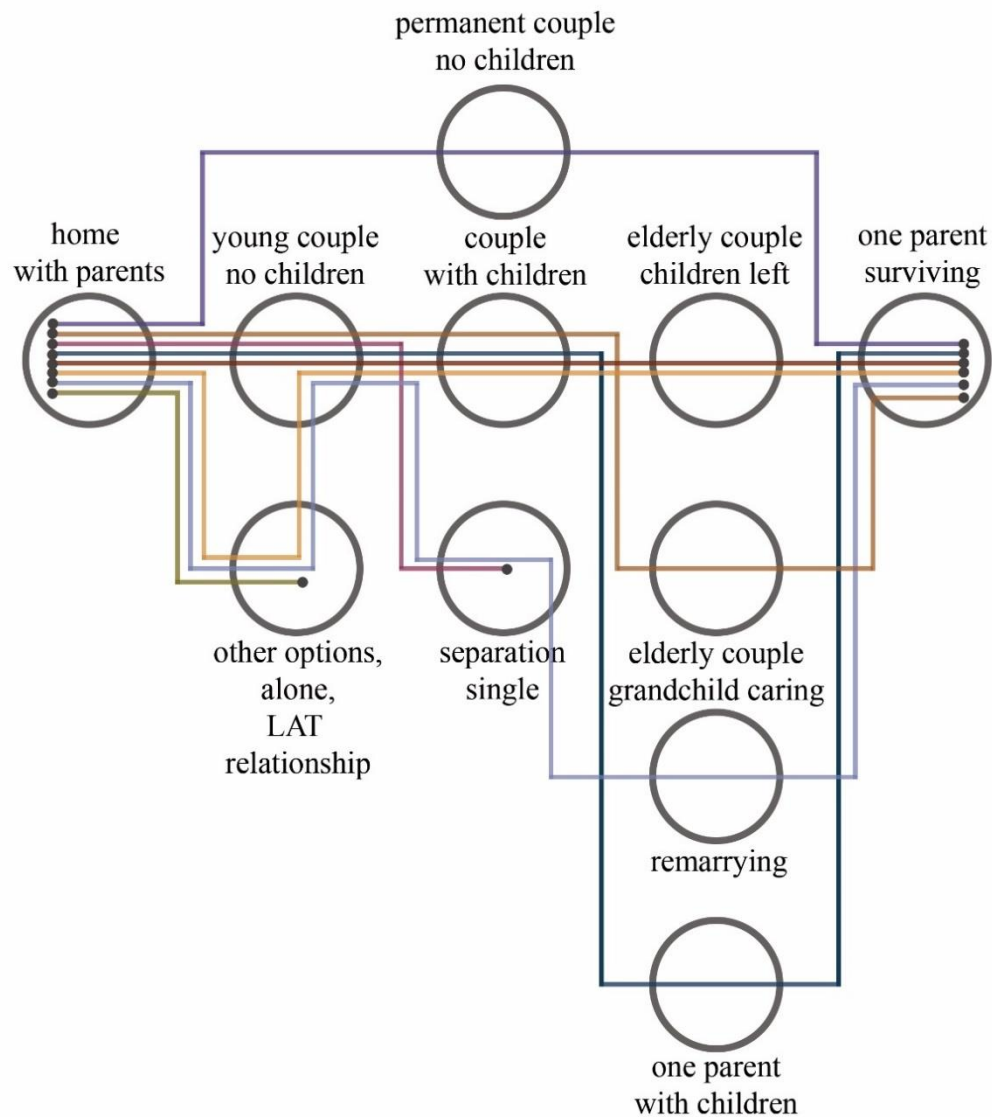


Figure 4.11. The Social Groups of the Inhabitants and Their Runs through Life. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

4.2.1.2. The Street Pattern of the Neighborhood

Perry states that “the unit should be provided with a special street system, each highway being proportioned to its probable traffic load, and the street net as a whole

being designed to facilitate circulation within the unit and to discourage its use by through traffic.”¹⁷³ Hence, the street system of the neighborhood-unit should have a hierarchy from public to private. In the case of Yenimahalle, the hierarchy of streets can be explained as the arterial streets, the collector streets and the local streets according to the widths. Firstly, the arterial streets located on the border of the neighborhood-unit generally provide access to other neighborhood-units and the center of the city. As mentioned in ‘Size, Boundaries and Building Volumes of the Neighborhood-Unit’ sub-section, İvedik Street, Yahya Kemal Street, Akin Street and Çatalkaya Street as arterial streets are planned to meet most of the traffic load of the area and to have lower traffic load inside the neighborhood-unit. However, today, the collector streets and the local streets inside the neighborhood-unit have started to be used as alternatives to the arterial streets by drivers. Secondly, as a collector street which connects the traffic from local streets to arterial streets, Ragıp Tüzün street is placed in the middle of the site and provides service access to the neighborhood-unit center, shopping areas, trading center and recreational areas. The public transport also uses Ragıp Tüzün street, so inhabitants can get off at the bus stops in the Ragıp Tüzün street and walk to residential blocks through local streets. Thirdly, the local streets connect the residential units within the neighborhood. In analyzing the local streets in the entire street network of the site, the network of streets can be named as deformed grid structure in accordance with the topography (*Figure 4.15*).

In the case of Yenimahalle, the local street network is one of the important phenomena that determine the identity of place. They do not just have a transportation purpose but also house different public facilities for inhabitants in the neighborhood life. When comparing between the current situation and the first plan of the neighborhood, the street network is the most preserved and unchanged feature of the neighborhood-unit (*Figure 4.13, Figure 4.14*). Although the pattern of the streets has not changed through time, the difference in street usage has been caused by the increase of both the

¹⁷³ Ibid. p.55.

population and buildings density, particularly in terms of walkability issue. When it comes to the issue of pedestrian path in the site, there is no car-free oriented form of pedestrian path in the neighborhood-unit. Pedestrian paths are designed as pavements and they are not separated from vehicles for safety walking. However, the width of the pavement in Ragıp Tüzün street is more than in local streets to support a street walking along the various facilities. Hence, during the evenings in summer, inhabitants walk along the street not only to use the facilities there but also to socialize (Figure 4.12).



Figure 4.12. Pavement Properties of “Site”. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

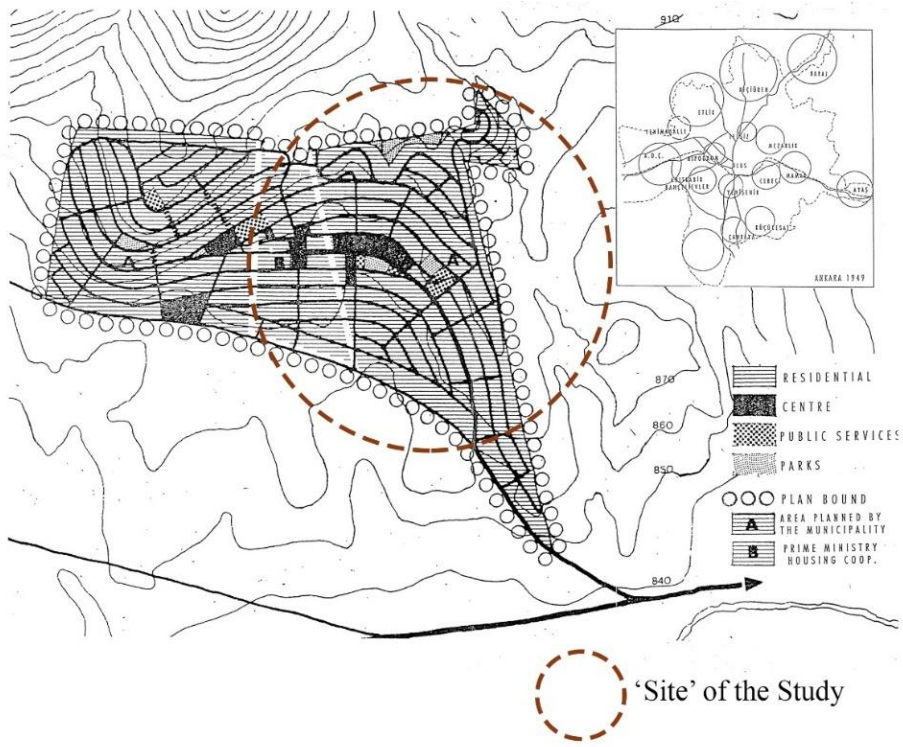


Figure 4.13. The Initial Settlement of Yenimahalle, 1949. Source: Önen, Z. (1995). Yenimahalle: A Problem of Conservation in Ankara. Unpublished MA Thesis, Middle East Technical University.



Figure 4.14. The Current Street Pattern of Yenimahalle. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

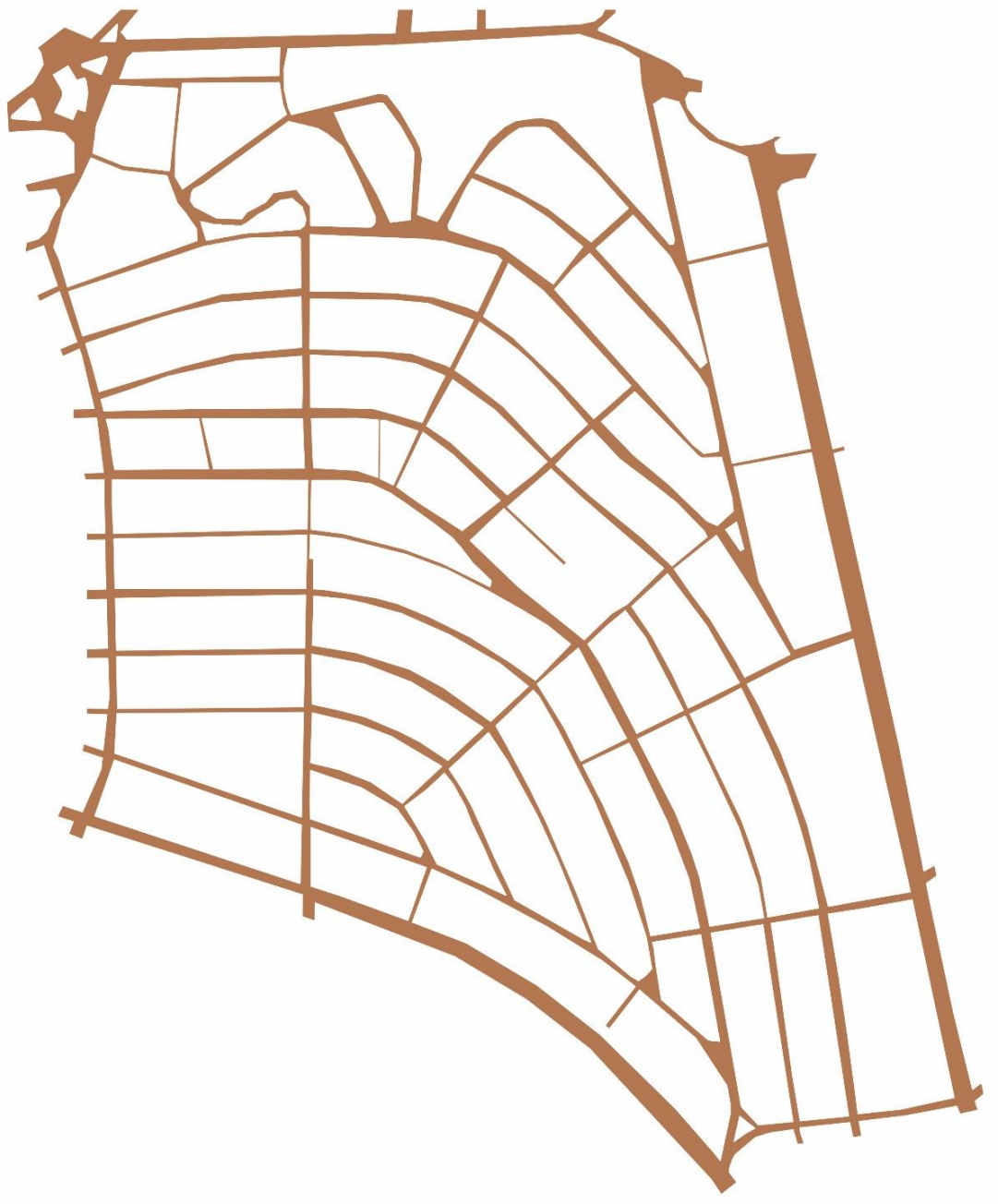


Figure 4.15. The Current Street Pattern of “Site”. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

4.2.1.3. The Open Public Gardens of the Neighborhood

Green refers to gardens, parks, open spaces, squares, recreational facilities that contributes to an integration of nature to the city environment. The green areas as space become key design elements in the concept of neighborhood-unit. This study aims to investigate the relationship between the arrangement of green spaces, the residential units and the street structure in the neighborhood-unit environment. The gardens, which are in-between building volumes, do not just have an environmental dimension but a social one as well. Hence, the development and management of green areas are important for the community life in the neighborhood. The scale of the green framework, its quality and usability should fit with the identity of the neighborhood. In the context of the site, the green framework of the neighborhood-unit environment can be classified mainly into private gardens of residential units, parks and leftover green spaces.

There is a central park in the middle of the site named Ragıp Tüzün Parkı which provides a meeting point and socializing space for inhabitants. Also, there are small parks and green playgrounds scattered in the neighborhood-unit (*Figure 4.16, Figure 4.17*). Parks as lived spaces give opportunities to develop and maintain neighborliness between inhabitants. However, it is observed that they do not have enough capacity corresponding to the population. Their designs are not capable of meeting the contemporary needs of the residents and have no flexibility and diversity for different forms of life in the neighborhood (*Figure 4.18*). It is a fact that maintaining the ecological and socio-spatial quality in the urban environment is a challenge everywhere.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Paans, O., & Pasel, R. (2014). *Situational Urbanism: Directing Postwar Urbanity: an Adaptive Methodology for Urban Transformation*. Jovis. p.99.



Figure 4.16. Public Parks in “Site”. Visualized by M. Okkal.

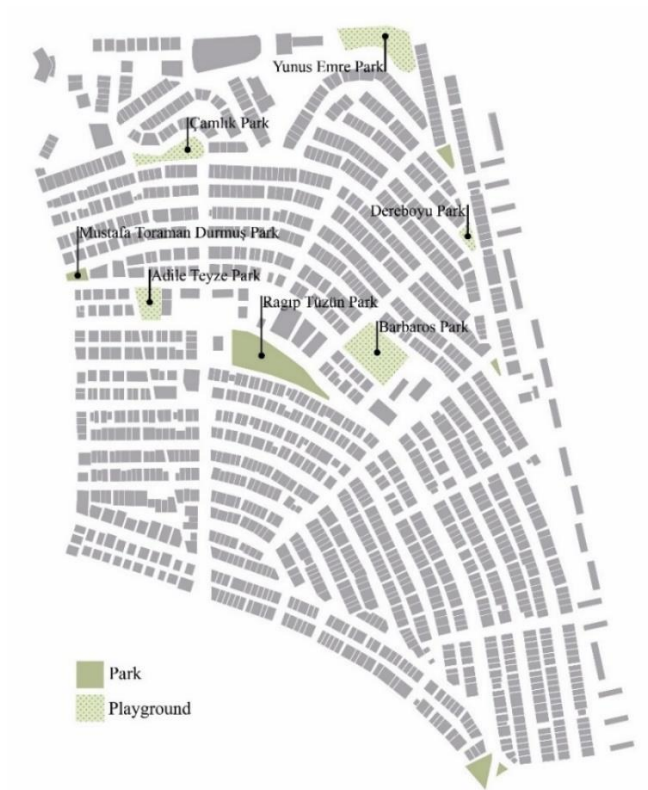


Figure 4.17. Names of Parks and Playgrounds in “Site”. Visualized by M. Okkalı.



Figure 4.18. Examples of Parks and Playgrounds in “Site”. Visualized by M.Okkalı.

The private gardens of the residential units and the trees along the local streets is one of the important characteristics of the neighborhood since the beginning of the first planning ideas of Yenimahalle. However, converting row houses with private gardens to apartment blocks caused the disappearance of used private gardens. Some of them were converted to the shared gardens of inhabitants living in the apartment blocks. Some of them have become passive green areas. Even though it is not allowed to use garden spaces for car parking areas, some of them have been converted to car parking areas by inhabitants nonetheless (*Figure 4.19*). Here, the important point is the densification issue of the neighborhood-unit and its effects on the quality of green space in the urban environment.

The issue of densification can be investigated on various levels in the context of neighborhood-unit. The most common one is the ratio between building masses and open spaces, or the ratio of number of inhabitants to area in square kilometers. However, the density of people's interactions, density of functions, density of activities, density of green spaces and their usage can also be subjects related to the densification issue in the lived space of the neighborhood as spatial habitus. In this context, the main problem of the site is that while densifying the area in terms of number of inhabitants per square kilometer, there has been neither studies nor implementations to densify the activity pattern in the neighborhood-unit, to strengthen the potentiality of the green structure as socializing space, or to develop a strategy for making parks, meeting points and some streets more attractive.¹⁷⁵ Hence, it is observed that there is no evidence of smart density planning in the neighborhood-unit.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. p.153.

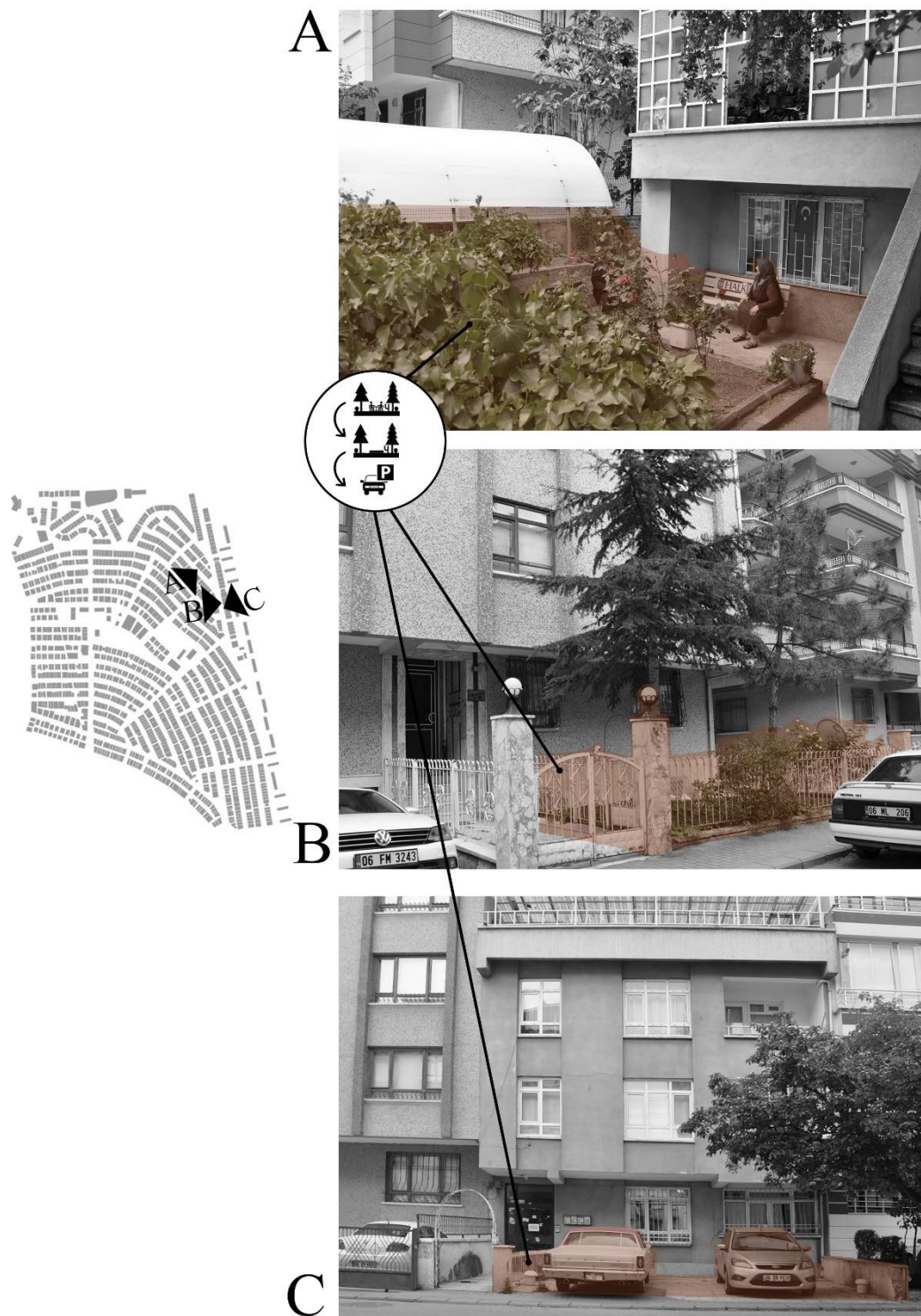


Figure 4.19. Transformation of Garden Space. From Garden as Social Space to Passive Garden and Car Parking. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

Trees are the ecological capital of the neighborhood environment as habitus and this ecological capital has been accumulating for over 60 years in the site. And it is observed that there is a significant number of trees in Yenimahalle. As stated in Street Pattern of the Neighborhood-Unit Section, trees are another preserved element of the neighborhood-unit in time. These full-grown trees have been an asset to the existing situation of the neighborhood-unit in the context of green structure. It is observed that diverse types of implementations, such as in gardens, parks and street lining, create different potentials to the living environment of the neighborhood (*Figure 4.20*). The quality of combining grown trees with the residential units provides the existence of truly friendly spaces. For example, Le Corbusier created a solution of 'let us plant trees' for the human dimension within his massive urban structures. The network of trees provides inhabitants with a striking spatial experience in the urban space. Some streets are well-known for some specific types of trees and they gain their identity in the perception of inhabitants according to their types. These types are Acer Spp. (Akçağaç), Robinia Pseudoaccacia (Akasya Ağacı) and Platanus Orientaus (Çınar Ağacı) which have existed since the initial settlement of Yenimahalle (*Figure 21*). Ultimately, every future intention of changing the area should consider keeping of the grown trees as intact as possible to sustain the socio-ecological identity of the place.



Figure 4.20. Existing Trees of “Site”. Visualized by M. Okkal.



Figure 4.21. Types of Trees in "Site". Ecological Memory of Place. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

4.2.1.4. The Public Space of the Neighborhood

Public Facilities, such as schools, local shops, community centers, religious centers, governmental buildings, banks and post offices, are mainly located in the collector street named Ragıp Tüzün. However, some small shops and education facilities like rehabilitation centers and kindergartens are evenly spread throughout the neighborhood. Public functions are spots in which social cohesion emerges, hence, the spatiality of the neighborhood-unit center and its capacity in terms of the population density should be considered in the design of the neighborhood-unit. As Perry suggested, “one or more shopping districts, adequate for the population to be served, should be laid out in the circumstance of the unit, preferably at traffic junctions and adjacent to similar districts of adjoining neighborhood.”¹⁷⁶ In the site, the shopping area has the linear characteristic of having public facilities located on the sides of Ragıp Tüzün street and the streets connected to it.

For local shopping, it is important to remember Perry’s emphasis on how inhabitants meet their needs in the neighborhood-unit. He explains that it is not necessary to meet all needs within the unit, but daily needs should be met locally. Accordingly, it is observed that there are enough local shops which fulfill inhabitants’ daily needs in the site. Local grocery shops (*bakkal*), supermarkets, bakeries (*firin*), butchers (*kasap*) and greengroceries/fruiteries (*manav*) are places which are used frequently by the inhabitants. Hence, they do not have to travel outside of the neighborhood for their daily needs. Moreover, one of the important characteristics of the neighborhood in local shopping is street hawkers. They tour around the local streets by cars and mostly sell milk, vegetables and fruits, and flowers (*Figure 4.23*). The local streets as well as the unit center have become the socio-economic features of the neighborhood life (*Figure 4.22*). Although the structure of local streets was designed to provide

¹⁷⁶ Perry, Clarence. The neighborhood unit. LeGates R. and Stout, F. Early urban planning. London: Routledge / Thoemmes Press, 1998. p.35.

residential access, this shows that the architectural elements of the neighborhood unit begin to shape themselves from a locality to a locality, and the structure of the streets responds to unpredictable urban condition in the site.

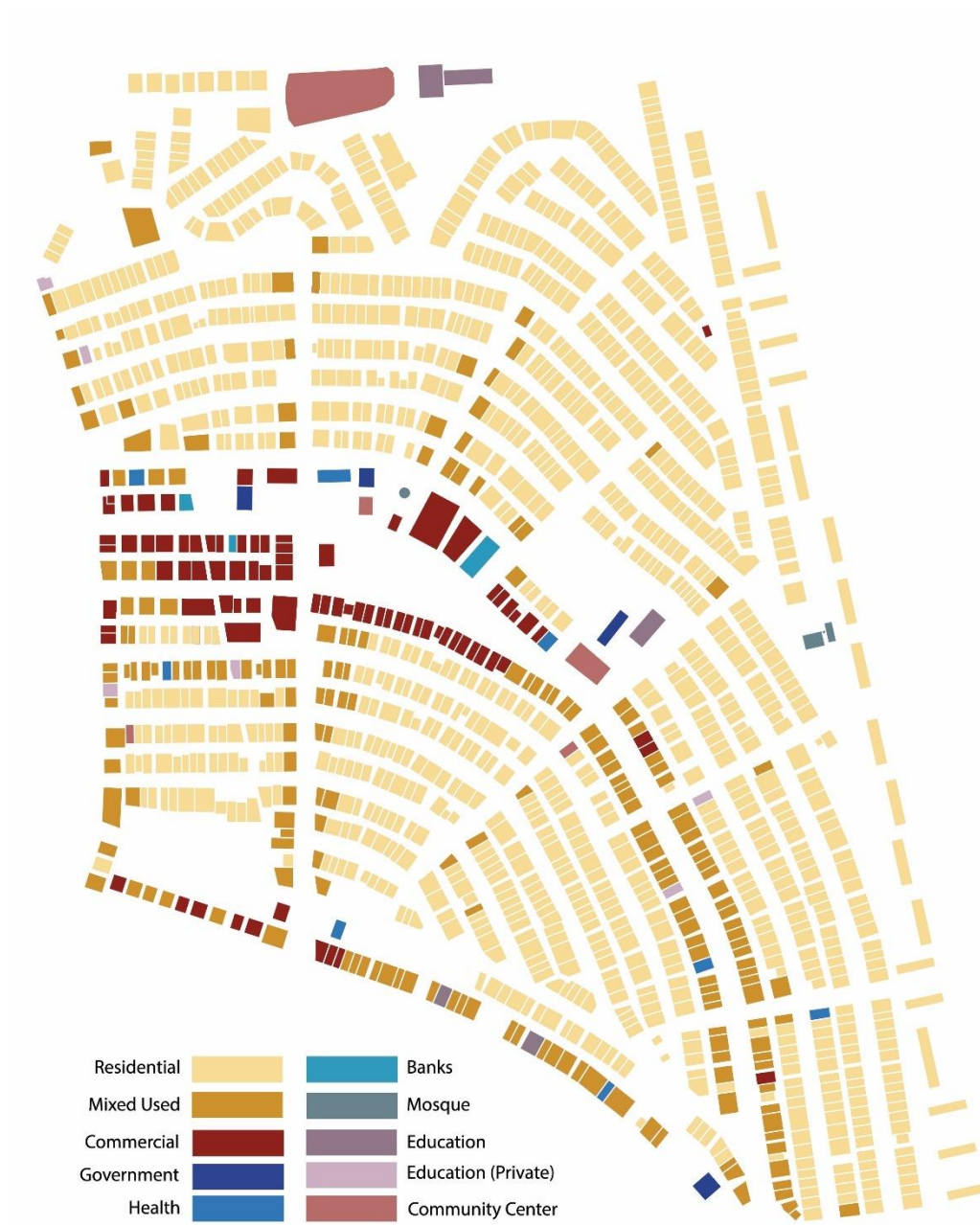


Figure 4.22. Functions of Buildings in “Site”. Visualized by M. Okkahi.



Figure 4.23. Street Shopping in “Site”. Street-hawkers. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

The elementary schools in the site, named Barbaros İlköğretim Okulu and Yunus Emre İlköğretim Okulu, have existed since the beginning of the construction of Yenimahalle. As mentioned before, the elementary school has an important role in the design of the neighborhood unit according to Perry’s concept. The size and the population density of the unit are determined according to the properties of the elementary school. In this study, the other important subject about the educational facilities is that both the social and the physical characteristics of the school determine the educational capital of inhabitants in the concept of habitus. Children spend most of their time, including their free time, in the school space. It is observed that the schoolyards are also used as playgrounds by children. Therefore, the quality of schoolyards should be designed more effectively and with a future-proof mindset for children’s activity. In the site, it is noted that schools are combined with green and

recreational facilities. Thus, the educational places can be defined as a *combination form* type with respect to the relationship with other facilities¹⁷⁷ (Figure 4.24).



Figure 4.24. Education Facilities of “Site”. Visualized by M.Okkalı.

¹⁷⁷ Lee, J., & Park, S. (2018). Exploring Neighborhood Unit’s Planning Elements and Configuration Methods in Seoul and Singapore from a Walkability Perspective. *Sustainability*, 10(4), 988. doi:10.3390/su10040988. pp.7-11.

As for socializing areas, there are cafes, local patisseries and ice cream shops in the neighborhood, and most of them have open spaces which have a strong relationship with the street life. The situation enhances the quality of the street vitality (*Figure 4.25*). Also, people gather in some local shops such as local grocery stores (*bakkal*) or barber shops (*berber*). Hence, these local shops function as small community centers for the neighborhood-unit (*Figure 4.26*). The site demonstrates that the socializing spaces contain flexibility in use from the perception of inhabitants in the concept of neighborhood-unit as spatial habitus.

Finally, religious places are another type of inhabitants' lived space under the category of public space. Inhabitants, mostly retired or elderly people, come together during the rituals of praying in the mosque of the neighborhood. They socialize in the mosque garden; thus, the neighborhood mosque transcends being only a religious place, as it becomes a community center for inhabitants in the unit as well.

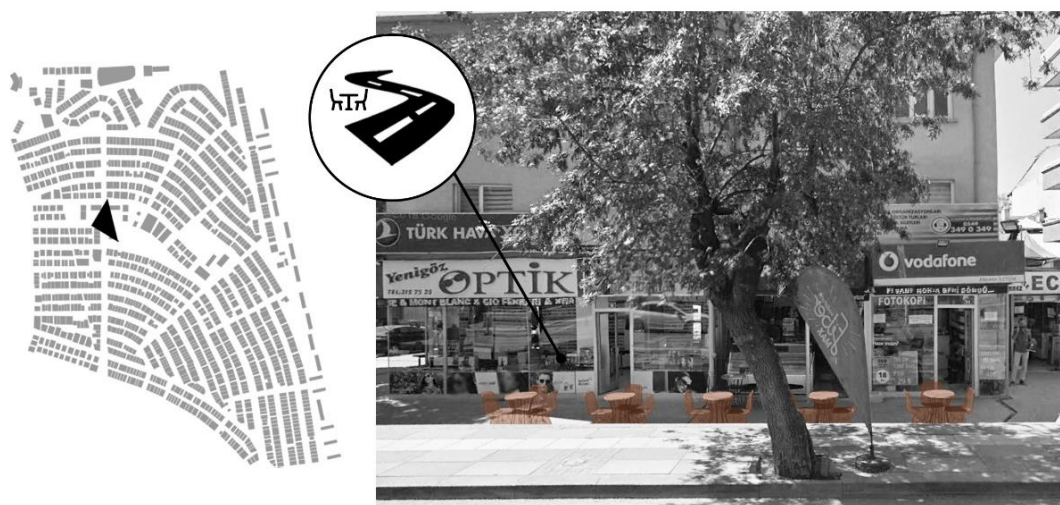


Figure 4.25. Street Sitting. Visualized by M. Okkali.



Figure 4.26. Local Market as a Community Place. Visualized by M. Okkahi.

4.2.1.5. The In-Between Spaces of the Neighborhood

As mentioned in Open Public Gardens section, gardens are one of the significant characteristics of the neighborhood-units in Yenimahalle since its first planning. In this section, the space of garden is examined in detail with the objective to “in-between” qualities. Gardens can be defined as semi-private spaces. Designing a garden space for every single residential unit can be a of the purpose of enhancing a life between buildings. It is observed that there are degrees of privacy throughout garden spaces in the site. The establishment of private gardens, which corresponds to physical characteristics at various levels, permits permeability of the residential units from private to the gradually more public. Today, the private gardens of the first plan of Yenimahalle appear as shared gardens of the apartment blocks (*Figure 4.27, Figure 4.28*). However, due to the lack of car parking areas, some of them have been converted to car parking spaces as mentioned before (*Figure 4.29*). This shows that gardens have lost their significance in the neighborhood life and the existence of gardens in the site is endangered.

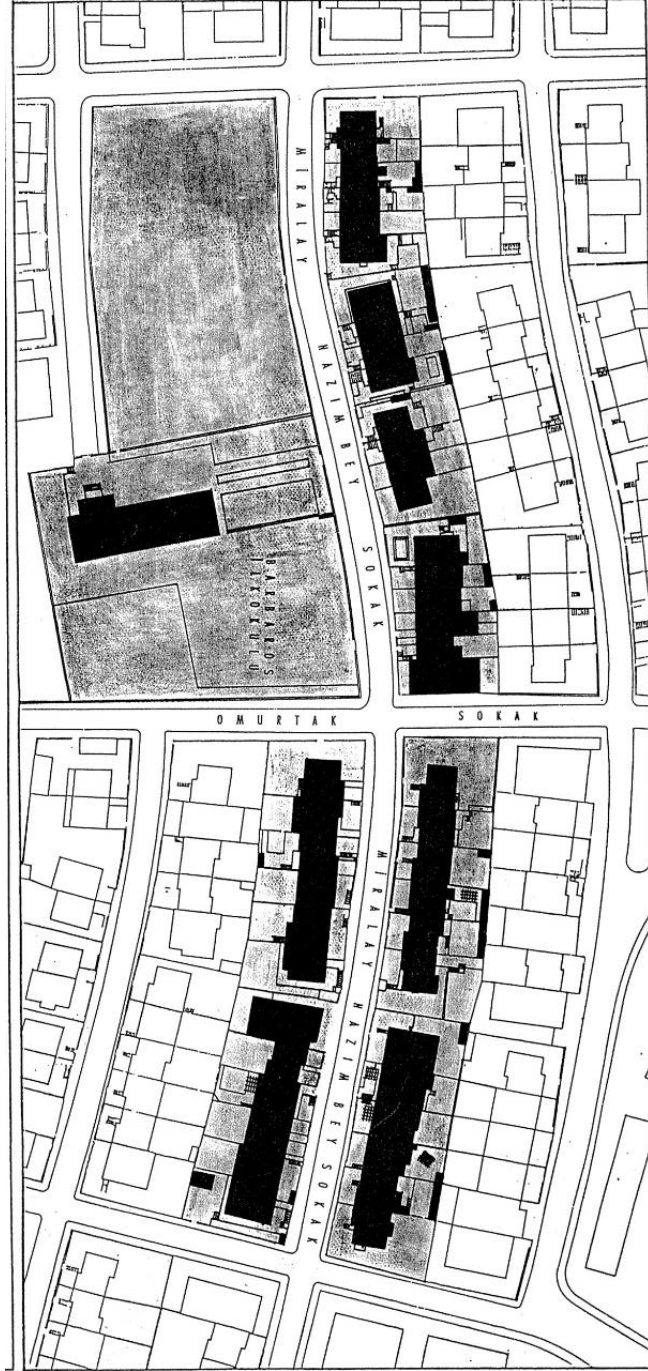


Figure 4.27. Miralay Nazım Bey Street in 1994. Source: Önen, Z. (1995). Yenimahalle: A Problem of Conservation in Ankara. Unpublished MA Thesis, Middle East Technical University.



Figure 4.28. Miralay Nazım Bey Street. Visualized by M. Okkalı.



Figure 4.29. Miralay Nazım Bey Street with Its Furnishings. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

There are a few gardens which are used for growing vegetables in the neighborhood (*Figure 4.30*). These are examples of urban gardening which establish the connection between inhabitants and the nature. Although the space is really limited, it still allows harnessing garden space in terms of productivity. While it provides low-cost options for inhabitants, it also has positive effects on the appropriation of urban space by the inhabitants. Besides, there are vegetable gardens on the balconies, and the reason behind that can be personal taste.

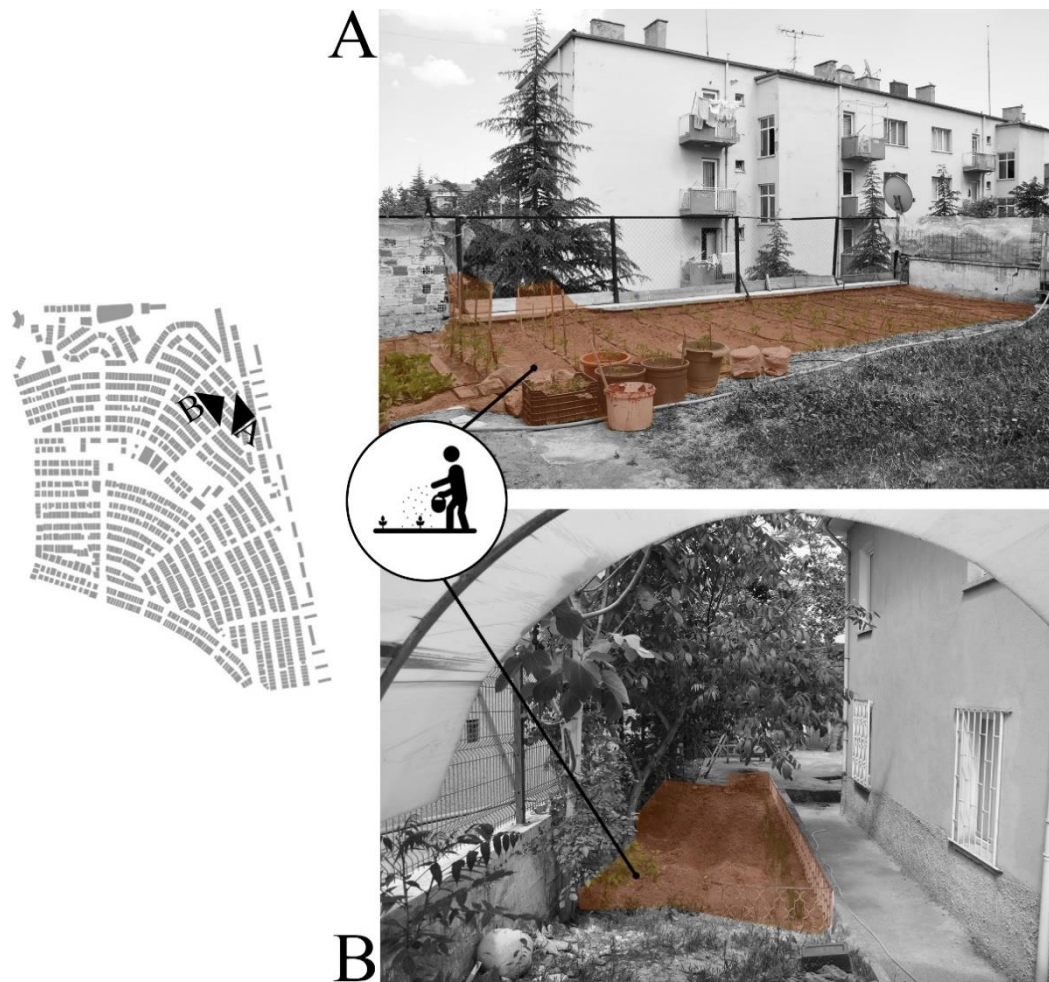


Figure 4.30. Urban Gardening in the “Site”. Visualized by M. Okkalı.

The balcony is another “in-between” space which is important for neighborhood identity in the site. A balcony can be defined as a lived space in-between public and private in the neighborhood environment. In site, almost every apartment block has at least one balcony which overlooks the street. The balconies of different units interact with each other and the street life. Although there is a certain physical border between the balcony space and the outdoor space, a visual relationship occurs between the indoors and outdoors. Moreover, in relation between trees and balconies, grown trees provide both privacy and climatic protection for residents. The architectural space with balconies or gardens becomes more liveable for inhabitants. While people sit in balconies, they can easily have conversations with each other. This situation supports the neighborliness between inhabitants. Thus, the balcony becomes an important design element for creating social networks in the neighborhood (*Figure.4.31*) Moreover, during the summer and spring times, people spend time in balconies or at windows until late hours. As mentioned by Jan Gehl, Danish architect and urban design consultant, in his book *Life Between Buildings*, surveying the street from the window or balcony is a meaningful and entertaining activity to keep up with events in the neighborhood environment. He names this situation as “street watching”. Both street watching and activities on the street reduce the crime and vandalism in the neighborhood life. As a result, that creates a more safe environment in the neighborhood.¹⁷⁸

Also, as mentioned by Gordon Cullen for the notion of “sense of place” in his book *Townscape*, the visual characteristics of the living environment presents a sense of place and also it inspires inhabitants to be in an architectural space.¹⁷⁹ In this sense, in-between spaces in the neighborhood environment enhance the architectural quality, the experience of it and the use of the urban environment.

¹⁷⁸ Gehl, J. (2011). *Life between buildings: using public space*. Island press. p.171.

¹⁷⁹ Cullen, G. (2012). *Concise townscape*. Routledge.



Figure 4.31. Street Section. Visualized by M.Okkali

The other important point is about “street activities” in the relationship between public and private space in the neighborhood life. Gehl defines this as “coming and going” activities which are brief in duration, However, they provide good possibilities for resting at the public side of the houses.¹⁸⁰ According to other observations in the site, “coming and going” activities determine the character of outdoors activities in-between spaces. For example, it is easy to stop, to have a chat with neighbors, and to drink a cup of tea or coffee in front of the residential units.

4.2.2. The Research on the Inhabitants’ Perception of Space in the Neighborhood Environment

The perception of architectural space refers to the subjective experience of inhabitants. It includes users’ personal aesthetic judgements, their level of comfort and their perception of reality which gives shape to their behaviors in the environment. Hence, neighborhoods are important places which include different forms and amounts of social capital. Ray Forrest and Ade Kearns, scholars who have studies on urban planning and neighborhood research, analyzed the concept of neighborhood from four different perspectives. They explained the neighborhood as a *community* which includes the local domain of inhabitant relationships. They also viewed the neighborhood as a *context* which creates a basis for labeling behavior. Moreover, they described the neighborhood as a *commodity* which is a domain of comparable lifestyles in the city environment, and finally they defined the idea of neighborhood as a *consumption* in terms of the lifestyles and consumption patterns of different groups.¹⁸¹ Therefore, it is important to approach the concept of neighborhood-unit not as a simple physically bounded entity but also as a community unit in which a series

¹⁸⁰ Gehl, J. (2011). *Life between buildings: using public space*. Island press. pp.183-187.

¹⁸¹ Forrest, R., & Kearns, A. (2001). Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood. *Urban studies*, 38(12), 2125-2143.

of social networks takes place. As a result, social opportunities and individual experiences within the neighborhood environment determine the quality of neighborhood life and its environmental properties. Thus, the aim of the research is to investigate which design elements influence the inhabitants' spatial experience and social relations in the neighborhood environment, and to what extent the characteristics of design elements influence this perception. Also, this research aims to investigate the relationship between inhabitants' forms of life and the architectural space through the concept of human-environment relationship in the context of neighborhood as spatial habitus. As mentioned by Gehl, gathering useful information about the interaction of life with the urban space necessitates asking questions systematically and grouping the variety of information.¹⁸² In order to achieve that, the conducted questionnaire in this study is formulated as semi-structured with open-ended questions. 19 questions are formulated in subcategories in which questions concerning inhabitants' perception of the neighborhood architecture, questions concerning the identity and neighborhood environment relationship, questions concerning the differences between the past and today's situation in the neighborhood life and questions concerning the practices of the neighborhood life and use of neighborhood space were included. The questions are attached in Appendix A. In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with 12 inhabitants aged between 18 to 79, who also lived in the site for more than 18 years, except 1 inhabitant (*Figure 4.34.*). The interviewees were chosen from different social groups scattered in the site (*Figure 4.32.*). The profile of the interviewees is as follows: 8 of the interviewees are females and 4 of them are males (*Figure 4.33.*). According to education levels: 6 of the interviewees are university graduates, 1 of them is a high-school graduate and 1 of them is still studying in high school, 2 of them are elementary school graduates and 2 of them have no formal education (*Figure 4.33.*). The professions of interviewees are as follows: 3 housewives, 1 policeman, 1 retired policeman, 1 retired civil servant,

¹⁸² Gehl, J., & Svarre, B. (2013). *How to study public life*. Island press. p.11.

1 engineer, 1 tradesman, 1 businessman, 1 graphic designer, 1 architect and 1 student (Appendix B).



Figure 4.32. The Places of the Interviewees. Visualized by M. Okkali

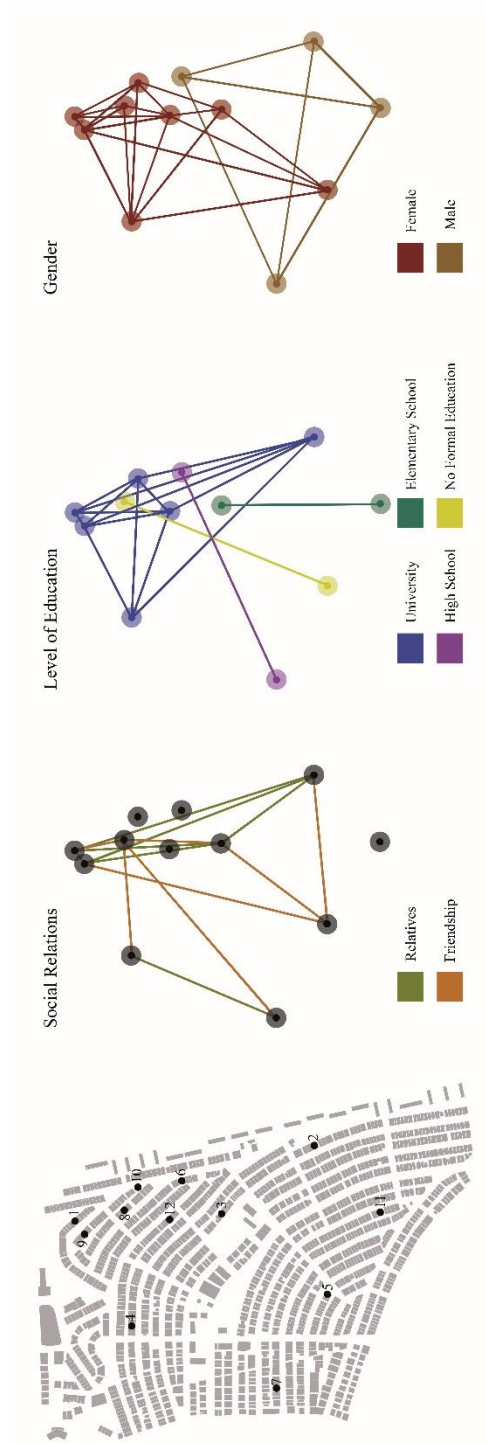


Figure 4.33. Spatial Interrelations of the Interviewees in terms of Social Relations, Level of Education and Gender. Visualized by M. Okkalı

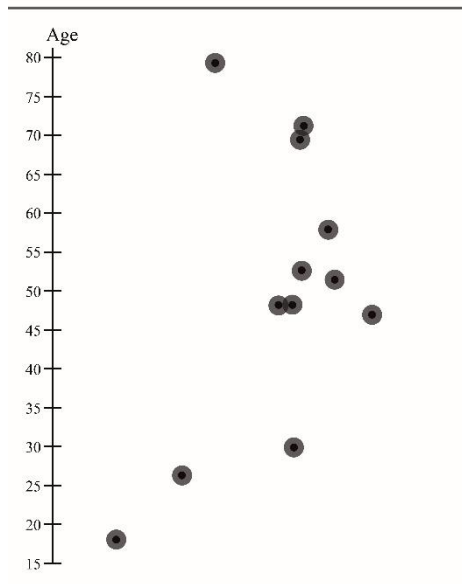
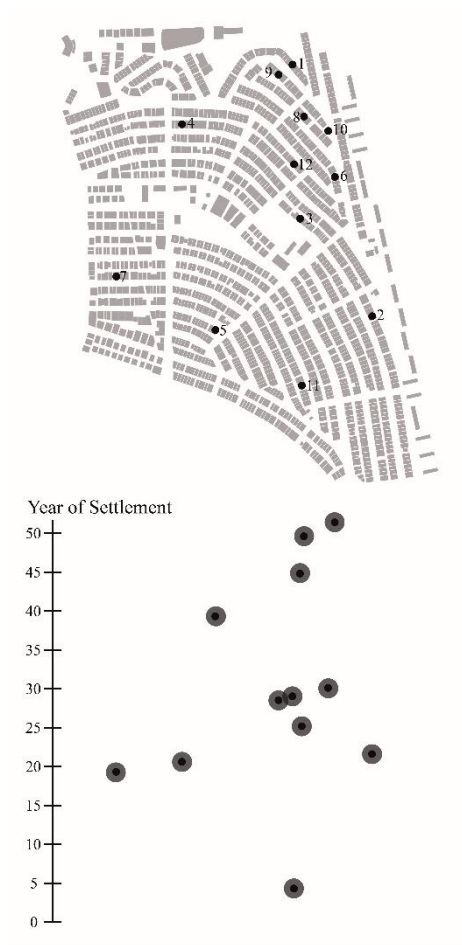


Figure 4.34. Spatial Interrelations of the Interviewees in terms of Year of Settlement and Age. Visualized by M. Okkahi

Before each interview, the subject of this research was explained, and the interviewees were asked to answer verbally to the interviewer. All of them were informed about the recording of the interview and their consent was obtained. Firstly, personal information about the interviewees was asked which included age, gender, education and profession. After that, the information about how long they have lived in Yenimahalle and why they preferred to live in or to continue living in Yenimahalle was obtained. The following questions were asked to inquire about the meaning of the neighborhood life for inhabitants, the perception of architectural properties of the neighborhood environment and the relationship between habits and places. Later, the answers were dictated and are attached in Appendix C. After that, the word-cloud of the answers was done, and the script mapping of the site were created according to the frequency of the words used in the interviews (*Figure 4.31*).

In the scope of this study, the content analysis of the answers was done. According to emphasized subjects by interviewees, the answers are discussed in three different subsections which are The Reason Behind Choosing Yenimahalle as a Living Space, The Neighborliness Relationship Between Inhabitants, and The Gardens as Habit-Forming Places.



Figure 4.35. Script Mapping of “Site” according to Interviews. Visualized by M. Okkali

4.2.2.1. The Reason Behind Choosing Yenimahalle as a Living-Space

As the interviewees expressed why they have chosen the site as a living space and continued living in the same place, the most common explanations were “getting used to live in the same place”, “habits”, “being a decent neighborhood”, “tranquility in the neighborhood life” and “having a safe environment”. Firstly, the reasons of “getting used to live in the same place” and “habits” show that the disposition of choosing a place for dwelling is in relation with the living memory. The neighborhood environment is the place of memories which aids the reconstruction of inhabitants’ individual memories. Hence, the familiarity with the environment, the years spent in the same environment, and both the individual and collective memories accumulated by habits create a deep emotional bond between inhabitants and the neighborhood environment. Lefebvre states that the daily life includes conservativeness, even after changes happen in the physical and social aspects of architecture. Thus, the daily life of individuals or social groups generates tendencies towards maintaining its essential elements such as bodily practices, the rhythm of the routines and familiar details of ordinary life.¹⁸³ In this context, although interviewees mentioned their individual dissatisfactions with the urban life and some problems in the quality of urban space, they stated that they do not consider moving from Yenimahalle in order not to lose their habits and social circles in that neighborhood-unit environment. Hence, this research has shown that the neighborhood-unit spaces influence inhabitants’ habits which shape their decisions regarding the dwelling place choice. For example, one of the interviewees said:

“I like the existence of places where I have been going to for 30 years. For example, Vardar Ice Cream Shop, I am very happy to buy ice cream from here still, my children think the same. The same places still exist, the same people are still there. There are few places which did not pass into other hands. However, I really tell them (the owners of Vardar Ice Cream Shop) not to close

¹⁸³ Lefebvre, H. (1991). *Critique of everyday life: Foundations for a sociology of the everyday* (Vol. 2). Verso.

or not to let it pass into other hands, and they are the bridge between the past and future of the neighborhood life for us”¹⁸⁴ (Interviewee 10, T.B.)

According to that, the sense of place in the neighborhood environment shapes the inhabitants’ lifestyles and vice versa. Some socializing spaces, which have existed for a long period, provide the community with recollection, recognition and localization of the environment during their identity formation in the neighborhood-unit as spatial habitus.

The other shared ideas about the site were “being a decent neighborhood” and “having tranquility in the neighborhood life”. While describing Yenimahalle’s neighborhood life, the first adjective that came to mind for most of the interviewees is “*nezih*” which is translated as “decent” in English. The notion of “*nezih*” comes from the Arabic origin of “*nezahat*” which can be translated into English as *moral fair*. In accordance with that, the notion of “*nezih*” / “decent” means “being nice in the context experiencing the neighborhood life”. In the research context, it refers to a peaceful, quarrel-free and quiet neighborhood environment. It presents not only physical properties of the environment but also the aesthetics in behavior patterns among inhabitants. Some of the answers regarding the question about the reason of choosing Yenimahalle were as follows:

“In my opinion, it is a privilege to be from Yenimahalle. I think there are more decent people in Yenimahalle.”¹⁸⁵ (Interviewee 2, M.Ö.)

¹⁸⁴ “30 yıl önce gittiğim yerlerin hala var oluyor olması çok hoşuma gidiyor. Mesela Vardar Dondurmacı’sı, hala oradan külahta dondurma alıyor olmak beni çok mutlu ediyor. Çocuklarımı da öyle. Hala aynı mekanların var oluyor oluşu, aynı insanların satışta oluyor oluşu. El değiştirmiş çok az kaldı ama gerçekten gidince söylüyorum; kapatmayın burayı siz bizim geçmişle geleceğe olan bağımsız diyorum.”

¹⁸⁵ “Yenimahalleli olmak bence ayrıcalık. Yenimahalle’de daha nezih insanların yaşadığını düşünüyorum.”

“My family chose to live here because it has a quiet and decent environment, and we still continue to live here.”¹⁸⁶ (Interviewee 4, B.Ö.)

“Here is safer and quieter than the rest of Ankara”¹⁸⁷ (Interviewee 7, M.S)

“Yenimahalle had two-storey houses, and it was a decent, tranquil and nice neighborhood environment, so I preferred to live here. After I married, I lived in Batıkent for eight months. Batıkent was a very crowded place, and the buildings were superimposed on each other. At that time, we experienced Bolu earthquake there, and our building cracked. We feared that. Because of these reasons, we moved back to Yenimahalle.”¹⁸⁸ (Interviewee 9, Ş.T.Ö.)

These words show that the life in Yenimahalle as spatial habitus conforms to the generally accepted standards of respectable behaviors. According to that, the living space of the neighborhood-unit is represented as a physical embodiment of social space.

The daily life of inhabitants and the lived spatiality of them include familiarity, ordinary, mundane and ambiguous. The daily life is defined by means of different fields of public structure by the interviews and the shared places provides a continuity of cultural properties of the society. It is examined from the interviews that there are many common routines shared by the inhabitants in the daily life patterns in the concept of habitus (*Figure 4.36, Figure 4.37, Figure 4.38*) They do not just share the public places but at the same time they form the neighborhood culture together. As mentioned by Interview 1:

“Once, all inhabitants know the term to walk down to 5 in Yenimahalle [5th stop of the bus in the neighborhood, the center of the

¹⁸⁶ “Sakin ve nezih bir ortam olduğu için ailem burada yaşamayı tercih etmiş ve hala da yaşamaya devam ediyoruz.”

¹⁸⁷ “Öbür semtlere göre daha sakin olduğu için, daha güvenilir olduğu için.”

¹⁸⁸ “Burası iki katlıydı, nezihti, sessizdi, güzel semti, sakindi, onun için tercih ettim. Evlendikten sonra önce bir Batıkent’te sekiz ay oturduk. Çok kalabalıktı, binalar çok üst üsteydi. Bir deprem yaşadık o zaman biz, Bolu depremini. Ve binalar çatladı boydan boya. Ondan korktuk ve tekrar Yenimahalle’ye döndük.”

neighborhood]. When you ask someone how to get down to 5 , if he/she is from Yenimahalle, she/he knows that. Also, going to Vardar in summer, going to Moruklar [the Elderly] Park [Ragıp Tüzün Park], PTT Park [Adile Teyze Park]. Moruklar Park and PTT Park is not actually the real names of the parks, no one calls Moruklar Park and PTT Park if they are from the outside of the neighborhood. You eat hot dogs in Vardar during the winter. There are unique places and activities in Yenimahalle”¹⁸⁹ (Interviewee 1, B.D.)

These words show that the social activities of the inhabitants are in relation with the physical patterns of the neighborhood. The lived spatiality of the inhabitants consists of their individual and collective memories. Hence, the rhythm of the activities, the daily routines and the neighborhood places are significant in understanding the interaction between people and physical environment in concern with bodily practices because the neighborhood life and the neighborhood culture are important parameters of both physical and social transformation of the neighborhood environment.

¹⁸⁹ “Bir kere 5’e inmek terimini herkes bilir Yenimahalle’de, başka birine söylesen 5’e nasıl inilir diye Yenimahalleli ise bilir. Yazın Vardar’a gitmek, Moruklar Parkına gitmek, Ptt Parkına gitmek Ptt parkını mesela kimse bilmez mahallenin dışından, aslında oranın gerçek ismi Ptt parkı da değil. Yenimahalle’de kışın Vardar’da sosisli yersin. Yenimahalle’ye özgü şeyler var.”

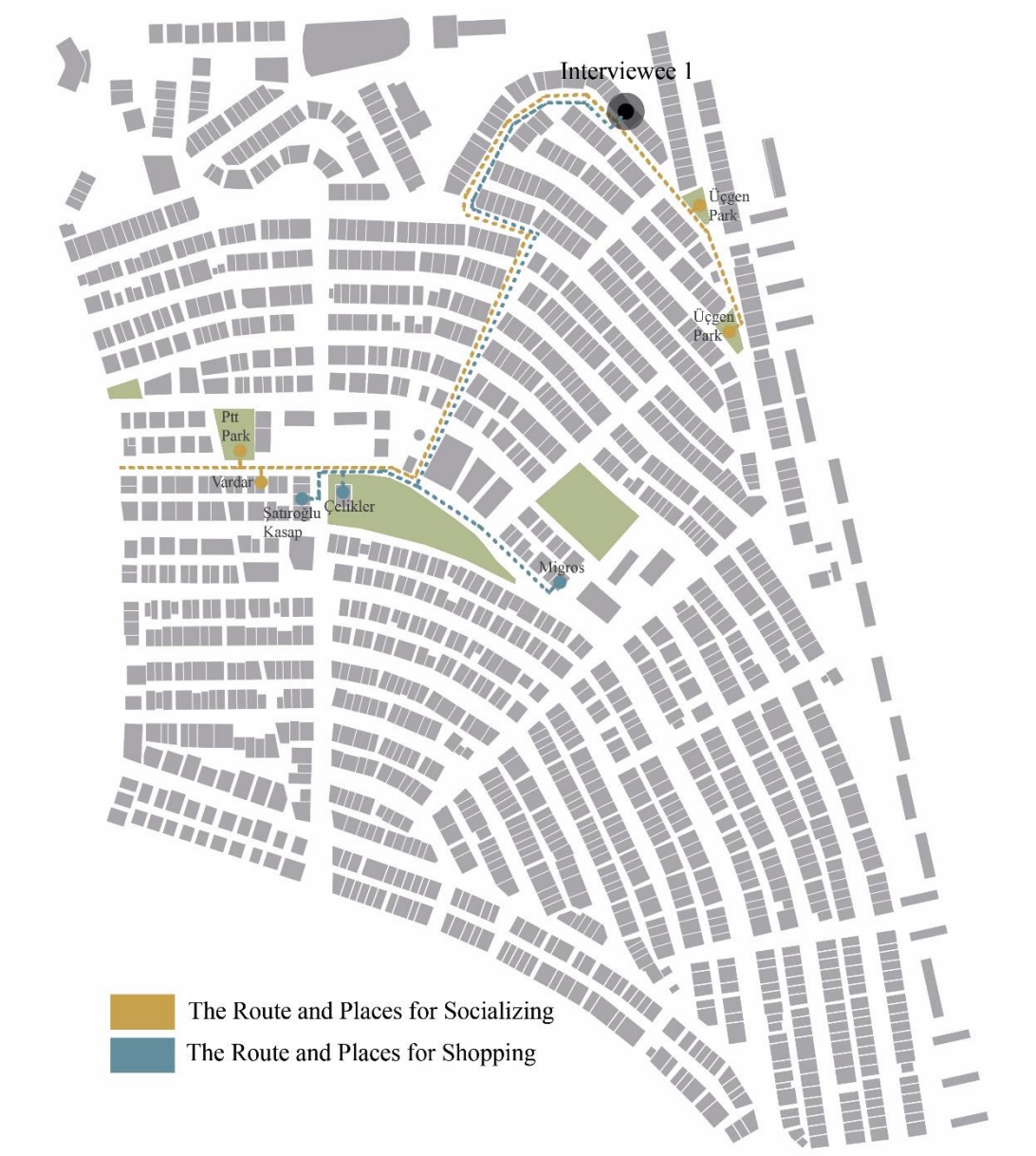


Figure 4.36. The Daily Routine of Interview 1. Visualized by M. Okkali.

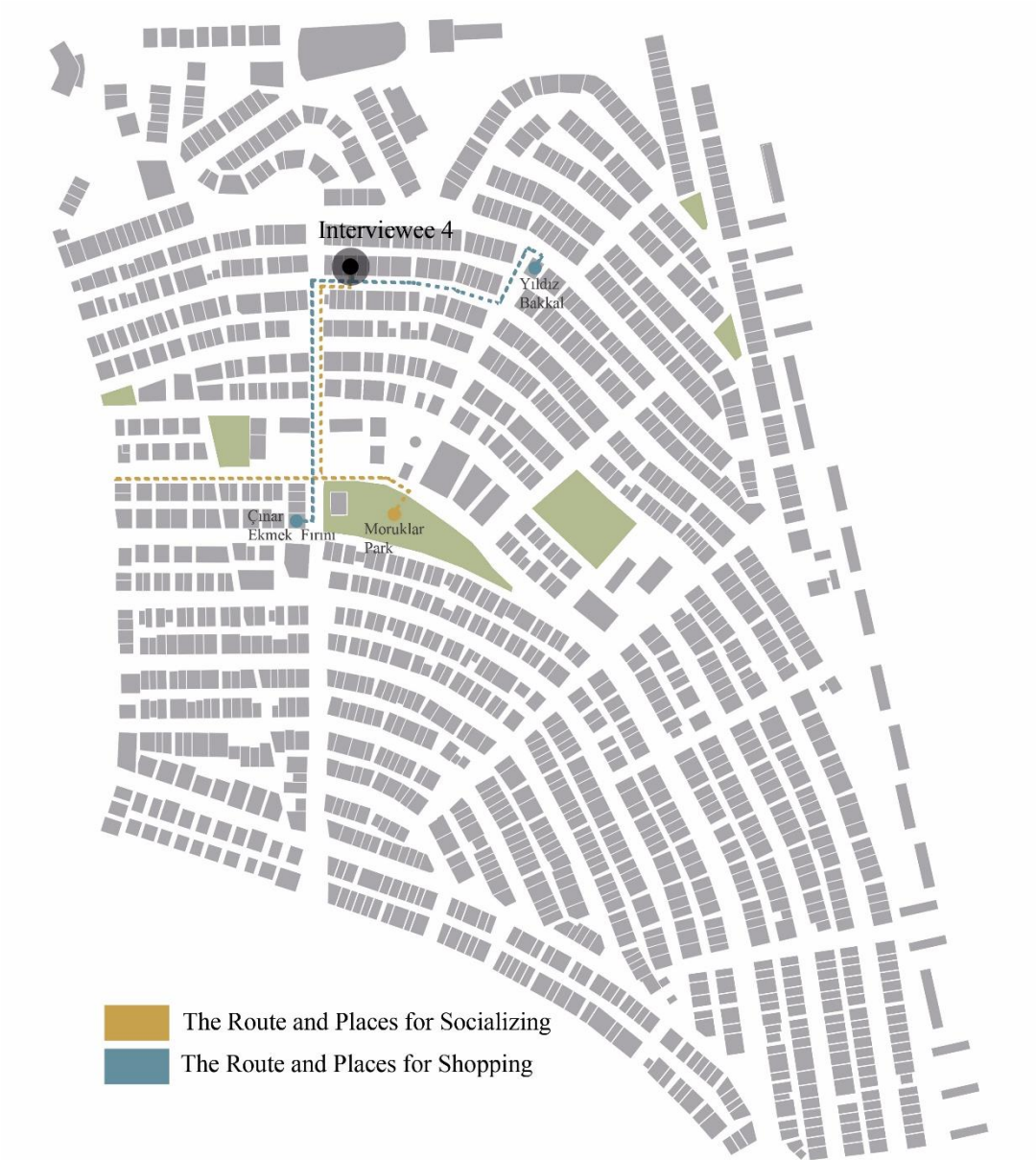


Figure 4.37. The Daily Routine of Interview 4. Visualized by M. Okkali.

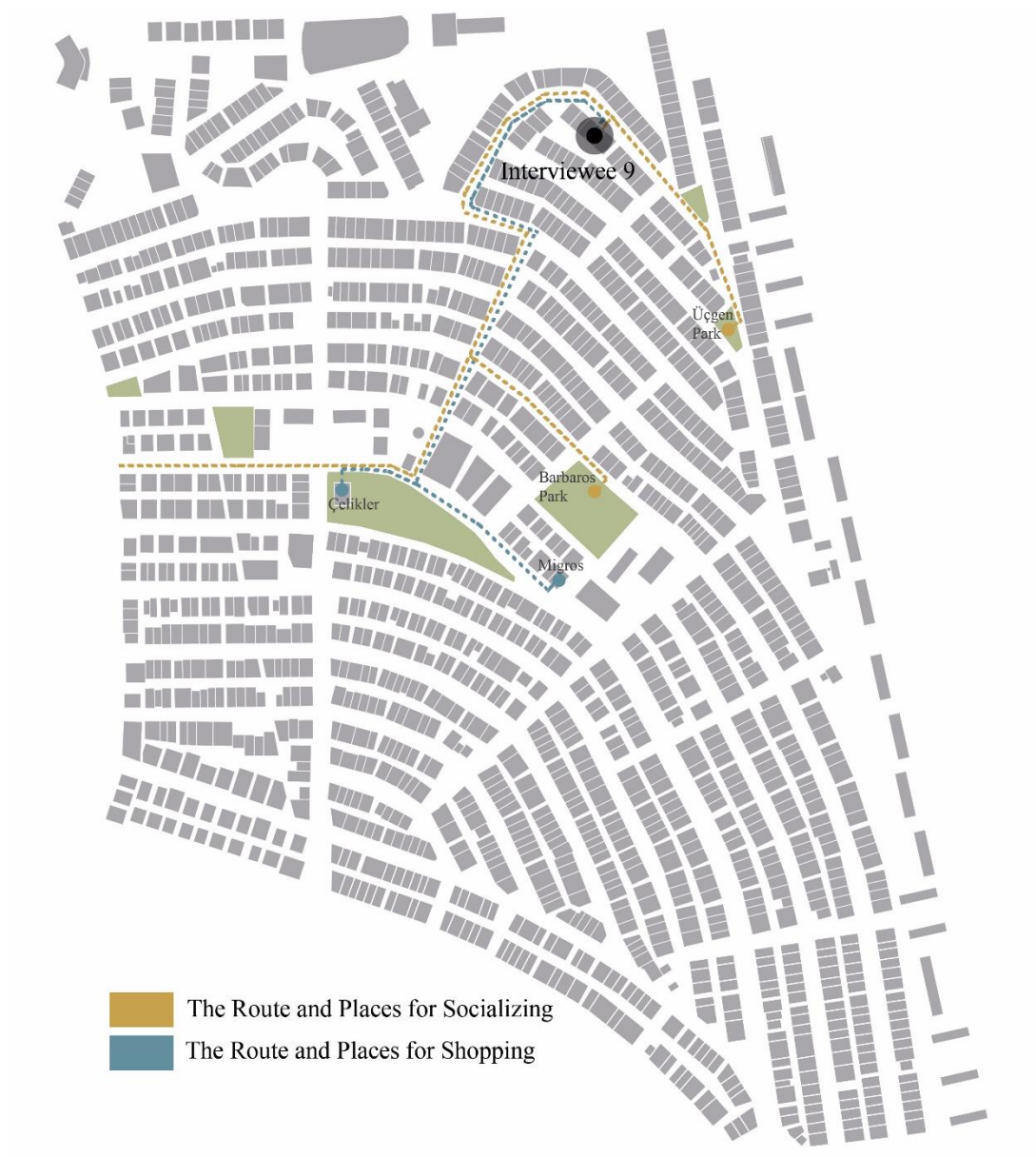


Figure 4.38. The Daily Routine of Interview 9. Visualized by M. Okkali.

While the residential environment frames inhabitants' daily routines, it also sustains the values of its inhabitants. As stated by Oscar Newman, an architect and urban planner, in his book *Creating Defensible Space*, the neighborhood environment is defined as a defensible space which enables its inhabitants to take control of their neighborhoods. Therefore, the physical layout of the neighborhood community allows its inhabitants to establish control over their own neighborhood, which contains the streets, the spaces in-between residential units, the parks, the schools and the community centers.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, the neighborhood environment provides its inhabitants with the ability of using their own behaviors to better the environment and increase the mobility within the neighborhood. Hence, having this opportunity in the living space evokes the feeling of identity and appropriateness among inhabitants. In this context, the identity of Yenimahalle as a neighborhood-unit was evaluated by the interviewees as a safe, a clean and a well-tended place. This demonstrates that the safe and decent environment of Yenimahalle relies on self-sufficiency rather than governmental intervention. Hence, the relationship between inhabitants and its spatiality has been the most important features highlighted in this research. In the following sub-section, the neighborliness relationship in the neighborhood will be discussed according to the conducted interviews.

4.2.2.2. The Neighborliness Relationship Between Inhabitants

Because of the increasing urbanization and the understanding of urban planning in Turkey in the last decade, the questions of whether neighborly relations in the urban environment have weakened or disappeared and which leading factors explain this

¹⁹⁰ Newman, O. (1996). *Creating defensible space*. Diane Publishing. p 9.

change have become important discussions about the urban life.¹⁹¹ As underlined by the sociologist John G. Bruhn, in his book *The Sociology of Community Connections*, the neighborhood defines a territory in which a series of social networks overlaps.¹⁹² Getting along well with the neighbors creates a more livable neighborhood environment for the community. Hence, the quality of neighborliness is an important issue for the identity of Yenimahalle as a neighborhood-unit. In this context, most of the interviewees mentioned the weakening neighborliness relations. Some of the interviewees said:

“Actually, to be honest, the neighborliness relationship was better before, but today it is more distant.”¹⁹³ (Interviewee 2, M.Ö.)

“The neighborliness relations exist within our apartment building but when something happened to you such as a car accident, all inhabitants are sensitive. However, unless something extra happens, there is not much dialogue between us.”¹⁹⁴ (Interviewee 4, B.Ö.)

“We and our neighbors used to visit each other, drink tea and have talks in our houses. Today, all of that has disappeared, everyone lives in their own houses within the apartment life. All inhabitants are in their own houses, nobody comes out.”¹⁹⁵ (Interviewee 5, G.T.)

“In the past, when my neighbors got sick, I was going to them to cook for four days or they were bringing food for us, they used to know when my children were coming to home, going from home. However, today, nobody knows how many people live in our house. I do not know their situation either.”¹⁹⁶ (Interviewee 9, Ş.T.Ö.)

¹⁹¹ Köten, E. (2015). Social Networking in the Neighbourhood: A Field Research in Istanbul/Mahallede Sosyal Ağlar Kurmak: İstanbul'da Bir Saha Arastırması. *İstanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2(1), 23. p.25.

¹⁹² Bruhn, J. G. (2011). *The sociology of community connections*. Springer Science & Business Media. p.149.

¹⁹³ “Valla eskiden [komşuluk ilişkileri] daha iyiydi açık söyleyeyim, şimdi biraz daha soğuk.”

¹⁹⁴ “Komşuluk ilişkileri apartman içerisinde var ama bir şey olduğu zaman atıyorum mahallede bir kaza olduğu zaman, mahalledeki herkes duyarlı. Ama ekstra bir şey olmadığı sürece pek bir diyalog yok.”

¹⁹⁵ “Kapı komşumla hep birbirimize gider gelirdik. Çay içerdik birbirimizde, güzel güzel konuşurduk, oturmalara giderdik. Ondan sonra şimdi hepsi kayboldu, apartmanlarda herkes kendi evinde oturuyor. Evinde herkes dışarı çıkan yok.”

¹⁹⁶ “Geçmişte ben karşıdaki komşum hastalandığında dört gün gidip evinde yemeğini yapıyordum veya ben rahatsızlandığım zaman dört gün benim yemeğimi getiriyordu. Yani benim çocuğumun geliş

The reason behind why the neighborliness relationships have been disappearing in the last decade is found through two perspectives by Emily Talen, a scholar of urban planning. The first one includes non-environmental factors which are the effects of the changing life-cycle and shared values in the society. The second one includes the relationship between urban form and the social life within the neighborhood environment. Regarding non-environmental factors, the socio-economic status, age and gender are the significant factors which determine the interaction between inhabitants.¹⁹⁷ This is also explained by Bourdieu in the concept of habitus. The neighborhood environment and neighborliness are interbedded with the social structure and culture. Thus, neighborhoods have different physical forms and amounts of social capital. According to Forrest and Kearns, the quality of neighborliness needs a shared sense of morality, common purpose and a sense of belonging to the place, and today's mainstream society has started to develop spatially diffused social networks apart from their neighborhoods.¹⁹⁸ One of the important reasons behind that is the inappropriate physical properties of the neighborhood environment in terms of social cohesion between inhabitants. The physical space characterizes the formation or dissolution of the sense of community in the neighborhood-unit environment. The interviewees also emphasized some spatial characteristics of the environment while mentioning neighborliness in the neighborhood environment. According to them, the increased density in terms of population and residential units, and the loss of used garden spaces affected the neighborliness among inhabitants in Yenimahalle. Some of the interviewees said that:

“There is no neighborliness, we used to spend time in the gardens in the past. Today, there is no gardens at all. Because of not having a gated community

saatinin biliyordu, çıkış saatini biliyordu. Şu an benim evde kaç kişi yaşadığını kimse bilmez. Ben onunkini bilmem o benimkini bilmez.”

¹⁹⁷ Köten, E. (2015). Social Networking in the Neighbourhood: A Field Research in Istanbul/Mahallede Sosyal Ağlar Kurmak: İstanbul'da Bir Saha Arastırması. *Istanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2(1), 23. p.25.

¹⁹⁸ Forrest, R., & Kearns, A. (2001). Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood. *Urban studies*, 38(12), 2125-2143. p.2128.

life, we cannot go around. It [the neighborhood] is more crowded than the past. We previously knew each other [the neighbors] because they all had private residential units with gardens and we used to spend time in our gardens.”¹⁹⁹ (Interviewee 3, E.T.)

“Even if they are not strong, there are still neighborliness relations. There is neighborliness within the apartment blocks or close two, three residential units, not within the whole neighborhood-unit. Today’s neighborliness is so different from the past. At that time, the inhabitants’ relations were so strong. Let’s say: The neighbors were sharing their food and drinks. There is no neighborliness compared to the past. The reason of this may be changed life conditions, people’s way of life and state policies. With the implication of new zoning plan, the residential units have changed from the detached housings with gardens to the apartment blocks. Old houses were not preserved, and bad habits within the neighborhood-unit have increased simultaneously the increase of the population. Inhabitants have begun to be cautious, which negatively affected the old neighborliness relationships.”²⁰⁰ (Interviewee 6, M.O.)

According to that, some physical factors have acted as mechanisms which promoted inhabitants’ interrelations in Yenimahalle, and the neighborliness linked to the design ideology of the neighborhood-unit idea. In this context, the interviews showed that the garden space increases the neighborliness relationships and the sense of community. It works as a local neighborhood facility and enhances the community life within the neighborhood-unit. As mentioned by some interviewees, they even had a responsibility for looking after each other’s children, and the gardens of row houses improved the neighborliness in the site. Thus, the green areas, garden spaces and their

¹⁹⁹ “Komşuluk yok, eskiden bahçelerde otururduk şu an bahçeler yok. Site olmadığı için dışarı çıkılmıyor. Eskiye göre kalabalık. Eskiden tanıyorduk birbirimizi çünkü müstakil evler olduğu ve hep bahçelerde oturduğumuz için tanıyorduk hep birbirimizi”

²⁰⁰ “[Komşuluk ilişkileri] ileri düzeyde değil ama var, apartman bazında ya da iki üç apartman yan yana olan yerlerde var komşuluk, komple mahalle olarak değil. Eskiye kıyasla çok fark var, herkes iç içeydi o zaman, şöyle diyeyim: komşuların yedikleri içtikleri ayrı gitmezdi, beraberdi o zaman. Eskiye göre yok gibi komşuluk. Sebebi hayat şartları, insanların yaşama tarzları ve devlet politikası olabilir. Uygulanan ima yönetmelikleriyle apartman tarzına geçildi, eski müstakil evler korunmadı, çok katlı binalar yapılırken kötü alışkanlıklar da arttı insanların çoğalmasıyla. İnsanlar tedbirli olmaya başladı, bu da eski komşuluğu bitirdi tabii.”

social dimensions within the neighborhood environment will be discussed in the following sub-section.

4.2.2.3. The Gardens as Habit-Forming Places

The greenery in the urban space establishes a spatial order, and the diversity of green forms a network which connects unlinked urban spaces both physically and conceptually. In this context, the traditional role of green space in the neighborhood environment has been gradually changing. The greenery of the neighborhood-unit has ecological, spatial, aesthetic and social functions, and this multi-functional character of the green spaces and their design within the neighborhood environment influence how the inhabitants live within the neighborhood-unit and how they use its public spaces. One of the interviewees mentioned the same situation, and he said:

“If the past situation still exists, I would say that I liked the buildings, the streets. The number of parks has decreased. When the apartment blocks has increased, simultaneously the greenery has decreased, for sure...There is nothing left in the neighborhood anymore.”²⁰¹ (Interviewee 2, M.Ö.)

According to this answer which gives clues about the current situation of greenery in the urban life, the greenery of the neighborhood-unit is important for the lived experience of the inhabitants. Old residential units with gardens were defined more as social living spaces rather than physical objects. Beside that, the garden space was a new form of urban farming in the past, and the greenery of the neighborhood-unit had a potential in terms of forming a local economy. As mentioned by one of the

²⁰¹ “Valla eski hali olsa binalar sokaklar hoşuma gidiyor derdim de şimdi apartmana dönüştü her yer, parklar azaldı. Tabi binalar çoğalınca doğal olarak yeşillikler de azaldı. Pek artık cezbedecek bir şey kalmadı [mahallede].”

interviewees, the inhabitants had fruit trees and urban farming spaces in the gardens.

She said:

“We have neighborliness in the past. We used to spend time in our gardens together with the neighbors. I had a cherry tree, it has dried out. Children and my neighbors were going up the tree and collecting fruits. We used to eat, drink something happily in the garden space. All of these do not exist anymore.”²⁰²
(Interviewee 8, S.K.)

This shows that the garden space can be defined from different perspectives, as a vegetation space, as a socializing space in-between public and private, and as a shared place by the neighbors. Hence, the combination of residential units with green spaces within the neighborhood-unit creates a significant inner-city identity. Besides, in terms of the urban density issue, the balance between open green spaces and residential units determines the level of inhabitants’ appreciation of greenery. The interviews show that the greenery of the site with gardens, public parks and playgrounds does not satisfy the population of inhabitants in terms of design and usage capacity anymore.

In this context, a new greenery management is needed to raise awareness of nature by communicating ecological and social themes in Yenimahalle. Especially after the disappearance of private gardens, public parks as ecological habitus need to be redesigned with some social strategies which include aesthetic qualities and different types of activities. Public parks are the places in which individuals come together, experience new things and learn from the space. Thus, nature has an important role for the neighborhood-unit life because it provides its inhabitants with social acceptance of their lived space, aesthetic perception and ecological urban development.

²⁰² “Eskiden komşuluklarımız vardı, bahçeye gelir otururduk. Benim kiraz dallarım vardı, şimdi kurudu gerçi de oraya çıkarlardı, [meyve] toplarlardı çocuklar, komşularım. Bahçede yenilirdi, içilirdi gülerek oynayarak. Şimdi onlar hiç yok.”

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Ankara has been subjected to an immense urban development process in the last decade. While the city expands and transforms, the residential environments have been largely affected in this process without any urban philosophy or design strategy. New residential neighborhood environments have been built mostly as either mass housing areas or gated communities, and this process has affected to a great extent the current settlement patterns and inhabitants' life forms in the city environment. Although the measurable physical and spatial standards of housing quality have been upgraded to a certain extent, the quality of living, the permanency of existing habits, and the social and cultural expectations of inhabitants have not been taken into consideration. The history of residential development, the inhabitants' existing life patterns and the identity of residential environments should be integrated into the process of the city and neighborhood planning in Ankara as elsewhere. The outcome of the urbanization process has been moving towards *placelessness*, and the efforts to enhance spatial quality and to aestheticize urban environment have become an intervention of the existing authorities without any socio-cultural concerns about existing forms of life. However, Ankara still includes spatial diversity in use, ecological quality in its green structure, and the multiplicity of perceptions, conceptions and memories of the inhabitants in the urban space. In this context, the first planning idea of Ankara, its neighborhood development process and the idea of neighborhood-unit were discussed, in this study, to investigate both the historical and cultural dimension of urbanization in the case of Ankara. This thesis focuses on the aspects of the neighborhood-unit idea which fulfills a diversity of activities and relationships in the urban environment. While the neighborhood-unit paradigm provides order and continuity in accordance with the current characteristics of the place, the actual needs of inhabitants and the

hierarchy in urban scale, it also includes a sociological approach to the study of residential areas. Hence, the neighborhood paradigm has been characterized as a development of communities by architects, urban planners, sociologists and political theorists. In this context, this study conceptualizes the neighborhood-unit as habitus, which sees the neighborhood environments not as mere passive settlements on which life is being staged, but as meaningful instruments within which the inhabitants are being enabled. Hence, the architecture of the neighborhood-unit needs to be explained, read, interpreted and decoded in terms of the spatial characteristics, the hidden meanings and social aspects of the built form. Thus, the notion of habitus is defined as the process in social production which characterizes the inhabitation as a combination of mind and body. It provides this study with a meaningful relationship between the built world and inhabitants. In the context of this thesis, habitus reproduces the conditions which generate the practices of people in the city environment. Also, the inhabited spaces of the neighborhood are not neutral habitats but rather cultural constructions of inhabitants. Therefore, the neighborhood environment is conceptualized as spatial habitus which refers to the cultural embodiment of physical space. The architecture of neighborhoods does not only present, symbolize or declare something socially and physically, but rather it is a narrative by its architects, planners or designers, and its inhabitants. In accordance with that, in the scope of this thesis, the origin of the concept of habitus, its identity formation in relation to architecture and its phenomenological dimension, which decodes the lived experience of inhabitants, were analyzed within the neighborhood-unit idea. The environment provides its inhabitants with both physical and social conditions, and in this context, spatial habitus manifests itself in the activities of everyday life in relation to the neighborhood architecture. Therefore, the identity of the place reciprocally interacts with the life forms of inhabitants in the city environment. As mentioned by Rapaport, while all urban settings have spatial, temporal, meaningful and communicational organizations, the principles and

characteristics of these organizations vary for different cities.²⁰³ As a result, the identity of the place includes different socio-cultural variables such as spatial, rhythmical, moral and aesthetic values. In accordance with that, the neighborhood environment includes the diversity in use, and introduces different housing settlement systems for different social groups in the identity and habitus formation. Besides that, Bourdieu describes differences in the aesthetic disposition of different social groups.²⁰⁴ Hence, the phenomenological aspects of the concept are another important phenomenon for the neighborhood-unit paradigm as spatial habitus. The neighborhood environment forms the sources of objective practices, and simultaneously a set of subjective principles of social structure. In relation to that, the experiences of inhabitants have both a physical and social foundation, and the habituation reflects its discipline and diversity together with shared realities and individual experiences of inhabitants within the neighborhood environment.

Therefore, the meaning which is emergent from the balance and the adjustments of these interrelations between objective order of the space, its subjective perception by the inhabitants, and the identity formation of the neighborhood environment are investigated in the case of Yenimahalle as a case study. To do that, *Situational Urbanism* was referred to as an analysis method to determine physical characteristics of the area. And, the exploration of the inhabitants' perception of space with in-depth interviews was performed in this study. Formal observations of urban places and their dispositions with their effects on the social context were analyzed by mappings in this case study. In this context, the size and the boundaries of the neighborhood, the residential units, the street pattern, the open public gardens, the public spaces and in-between spaces within the site as a neighborhood unit were mapped. The current situations of urban spaces are also photographed as to document the characteristics of

²⁰³ Rapoport, A. (2016). *Human aspects of urban form: towards a man—environment approach to urban form and design*. Elsevier. pp.21-22.

²⁰⁴ Crossley, N. (2001). The phenomenological habitus and its construction. *Theory and society*, 30(1), 81-120. p.85.

places, the potentials in use or the deficiencies. These analyses contribute some inputs for which design tools and strategies can be developed in the future. Moreover, they mediate two important tools for architectural design which are the mapping of the existing situation in the neighborhood and the construction of long-term vision that unifies different interventions and purposes in the neighborhood environment. In addition to that, in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted verbally with 12 people who live in the neighborhood to represent the meaning of the neighborhood life and the perception of the architectural space in the neighborhood environment. After the interviewing process, the answers were written, and the analysis of their content was done. The answers were discussed in three different categories which are the reasons behind choosing Yenimahalle as a living space, the neighborliness relationship between inhabitants, and the gardens as habit forming places. The neighborhood-unit environment was studied according to individuals' own perceptions which emphasized the importance of the sense of belonging and being a community and the social aspects of architectural spaces such as gardens within the neighborhood-unit environment. After the situational analyses and the interviews, this thesis shows that the neighborhood environment both creates and reflects the character of the urban environment and the inhabitants' lifestyles. From this perspective, the neighborhood-unit creates its own possibilities to sustain different life forms of different social groups. Also, it includes some spatial characteristics in the context of social, architectural, economic and ecological sustainability. However, the neighborhood environment has a limited potential for creating a sustainable urban pattern, against the densification of the built-environment. Currently, unpredicted social changes, the spatial changes in the urban environment, the anxiety that highlights the need of placemaking and social space in the urban life, and the separation of different social groups into different social layers need to be reconsidered in the sphere of urban planning, urban design and architecture in Turkey. In this context, the current situation of Yenimahalle still retains the potential to learn from, and the neighborhood-unit paradigm still includes a social shelter to overcome anxiety.

To conclude, there are different socio-economic and socio-spatial preferences and circumstances to choose a place as a living environment for individuals. To create a living environment in the city, a new paradigm is needed to bring together the architectural, cultural and social values within society. Instead of creating clear spatial settlements with the purpose of only enhancing physical qualities, gated communities with the purpose of providing a safety for a particular social group or mass housing projects with the purpose of economic efficiency, habitats that sustain a variety of physical and social functions, community life, the appropriation of space and the identity of place and society can be designed for a better urban environment.

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APPENDICES

A. QUESTIONNAIRE

Personal Information

1. Name Surname, Age, Gender, Education Level, Profession
2. How long have you lived in Yenimahalle? Have you spent your childhood in Yenimahalle?
3. Why did you prefer to live in Yenimahalle? Why did you prefer to continue living in Yenimahalle?

Questions concerning inhabitants' perception of the neighborhood architecture

1. What are the most positive/beautiful aspects of living in Yenimahalle? What would you tell us about the neighborhood life in Yenimahalle?
2. Which neighborhood spaces do you like most? (Trees, Gardens, Architecture of houses, Streets etc.)
3. How would you describe the streets of the neighborhood? What do the streets of the neighborhood mean to you?

Questions concerning the relationship between identity and neighborhood environment

1. What does it mean for you to be from Yenimahalle?
2. Do you think on moving from Yenimahalle? And, would you like to prefer inhabiting in different place? Yes or No, Why?

Questions concerning the difference between the past and today's situation in the neighborhood life

1. What are the differences between past and today in the neighborhood? Which conditions/places do you find better/worse comparison to the past? (According to Social Life, Architectural Space)
2. Is there anything you would like to be changed in the neighborhood?

Questions concerning the practices of the neighborhood life and the use of neighborhood space

1. How is your daily routine?
2. Where and how do you do your shopping? Do you use the bazaar and marketplace of the neighborhood?
3. Is there any place where you spend time in the neighborhood? Do you need any place in the neighborhood to spend time? With whom do you spend more time in the neighborhood?
4. How is human relationship in the Neighborhood? Is there neighborliness between inhabitants? Is there any difference comparing to past?
5. Are there any differences during the day and night in the neighborhood? If Yes, Please Explain.
6. Does your neighborhood use change during the weekdays and weekend?
7. Does your child go to the school in Yenimahalle? If No, Why?
8. Do you spend time with your child in the neighborhood? Does your child spend time in the neighborhood? Where? How? Where did you spend time in the neighborhood during your childhood?
9. Which spaces do you use daily, weekly, yearly in the neighborhood?

B. INTERVIEWEE PROFILE

Interview Number	Gender	Year of Birth	Birth Place	Year of Settlement in Yenimahalle	Level of Education	Profession
1	Female	1987	Ankara	1990 (29 Years)	University	Mining Engineer
2	Male	1972	Ankara	1998 (21 Years)	University	Police
3	Female	1950	Elazığ	1974 (45 Years)	Elementary School	Housewife
4	Female	1994	Ankara	1999 (20 Years)	University	Graphic Designer
5	Female	1940	Erzurum	1980 (39 Years)	No Formal Education	Housewife
6	Male	1968	Ankara	1968 (51 Years)	High School	Businessman
7	Male	2001	Ankara	2001 (18 Years)	High School (Still Studying)	Student
8	Female	1949	Ankara	1969 (50 Years)	No Formal Education	Housewife
9	Female	1972	Ankara	1992 (27 Years)	University	Retired Police
10	Female	1962	Ankara	1989 (30 Years)	University	Retired Civil Servant
11	Male	1966	Ankara	1994 (25 Years)	Elementary School	Tradesman
12	Female	1988	Holland	2017 (2 Years)	University	Architect

Table 0.1. Interviewee Profile

C. INTERVIEWS

1- B.D. ile Söyleşi, Kadın, Maden Mühendisi, 32 yaşında, 17 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

29 senedir. Çocukluğum evet burada geçti.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

İş yerime yakın olması, merkeze yakın olması, ulaşımın rahat olması. Bir de Yenimahalle'de yaşamının verdiği alışkanlık var herhalde.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamının en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Yani o site kalabalığı olmayınca, çok tanıdık yüz görmek, burada yaşamayı kolaylaştırıyor, benim için bir avantaj ve çocukluğum burada geçtiği için tanıdık insanları görmek bana şey geliyor, eski kültürü yaşatıyormuş gibi geliyor.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Şu an hiçbir şey... Eskiden iki katlıydı, araba yoğunluğu yoktu, otopark sorunu yoktu. O zaman çok güzeldi. Şu an tamamen alışkanlıktan kaynaklı Yenimahalle'de kalma şeyim var.

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Dar, sıkışık, karmaşık.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Yenimahalle'nin çarşısını çok seviyorum çünkü o da eskiden kalma. Bütün ihtiyaçlarıma cevap verdiği için çok fazla bir yere gitmeme gerek kalmıyor. Çok büyük mağazalar yok, markalaşmış yapısı yok ama o butik yapı hoşuma gidiyor.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Yenimahalleli olmak... Bir kere 5'e inmek terimini herkes bilir Yenimahalle'de, başka birine söylesen 5'e nasıl inilir diye Yenimahalleli ise bilir. Yazın Vardar'a gitmek, Moruklar Parkına gitmek, Ptt parkına gitmek... Ptt parkını mesela kimse bilmez mahallenin dışından, aslında oranın gerçek ismi Ptt parkı da değil... Yenimahalle'de kışın Vardar'da sosisli yersin...Yenimahalle'ye özgü şeyler var.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Ya çocuk olduğundan beri taşınmayı düşünüyorum. Bir sitede güvenli parkta çocuğumu oynatmak isterdim. Yani parktan kaçtığı zaman sokağa direkt çıksın istemezdim ya da bir sitede indirdiğim zaman balkondan baktığımda güvenli bir yerde oynamasını isterdim. Biraz böyle şey zor oluyor, park çok az zaten onlarda mahalle arasında küçük iki salıncak bir kaydırak var. Onlar yüzünden taşınmayı düşünürdüm ama şu an çok mümkün değil tabi.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

İki katlı bir yapıydı Yenimahalle, çok eski bir yerleşim yeri idi. Çok eskidi yapılar ama bahçe kültürü vardı, o yüzden de çocukların ailelerin geç saatlere kadar oturduğu bir yapı vardı. Şu an pek öyle bir şey yok. Çok kalabalık değil, binalar 3-4 katlı ama daha kozmopolit yapı olduğu için çok fazla sokak kullanımı kalmadı. Sokak sadece araba park etmek için kullanılıyor. Başka da bir şey için pek fazla kullanılmıyor açıkçası.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Yani, mahalleden ziyade Yenimahalle'nin bence köklü bir değişikliğe ihtiyacı var. Çok dar, evler çok iç içe ve yoğun. Bu artan nüfusu bence Yenimahalle artık karşılamıyor ve insanlarda Yenimahalle'den çıkmak istemediği için bu yoğunluk hiç azalmıyor. Ki mesela Şehir Hastanesi'nin gelecek olması, buraya doktorun,

hemşirenin bir de onların yığılacak olması beni ürkütüyor. Orası açıldıktan sonra çok fazla burada oturabileceğimi düşünmüyorum.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Sabah çıkıyorum evden, benim iş yerim yaklaşık 3 km 40 dakikada gidiyorum. Eryaman'daki arkadaşım ile aynı sürede gidiyorum. Aşırı yoğun ve tıkalı yol, çok sıkıntılı ve gergin bir şekilde gidiyorum işe. Akşam iş yerinden dönüşte daha rahat trafik. Geliyorum işten çocuğu dışarı çıkarıyorum ya parka mahalledeki ya da yürüyüş yoluna (Antares'in karşısındaki). Yemek yiyoruz sonra da evdeyiz.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Mahalle çarşısını kullanıyorum. Kasabı kullanıyorum, Şatıroğlu Kasab'ını kullanıyorum. Migros'u kullanıyorum, Çelikleri kullanıyorum. Yenimahalle'nin içerisini kullanıyorum.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Benim ailem Yenimahalle çevresinde olduğu için ailemle birlikte oluyorum genelde. Yenimahalle'de benim için gidip oturulacak sosyalleşmek için pek bir yer yok. Şimdi mesela şurada Next Garden diye bir yer açıldı yürüyüş yolunun başına hem çocuk alanı var hem nargile içme yeri var, hem açık alanı var, kahvaltısı var. Birçok şeye cevap veriyor. Çocuktan sonra böyle çok seçeneği olan yerleri tercih etmeye başlıyorsun. Hem çocukların hem de kendimin vakit geçirebileceğim yere ihtiyacım var. Yenimahalle'de böyle en güzel Oskar Pastanesi var ama hiçbir şekilde buna cevap vermiyor.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Ben burada doğup büyüdüğüm için, burada yaşadığım için komşuluk ilişkilerim var. Ama sıfırdan otursaydım olur muydu olmazdı, zor.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Şimdi gün içi çok evde değilim ama sanırım daha yoğun oluyor. Fakat çok da değişmiyor bence bariz.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Değişiyor, Hafta sonu bebek arabasıyla Yenimahalle'ye iniyorum çocukla, ama hafta içi çalıştığım için Yenimahalle ile pek bir bağlantım yok.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor? Hayırsa, Neden?

Çocuğumu okula devlet okulları bittiği için özel okula yollamayı planlıyorum. Yenimahalle'de bir özel okul yok. En yakın özel okul Batıkent'te ya da Eryaman'da ya da Çayyolu'nda...

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Geçiriyorum... Yürüyerek sokaktan parka gidiyoruz Kaynak sokaktaki sonra tekrar yürüyerek eve dönüyoruz. Biz çocukken sokaktan çok araba geçmediği için sokakta oynardık. Paten sürerdik, bisiklet sürerdik, çevre sokakları gezerdik, parklara giderdik. Şu an sokakta öyle bir şey olmadığı için daha kapalı alanlarda çocuğa scooter filan sürdürmeye çalışıyoruz.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; Bakkalları ekmek, sigara, süt gibi şeyler için kullanıyorum. Her akşam dondurma için ya Vardar'a ya da Roka'ya gidiyorum. Her akşam kuruyemişçilere gidiyorum alışveriş için.

Aylık olarak; her ay başında kasaptan aylık yiyeceğim şeyleri alıyorum.

Yıllık olarak; bankaları ve Ptt'yi kullanıyorum, başka da yıllık çok bir şey yok.

2- M.Ö. ile Söyleşi, Erkek, Polis, 47 yaşında, 17 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

1998'den beri, 21 senedir. Yok, çocukluğum Gölbaşı'nda geçti ama lise hayatım burada geçti. Endüstri Meslek Lisesi'nde okudum. Gölbaşından üç sene Yenimahalle'ye gittim geldim.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Lise dönemimden beri ben Yenimahalle'yi çok severdim, özellikle eski hali, iki katlı evlerin olduğu, sakin, nezih hali aklımda yer etmiştir Yenimahalle'nin.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamanın en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Yenimahalle şimdi merkeze çok yakın hani Kızılay'a olsun Ulus'a olsun, ihtiyacım olabilecek yerlere yakın. Mahalle olarak da sakin nezih temiz bir yer.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Valla eski hali olsa binalar sokaklar hoşuma gidiyor derdim de şimdi apartmana dönüştü her yer, parklar azaldı. Yeşillik de tabii binalar çoğalınca doğal olarak yeşillikler de azaldı. Pek artık cezbedecek bir şey de kalmadı.

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Mahallenin sokakları dar, araçlarla özellikle park edilmesiyle daha da daraldı.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Merkezi ve çarşısı güzel ya... Yani aradığım her şey elimin altında var, daha uzağa girmeden ihtiyaçlarımı karşılayabiliyorum buradan.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Yenimahalleli olmak bence ayrıcalık. Yenimahalle'de daha nezih insanların yaşadığını düşünüyorum. Daha temiz, kültürlü.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Valla şu an için düşünmem, uzun vadede belki gölbaşına yerleşirsem, köy evine, orası olabilir. Onun haricinde Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünmüyorum.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Mimari açıdan dediğim gibi apartmanlaşmadan dolayı oluşan bozulmalar. Geçmişten bugüne insan nüfusunun artması var tabi binalara bağlı olarak, mahalle yoğunlaştı.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Mahallede değişebilecek bir şey yok...

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Bir günüm işte sabah işe gidiyoruz, akşam üstü de trafikte işten gelmeye çalışıyoruz. Evdeyim genelde dışarı bir yere çıkmıyorum.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Antares Avm yakın, gidersek zaten her şeyi orda hallediyoruz. Çocuklar gezerken işte biz bir oturup kahve içersek, içiyoruz. Mahalle içerisinde mekan olarak oturduğum bir yer yok. Alışverişte merkezdeki Çelikler'den Migros'tan o marketten alırsak alıyoruz nadir. Toplu alışveriş yaparsak Antares's gidiyoruz işte.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Mahallede biz işte genelde aile, çoluk çocuk, yakınlar, akrabalar öyle... Arkadaş ortamı olmadığı için mekana da ihtiyaç duymadım.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Valla eskiden daha iyiydi açık söyleyeyim, şimdi biraz daha soğuk.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Kalabalık olarak değişiyor. Sabah bir kalabalık, sonra sakinleşiyor, akşam üzeri işte iş dönüşleri başlıyor, hareket oluyor.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Hafta sonu evdeyim daha çok. Hafta içi genelde mahalle dışındayım iş nedeniyle, hafta sonu 5. Durağa, 5. Durak deriz, oraya gideriz dondurma yemeye ya da çocukları parka indiririz.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor? Hayırsa, Neden?

Yenimahalle'de gittiler, Yunus Emre İlköğretim Okulu'nda okudular ilkokulu.

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Yenimahalle'de geçiriyorduk tabi, okula bırakma alma... Okulun yan tarafında güzel bir park vardı, orada oynatırdık. Orası da şimdi sosyal tesisler oldu, yüzme havuzu filan. Bizim çocukluğumuz Gölbaşı'nda geçti, Gölbaşı'nın her yeri oyun alanıydı, şimdiki gibi değildi, insanlar çocuğunu dışarı bırakmaya korkmuyordu o zamanlar. Şimdi nerde, mümkün değil. Biz sabahın köründe bir çıkardık, gecenin yarısı biz dönerdik. Orda nereye arayıp bulacaksın, biz kendimiz dönerdik. Mahalle mahalle gezerdik biz.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük ve haftalık olarak Avm

Aylık; Berbere gidiyorum, Alemdarın altında benim berberim.

Yıllık olarak camii, Ulu Camii, Dereboyu sokağın ilerisindeki.

3- E.T. ile Söyleşi, Kadın, Ev Hanımı, 69 yaşında, 17 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

45 yıl. Çocuklum Elazığ'da geçti.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Nezih olduğu için geldim. Genelde yaşlılar oturuyordu, genç pek yoktu. Hep müstakil iki katlı, yaşlılar oturuyordu. Demetevlerden taşındık buraya. Burası daha sakin, Demetevler çok kalabalık, buranın yaşamı Demetevler'e göre daha nezih, onun için Yenimahalle'ye taşındık. Sonra da hoşuma gittiği için yaşamaya devam ettim, memnunum. Mahallenin sakinliği hoşuma gidiyor.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamamanın en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Eskiden komşuluğuydu... Şu anda da nezih olduğu için.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Mimari olarak yeşilliği mahallede hoşuma gidiyor. Sakinliği ondan sonra... Fazla binaların yüksek olmaması...

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Sakin...

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Pek memnun değilim çarşısından. Aradığımı bulamıyorum.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Yenimahalleli olmak bir şey ifade etmiyor şu an. Eskiden ediyordu... Eskiden daha memnunduk.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Taşınmayı düşünmüyorum, hiç düşünmedim. Alıştığım için galiba. Ben siteleri sevmiyorum, kalabalık olduğu için.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Komşuluk yok, eskiden bahçelerde otururduk şu an bahçeler yok. Site olmadığı için dışarı çıkılmıyor. Eskiye göre kalabalık.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Gönlümden geçen yolların daha güzel yapılması, daha iyi asfaltlanması, geniş olsun değil. Daha düzgün olmalarını isterdim.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Sabah uyanıyorum, çarşıya gidiyorum, bakkala gidiyorum. Çocuklarım da burada yaşıyor, onlara gidiyorum.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Alışverişimi çocuklar yapıyor, onlar getiriyor, ben de sormuyorum çok nereden alıyorlar. Ben bir şey alacağım da marketlere gidiyorum mahalledeki. Bakkalı fazla kullanmıyorum.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Çocuklarıma gitmek dışında başka bir yere çıkmıyorum. Çocuklarımla geçiriyorum daha çok, komşularla pek bir alakam yok. Yaşlı olduğum için evimde oturuyorum.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Komşuluk yapmadığım için hiç bilmiyorum. Apartmanda iki üç tane komşum var görüştüğüm, başka da yok. Karşı apartmanı filan hiç tanımam. Eskiden tanıyorduk çünkü müstakil olduğu için hep bahçelerde oturduğumuz için tanıyorduk hep birbirimizi.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Akşam gündüze göre daha sakin oluyor.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Hafta sonları daha kalabalık oluyor. Çocuklar daha çok oluyor, kalabalık oluyor. Hep aynıdır benim için hafta içi hafta sonu, fazla dışarı çıkmadığım için.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor/gitti/gidecek? Hayırsa, Neden?

Birisi Demetevler'de gitti, Yenimahalle'de de gittiler.

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz/geçirir miydiniz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu/geçirir miydi? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Evet geçiriyordum. Eskiden sinemalara gidiyorduk, bahçelerde parklarda oturuyorduk. Çocuklarda okula gidiyorlardı, okula gitmedikten sonra bahçeliydi evimiz bahçede oynuyorlardı, parklara götürüyorduk. Ondan sonra gezmeler götürüyordum mahallede.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Çok evden çıkmıyorum, pek kullanmıyorum.

4- B.Ö. ile Söyleşi, Kadın, Grafik Tasarımcı, 25 yaşında, 15 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

20 Yıl, 1994'den beri. Evet çocukluğum burada geçti.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Sakin ve nezih bir ortam olduğu için ailem burada yaşamayı tercih etmiş ve hala da yaşamaya devam ediyoruz.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamının en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Her yere yakın olması, ulaşımının her tarafa yakın olması. Sessiz, sakin oluşu olumlu diyebileceğim şeyler. İhtiyaçlarımı rahatça karşılayabiliyorum.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Düz bir yapılaşma olması, her binanın düz olması ve çaplığının olmaması diyebilirim. Sokaklarda aynı şekilde düz.

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Sokaklarla alakalı bir tanımlamam yok.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Her şeye kolay ulaşabiliyorum ve çarşıdan her ihtiyacımı karşılayabiliyorum. Hepsinden tek tek oluşu beni alacağım her şeye yönlendiriyor. Çarşıda alabileceğim şeylerin yerleri belli oldu artık.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Ankara'daki bazı mahalle ve semtlere göre daha elit bir mahalle. Elitten kastım burada mesela rahatça dışarı çıkabiliyorum ama başka semtlerde istediğim saatte bu kadar rahat çıkamam.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Başka yerde yaşamak isterim. Bina/Apartman ortamı değil de müstakil evde yaşamak isterim. Bana daha huzur vereceğini düşünüyorum. Kalabalık değil, daha sakin olur, burası da sakin ancak orasının daha da sakin olacağını düşünüyorum.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Çocukken istediğim kadar dışarıda oynayabiliyordum. Çok komşumuz vardı ancak şu an o kadar yok. Hiç kimse birbirini tanımıyor, sadece bina içerisindekiler tanıyor. Eskiden bahçemiz vardı ve çok daha fazla insanla mahallede tanışabiliyordum. Bunun sebebi de mahalleden kaynaklı değil bence insanlardan kaynaklı.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Daha güzel yapılar olabilir, bazı eski evler çok güzel, hepsi öyle olabilirdi ya da eskiyen yapılar daha gösterişli olabilir, bazı eski evlerde çok eskiler ve bakınca sokağı bozuyor diyebiliyorsun. Eskiden olduğu gibi müstakil olsaymış keşke tüm binalar.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Yenimahalle'nin çarşısını geziyorum. Etlik tarafındaki yürüyüş yoluna gidiyorum bazen. Genelde burada değil de AVM'lerde geçiyor vaktim.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Yenimahalle çarşısını genelde gıda ihtiyaçlarında kullanıyorum. Yenimahalle'de esnaftan giyimde de pijama tarzı alışverişlerimi yapıyorum yani markalaşmış şeyler değil de belirli şeyler var aldığım. Bazen mesela zaman sokakta arabada satılan meyveler, patates, soğan ya da sütçüden süt alıyorum zaman zaman, haftalık.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Bazen aşağıdaki moruklar parkında oturuyoruz. Başka da yok. Cafeler olabilir, tatlı filan yiyebileceğimiz geç saatlere kadar açık cafelerin olmasını istiyorum diyebilirim çünkü merkezdeki yerler erkenden kapanıyor. Genelde de mahallede binamızdaki komşularımızla vakit geçiriyorum.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Komşuluk ilişkileri apartman içerisinde var ama bir şey olduğu zaman atıyorum mahallede bir kaza olduğu zaman, mahalledeki herkes duyarlı, ama ekstra bir şey olmadığı sürece pek bir diyalog yok.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Bizim mahallede çok fazla trafik oluyor, akşam belli bir saatte bu yok oluyor.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Yok, hayır.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor? Hayırsa, Neden?

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; Mahalle bakkalı (yıldız bakkal, yumurta süt vs için), Çınar ekmek fırını (ekmek için)

Haftalık; Aşağıdaki Marketlere Gidiyorum.

Yıllık; yılda iki kere diyebilirim bankaları kullanıyorum (Halkbank, Garanti), Postaneyi kullanıyorum.

5- G.T. ile Söyleşi, Kadın, Ev Hanımı, 79 yaşında, 17 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

1980'de geldik biz buraya. (39yıl). Erzurum'dan geldik 80'de. Bir oğlum vardı burada Çubuk Barajında boğuldu.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Artık yok, burası evimiz. Erzurum'u bıraktık buraya geldik, evi aldık. O zaman iki katlıydı, komşu çoktu, çok güzeldi. Sonra işte gide gide gide kata verdik. Komşularımız oldu ama birbirimize gidip gelemiyoruz.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamının en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

En güzel tarafları eskiden hep birbirimize kardeş, bacı gibiydik. Hısım akraba gibiydik, hiç kimse kimseyi yadırgamazdı. Çok güzel oturmalarımız oldu. Artık hiç yok, şimdi bu apartmandayız, hiç ne gelen var ne giden.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Şimdi hoşuma giden hiçbir şey yok. Ben seni tanımadıktan sonra sen beni tanımadıktan sonra, birbirimize hatır sormadıktan sonra, merhaba demedikten sonra ne yapayım kattayım. (Apartmandayım) Kattayım, evim var, amaaan... Hiç de memnun değilim. Eskiden her şeyi hoşuma gidiyordu, oturması hoşuma gidiyordu. Mesela Emine Hanımlar öbür taraftaydı (eski yan komşusu) biz öbür taraftaydık. Bir demir arada yapmışlardı onlar (bahçelerin arasına). Oturuyorduk (bahçede), onlar çay içtiğinde bana veriyordu, ben içtiğimde onlara veriyordum. Konuşuyorduk birbirimizle nasılsın, iyi misin diye. Birbirimizin çocuklarıyla alakadar oluyorduk. Şimdi yok. Benim şimdi bu mahalle hiç hoşuma gitmiyor. Hiç mi hiç.

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Sokakta ben yabancı bile olsa ben hemen tanışlık veririm. Gelsin gitsinler, otursunlar, halımızı hatırımızı sorsunlar, ben onların hallerini hatırlarını sorayım. Adamın çocuğu da vardır hiç olmazsa gezer dolaşır sokaklarda benim için açılır.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Daha demin çok canım sıkılıyordu, beni kızım götürdü. Böyle bir öte beri aldık, ekme aldık akşama. Yürüyerek gittik geldik.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Çok temiz mahalle...Dürüst... Ne kavgası var ne şeyi var. Gidip gelme yok ama, kavgası mavgası hiçbir şeyi yok. Temiz mahalle, mahalleyi beğeniyorum, bak böyle de söyleniyorum ama (komşuluk ilişkisinin olmamasını), mahalleyi de seviyorum. Mahallede bir numara. Mahallemiz güzel.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Hiç taşınmayı düşünmüyorum çünkü artık gideceğim yerde de yabancı olacağım. Burada yerli oldum da ne yaptım yavrum, taşınıp gideyim de ne yapayım.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

İnsanlar iyiler yine de komşuluk yok ama, insanlar temizler.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Yok, herkes kata vermiş oturuyor. Dışarı çıkarsak, gördüğümüzde birbirimizle konuşuyoruz, nasılsın iyi misin... Komşumuz geldi bizim bir altımıza karşı tarafa. Komşumuz bile diyor ki çok iyi, has, tertemiz mahalle ama teyzeciğim hiç komşu yok. Tek bir arada akşamları bana gelirler oturmaya, biz onlara gideriz oturmaya.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Kalkıyorum, yapabilirsem bir iki iş yapıyorum Ondan sonra yemek pişirebilirsem pişiriyorum. Çıkıyorum dışarıya, 5'e kadar gidiyorum. Bu taraftan da (Etlik tarafı) Antares'in oradan Migros'a gidiyorum, alışverişe.

Alışverişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Yürüme yolumuz var, oraya gidiyoruz, yürüyoruz. Şimdi çok halim yok da... Park var şu 5. Durakta (Ragıp Tüzün Parkı), eğer zamanım olursa, iyi de olursam gidip orada birazcık oturuyorum. Bu taraftan da (Etlik tarafı) yürüyüş yolunda oturma yerleri var, oralarda en iyisi oturup, sağa sola bakıp geliyorum evime. Canım sıkıldığında öyle yapıyorum. Tanımadığım komşularla orada oturuyorum, herkes çünkü oralarda oturuyor. Tanışmıyorum da onlarla... Kızım şey ediyor, kimseye bir şey deme diyor, kocam yok deme diyor. Çünkü kızıma da hırsız girdi burada aşağıda. 80'lerde hırsız hiç yoktu ama şimdi kızımın evini öyle bir şey yaptılar ki. Şimdi kimse kimseye derdini anlatmaya da korkuyor yalnızım diye. Ortam çok bozuk.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Kapı komşum hep birbirimize gider gelirdik. Çay içerdik birbirimizde, güzel güzel konuşurduk, oturmalara giderdik. Ondan sonra şimdi hepsi kayboldu, apartmanlarda herkes kendi evinde oturuyor. Evinde herkes dışarı çıkan yok. Yani kimse kimseye gidip gelmiyor. Ben şimdi hastayım, iyi olsam bir şeyler yapacağım. Diyeceğim ki hep apartmana bir buyurun gelin. O zamanlar iyiydim, hepsine diyordum ki gelin... Şimdi yapamıyorum. Herkes şimdi benim gibi evin içinde ne geliyor ne gidiyor ne merhaba. Merdivenlerde, dışarıda bir görürsek merhaba diyoruz, yoksa yok hiçbir şey.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam deęiřiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Akşam üstü kalabalık oluyor, evine gelen evinden giden.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız deęiřiyor mu?

Hafta sonu buradaki kızım beni dięer kızıma götürüyor. O řimdi 7 olmamış gelemiyor hafta içi. Başka yer de tanıdıklarımız olduęu için cumartesi pazar kızım beni götürüyor, hava al diye.

Çocuęunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor/gitti/gidicek? Hayırsa, Neden?

Torunum Yenimahalle'de gitti. Kızım da üst katımda oturuyordu, iki katlı evimizde, o çalışıyordu. Çocuęa ben bakıyordum.

Çocuęunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuęunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluęunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Geçirirlerdi, bahçede sokakta oynarlardı.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandıęınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; bakkala markete gidiyoruz.

Haftada; pazarına gidiyoruz.

Yıllık; ben Bodrum'a gidiyorum.

6- M.O. ile Söyleşi, Erkek, İş Adamı, 51 yaşında, 15 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

51 senedir Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorum. Doğduğumdan beri Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorum. Çocukluğum burada geçti, evet.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Tercih meselesi değil, annem babam buradaydı. Bizim köyümüz Yenimahalle'ye bağlı olduğu için en yakın şehir merkezi burasıydı, Demetevler yoktu o zaman, sonradan yapıldı gecekondular olarak. Hala yaşamaya devam etme sebebim alışkanlıklarım, çevremden, sosyal çevremden.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamının en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Arkadaşlarımın çok olması, boş zamanlarımda sosyal olabiliyorum burada benim mahalle yaşamı için olumlu diyeceğim şeyler. Yani herkesi tanıyorum.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Yenimahalle'nin bir merkezi var, kasaba gibi havası var buranın, herkes oraya geliyor. Merkezde toplanılıyor olması hoşuma gidiyor.

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Sokaklar dar ve sakindir belirli bir saatten sonra. Eskiden öyleydi ama şimdi pek yok sokaklar hareketliydi gençler açısından. Genelde insanlar komşularını tanır. Yürüme mesafesinde her yere ulaşabilir insan, ihtiyacını yürüme mesafesinde karşılayabilir.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Yenimahalle'de yaşayan insanların ihtiyacına göre bir konsept var çarşıda, dükkanlar olarak. Mesela bir caddede komple elli tane lokanta yok. Kızılay gibi veya başka bir yer gibi değil, kafeler o kadar çok yok, bir tane var. Farklı ihtiyaçlara göre farklı

dükkanlar var. Bir dükkân şey açılacağı zaman caddede olması şart değil Yenimahalle’de, insanlar bildikleri için sokakta da olsa gidiyorlar, caddenin üst sokaklarına mesela.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Her şey, seviyorum. Yenimahalle’nin Ankara’da iyi bir ismi var, Demetevler gibi değil. İyi bir izlenimi var.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Taşınmayı düşünmüyorum, alışkanlıklarımdan dolayı. 51 sene olmuş, nasıl terk edeceğim. Gözümü açtım buradaydım, hala buradayım.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Geçmişe göre nüfus arttı ve eski Yenimahalle’deki mimari yapılar yok oldu. İki katlı bahçeli, bahçesinde meyve ağaçları olan evler vardı genelde, hep yıkıldı 4 katlı apartmanlar yapıldı, haliyle nüfusu ikiye katladı. Alt yapı sorunları çıktı. Geçmişe göre hiç iyi tarafı yok bana sorarsan kötü, mimari anlamda söylüyorum, sosyal anlamda değil.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Geçti artık, yok olmaz öyle bir şey. Eski hali kalıp, evlerin renkli renkli boyanıp, turistik bir hali olsun isterdim, İsviçre’deki gibi İtalya’daki gibi...Eski mimari yapısının korunmasını isterdim.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Sabah kalıyorum işe gidiyorum, Sitelerde sonra inşaata Karapürçek’e gidiyorum, sonra akşam eve geliyorum. Akşam Yenimahalle 5. Durağa, yürüyüşe Antares’in o tarafa, AVM’ye gidiyorum bazen. Ramazanlarda karakolun orda Sedat kıraathanesine gidiyorum.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Grosmarketlere gidiyoruz ama 10-15 günde bir Yenimahalle pazarını da kullanıyoruz.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Antares'te vakit geçiriyorum. Berber Habip'e gidiyorum, meyhaneler sokağında, meyhanelerin olduğu sokakta vakit geçiriyorum. Arkadaşlarımızda mahallede her yerde vakit geçirebilirim, başka yere gerek yok. Genelde esnaflarla bir arada oluyoruz.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

İleri düzeyde değil ama var, apartman bazında ya da iki üç apartman yan yana olan yerlerde var komşuluk, komple mahalle olarak değil. Eskisi gibi değil, kendi apartmanın ya da yan apartmanıyla komşuluk var. Eskiye kıyasla çok fark var, herkes iç içeydi o zaman, şöyle deyim; komşuların yedikleri içtikleri beraberdi o zaman, eskiye göre yok gibi komşuluk. Sebebi hayat şartları, insanların yaşam tarzları ve devlet politikası olabilir. Uygulanan imar yönetmelikleriyle apartman tarzına geçildi, eski müstakil evler korunmadı, çok katlı binalar yapılıncaya, kötü alışkanlıklar da arttı insanların çoğalmasıyla. İnsanlar tedbirli olmaya başladı, bu da eski komşuluğu bitirdi tabii.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Gün içi daha hareketli, akşam saat 9'dan sonra mahalle sokakları insan yok denecek kadar sakin oluyor.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Yok değişmiyor.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor/gitti? Hayırsa, Neden?

Çocuklarım mahalledeki okula gitti. Barbaros ilköğretim okulu. Sistem öyle, senin elinde olan bir şey yok.

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Parka götürürdük, çocuklar belli bir yaştan sonra sokakta oynuyordu. B Çocukluğum Coşkun sokakta geçti, sokakta oynardık, hiç eve girmezdik. Sabah evden bir çıkardık akşama kadar sokakta oynardık. Tabi o zaman teknoloji yoktu, bilgisayar yoktu, cep telefonu yoktu, enerjiyi çocuklar dışarıda atıyordu. Sokak bizim için bir oyun mekanıydı. Her şeyi yapardık, voleybol, yakan top, yakalamaca oynardık, komşuların meyve ağaçlarından habersiz meyve toplardık. Dursun bakkal vardı, günlük sütüne maç yapardık.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; Çarşıdan tatlı bazen de lokantaları kullanıyoruz. Çınar ekmek fırınından ekmek alıyoruz

Haftalık; Yenimahalle semt pazarı, Meyhaneler sokağına arkadaşlarımın yanına

Yıllık; Bayram namazında mahalledeki camiye, ramazanlarda Sedat kıraathanesine gidiyorum.

7- M.S. ile Söyleşi, Erkek, Öğrenci, 18 yaşında, 19 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

18 yıldır, doğduğumdan beri. Evet çocukluğum Yenimahalle'de geçti.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Öbür semtlere göre daha sakin olduğu için, daha güvenilir olduğu için.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamının en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Samimi bir ortam var. Aşağı Ragıp Tüzün'e indiğimizde canlı bir ortam bizi karşılıyor. Bunun gibi şeyler.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Sokakların dizilişi daha çok hoşuma gidiyor. Cadde üstü değiller genellikle, sakin ortamlarda oluyor evler.

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Çocukluğumun geçtiği ve hepsinin yerinin hafızamda olduğu mekanlar.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Çarşısı da az önce bahsettiğim gibi gayet eğlenceli ve renkli. Ramazan'da örneğin aşağı indiğimizde hala açık dükkanlar oluyor, canlı ve kalabalık, hep insan oluyor genelde. Çoğu istediğimiz şeyi karşılayabiliyoruz çarşıdan.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Yenimahalleli olmak diye bir şey bence yok. Yaşadığım semt sadece.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Hayır. Çünkü daha iyi bir semt bulabileceğimi düşünmüyorum. Çocukluğumdan beri de burada olduğum için alıştığım yerden girmek zahmetli. Bir de buradaki mahalleleşmeyi siteden filan daha samimi buluyorum.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Yeni bir spor salonu yapıldı, teleferik yapıldı, alışveriş merkezi açıldı (Antares) bunun gibi şeyler olumlu benim için. Kötü şu an aklıma gelmiyor.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Sokak köpekleri insanları fazla rahatsız ediyorlar. Çok fazlalar, sürü halinde geziyorlar, korkutuyorlar biraz.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Bir günüm şu sıralar bisikletime binip aşağılara gidiyorum, park olsun okulun bahçesi olsun oralarda turluyorum. Barbaros İlköğretim Okulu'nun bahçesine gidiyorum bisiklet sürmeye.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Evet aşağılardan market giderlerimizi karşılıyoruz. Ama kıyafet olarak pek tercih etmiyorum. Gıda olsun ya da dondurma yemek istediğimde aşağıları tercih ediyorum. Roko ya da Vardaroma'dan ya da Avrupa Pastanesi'nden dondurma yiyorum.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Mahalle'de vaktimi internet kafe ya da Playstation kafede geçiriyorum nadiren de olsa. Mahalle'de çok bir arkadaşım yok, bir tane var onunla gidiyorum genelde. Wafflecı yok mesela düzgün, direkt Waffle üstüne bir yer olsa keşke. Eskiden

kreşimde Yenimahalle olduđu için oradan da arkadaşım vardı, onlarla vakit geçiriyordum mahallede, şimdi pek vaktim olmuyor.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Var. Çocukluğumda da gördüm, annemin arkadaşları oluyordu mahalleden, benim de onların çocuklarından çocukluk arkadaşlarım var. Aslında komşuluk ilişkileri biraz zayıfladı diye düşünüyorum.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Değişiyor, örneğin daha önce söylediğim gibi dondurmacı daha kalabalık oluyor akşam ama sabah saatlerinde daha sakin oralar veya insanlar akşamları parklara gidiyorlar çocukları oynatmak için. Merkezi akşam daha kalabalık oluyor.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Hafta sonu genellikle mahallede olmuyorum. Mahalleden dışarı çıkıyorum.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor? Hayırsa, Neden?

Hayır, Demetevler'de gittim. Onun mahalle ile pek bir ilgisi yok aslında, annemler o okulu istedi, ben de oraya gittim.

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Çocukken annemle birlikte parka gidiyorduk, bisiklet, paten sürüyordum. Barbaros Parkı'nı, Moruklar Parkını, oranın gerçek adını bilmiyorum ve Halide Edip Adıvar Parkına giderdik. Bisiklet ve pateni o moruklar parkı dediğim yerde sürerdim. Sokakta sürmüyordum, annem izin vermiyordu. Şu an çocukların sokak kullanımını daha da azalmış benim çocukluğuma göre gibi geliyor bana. Sadece şu an okul bahçelerinde çocukları oynarken görebiliyorum, eskiden sokaklarda da top oynanıyordu ama şuan sadece okulda görebiliyorum.

Mahallede gnlk, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya iřaretleyiniz.

Gnlk; srekli gittiğim bir yer yok. Eskiden spor salonuna gidiyordum, Ragıp Tz'nde, XFit.

Haftalık; Market olabilir, Vardar olabilir, Berber'e gidiyorum, Ragıp Tzn'deki Beyefendi Kuafr.

Yıllık; Saėlık Ocaėı olabilir yılda bir kere, Postanenin oradaki.

8- S.K. ile Söyleşi, Kadın, Ev Hanımı, 70 yaşında, 17 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

50 senedir. Yok Haymana'da.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Benim eşim bir taneydi (ailede tek erkek çocuktuk), bir de evde bekar görümcem vardı. Davarımız, sığırımız çoktu haymananın deveci köyünde. Eşimde askere gidecekti, evde de bir kaynana ile kayınbaba vardı, kimse yok dediler. Biz ne yapalım ne edelim derken Ankara'ya gidelim dediler. Burada görümcelerim oturuyordu, bizim burası hep Haymanalı, Devecili çoğu... 9. Durakta ekseriyetli oradalar. Ev kendimizin olunca hiç taşınmayı da düşünmedik. Kayınpederim ölünce evi de ben devraldım. Burası satılacak gibi oldu, görümcelerim satılığa çıkardı da, ben delirecektim... Ben dedim başka yerde duramam, burayı da sattırmam.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamının en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Valla komşulukları da iyiydi, mahallemizin temizliği de iyiydi yani çok güzeldi mahallemiz. Şimdi tabi önceki gibi değil. Sen beni tanıyorsun, ben seni tanımıyorum öyle farklar var. Önceden iki katlıyken, çat kapı ben sana sen bana gidip gelebilirdik, şimdi öyle gidilip gelinmiyor. Tabi yine çevremizi tanıyoruz, tanışıyoruz, konuşuyoruz ama eskisi gibi gidilip gelinmiyor, eski komşuluk yok.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Valla ben bu bahçemi şu anda çok seviyorum. Bahçede vakit geçiriyorum, buraya (bahçeye) iniyorum, arkada balkon var oraya çıkıyorum. Yazın hep çocuklarım gelir balkonda dururuz yatana kadar. Torunumuz var o gelir, onlarla vakit geçiririz. Sokakların da yeşil olması iyi bir şey, tabi önceki yeşilliği kalmadı da sokakların, yine olduğu kadar...

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Valla şikâyet olarak kenardan gidersen bir şey yok arabalar geçiyor ama yoldan gidersen iyi değil...

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Güzel, gidiyoruz geliyoruz. Pahalılık var ya, ama olacak... Ona da katlanıyoruz. Ama hepsi var, nereye gidersek eline geliyor... Paran varsa hepsi oluyor, paran yoksa hiçbir şey yok...

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Nerede oturuyorsun dediklerinde Yenimahalle'de diyorum. Yenimahalleli olmak ne demek onu valla bilemiyorum.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Yok yok... Buradan gidecek yerim de yok, taşınacak yerim de yok, burası benim yerim. Seviyorum. Ben taşınırsam bu bahçemi özlerim, bak müteahhite de vermiyorum. (Şu an yaşadıkları ev iki katlı ve bahçeli, yıkılıp yerine 4 katlı apartman yapılsın diye) Bu durumumu özlerim, hiç bulamam.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Valla eskiden daha iyiydi, daha güzeldi eski günlerimiz. Şimdi o günleri arıyoruz. Valla ne bileyim saygı diyeyim sevgi diyeyim vardı insanlar açısından. Eskiden komşuluklarımız vardı, bahçeye gelir otururduk, benim kiraz dallarım vardı, şimdi kurudu gerçi de oraya çıkaralardı toplarlardı çocuklar, komşularım. Bahçede yenilirdi içilirdi gülererek oynayarak. Şimdi onlar hiç yok.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Param olsa şuraya gerisin geri aynı evi kurdururum. (Daha iyi şartlarda) Buradan bir tarafa da gitmem.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Bir torunum var ona bakıyoruz. Sabah kalkarım, sabah namazında namazımı kılarım, sonra tekrar biraz yatarım. Ondan sonra torunu kaldırıyorum, annesi işe gider. Onu doyururum, onunla uğraşırım. Gün içinde şurada bakkala giderim (Yıldız Bakkal), aşağılara inerim biraz, 5.durağa. Haftada iki üç gün gidiyorum ama her gün değil. Mesela bugün camiye mukabeleye gittim. Torunun annesi vardı. Yarın da giderim, öbür gün de giderim sonra artık evdeyim.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Migros'ta yapıyoruz Çelikler'de yapıyoruz. (Merkez'de) Arkada Akyurt var orada yapıyoruz. (Etlik tarafında) Pazara gitmiyorum hiç artık, zaten iki kişiyiz marketlerden hallediyoruz.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Valla öyle fazla bir tarafa gitmiyoruz. Torunu da ben götüremiyorum, annesi götürürse götürüyor. Annesi de şuradaki parka götürüyor. (Dereboyu sokak ve Kaynak sokak kesişimindeki üçgen çocuk parkı)

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Komşuluklarımız iyi, var komşuluk.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Yok aynı.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Aynı, aynıyız.

Çocuđunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor/gitti/gidecek? Hayırsa, Neden?

İki tanesi ařađıdaki Atatürk İlköđretim Okulu'na gitti. Ondan sonra ikisi de Barbaros İlköđretim Okuluna gitti.

Çocuđunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuđunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluđunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Valla her taraf açıktı, řu arkalar filan hep açıktı onlara. (yan paralel sokaklar) Sokakta gezerler oynarlardı. řu teleferiđin geçtiđi yer var ya oralar hep boştu bizim geldiđimizde, tepeydi, oralarda oynarlardı.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandıđınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; Yıldız Bakkal

Haftalık; 5. Durak, Çarşı.

Yıllık; camiye teravihe ve mukabeleye gidiyorum.

9- Ş.T.Ö. ile Söyleşi, Kadın, Emekli Polis, 47 yaşında, 17 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

Yaklaşık 27 yıldır. Gençliğim burada geçti.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Burası iki katlıydı, nezihti, sessizdi, güzel semtti, sakindi, onun için tercih ettim. Evlendikten sonra önce bir Batıkent'te sekiz ay oturdum. Çok kalabalıktı, binalar çok üst üsteydi. Bir depremi yaşadık o zaman biz, Bolu depremini ve bina çatladı boydan boya. Ondan dolayı korktuk ve tekrar Yenimahalle'ye döndük. Yenimahalle'nin altı kayalık, kayalık olduğu için daha güvenilir.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamının en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Önceden güzeldi de şimdi pek bir güzelliği kalmadı. Önceden gece 1'de 2'de çocuklarım sokağın önünde oynayabiliyorlardı, şuan oynayamıyorlar. Bu kentsel dönüşümler... Yakınımızda olan Şentepe, Demetevler kentsel dönüşüme geçtikten sonra çok kalabalıklaştı, Suriyeli çok fazla. O yüzden artık eskisi gibi güvenilir değil.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Eskiden oturulabiliyordu mahallede. Bahçe, yeşillik vardı. Yeşillik bitti. Binalar 3-4 katlı olduktan sonra yeşillikler bitti. Artı, park dedikleri küçük küçük üçgen park var, bilmem ne park var ama çocukların koşmaya yeri yok. On adımda bitiyor park zaten. Diğer semtlerde aynı şekilde kötüleşiyor, yine en nezih yerlerden birisi Yenimahalle, en azından...

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Eskiden mahalle dediğin zaman samimiyet, herkes birbirini tanırdı. Alttaki komşunu bilirdin, üstteki komşunu bilirdin, karşıdakini... Hastalığımı, sağlığımı, her şeyini bilirdin. Şimdi aynı katta oturduğum kadını tanımıyorum.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Yenimahalle'de artık çok fazla çarşı var. Gençlerin burada yapabileceği bir şey yok. Bir moruklar parkı dedikleri 5.durakta orası var, zaten yaşlıların sabah saat 7'de mekan kaptığı, hiç kimsenin gidemeyeceği yer oldu. Gençlerin oturabileceği bir alan yok. Aktivite yok, ha bir tane spor salonu yapılmış şuraya (Yunus Emre İlköğretim okulu yanı gençlik merkezi), orayı övüyorlar, görmedim henüz, gideceğim, bakacağım. Onun haricinde gençlerin yapabileceği hiçbir şey yok burada. Gençlere yönelik bir şeylerin yapılması lazım.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Merkeze yakın, istediğim yere, Kızılay'dı, Bahçelievler'di ulaşımı kolay en azından. Çalıştığım iş yerine yakındı o yüzden tercih ediyordum. Sakinliğinden tercih ediyorum, çok kalabalık değil en azından.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Yok hayır düşünmedim. Burada doğdum sayılır, burada büyüdüm, çevreyi biliyorum. Ancak tercih edersem köy evine geçerim, Gölbaşı'nda köy evim var, iki kat yaparım, tek kat şu an evim. Tercih edersem bahçe için orayı tercih ederim. Daha sakin, sessiz. Onun haricinde şu an buradayım.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Çok çirkin bir mimari. Kimi üç katlı kimi dört katlı. Teraslara kapatma izni verilmiyor ama kaçak kapatmalar var. Sonrasından onay veriliyor. Herkes kafasına göre rengarenk boyuyor. Yani bir albenisi kalmadı eskiye göre.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Çocuk parklarının en azından daha bakımlı olması lazım. Torun bakıyorum, ondan dolayı çocuk parklarında vakit geçiriyorum. Eskiden o kadar gözüme çarpmıyordu çocuklarım büyük olduğu için ama şimdi görüyorum parkları çocuklar için hiç güvenli

değil. Park ama nasıl bir park, sadece salıncak var bir tane kaydırak var. O park sayılmaz, aktivite yapabileceği şeyler olması lazım çocuğun. Ha yapmaya kalksan yollar çok dar, araba çok fazla çocukları artık dışarı çıkaramıyoruz. Sokakta asla oynayamaz çocuk, sokakta iki tane araba yan yana bile geçemiyor. Çok kalabalık burası.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Şu an iki yıldır emekliyim, öncesinde çalıştığım için pek anlamıyordum ama artık çocuk baktığım için torun baktığım için oğlumla birlikte parka gidiyoruz. Mesela Yenimahalle’de hiç havuz yok, ben çocuğumu havuza götürmek isterim, bir tane Antares AVM’de var, o da spor amaçlı, spor yapanlar kullanıyor. Ben çocuğuma yüzme öğretmek istesem şu an ne Yenimahalle’de ne de yakın semtlerde hiçbir yerde yüzme havuzu yok. Yürüme mesafesini geçtim, yakın bir mesafe olsa da olur, hiç yok. Ancak ve ancak Bahçeli tarafına, Çankaya tarafına, Mamak tarafına gidersem ben çocuğumu kursa götürebiliyorum. Ne bir paten ne bir yüzme ne bir basketbol ne bir voleybol hiçbir spor faaliyeti yok burada. Mesela benim 13 yaşında da kızım var, 13 yaşındaki kızımı ben spora göndermek istiyorum, yok. Ancak arabayla ulaşım sağlayabileceğim yerlere kayıt yaptırabilirim.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Her gün çarşıya merkeze iniyorum. Mahalledeki bakkalda artık kapatmak üzere çünkü satış yok, neden, çünkü süpermarketler açıldıktan sonra bakkalların işi bitti. Alışverişimde genelde büyük grosmarketlere gitmeyi tercih ediyorum. Yoksa, merkezdeki Migros’a gidiyorum. Pazarı kullanıyorum, neden, çünkü pazarlar marketler arasında pek bir fark yok artık. Fiyat olarak fark etmediği için, istediğim gibi seçerek alma tercihim olduğu için market.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Mesela kadınlar lokali olabilir. El emekleri yapılan, eğitim verilen, insanların istediği bir resimdir ne bileyim ebrudur, illa ki oturup örgü örmek gerekmiyor, bir yer. Veya, bir kütüphane, çok güzel bir kütüphanesi olabilir Yenimahalle'nin... Çok köklü bir semt ama burada bir kütüphanemiz yok.

Mahallede ailem yakın olduğu için ailemle görüşüyorum. Komşu görüşmem yok çünkü burada komşu pek yok. Bitti Yenimahalle'de komşuluk, çok nadir.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Geçmişte ben karşıdaki komşum hastalandığında dört gün gidip evinde yemeğini yapıyordum veya ben rahatsızlandığım zaman komşumuz dört gün benim yemeğimi getiriyordu. Yani benim çocuğumun geliş saatini biliyordu, çıkış saatini biliyordu. Şu an benim evde kaç kişi yaşadığını karşı komşu bilmez. Ben onunkini bilmem o benimkini bilmez.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Değişiyor, neden değişiyor, şimdi mahalle aralarına bu rehabilitasyon merkezleri yapıldı. Mesela bizim tam karşımızda o var. Araba konusu çok sıkıntı, araba parkı sıkıntısı var Yenimahalle'de. Servisleri, gelen çocuklar... Akşam altı yediden sonra anca sakinliyor burası, akşam altı yediden önce gürültü hiç eksik olmuyor. Sabah da öyle.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Değişiyor, hafta içi sabah ve akşam geliş gidişler çok yoğun oluyor. Hafta sonu sakin oluyor en azından.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor/gitti/gidecek? Hayırsa, Neden?

Evet, Yenimahalle'de gittiler.

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Şu an çocukla, torunumla mahalle sokaklarında kesinlikle vakit geçiremiyoruz. Ben çocuğün elini bıraktığım an zaten ana cadde gibi. Parklara gitmek zorunda kalıyoruz. Benim çocuklarım geçiriyorlardı, bisiklet sürüyorlardı, inanılmaz güzel eğleniyorlardı. Futbol oynuyorlardı. Arkalı önlü bahçeydi, akşam yediden sonra bahçeye mesela karşıdaki çağırıyordu çay koyuyorum diyordu, ben bir çeşit yapıyordum yan da Gülseren Teyze bir çeşit yapıyordu orda ki bir çeşit yapıyordu, bir araya geliniyordu akşam sohbetler oluyordu. Gece 1'de dondurma yemeye gidiyorduk Vardar'a. Ama şimdi gece 1'de kesinlikle tek başına bir kız çocuğu çıkamaz.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; markete (Migros, Çelikler) gidiyorum, parka gidiyorum (Dereboyu sokak Kaynak sokak kesişimi üçgen park, Barbaros Çocuk Parkı)

Haftalık; Antares'in ordaki Yürüyüş Yolu, Ziraat Bankası Yapı Kredi Bankası'na haftada iki üç uğruyorum.

Yıllık; pek yok.

10- T.B. ile Söyleşi, Kadın, Emekli Memur, 57 yaşında, 17 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

30 yıl Yenimahalle'de yaşadım. Çocukluğum burada geçti, evet. Şu an Batıkent'te yaşıyorum ama anneler burada hala gelip gidiyorum. Evlendiğim için, eşimin evi Batıkent'te olduğu için oraya taşındık.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Şu an Batıkent'te yaşıyorum ama anneler burada hala gelip gidiyorum. Kendi tercihim değildi. Evlendiğim için, eşimin evi Batıkent'te olduğu için oraya taşındık.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamamanın en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Yenimahalle mahalle kültürü olan bir yerdi. Güvenilir bir yerdi. Ben ergenliğimi de burada geçirdim, biz çok özgür çocuklar olarak yetiştik., hiçbir şeyden korkumuz yoktu, herkes birbirine sahip çıkardı. Burada öyleydik biz, belki de bildiğimiz yerler, tanıdığımız mekanlar, evler, konutlar yollar olduğu içindi, bilemiyorum. Kız çocuğu olarak da tamam annem peşimizde hep takipçiydi, ama ben 9'da eve rahatlıkla kendim gelebilirdim 5. Duraktan mesela. O zaman Yenimahalle genelde iki katlı, her taraf bahçeli, herkes bahçesinde olurdu. Şu an tamamen değişti genel yapısı, insanları. Dışarıdan çok gelen oldu ve buradaki kültüre uymayıp kendi taşıdıkları kültürle yaşadılar insanlar, dolayısıyla o bağ kurulamadı (eski Yenimahalle kültür ortamı ile apartmanlaştıktan sonra artan nüfusla oluşan yeni kültür arası bağın kurulması). Ama bu ülkenin genel bir sorunu yani siz de mesela çok değişim yaşamışsındır, ama biz ailen mi bilmiyorum, direndik, değişime çok kaptırmadık kendimizi, öğrendiğimiz öğretilerimiz ne ise her açıdan, dini, kültürel, biz hepsine sahip çıktık. Benim inancım dedemden öğrendiğim inanç hala ve sahip çıkıyorum, değiştirilmesine de izin vermiyorum. Bence bunlar çok önemli genel yapıyı değiştiren şeyler bunlar. Kültürün bozulmamasını sağlıyor değerlere sahip çıkılması, çok önemli.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

30 yıl önce de gittiğim yerlerin hala var oluyor olması çok hoşuma gidiyor. Hala var oluyor olan, gerçekten. Mesela Vardar Dondurmacı'sı, hala oradan külahta dondurma alıyor olmak beni çok mutlu ediyor. Çocuklarımı da öyle. Hala aynı mekanların var oluyor oluşu, aynı insanların satışta oluyor oluşu filan. El değiştirmemiş çok az kaldı ama gerçekten gidince de söylüyorum; kapatmayın burayı siz biçim için geçmişle geleceğe bağsınız diyorum. Oğlum şu an Batıkent'te bloklarda oturuyor, işten eve evden işe...

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Yenimahalle o açıdan şanslı değişmedi fazla sokaklarımız aynı. Yeni gelen komşularımız da iyi, sevdiler bizi. Eskiden Yenimahalle iki katlı, her taraf çiçek, gül o kadar güzeldi ki... Bahçeler böyle leylak kokardı. Şimdi hep apartman oldu böyle.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Bana nostalji olduğu için çok mutlu oluyorum o çarşıda dolaşmak, hala bireysel dükkanlar var, büyük devasa marketlerin olmayışı, hala işte fırının kasabın, ne bileyim pastanenin oluşu bana hoş geliyor. Hala Çınar Ekmek Fırın'ına gidiyoruz, inanır mısınız? O değişmemiş yapıyı gördüğüm zaman hoşuma gidiyor. O yeni ışıltılı, çok pahalıya dekore edilmiş dükkanlar bana hiç güzel gelmiyor. Benim bireysel fikrim tabi.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Yenimahalleli olmak güzel bir gurur. Hatta ben Mustafa Kemal Lisesi'nden mezunum. Mustafa Kemal Lisesi'nden mezun olmak çok hoş bir şey. Bir kimlik göstergesi gibi bir şey. Bugünden baktığımız için, eskiden kıymetini çok bilmiyorduk, hala o mahallende var olmak, geçmişten kıyımlar bulmak güzel bir şey. Dış kabuğunu çok da kaybetmedi Yenimahalle.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Geçen sene satmayı düşündük aslında buradan, sağlık koşulları yüzünden yapmak zorundayız aslında. Ama işte babam başka bir ortamda yaşayamaz, annem de yapamaz aslında. Çünkü bana bir saat şu gülünün kaç tane açtığını anlatıyor. Yani, onların hayat bağı bu bahçe, işte şu çiçeğine kışın nasıl baktığını, nasıl koruduğunu anlatıyor bana. Yani buraya farklı bir şeyleri var, onlara ait burası. Annem geçen yıl taşınacaklar belki diye tüm çiçeklerini saksıya dikmiş, yanımda götürürüm diye. İnsan çiçeğine bile dayanamıyor. Ama yapının sağlığı açısından bir şeyler yapmamız lazım. Isınmıyor, nem çok fazla içeride. Babam gurur meselesi yapıyor yapıda çok değişikliğe izin vermiyor. Şöyle bir durumu var şu an evin babam burayı aldığımda dükkanmış tapusu, babam aldığımda 68'de sanırım dilekçe vermiş ben burayı meşke olarak kullanacağım diye. Dilekçe işleme girmiş, paftanın birinde düzeltilmiş asıl ana pafta, 1/5000 mi oluyor, siz daha iyi bilirsiniz, ona işlenmemiş. Babam da takip etmemiş, aslında bilinçsiz birisi değil, öğretmendir. Ama ne bilsin, vergisini de veriyor, elektriği var suyu var. 20 yıl mahkememiz sürdü.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Trafik... Araba araba araba... Cadde gibi yaptılar sokağı. Bir de güvensiz hissediyoruz, kim geçiyor, kim geliyor. Annemler kapıyı açıp otururdu şimdi kapıyı açıp oturamıyor, tedirgin oluyor. Güven problemi var, trafik var. Ama bunlar zincir işte ülkenin genel durumu. Mesela ayda bir hırsız giriyor, aslında böyle bir evde ne bulacağını zanneder ki hırsız. Bodrum arkadan girişli, bodruma giriyor, eve giremiyor, kilidi kesiyor. Burası artık eskisi gibi sessiz değil, çok hareket var, sestten çok da anlayamıyoruz, algılayamıyoruz bodrumdaki hırsızları.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Evin değişmesini isterdik, şöyle iki katlı olsun, daha iyi koşullarda olsun.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Sabah kalkıyoruz, ekmek gazete alıyoruz Yıldız Bakkal'dan. Kahvaltı yapıyoruz.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Abim geliyor annemle babamı alıp aylık alışverişe büyük markete gidiyorlar. Günlük bakkal ve Akyurt'a gidiyoruz. Bazen Antares'e gidiyoruz, Migros'a.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakıt geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Yürüyüş parkına gidiyoruz şurada(Etlik Antares'in karşısındaki yürüyüş yolu) ve 5. Durağa gidiyoruz, çarşılara, sağlık ocağının olduğu yer, akın caddesi... Genellikle oralar endeksli yaşıyoruz, annemler de öyle, ilacını filan da yazdırıyorlar.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Komşuluk ilişkilerimiz devam ediyor. Annemin özellikle süper, babamın o kadar değildir. İnsan ilişkilerimiz iyi, gerçek komşuluk vardır. Çağırıyoruz onları, bizim bahçede sofra kuruyoruz.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Akşam üstü arabalardan dolayı çok kalabalık ve gürültülü oluyor, sonra da sakinliyor, insanlar işten döndükten sonra.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Yok emekli olduğumuz için pek değişmiyor.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor? Hayırsa, Neden?

Ben Yenimahalle'de okudum, babam bizi burada bir okula yazdırdı ama benim çocuğum girmedii.

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Geçmişte arkadaşlık ilişkilerimiz çok iyiydi, okuldan sonra ya birimizde toplanırdık ya da toplanıp oyun oynardık. Oyun derken şey oyunlar, o zaman telefon yoktu, top oynardık, voleybol oynardık bu sokakta çok araba geçmezdi. Bahçede oynardık, Şu bloklarda oturan arkadaşlarımın blokları vardı, orada oynardık. 5. Durağa giderdik çok, dondurma yemeye giderdik Vardar'a, bizim için en güzel faaliyetti o. Dolaşır gelirdik, şu Banka Evleri caddesi var, orada aşağı kadar yürür geri gelirdik, bizim için faaliyetti o, kızlar güle oynaya kol kola yürüyüp geri dönerdik.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; Bakkal (Yıldız Bakkal) gazete ve ekmek için.

Haftalık; Semt Pazarına alışverişe gidiyoruz,

Aylık; büyük markete, o da tercihimizden değil de taşıyamıyoruz artık aylık alışverişini arabayla gidiyoruz. Babam aylık ya da 15 günde bir bankaya gidiyor maaşı için.

11- Z.G. ile Söyleşi, Erkek, Ticaretle İlgileniyor, 53 yaşında, 17 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

25 yıldır. Çocukluğumun yarısı köyde yarısı Çankaya, Ayrancı o tarafta geçti. Yenimahalle'ye 22-23 yaşında geldim, askerliğimi yaptıktan sonra.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

Yenimahalle eskiden güzel semtti. Kültürlü, memurların yaşadığı semtti. Demetevler'de ben nakliye işi yapardım, Demetevler'de ben oturmak istemedim. Çocuklarımı burada büyütmek istedim. Aslında be köye geri gitmek isterim, çocuklarımı büyüttüm geri köye gitmek isterim.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamamanın en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlatırsınız?

Eskiden güzeldi de şu anda pek güzel değil. O zamanlar sakindi, herkesin birbirine saygısı vardı, herkes birbirini tanırdı. Çocuklarına sahip çıkardı herkes birbirinin. İki katlıydı, şimdi bina yapılmış 5 katlı, kalabalık.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Güzeldi, eskiden Yenimahalleli deyince, ooo Yenimahalle mi derlerdi, güzeldi, iyi bir şeydi.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Dediğim gibi köye gitmek istiyorum, çocuklarımı büyüttüm geri köye gitmek istiyorum. Başka bir semte gitmek istemiyorum. Başka bir semtte yaşayamam zaten, bu ortamı bulamam.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Komşuluk diyebilirim, başka yok.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Olsa eskiden olduğu gibi herkesin ev bahçesi olsa daha iyi ama olmaz.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Geziyorum, işi bıraktım iki senedir geziyorum, çocuklarım bakıyor bana diyebilirim. Hep Yenimahalle'de geziyorum, her sokağına gidiyorum diyebilirim. Ar sokaklarda esnaf bakkal arkadaşlarım var, emlakçı arkadaşlarım var, Suadiye'de yine bakkla var esnaflar var onları geziyorum.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Pazar, bakkala ekmeğe sigaraya geliyoruz, akşam marketlere iniyoruz. Avm'lere hiç gitmem, sevmem hiç. Antares'e iki kere gitmişimdir, yanımızda ama gitmem.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Yukarıda Yunus emre Parkı var ona gidiyoruz. Aşağı Ragıp Tüzün Parkına inmem. Oraları gezerim ama parkın içine girmem. Genelde aile ve esnaflarla birlikte oluyoruz.

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Yok, kimse kimseyi tanımıyor. Saygı da yok. Apartmandakileri tanıyoruz ama kiracılar geliyor gidiyor, komşuluk ilişkileri yok, insanlar değişiyor sürekli.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Yok, normal. Pek bir fark göremiyorum.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Aynı hemen hemen, hafta sonu olursa köyüme gidiyorum.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor/gitti/gidecek? Hayırsa, Neden?

Evet, Fatih Okulu'nda gitti. Burada oturuyorduk yakındı o zaman oraya verdik okula.

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz/muydunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Çocukla geçirirdik. Parklara giderdik.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; esnafı geziyorum.

Haftalık; Pazara giderim. Cuma namazına camiye giderim.

12- T.T. ile Söyleşi, Kadın, Mimar, 31 yaşında, 27 Mayıs 2019

Kaç yıldır Yenimahalle'de yaşıyorsunuz? Çocukluğunuz Yenimahalle'de mi geçti?

2 yıldır. Hayır, çocukluğum Yenimahalle'de geçmedi.

Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamayı tercih ettiniz? Neden Yenimahalle'de yaşamaya devam etmeyi tercih ettiniz?

İş yerime yakın olduğu için, yakındı daha doğrusu o zamanlar. Bir de çok merkezi yani Kızılay'a yakın, diğer semtlere yakın. Ulaşımı rahat. Bu yüzden. Taşınmamak konusunda da özel bir bağ hissetmiyorum ama mahalleden memnun olduğum için ve hala o rahat ulaşımı filan olduğu için devam ediyoruz oturmaya, sadece benim açımdan değil eşim açısından da önemli olduğu için.

Yenimahalle'de yaşamamanın en olumlu/güzel tarafları neler? Mahalle yaşamına ilişkin neler anlattırsınız?

Tam mahalle havası var. O bilindik mahalle havası, herkes birbirini tanıyor. Her şey yakın. Binaları çok fazla yüksek değil, balkondan ya da camdan baktığım zaman göğü görebiliyorum. Bu artık bir lüks Türkiye'de o yüzden. Öyle yani.

Mahalle mekanlarında en çok ne hoşunuza gidiyor? (Ağaçlar, Bahçeler, Konutların Mimarisi, Sokaklar vs.)

Şey ya herhalde...Binaların bahçeli olması güzel, bahçeler hoşuma gidiyor.

Mahallenin sokaklarını nasıl tanımlarsınız? Mahallenin sokakları sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Ortak kullanıma açık alan olarak herkesin bu alanlarda ortak kullanım hakkına sahip olduğu alanlar olarak tanımlarım.

Mahallenin merkezini/çarşısını nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Small-scaled (küçük ölçekli) olarak tanımlarım, mahalle çarşısı olarak tanımlarım. Ama temel şeylerin bulunduğu bir çarşı.

Yenimahalleli olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor?

Bence var evet. Yani herhalde birbirini çok uzun süredir tanımayı ifade ediyor. Gözlemediğim kadarıyla belirli bir görüşe de sahip insanlar ağırlıkta yaşıyor. Öyle hissettim.

Yenimahalle'den taşınmayı düşünür müsünüz? Başka yerde yaşamayı ister misiniz? Evet veya Hayırsa, Neden?

Yok şimdilik öyle bir şey düşünmem. Ankara özelinde şurada yaşamak istiyorum dediğim bir yer yok. Yenimahalle'den gayet memnunum daha iyi bir yer bulana kadar.

Geçmiş ile bugün arasında mahallede gördüğünüz farklar nelerdir? Hangi olanakları geçmişe göre daha iyi ya da kötü buluyorsunuz? (Sosyal Hayat ve Mimari Mekan Açısından)

Benim çok yok aslında ama çok dinledim. Sen Sefer Amca ile bir konuşsaydın. Buradaki binaların eskiden çok farklı bir yapıya sahip olduğunu... Balkon konusunu konuşmuştuk. Bizim apartman cephede tek balkonu olmayan bina neredeyse o sokakta, Sefer Amca'da şey demişti: Ya işte herkesin balkonu var dip dibe, herkes birbirini görecek filan, ben de onu istemedim.

Ondan bizim evin mutfağı filan aşırı büyüktür, Fransız balkonu var.

Mahallede değişmesini istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Evet... Park... Araba parkı. Herkesin garajı var ama yetmiyor, arabalar kaldırımlara park ediyor. Kaldırım sokak ilişkisi düzeltilebilir.

Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?

Sabahın köründe kalkıyorum... Sabah kalkıyorum Ali'yi hazırlıyorum. 8'i 10 geç filan çıkıyorum evden. Okula (İş) giden yolu tutuyorum, servisle Esenboğa'ya geliyorum. Bütün günüm orada geçiyor zaten. Akşam yürüyüşe çıkıyoruz bazen, Antares'in karşısındaki yürüyüş parkına ya da özel bir programımız varsa Kızılay'a filan gidiyoruz.

Alış-verişinizi nerede ve nasıl yapıyorsunuz? Mahalle çarşısını ve pazarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Evet, gıda alışverişi için mahalle çarşısını kullanıyoruz. Marketleri... Bakkalı eskiden kullanırdık ama uyuz olduk bakkala, artık kullanmıyoruz. Diğer tarafta arka sokakta fırın var, karşısında bakkal var, çok ihtiyacımız olduğu zaman gidiyoruz hani yakın diyerek ama genelde Ragıp Tüzün'e iniyoruz gıda için ya da okulun karşısındaki pazara gidiyoruz gıda için.

Mahallede vakit geçirdiğiniz mekanlar var mı? Vakit geçirmek için mahallede herhangi bir mekana ihtiyaç duyuyor musunuz? Mahallede kimlerle daha çok bir arada oluyorsunuz?

Mahalle çok biriyle muhatap olmuyoruz aslında. En fazla muhatap olduğumuz mahalleden yine bizim sahipleri, arada git gel yapıyoruz, o da binanın içinde oluyor zaten. Ama daha çok parka gidiyoruz Ali'yle. En çok kullandığımız alan o herhalde bu aralar. Parkta herkes muhabbet eder çocuklar sallanırken filan. Kimse kimseyi tanımasa bile muhabbet eder, işte senin çocuğun şuraya gidiyor benim çocuğum buraya, şu doktor iyiydi bilmem ne, işte şurada indirim varmış... Yani herkes haberi parkta alıyor herhalde öyle bir durum var.

İhtiyaç duyduğum alan daha çok, ya dediğim gibi sokak şeyini çok sevmiyorum... Sokak kaldırım biraz daha düzgün olsa, doğru dürüst yürüyüş yapabileceğimiz yerler olsa daha yakında, daha yakında mesela Antares'ten daha yakında... Yürüyüş yolundan bağlanıp mahalle içine filan girse...

İnsan ilişkileri mahallede nasıl? Komşuluk ilişkileri mevcut mu? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz apartmanınızdan dışarı taşıyor Mu? Geçmişe kıyasla komşuluk ilişkilerinde fark var mı?

Evet var. Apartmandan dışarı taşıyor, karşıdan karşıya muhabbet edenler oluyor. Komşuluk var.

Gün içi ve akşam mahallede yaşam değişiyor mu? Evetse, ne tür farklar bulunmakta açıklayınız.

Yok, aslında çok değişmiyor. Çok şey aslında bizim sokak... Liveable... Akşamda çok hareketli, çocuklar geç saate kadar oynayabiliyor sokakta. İşte şeye bakarım ben genelde, yanan ışıklara, kimler balkona çıkmış filan, ben çıkamıyorum ya, sağıma soluma bakıyorum. Baya geç saate kadar balkonda oturanlar oluyor. Aktif bir sokak yani.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu mahalle kullanımınız değişiyor mu?

Tabi değişir. Hafta içi daha sakin oluyor. Çünkü memur kısım baya yoğun herhalde. Benim kullanımında hafta sonu daha yoğun tabi ki. Çünkü ancak o zaman evde olabiliyorum. Hafta için evde olmadığım için çok zaten kullanamıyorum.

Çocuğunuz okula Yenimahalle'de mi gidiyor/gitti/gidecek? Hayırsa, Neden?

O konuları hiç bilmiyorum. O kadar uzun vadede düşünmüyorum yani Yenimahalle'de de o kadar uzun vadede yaşar mıyım onu bilmiyorum. Ama yani yarın öbür gün kreş filan olduğu zaman mecbur bu taraflarda olur muhtemelen.

Çocuğunuzla mahallede vakit geçiriyor musunuz/muydunuz? Çocuğunuz mahallede vakit geçiriyor mu? Nerede? Nasıl? Siz çocukluğunuzda nerede oynardınız?

Yani hava güzel olduğu zaman hiç parka gitmesek bile sokağı dolaşıyoruz, kedileri kovalıyoruz mesela. Parka iniyoruz, alış-verişe çıkıyoruz.

Mahallede günlük, haftalık, yıllık kullandığınız mekanlar nelerdir? Haritaya işaretleyiniz.

Günlük; marketler, çocuk parkları, Barbaros ve Ragıp Tüzün Parkı.

Haftalık; muhtemelen yürüyüş yolu, AVM'ler olabilir, maalesef.

Aylık; aylık haftalık çok fark etmez herhalde, aynıdır aşağı yukarı.

Yıllık; Bankalar diyebiliriz, aylık gitmiyorum.

