APPROACHING A SQUATTER SETTLEMENT AS A "PLACE": A STUDY ON
MOLLAFENARİ AND İVAZPAŞA NEIGHBORHOODS IN BURSA


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# ABSTRACT

**APPROACHING A SQUATTER SETTLEMENT AS A "PLACE": A STUDY ON MOLLAFENARİ AND İVAZPAŞA NEIGHBORHOODS IN BURSA**

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Since the mid-19th century, squatter settlements have been seen as a crucial problem by governments because of the idea that the urbanization and modernization processes of have negatively affected cities. These areas have been perceived as a risk for the physical development of cities and the improvement of lifestyles of the society. Especially in the 21st century, urban transformation projects are introduced as the only solution to get rid of squatter settlements. However, it is observed that the cultural values, the collective memory, the community engagement, neighborliness relations, the traditional urban tissue and the architectural heritage are often ignored by the authorities who introduce such projects. In this thesis, it is argued that reassessment and regeneration process may be an alternative future path for such areas. To introduce values of these entities, Bursa Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods are chosen as the case study, which are situated on the edge of the historical city of Bursa and the Uludağ mountain. In this study, the aim is to discuss a squatter settlement as a living neighborhood and a place with its potentials and problems and to enhance its architectural and social value for the community. In this regard, the need for a thinking and a detailed evaluation process before any possible elimination by a transformation project is emphasized on the example of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods.

# ÖZ

## BİR GECEKONDU YERLEŞİMİNE "YER" OLARAK YAKLAŞMA: BURSA MOLLAFENARİ VE İVAZPAŞA MAHALLELERİ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Gecekondu yerleşimleri, 19. Yüzyılın ortalarından bu yana büyük şehirlerin kentleşme ve modernleşme süreçlerini olumsuz etkilediği düşüncesiyle hükümetler tarafından önemli bir sorun olarak görülmektedir. Küreselleşmenin etkisiyle, bu yerleşimler şehirlerin fiziksel gelişimine ve toplumun yaşam tarzının iyileştirilmesine karşı bir risk olarak algılanmaktadır. Özellikle 21. yüzyılda, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri, gecekondu yerleşimlerinden kurtulmanın tek çözümü olarak sunulmaktadır. Bu projelerin tasarım süreçleri sırasında kültürel değerlerin, kolektif belleğin, topluluk bağlarının, komşuluk ilişkilerinin, geleneksel kent dokusunun ve mimari mirasın otoriteler tarafından göz ardı edildiği görülmektedir. Bir yeniden değerlendirme ve yenileme süreci, bu tür alanlar için alternatif bir çözüm yolu olabilir. Bu değerlerin önemini anlatmak için, Bursa tarihi şehir merkezi ve Uludağ'ın arasına konumlanmış Mollafenari ve İvazpaşa mahalleleri çalışma alanı olarak seçilmiştir. Bu tez çalışmasında amaç, bir gecekondu yerleşimini zamanla yıkılması gereken bir oluşum olarak değil, potansiyellere ve sorunlara sahip bir mahalle ve yer olarak tartışıp, toplum için mimari ve sosyal değerini anlamaktır. Bu bağlamda, herhangi bir olası dönüşüm projesinden önce, ayrıntılı bir düşünme ve değerlendirme sürecine ihtiyaç

bulunduğu, Mollafenari ve İvazpaşa mahalleleri örneği üzerinden vurgulanmak istenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gecekondu Yerleşimi, Mahalle, Yer, Bursa, Mollafenari - İvazpaşa

To ones forced to protect their home

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

xiv

# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Problem Definition

Under the effect of globalism and neo-liberal housing policies followed by governments, housing settlements have been gone through a transformation process which includes especially a destruction. There are many political and economic reasons behind this process but the most important one is creating a global city image and competing with other cities. This situation creates a pressure on governments and local authorities to apply a transformation in certain areas of cities.

These settlements have been chosen according to several physical and social specialties. They are generally squatter settlements which have low structure quality, utility problems and land ownership problems between residents and municipalities. Moreover, these settlements may be also economically depressed areas. By implementing transformation projects, authorities aim to develop these settlements by drawing the attention of the entrepreneurs.

In Turkey, the formation of squatter settlements started to accelerate in 1950s. They increased after 1980s when the rate of migration from rural areas to city centers rose owing to a decline in agriculture, industry and rise of service-based economy policies. To solve this problem, the government tried to take measures with new laws such as Law no. 57 in 1982 Constitution: "The State takes measures to meet the housing needs within a planning framework that takes into account the characteristics of the cities and environmental conditions, and also supports mass housing initiatives."[1] In addition, Mass Housing Fund was produced by Mass Housing Law (Law no. 2985) to

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[1] Turkish Republic Constitution, 1982, Law No.57

support construction companies. With this fund, it was intended not to just only solve the housing problem of big cities but also to reinvigorate the economy of the country with the help of construction sector and its employment opportunities for citizens. This aim has continued up to the present.

The most important actor of this transformation trend in Turkey is Mass Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) which has been established in 1984 as Mass Housing and State Partnership Administration (TKKOİ). This institution gained importance especially after 2001 economic crisis. It has been used to raise the power of the construction industry and to minimize the adverse effects of the economic crisis. The government collected all authority about public housing in this institution with top-down laws and regulations such as rights and management of public land, establishing companies in housing sector, forming associations with private companies, doing housing applications in Turkey and foreign countries, implementing development plans in squatter settlements and expropriation of these lands.[2] Moreover, TOKİ also gained the authority of developing urban transformation projects in historical sites in 2005, specification of construction sites and sale of the public land in 2007 and lastly realizing transformation projects by the "disaster risk" reason in all country in 2012.[3]

Despite all given powers, projects realized by TOKİ cannot reach the main objective behind its establishment, which is providing social housing to the low-income groups. However, as it can be seen in numbers [Figure 1.1. and 1.2.], it is possible to deduce that the housing projects implemented by TOKİ serve mostly to middle-income class instead of low-income class and squatter owners. Moreover, according to the statistics, the intention of partnerships with private companies is mainly gaining profit from these projects. In the overall picture, a public institution established with the intention of solving the social housing problem turned into a half corporate structure which

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[2] Eşkinat, 2011, p. 163
[3] Erdi Lelandais, 2015, p. 3

works as a regular construction company produced mostly profit-based projects for middle- and high-income social groups.



*Figure 1.1.* Housing Production and Urban Transformation Performance of TOKİ (2016)

*Source: TOKİ, 2016*

| Proje Tipi | Toplam Ev Sağlama Yüzdesi | |
|---|---|---|
| Doğal Afet Grupları | % 0.10 | Toplam Sosyal Konutlar: % 6.51 |
| Düşük Gelir Grubu Konutları | % 0.59 | |
| Alt Gelir Grubu Konutları | % 0.08 | |
| Kentsel Dönüşüm Konutları | % 5.97 | |
| Kâr amaçlı Konutlar | % 75.25 | |
| Kamu Yönetimine yönelik Konutlar | % 18.24 | |

*Figure 1.2.* Ratios of TOKİ-Private Association Applications (2016)

*Source: TOKİ, 2016*

One of the main problems about urban transformation projects is the lack of effective communication with the old residents of the areas subject to transformation or renewal. Especially in squatter settlements, citizens complain about statements given by authorities that can be misunderstood and create a negative image about them and eventually strengthen the discrimination between different social groups. With these statements, the government's policy of housing has been based on the idea of getting rid of squatter settlements. For instance, Erdoğan Bayraktar who was a former president of TOKİ mentioned these settlements as a 'problem' and stigmatized the urban poor living in these areas as follows:

> Today, the gecekondu is one of the most important two or three problems that Turkey faces. It is well known that such things as terror, drugs, psychological negativity, health problems and oppositional views all come out of gecekondu zones and irregular areas. For this reason, a Turkey that wants to integrate with the world, that wants to join the European Union, must rid itself of illegal dwellings . . . Turkey cannot speak of development without solving the gecekondu problem.[4]

These kinds of statements also get attention of construction companies to valuable inner-city areas where the old squatter settlements are located. Such an understanding results in the replacement of these areas by high-standing residential projects that the old residents cannot afford, as a result, a mandatory commodification and gentrification process happen. İstanbul Sulukule Urban Transformation Project can be given as an example to this [Figure 1.3]. The lack of a transparent and participatory design process causes misunderstandings for both the old residents and landowners. Changes in the agreements and the design of the housing shaped mainly by profit concerns affect these people negatively. Solutions proposed by the local authorities such as relocating these groups to outside of the city center ruin the citizens' daily life, employment opportunities, the social peace, their collective memory, tangible and

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[4] Lovering & Türkmen, 2011, p. 82

4

intangible cultural heritages. As a result, the success of TOKİ projects does not go beyond a quantitative achievement.
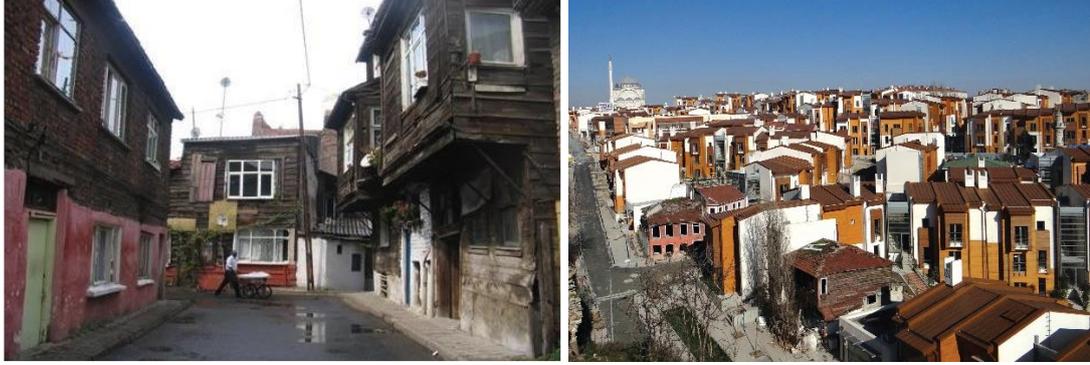


*Figure 1.3.* Old & New Sulukule

*Source: Left image: http://www.radikal.com.tr/fotogaleri/turkiye/yenileme-degil-yikim-yasasi-1204240-10/?page=2 Right image: http://mimarcasanat.com/resim/13-istanbul-bienalinden-kalan-notlar.html*

The housing stocks produced through such projects cannot reach a certain level of design quality in comparison with the local architectural style. Also, the historical urban tissue is lost in most of the transformation projects which aim to reach a high density for profit. Therefore, the place quality has been changed with such implementations of urban renewal and their effects on people, architecture and urban design.

Marc Augé and Edward Relph introduced the notions of *non-place* and *placelessness* respectively, for areas which cannot satisfy the place identity. Augé defines *non-place* as follows: "If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place."[5] Loss of place identity does not only involve the architectural aspects of a locality but affects also the citizens' daily life. Non-place increases individuality so the collective memory cannot be formed. Social and

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[5] Augé, 1995, p. 63

humanistic relations cannot be built in standardized built environments. However, neighborhoods are keystones in the urban daily life.

According to Augé, while communities who live in places can connect to each other face to face and form a collective memory, individuals who live in the space of supermodernity can be identified only during entering or leaving such as users and passengers. Gated communities with a high building and population density can be given as an example to this case due to the lack of neighborliness. In such settlements, the communication is formed with signs, texts and cards with the help of the technology. Residents who move to new dwellings after the implementation of urban transformation projects generally face with this problem. Therefore, it is worth to discuss this problem not only for architecture but also in terms of social sustainability.

In architectural point of view, cities are look like each other gradually. Business centers, malls and big housing complexes are seen almost same to people who live in different cities. To define this situation, Relph states that there are two type of experienced geographies, first of them is place, identified by variety and meaning, second is placeless geography, a labyrinth of limitless similarities.[6] He lists the important qualities of place as a meaningful experience, a sense of belonging, the human scale, fit with local physical and cultural contexts, and the local significance. On the contrary, placelessness has a main concern for efficiency, mass culture, and anonymous, exchangeable environments.[7] Roots of placelessness lie in commodification, devaluation and globalization which produces standardized landscapes and inauthenticity.[8] When the current transformation projects implemented by TOKİ and private construction companies are analyzed, it can be seen that the quality of place that existed in the squatter settlements are replaced by uniform structures resulting in the loss of the experienced neighborhood life.

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[6] Relph, 1996, p. 119
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 119
[8] Arefi, 1999, p. 183

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In conclusion, with the effect of globalization and late capitalism, the notion of place has been replaced by non-places such as airports, terminals, highways, malls, chain hotels and stores. But this change affects not only commercial spaces but also dwellings. All around the world, it is seen that monotype housing estates are unrelated with the genius loci of their local context. This problem can also be seen in TOKİ mass housing projects. These homogeneous, mass cultured housing areas affect people's social life with their placelessness. People begin to live a lonely, unsecured and unexperienced life. Therefore, it is important to discuss the place concept especially in squatter settlements and appreciate their physical and social values and potentials before their transformation is considered. Moreover, the consideration of urban regeneration methods instead of urban transformation for these historical squatter settlements can be an alternative way to improve the living conditions in these settlements with the residents' support and potentials of the site. Lastly, Jansson summarizes what happens if people lose their original life references as follows:

> *When images become more important than their referents, when the copy foregoes the original, the simulacrum rules the world. The society of the spectacle is thus a society in which people get alienated from their own existence, as well as from reality itself.*[9]

## 1.2. Aim of the Study

This study aims to emphasize the importance of analyzing squatter settlements as "places" and finding their potentials and problems instead of a total physical and social destruction. The aim includes to show what residents can lose after the transformation before it happens. It is crucial to see these areas not as inadequate spaces for living, because they are products of people's endeavor which does not only include tangible elements such as a house, a courtyard or a garden but also intangible values such as belonging, memories, neighborliness relations, individual and collective histories.

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[9] Jansson, 2001, p. 33

Therefore, this thesis aims to study these values from the perspective of the place theory.

Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods are selected as the case study area because there are residential settlements in their surroundings such as Demirkapı neighborhood where transformation projects are implemented. Therefore, the significance of these neighborhoods is wanted to be indicated due to their potential of being a project area.

## 1.3. Methodology and Structure of the Study

In the second chapter of the study, a theoretical framework about the place theory in neighborhoods is presented according to important keywords. These are the sense of place, identification, orientation, fit, adaptability, place attachment, belonging, and memory. These keywords are used to classify the neighborhood as a physical and social structure. This classification is made by taking Kevin Lynch's book *Good City Form*, Amos Rapoport's book *Human Aspects of Urban Form* and his articles about neighborhoods as references.

In the third chapter, firstly, the urbanization history of Bursa is reviewed with historical maps and aerial photographs to understand the background of the study area. Then, the history of the site is discovered in parallel to the historical information about the city. Lastly, the current situation of the settlement is represented.

In the two neighborhoods, conducting interviews with the residents could not be possible, mainly because of the introverted structure and the conservative attitude of the inhabitants and their concerns about a possible transformation or renewal process in the area. Therefore, a detailed observation method is used as the method for the analysis. Four visits were made to the study area in October 2017, December 2018, January 2019 and lastly April 2019. During these visits, while the daily life of inhabitants was observed, architectural specialties of the two neighborhoods were photographed detailly.

In the fourth chapter, a morphological and architectural analysis is applied to the case study area with the help of technical drawings taken from the Bursa Osmangazi Municipality and photographs. In the light of this analysis and Christopher Alexander's *A Pattern Language* book, potentials and problems of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods are determined. In addition, a basic design guideline is presented for the future of the squatter settlement to enhance its physical and social value.

# CHAPTER 2

## "NEIGHBORHOOD" AS A PLACE

"…you begin to realize that the important determinant of any culture is

after all – the spirit of place."[10]

Place concept has been one of the major constituents of architectural and urban theory discussions. It has a potential to being discussed at different scales ranging from a node to a whole city. Therefore, it gives to researchers a broad perspective of thought and numerous connections with other disciplines such as geography, environmental psychology, urban sociology and philosophy to improve their research.

Many people defined this concept from different views owing to the point of their professions. According to Christian Norberg-Schulz, place is "a totality made up of concrete things having material substance, shape, texture and color. Together these things determine an 'environmental character', which is the essence of place."[11] He underlines the importance and need of a place as follows: "it is meaningless to imagine any happening without reference to a locality. Place is evidently an integral part of existence."[12] For him, place is a qualitative phenomenon and it is impossible to lessen its characteristics without depriving it from its concrete nature that he mentioned.[13]

Norberg-Schulz relates 'the essence of place' with *genius loci* notion that he borrowed from the Roman mythology. According to this belief, every human being and place had their own spirit or genius which led them throughout lifetime and define their essence or character.[14] Since ancient times, human beings have attributed a character

[10] Durrell, 1969, p. 156
[11] Norberg-Schulz, 1996, p. 126
[12] Norberg-Schulz, 1979, p. 6
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 8
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 18

to their environment and associated it with a certain soul respectively. In this perspective, place has not been a concept which is analyzed only with its physicality and tangible characteristics. Norberg-Schulz describes the structure of the place phenomenon with 'landscape' and 'settlement' and examines it with categories of 'space' and 'character'. Therefore, his definition consists both of three-dimensional arrangement of parts of a place (tangible characteristics) and atmosphere which gives the spirit to a place (intangible characteristics).[15]

While Norberg-Schulz discusses the place concept in a broader context, John Montgomery examine the term from the perspective of urban scale. According to him, cities and their parts have a complex structure, so they have to be analyzed not only with their physical forms but also in terms of balance between coherent form and places which have movements and transactions.[16] Various people from the field studied the characteristics of urban places from different perspectives. While Cullen[17] underlines the physical features of place such as landmarks, nodes, vistas; Alexander[18] and Lynch[19] emphasize the importance of psychology of place, senses and mental maps. Therefore, they diversely confront with the theory from objective and subjective viewpoints. On the other hand, Jane Jacobs underlines the importance of activity in urban place with the help of mixture of primary use and building types, permeability and intensity of urban form.[20] Similarly, Peter Buchanan thinks that place-making is possible with the help of activities and events taking place in certain spaces.[21] In a different perspective, Canter decided to merge these perspectives into one diagram (Figure 2.1).[22] In this scope, place is seen as a multidimensional concept which consists of activities, physical attributes and conceptions.

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[15] Norberg-Schulz, 1979, p. 11
[16] Montgomery, 1998, p. 93
[17] Cullen, 1961
[18] Alexander, 1979
[19] Lynch, 1960
[20] Jacobs, 1961
[21] Buchanan, 1988, p. 33
[22] Canter, 1977
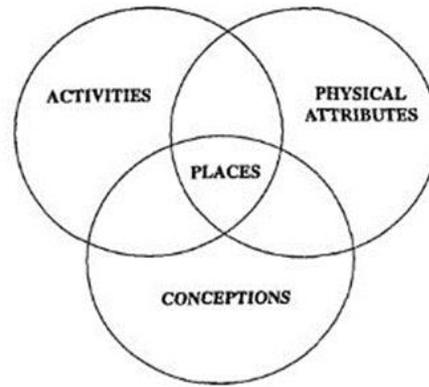
*Figure 2.1.* A Diagram for Nature of Places

*Source: Canter, 1977*

Montgomery sees cities and their parts as a "transaction base" which all these activities happen and includes physical and conceptual entities.[23] David Engericht briefly explain the idea that cities are invented "to facilitate exchange of information, friendship, material goods, culture, knowledge, insight, skills and also the exchange of emotional, psychological and spiritual support."[24] As a result of this thought, it is important to understand the meaning of place utterly, especially in urban scale. If the necessities of a successful urban place are not fulfilled, the produced space will be an artefact, the ersatz city that, "even though it may appear exotic and picturesque, is superficial and has an effect only on the first-time visitors"[25], in other words, the only thing that is produced will be a *non-place*.

After explaining briefly the definition of the place and its importance in the urban context, the neighborhood concept, the fundamentals of place theory in neighborhood scale, theoretical approaches to it in the literature in terms of its physical and social structure and lastly properties of Turkish neighborhoods named as "mahalle" will be examined in the following part.

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[23] Montgomery, 1995
[24] Engericht, 1992
[25] Benjamin, 1990 cited in Montgomery, 1998, p. 95

13

## 2.1. A Socio-Spatial Approach: "Neighborhood"

Unlike the general view that neighborhoods just constitute the smallest category of the administrative organization of the state, it's meaning and importance in citizens' life are beyond that. Due to the duality of geography and social relations in the nature of the neighborhood, social theorists have not been able to discern one inclusive definition for this concept.[26] Lock tries to deal with this duality by using his neighborhood definition: "… an area in which people can reach within easy walking distance (ten or fifteen minutes) those institutions which serve the local community and so foster a neighborly social life."[27] Furthermore, Glass proposes two separate definitions owing to this dilemma by looking from both sides:

> *(a) an area delimited by virtue of the special physical characteristics of the area and the specific social characteristics of its inhabitants, and*
>
> *(b) a territorial group, the members of which meet on a common ground within their own area for primary social contacts.*[28]

Even these three distinct definitions cannot be enough to explain the complex structure of neighborhoods.

The root of the neighborhood concept is based on the need of a habitat, in other words, the need of a secured space to live. Rapoport sees the habitat selection as an effect of the environment on people.[29] According to him, people select their settlements due to their positive environmental qualities and because of the lack of these properties, they reject other areas.[30] He also claims that the environment works as a non-verbal communication medium that gives clues during habitat selection process.[31] Communities change their settlements in the light of their cultural knowledge and background, and reflect these on the urban form. Rapoport highlights the value of the

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[26] Lee, 1968, p. 241
[27] Lock, 1948
[28] Glass, 1948, p. 17
[29] Rapoport, 1980a
[30] Rapoport, 1995
[31] Rapoport, 1980b, p. 68

vernacular and indistinctive environments owing to their potentials to study as "an incredible resource, a laboratory, a repertoire and lexicon of solutions to recurring problems".[32] Moreover, they have a specialty that is being not designed nor planned[33], in other words, they are resulted from unintended urban experiments. Therefore, it is possible to use these valuable examples as clues for solutions of present problems and as suggestions for formation of new settlements.



*Figure 2.2.* Guidance to Achieve an Urban Sense of Place

*Source: Montgomery, 1998, p. 98*

Analysis of present neighborhoods as a part of the city and urban life indicates that a variety of qualities are needed to achieve a successful urban sense of place. John Montgomery combines these elements into one diagram (Figure 2.2.) by using Canter's place analogy (see Figure 2.1.) as a base. It can be used as a checklist during an examination of an urban place to see whether it has a sense of place or not. It consists of not only physical form and activity but also the issues of cognition, perception and information under the title of image.

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[32] Rapoport, 2002, p. 146
[33] Rapoport, 1992, p. 38

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Neighborhoods can be considered as *lived spaces*, in spatial terms as *representational space*, according to Lefebvre's triad of space that he explained in his book, namely *The Production of Space*.[34] He discussed the perceived, the conceived and the lived spaces under the space triad. The space including the everyday life is experienced by the inhabitants or users is named as the lived or representational space.[35] This everyday life includes a social life, culture, non-verbal communication, symbols, images and memories that the inhabitants of a neighborhood have.

Montgomery adds another perspective that "rather than visual order and certainty, places which work well also allow for a degree of uncertainty, disorder and chaos".[36] This gives freedom to a community for taking action and decision for themselves to achieve a socially sustainable community and a self-designed place. As Rapoport mentions, there is not one kind of neighborhood and there is a need of a range of them such as local, extensive, homogeneous and heterogeneous.[37] Disorder and uncertainty give people this diversity and advocate the social side of the neighborhood concept.

In urban design processes, neighborhoods deserve more consideration owing to their controllable scale and direct communication potential with residents. Their significance increases, as cities are developing into more heterogeneous and multicultural schemas due to migration and various lifestyles.[38] According to this idea, neighborhoods are "the figure against the blurred ground of larger urban systems" and "a secure base" for analysis and studies as Rapoport points out.[39] In addition, they present other opportunities such as "bottom-up shared decision making, better management, maintenance, control and safety, and the possibility of developing local environmental systems as new technologies".[40]

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[34] Lefebvre, 1991
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 39
[36] Montgomery, 1998, p. 103
[37] Rapoport, 1997
[38] Rapoport, 2000
[39] Rapoport, 2002, p. 148
[40] *Ibid.*

Rapoport claims, "neighborhood is not just a physical unit, but a socio-spatial schema".[41] Also, he argues that "people experientially do not live in Megalopolis or Metropolis, or even in cities – they live in neighborhoods".[42] After all, these settlements are supportive to the urban system with the potential of non-verbal communication, common rules of community and the arrangement of time and space, so their significance cannot be underestimated.

## 2.2. Neighborhood as a Physical Structure

As a multidimensional concept, one of the components of neighborhoods is form, in other words, the physical structure that includes aspects such as scale, intensity, permeability, landmark etc. (see Figure 2.2.) Montgomery claims that if these physical elements are associated with each other and the psychology of place successfully, then it is possible to reach the urban quality.[43]

The analysis of the usage of a physical settlement by the community is as important as the quality of the design of the place. Rapoport explains this relation with the codes: "If the design of the environment is seen as a process of encoding information, then the users can be seen as decoding it. If the code is not shared, not understood or inappropriate, the environment does not communicate."[44] In other words, if the residents cannot read the settlement, the aesthetic quality of the urban and architectural design does not matter. Therefore, "the quality of a place is due to the joint effect of the place and the society which occupies it".[45]

Furthermore, physical appearances of the neighborhood have significant effects on the residents' behaviors and feelings. Appropriate design and planning can improve them and the image of the residential area in the community's and other citizens' eyes. Also, new physical additions should consider the existing development in the area and its

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[41] Rapoport, 2002, p. 148
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] Montgomery, 1998, p. 95
[44] Rapoport, 1977, p. 3
[45] Lynch, 1981, p. 111

sense of place. It should be developed with consideration of the integration between old and new structures.[46] Therefore, the possible effects of the physical structure of the neighborhood should not be underestimated.

In this part of the chapter, the main aspects that define the physical structure of a neighborhood are examined. These are sense of place, identification and orientation, fit and adaptability.

### 2.2.1. Sensing the Neighborhood

Kevin Lynch defines the sense of a settlement as a clarity that can be identified and perceived in a mental representation of time and space. This should be integrated with nonspatial theories and values. The sense of place is the intersection between the physical form of the settlement, and the human perception and cognition.[47]

The important figure who constructs the sense of place in neighborhoods is the individual living in the area. According to Jiven and Larkham, individuals and the community combine the components of terrain, nature, mental symbols and the built form by using their value systems and culture to sense the neighborhood.[48] In addition, Billig has similar ideas on this issue. She states that, in residential settlements, residents establish the sense of place at the inter-subjective level by integrating between their and other residents' behavior. This sense is impacted by perceptions of the area's physical features, residents' feelings and behaviors, and their interactions.[49]

Sense is a subjective concept that depends on culture, experience, position and aim of the users in addition to the spatial form of the neighborhood. Therefore, it alters for different residents except some constancy due to the similar biological roots of human perception and cognition, and same cultural norms owing to belonging to a community.[50] These similarities generate a strong familiarity that helps to construct

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[46] Billig, 2005, p. 127
[47] Lynch, 1981, p. 131
[48] Jiven & Larkham, 2003
[49] Billig, 2005, p. 118
[50] Lynch, 1981, p. 131

the sense of place. Not only cultural norms but also the physical form can help the sense creation such as a childhood house or an environment. The sentimental result is getting strong if the familiarity and form establish jointly.[51] If the resident feels the sense of place deeply, he/she can feel himself/herself as a citizen of a successful neighborhood.

To conclude, if a neighborhood can be perceived by its residents in harmony with their values, memories, feelings and culture, the sense of place can be felt. A good place is open to all senses and it enhances the satisfaction of residents. Eventually, the place identity and the personal identity are connected to each other.[52]

### 2.2.2. Identification and Orientation

According to Norberg-Schulz, people are exposed to the environmental character when they dwell. Therefore, they want to orientate and define themselves via the place itself.[53] Thus, orientation and identification become crucial psychological concepts which can be supported by using the urban form in housing settlements. Kevin Lynch proposes various terms such as node, path, landmark, edge and districts (Figure 2.3.) to constitute an environmental image about the certain environment in users' minds, so it makes residents feel more secured and not lost.[54]
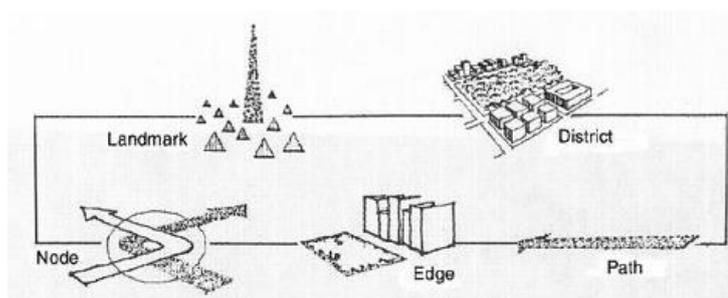


*Figure 2.3.* The Elements of an Urban Place by Kevin Lynch

*Source: Lynch, 1960*

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[51] Lynch, 1981, p. 132
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] Norberg-Schulz, 1979, p. 19
[54] Lynch, 1960

Another point is that since cities are becoming bigger, people cannot use or know whole urban regions. Therefore, the neighborhood has become an intermediary form between the housing unit and the city, which the identification rate is higher than other larger regions. It works as a figure against the base of the city. For that reason, Rapoport claims that the neighborhood is "a cognitive construct".[55] Moreover, the neighborhood as a more identifiable concept, can prevent alienation of the residents to the place which is an important problem of the urban transformation era that we are living in. It again prevents sense of being unsecured and lost in the residential settlement.

As an alternative solution, Rapoport proposes homogeneity in neighborhoods to increase identification and orientation. According to his ideas, homogeneous neighborhoods help personalization process as a comprehensible character not an arbitrary one in terms of design quality. This method contributes to the complexity in a neighborhood instead of chaos by creating this character in the area. Establishment of areas having various and coherent characters encourages communities and individuals belonging them to construct a social identity with the help of the physical structure of neighborhoods.[56] Lynch names this relation with *congruence* term which is the combination of environmental and non-spatial structure.[57] Moreover, homogeneity helps to achieve more adequate non-verbal communication in the community. It makes understanding of the physical clues in the neighborhood, behavior, clothing and body language of users more comprehensible. Therefore, the relation between places, situations and contexts can be related to rules by residents easily.[58]

In historical neighborhoods, local structures encourage to identify the place and to figure out how parts of the neighborhood fit to each other.[59] These settlements have

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[55] Rapoport, 1980b, p. 71
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 73
[57] Lynch, 1981, p. 138
[58] Rapoport, 1980b, p. 72
[59] Lynch, 1981, p. 134

already suitable settings such as current building forms, street layouts, a community, social and economic infrastructure for identification and orientation. Hence, additional physical structures should be designed accordingly by considering current aspects of identity and orientation.

## 2.2.3. Fit and Adaptability

In neighborhoods, the fit refers to the success of how spatial and physical arrangements are compatible with daily routines or behavior of their residents. It can be defined as the match between the everyday life and the physical formation in the setting of human behavior. Owing to its relationship with the daily life, it is closely reliant on the culture, norms, traditions and values.[60] Therefore, the detailed definition of the fit can change according to different communities or inhabitants.

During the design and implementation processes, achievement to the totally right form is not possible because the fit depends on activity and culture. A solution can be proposed to achieve a balance between different actions and norms, which is compartmentalization. This method works with divisions of areas, so they can be given different functions for various activities and behaviors. Also, possible conflicts between functions and residents can be prevented.[61] Lynch thinks that these divisions should not be separated completely. In this way, residents can establish mutual communication and they can learn from each other. These intersections create many threshold places such as stairs in front of the houses. They lead to an opportunity for individuals in using other functions and to socialize with others.[62] These places support not only physical structure but also the community engagement.

The fit is a changeable variable in neighborhoods. Its ratio can be altered by behavior changes or by the opposite way. Residents can get used to a place and can like it in

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[60] Lynch, 1981, p. 151
[61] Lynch, 1981, p. 160
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 161

time. Another alternative is to educate the residents about how they can use or perceive its potentials.[63] Hence, they can find their way to appreciate it.

To make the community confident about their living environment and to promote a socially sustainable neighborhood, one of the most effective way is giving the power of arrangements to the current users of the area. If the control is given to users, they can arrange the settings on the behalf of their needs without consulting a different controller.[64] Thus, the possibility of fit between form and behavior would be higher than before.

In relation to the social sustainability, while the residents can be educated to use certain places, these neighborhoods can be left as unplanned consciously to increase adaptability. Therefore, the certain place can be open to new adjustments without losing its sense of place. Another perspective to the adaptability is using manipulability and reversibility of a place as measures.[65] A manipulable place increases the possibility of learning by doing, control and creativity of the community. Moreover, a reversible place can be valuable for a neighborhood when it comes to the end of its life physically. [66] Its resilience plays a crucial role to bring the old sense of place back.

Finally, there is a conflict between adaptability and a stable place. The ratio of between them should be controlled carefully to prevent creating a characterless place. Adaptability should not be seen as a solution that can be used as an infinite method. The physical structure of a neighborhood is a balance between many aspects of a place.

## 2.3. Neighborhood as a Social Structure

Neighborhoods have a multidimensional social structure owing to their main purpose of creating dwelling for people. According to Heidegger, dwelling can be defined as

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[63] Lynch, 1981, p. 164
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 165
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 171
[66] Lynch, 1981, p. 172

being at peace in a secured and preserved place with the help of linguistic roots.[67] It refers to man-place relationship. In the light of this objective, aspects relating with human social life, culture, memory, attachment, sense and belonging play a crucial role in this structure. While thinking on the formation and planning of a neighborhood, creating a sustainable base for these aspects lead to achieve a successful urban place. Therefore, two sides of the place can integrate with each other in a natural way during the everyday life of the community.

As noted by Rapoport, neighborhoods can be perceived as cells having different scales in the city. These cells introduce various lifestyles, cultures, values, images and social agreements which contribute to the preservation of the identity.[68] The relation of the culture and its components with the built environment is visualized by Rapoport (Figure 2.4.). It is possible to see that there is a complex network of relations and the effect of each entity on neighborhoods is different. Owing to these relations, the clues given by the physical form of the settlement enables the reading on cultural values of the community.
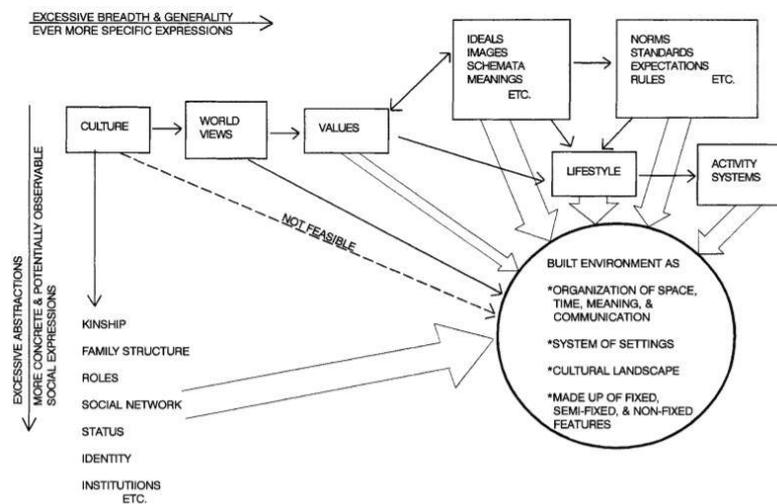


*Figure 2.4.* The Relation between Culture and the Built Environment

*Source: Rapoport, 2000*

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[67] Heidegger, 1971, p. 146
[68] Rapoport, 2002, p. 148

23

The community shapes its environment and creates the social structure of neighborhoods by making use of three aspects as Rapoport claims. Firstly, man's evolutionary heritage would provide ranges and certain boundaries on how environments can effectively react to human requirements and ways in which activities or procedures of thought contribute to particular solutions for the settlement. Secondly, people perceive the environment and give meaning to it with their sensory capacities. The last aspect is related with the participation of people in certain groups, associations and families that affects the ways of their communication, dealing with social networks such as neighborliness and kinship relations.[69] Therefore, these all have effects on the social structure.

It is possible to claim that a person shapes his/her environment individually also. Because of that, the place where the person lives affect his/her identity that is shaped by perceptions and cognitions about his/her physical world. The person reflects his/her memories, values, emotions, ideas, values, choices and experiences through these cognitions.[70] Therefore, creating the social structure is not only about public but also an individual responsibility.

In this part of the chapter, the focus is on place attachment, belonging and memory due to their importance in the social structure of the neighborhood and the community.

### 2.3.1. Place Attachment and Belonging

It is the feeling of belonging and attachment what makes a people feel living in a place where they can call it their home. To achieve this feeling, as Rapoport argues, the definition of place should be done firstly. Since this definition is based on physical and social images, the definition includes not only the area and its dimensions but also the amount of intersection between social and physical space.[71] A successful place that can provide specialties of its definition physically and socially, produce a sense

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[69] Rapoport, 1977, p. 2
[70] Yılmaz, 2006, p. 142
[71] Rapoport, 1997

of identity for its users. Montgomery points out that this sense lead to represent a sense of belonging for people because of feelings that are involved, taking an active part and raising interest in a certain place. He uses the term, "psychological access" for this situation.[72]

Creation of the identity and the feelings of attachment and belonging is an individual process that every user alters in their cognitive world. Users obtain a sense of belonging because being attached to places give meaning to their life. Especially, their house has the highest significance in their life as "the central point of human existence".[73] Moreover, the sense of *rootedness* and *centeredness* creates this belonging feeling unselfconsciously.[74]

As an alternative, homogeneous areas can be used in neighborhoods to enhance the sense of belonging. If a resident cannot feel comfortable in public realm for different reasons, due to his/her appearance, clothing style or accent, his/her dwelling and neighborhood will be important. Rapoport argues that homogeneity helps "knowing" people in conventional ways and residents can feel belonging to a certain group.[75] This situation strengthens the sense of attachment to the place.

In the case of historical neighborhoods, it is more effortless to achieve place attachment and belonging because of old neighborliness relations between residents, the community engagement and family ties between them.[76] This deep social network is tightened by successful fit of places in the neighborhood. Therefore, it is important to examine these historical neighborhoods and to decide their future.

Meltem Yılmaz, in her article, argued that the main role of the place is to arouse a feeling of belonging and attachment. Owing to the powerful relationship between an

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[72] Montgomery, 1998, p. 102
[73] Yılmaz, 2006, p. 142
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] Rapoport, 1980b, p. 74
[76] Billig, 2005, p. 123

individual and the physical settlement, people can "reveal the nature of the self" and the environment strengthens self-identity of the community members.[77]

## 2.3.2. Memory of a Neighborhood

In various disciplines, memory has been one of the subjects discussed in detail. Owing to the broadness of the place concept, especially sociologists and anthropologists investigate the relation between the memory, places, and communities. As a subcategory of the main subject, the collective memory is discussed by scholars.

Maurice Halbwachs is one of the first authors who associated the memory with a social entity. He argues that memory is created as a social phenomenon regenerated in a social milieu.[78] He states, "It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories."[79] In other words, he sees the memory as a social structure, which cannot exist without the society and a part of consciousness of social groups. He elaborates this idea as follows:

> *Since it is impossible to deny that we often replace our remembrances within a space and time whose demarcations we share with others, or that we also situate them within dates that have meaning only in relation to a group to which we belong, these facts are acknowledged to be the case.*[80]

With these words, Halbwachs emphasizes not only the importance of the community but also the importance of space for the formation of memories. This relation invites to study memory in the context of architectural and urban places.

According to Lefebvre, all kinds of experiences related to our daily life include space.[81] The physical environment in which our daily lives go is the context of our personal and collective memories. Thus, space serves as a locus/place in the

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[77] Yılmaz, 2006, p. 142
[78] Kesici, 2017, p. 11
[79] Halbwachs, 1992, p. 38
[80] Halbwachs, 1980, p. 54
[81] Lefebvre, 1991

construction of both collective and personal memory.[82] As Serpil Özaloğlu put it, memory is an entity which can endure only with the existence of perception, movement, and space.[83] Aldo Rossi looks this idea from a different perspective. He thinks that the city itself is the social memory of its citizens, and the memory is associated with objects and places. While the city is the place of the citizens' memory, the memory is consciousness of the city.[84] In other words, there is a two-way mutual relationship between the place and the memory. Hence, any intervention that is made to a place affects the collective memory and the city itself so it should consider this relation.

In addition, the collective memory has a distinct relationship with the formation of identity, which is directly related with the sense of place. Chevalier states that any community lacks a foundation to establish its own identity in the absence of the social space.[85] This identity is constituted by the culture, beliefs, values, and traditions. According to Halbwachs, these rituals and beliefs, which help to transfer traditions from one generation to another, have two main components: physical practices and the place.[86] Therefore, the physical environment, the memory and the culture form a triple relationship that creates both the collective and individual memories.

Castells says that the identity is a source of meaning and experience for people.[87] While individuals exist mentally by memories and their effects on their identities, cities have as much identity as they remember and remind.[88] Moreover, Kevin Lynch emphasizes what make the place successful by using the connection with the past :

[82] Özaloğlu, 2017, p. 13
[83] Özaloğlu, 2017, p. 16
[84] Çetken, 2017, p. 93
[85] Chevalier, 1969
[86] Halbwachs, 1992
[87] Castells, 2006
[88] Çetken, 2017, p 92

*A good place is one which, in some way appropriate to the person and her culture, makes her aware of her community, her past, the web of life, and the universe of time and space in which those are contained.*[89]

In the scale of the neighborhood, the collective memory is one of the fundamental specialties that create the community engagement. Especially in historical neighborhoods, owing to the common history and memories, reciprocal trust and solidarity are used as an adhesive between residents. They strengthen neighborliness relations and the community participation during shared decisions about public places. Moreover, this strong relation between residents lead to protect the neighborhood from risks and security problems, so they feel themselves in a protected zone.

## 2.4. Neighborhood in Turkey: "mahalle"

It is a necessity for this study to examine the neighborhood concept which is named as *mahalle* in Turkish and its importance as a place from the perspective of the local culture. Neighborhoods were one of the fundamental components of the Ottoman cities, also they represent the lifestyle of the Ottoman society as a cultural heritage that carries history to the present day.[90]

In terms of physical structure, the formation of the Ottoman neighborhoods dated back to the 16th century when housing settlements began to be formed outside the city citadels owing to population increase. These settlements were mostly differentiated according to religious and ethnic identities of citizens, not by social classes.[91] These homogeneous communities that migrated from other cities and nearby villages established new housing settlements with social and economic facilities generally being concentrated around a religious center in accordance with their ethnic roots or religion.[92]

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[89] Lynch, 1981, p. 142
[90] Özbek Eren, 2012, p. 1548
[91] Tekeli, 1985 cited in Yenen, 1988
[92] Özbek Eren, 2012, p. 1550

Ottoman residential fabric was formed of houses with gardens both inside and outside of the city walls. This tissue was transformed with an increase of building density after the population rise in the 18th century.[93] According to Maurice Cerasi, social and economic facilities such as mosques, coffee houses, schools and fountains, mark the center of the neighborhood geographically. The distribution of these services in the urban tissue resulted in the separation of the commercial center from the residential areas in the settlements. The complex and three-dimensional relationship, in which the house evolves deeply into the street, allows the street to represent a series of complex spatial formations. Every house has its own inner place, which can be perceived from the street. The houses are one of the basic components of the street fabric and city image.[94] The cul-de-sacs in street layout form semi-private places for the use of residents. Residents were responsible to their neighbors while doing any change in their houses.[95] This represents social relations based on responsibility among the members of the community in the neighborhood.

The physical layout of these neighborhoods did not change until the 19th century. In this period, the transformation of Ottoman cities in terms of socio-cultural, commercial and city planning was reflected on the neighborhoods, mainly on the street layout. However, especially after the second half of the 20th century, neighborhoods have been affected from the increase of population in cities and rapid urbanization, which resulted in the increase of the building density. Therefore, the meaning of neighborhood and neighborliness has been gradually is restricted with only the context of a local authority.[96] This change was evolved further with urban renewal implementations after 2000 in Turkey.

Every historical *mahalle* is a social, cultural and administrative unit with its fountain, mosque, public bath, school and *imaret* which is the name of social complexes in the

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[93] Özbek Eren, 2012, p. 1555
[94] Cerasi, 2001
[95] Düzbakar, 2003
[96] Özbek Eren, 2012, p. 1548

Ottoman period.[97] *Mahalle* concept represents an identity that is shaped as a quality consisted of belonging and place for the community.[98] Therefore, this supports Rapoport's idea that neighborhoods are not only physical units but also socio-spatial schemas.

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[97] Düzbakar, 2003, p. 107
[98] Özbek Eren, 2012, p. 1556

# CHAPTER 3

# IN THE EDGE OF THE OLD CITY: BURSA MOLLAFENARİ AND İVAZPAŞA NEIGHBORHOODS

In order to analyze a neighborhood, it is a necessary to look at urbanization history of the city where it is located. It helps to comprehend the relation between the urban fabric, the architectural character and the history of the city, and to understand the social structure of the neighborhood and the daily life of citizens.

In this regard, firstly, information about Bursa and its urbanization and industrialization process are reviewed briefly in this part of the study. Then, the physical and social place of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods in the city is examined. Lastly, the current situation of the settlement is represented before the fourth chapter which is the morphological and architectural analysis.

## 3.1. A Historic City: from "Prussa ad Olympum" to Bursa

Bursa is one of the cities that have been ruled by various civilizations and cultures. The known history of Prussa ad Olympium, the old name of Bursa, dates back to the 7th century BC when Bithynians settled down in the area.[99] Then, King Prussias I of Bithynia established an independent kingdom in 327 BC.[100] The Kingdom of Bithynia united with the Roman Empire in 74 BC until the division of the Roman Empire in 395. After this, the city of Prussa became a part of the East Roman Empire. The Emperor Justinianos discovered Pythia during the 6th century, which is Çekirge district in the old city, that became a center for thermal baths since then. At that time, the city developed with its baths and silk production activities.[101]

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[99] Bağbancı & Bağbancı, 2010, p. 1129
[100] Kuran, 1996, p. 114
[101] Bağbancı & Bağbancı, 2010, p. 1129

Until the siege of Ottomans in 1326 by Sultan Orhan[102], the city was ruled by the Byzantine Empire for thousand years and then became the first capital city of the Ottomans in 1335.[103] It rapidly developed as a major political and commercial center for the Ottomans.

### 3.1.1. Development of Bursa in the Ottoman Period until 19th Century

At present, it is possible to see how the stratification process of historical periods reflects on the physical structure of Bursa. In comparison, the most effective layer is the Ottoman period which defines the main urban layout of the central city and has shaped the development of Bursa. In addition, this period has the most contribution to the city in terms of architectural heritages.

The development of Bursa and its foundation from the Hellenistic times through the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods can be grasped only if two geographical factors which shaped the city naturally are considered.[104] The first one is Uludağ (Mt. Olympus of Bithynia) is situated at the south of the city and has foothills where the city attaches. The mountain provides an impressive background for the city and its architecture. Another contribution of Uludağ to the city is being the source of two streams named as Gökdere and Cilimboz which played an important role for Bursa's industrialization and urban layout. They divide the city into three parts. The foothills and streams that constitute Bursa's physical fabric not only affected the nature of its development but also permitted the Ottomans to create a unique topography-based urban character at the same time.[105]

The second one is the Bursa plain extending at the north of the city. It presents a great green view to the city on the foothills of the mountain and fertile soils for agricultural production. Pancaroğlu thinks that it was the Ottomans who enhanced this geographical context by benefiting from its unique topography, and they reflected this

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[102] Bağbancı & Bağbancı, 2010, p. 1129
[103] Kuran, 1996, p. 114
[104] Pancaroğlu, 1995, p. 41
[105] *Ibid.*

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potential while planning the main structures of the city.[106] Owing to these two geographical factors, Bursa developed on the foothills of Uludağ with neighborhoods formed around Ottoman *külliyes* located at a distance from one another along a route passing through east-west direction between the mountain and the plain (Figure 3.1.).
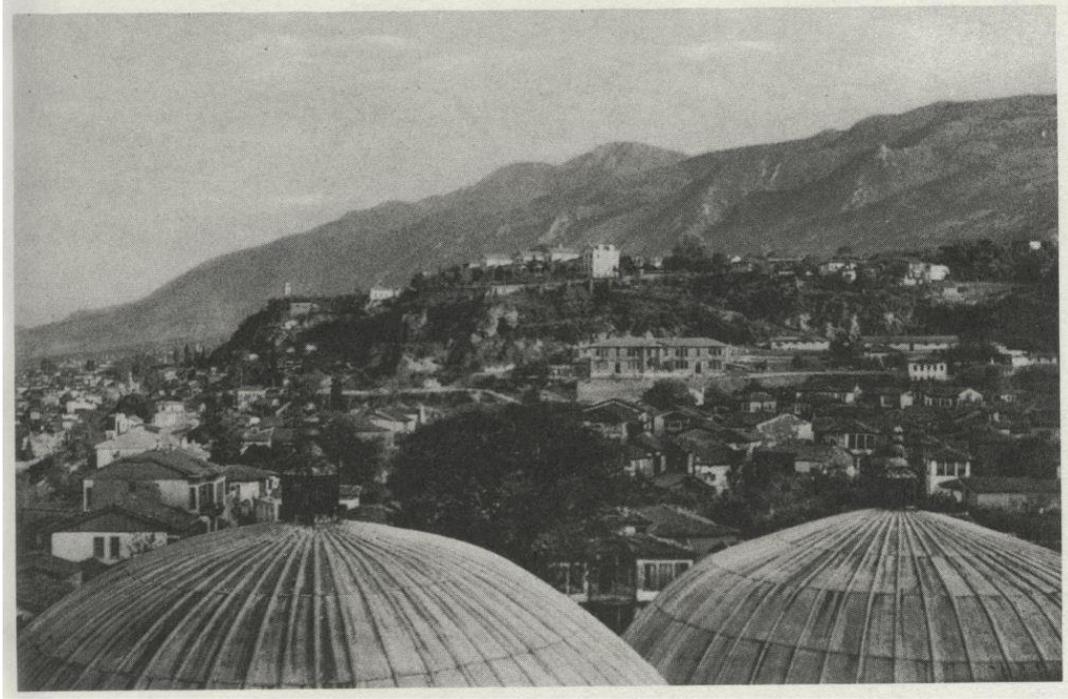


*Figure 3.1.* View of the Citadel from the West

*Source: Gabriel, 1958*

After the conquest of Ottomans of Bursa, the immigration flow of Ottoman communities began. To create an urban nucleus for immigrants' settlement, Orhan Gazi constructed an *imaret*, i.e. public buildings aiming to help the low-income groups, outside the citadel.[107] The settlers used this complex as a landmark, a central point for their new houses. In between the main gate of the citadel of Bursa and Orhan Gazi's mosque and *imaret* at the east, the new commercial center of the city was

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[106] Pancaroğlu, 1995, p. 42
[107] Kuran, 1996, p. 116

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constituted. The commercial center developed especially at the time of Yıldırım Beyazıt with the construction of a *bedesten*, that formed the core of the bazaar, which grew with the addition of commercial structures and especially large-scale *han* buildings. Yıldırım Beyazıt built Ulucami – the Grand Mosque of Bursa – at the center of this area.

The formation of new neighborhoods started with the help of these public buildings in the 14th century.[108] The *Imaret* of Orhan Gazi is an early instance of creating a social center for generating the urbanization, a system that Ottomans used to direct and enhance urban growth in Bursa and later in Istanbul.[109]

The construction of similar structures continued during the reigns of other Sultans. According to Pancaroğlu, the Ottomanization process of the Byzantine citadel of Prussa was subject to a rapid enlargement with the development of the urban tissue in consideration with the topography.[110] In this regard, the construction of *külliyes* – building complexes – is considered as a significant determinant that organized the urban development process of Bursa.[111] Ottoman *külliyes* are social complexes that included various functions around a mosque, including an imaret, a soup kitchen, a hospice, a school, and in some cases a *medrese*, and a public bath. While these külliyes generated the enlargement of the city, at the same time, they determined the direction of this development. Ottoman sultans drew the new borders of the city while selecting the location of these complexes.[112]

Following Orhan Gazi, Murad Hüdavendigar and Yıldırım Beyazıd constructed külliyes with the aim of creating new suburbs outside of the ancient walled city on the highest hills of the selected areas making use of the city's topography. These two külliyes which are located on both sides of the historic city, benefited from topography

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[108] Kuran, 1996, p. 118
[109] Pancaroğlu, 1995, p. 43
[110] *Ibid*., p. 40
[111] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 18
[112] *Ibid.*

of their sites and demonstrate the sultans' aspiration connecting the city with the country by using architectural elements highlighting the landscape (Figure 3.2.).[113]
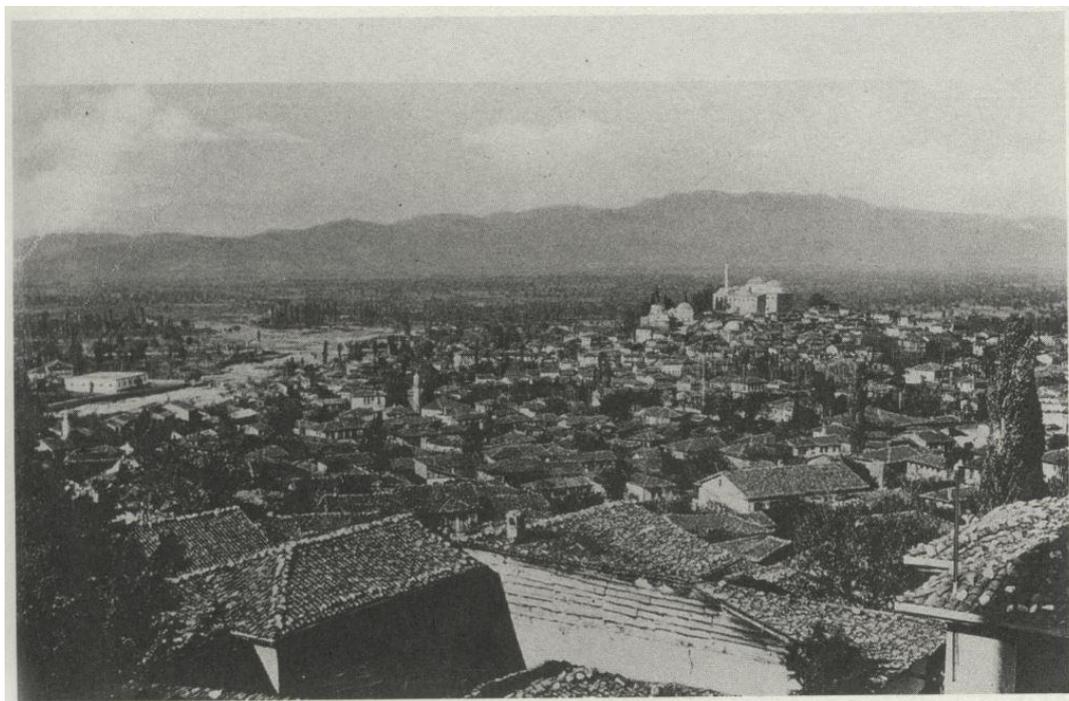


*Figure 3.2.* View of the külliye of Beyazıd

*Source: Gabriel, 1958*

These *külliyes* can be seen in the draft map prepared in 1767 by the German traveler and cartographer Carsten Niebuhr. According to this map, while Muradiye Külliyesi was specified at the west of the city, Yıldırım Külliyesi was marked at the east of the city. At the south of the walled city, however, there was not any structure.[114] Buildings of the *külliyes* were arranged in an organic manner in harmony with the irregularity of the landscape.[115] In addition, the hilly topography of the region enabled the sultans to widen the urban fabric without comprising the visibility and thus the salience of their

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[113] Pancaroğlu, 1995, p. 45
[114] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 18
[115] Pancaroğlu, 1995, p. 42

*külliyes*. Therefore, they were empowered to create a city that is worthy of being an imperial seat.[116]

Another important advance during the 14th century that effected the development of Bursa was the rising importance of the silk textile industry in Italy. Bursa was already a significant place of silk production in the Byzantine period. To benefit from this potential, Ottomans decided to reinforce Bursa's place in the manufacture and international trade of silk. As a result, the Silk Road began to pass from Bursa owing to these changes. Bursa became a transfer center for raw silk supplements coming from Tabriz to Europe.[117] Moreover, except the Silk Road, one of the branches of the Spice Road was also directed towards Bursa in the early Ottoman period. Thanks to these caravan routes, global and local trade relations were developed. Until the mid-16th century, Bursa was an international transfer point of silk, spice and soft goods sold to western agents.[118]

These economic advances led to develop not only the trade but also the urbanization of the city. The city center namely the "Hans District" was the heart of these trade relations. Beyond its commercial significance, the district has played a crucial role in the social life of the city. These commercial and social values have occupied an important place in the collective memory in citizens' minds. Additionally, while neighborhoods were formed in accordance with religion and ethnicity, all these people could work side by side without any discrimination under the "*loncas*" – the guilds – which were professional associations of the preindustrial era.[119] Until the 17th century, the city preserved its traditional urban layout and basic settlement unit which is "mahalle" shaped around a religious building or around the bazaar.[120]

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[116] Pancaroğlu, 1995, p. 47
[117] Bağbancı & Bağbancı, 2010, p. 1130
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] Vural-Arslan et al., 2011, p. 190
[120] Özbek Eren, 2012, p. 1551

In the 17th and 18th century, the socio-economic structure was changed due to non-muslim groups who participated in the commercial transactions with Europe.[121] This change affected the architecture and urban fabric of the city. The increase of density in the city center owing population rise led by the commercial life caused the densification of the housing tissue, with new constructions in urban voids, the rise of building heights, and use of projections.[122] Yenen states that the place sequence of access to the houses changed from street-courtyard-house to street-entrance space-house.[123]

### 3.1.2. Urbanization of Bursa in Tanzimat Period in the 19th Century

The stagnation of the city during the 17th and 18th century due to the transfer of the capital city to İstanbul and changes in international trade was reversed in the 19th century. In the 18th century, the Industrial Revolution started in England and its effects were seen in Europe and later in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. These effects led the government to declare the Edict of Tanzimat in 1839. These reforms presented social, political, economic, and cultural changes in the country. The aim was modernizing the community and consolidating the political power.[124] Moreover, the outcomes of these reforms introduced new formations and transformation in the urban fabric. Because of interactions between manufacturing and consumption, urban culture, lifestyle, and urbanization have entered a process of reshaping and the traces of this shift can be seen in Bursa during this modernization period.[125]

According to Beatrice St. Laurent, the Ottomans did not want to westernize their country, they desired to compete with the Western countries by modernizing the Empire. They produced a Neo-Ottoman urban and architectural structure in the 19th century by the combination of modernization and Ottomanization.[126] Owing to the

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[121] Aktüre, 1978, p. 63
[122] Özbek Eren, 2012, p. 1551
[123] Yenen, 1988
[124] Bağbancı & Bağbancı, 2010, p. 1130
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] St. Laurent, 1989, p. 16

patronage of the state in the industrialization, followed by individual entrepreneurs, Bursa was one of the cities that was affected from the Ottoman modernization movement, which lasted until 1920s.

In this century, the production systems of silk production were mechanized in Europe. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire could not be a trade center like in the 15th center but became a regional center for production of the raw material demanded by foreign markets and exporting these materials to the international market.[127] These developments led changes in the urban layout in accordance with differences in population structures.

Under the effect of the Industrial Revolution, weavers in Lyon developed a machinery working with steam power in 1824 to produce raw silk fibres from silk cocoon without using spinning wheels working with manpower. In a short time, this technique was started to be used in Bursa. European merchants, especially from France, showed interest due to the quality raw silk produced in Bursa.[128] Therefore, steam powered silk factories started to be established in Bursa in the early 20th century. According to Leila Erder, the first factory was opened in 1935.[129]

The choice of the location for these factories was affected from the need of an abundant supply of running water and closeness to neighborhoods where possible workers live in.[130] For that reason, workshops and factories were mostly situated next to the two streams in the city center namely Cilimboz and Gökdere. Almost all of the workshops and factories were located near the housing settlements where Greek and Armenian groups lived. The reason behind this choice was that these factories needed women labour and this situation mostly was accepted by non-muslim communities.[131] The rising need of labour brought to the city a rapid increase of population starting

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[127] St. Laurent, 1989, p. 16
[128] Erder, 1976, p. 96
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 99
[130] Dostoğlu & Oral, 1999, p. 240
[131] Kaygalak, 2008, p. 172

from 1830 to 1860s.[132] The number of factories reached 43 in 1858.[133] Owing to this need, the owners of factories went to nearby villages in search for new workers.[134] During 1860s, the ratio of Turkish women workers in factories began to rise because the cost of the non-muslim workers to factory owners increased. Therefore, Turkish women as a cheaper labour began to work in this sector.[135]
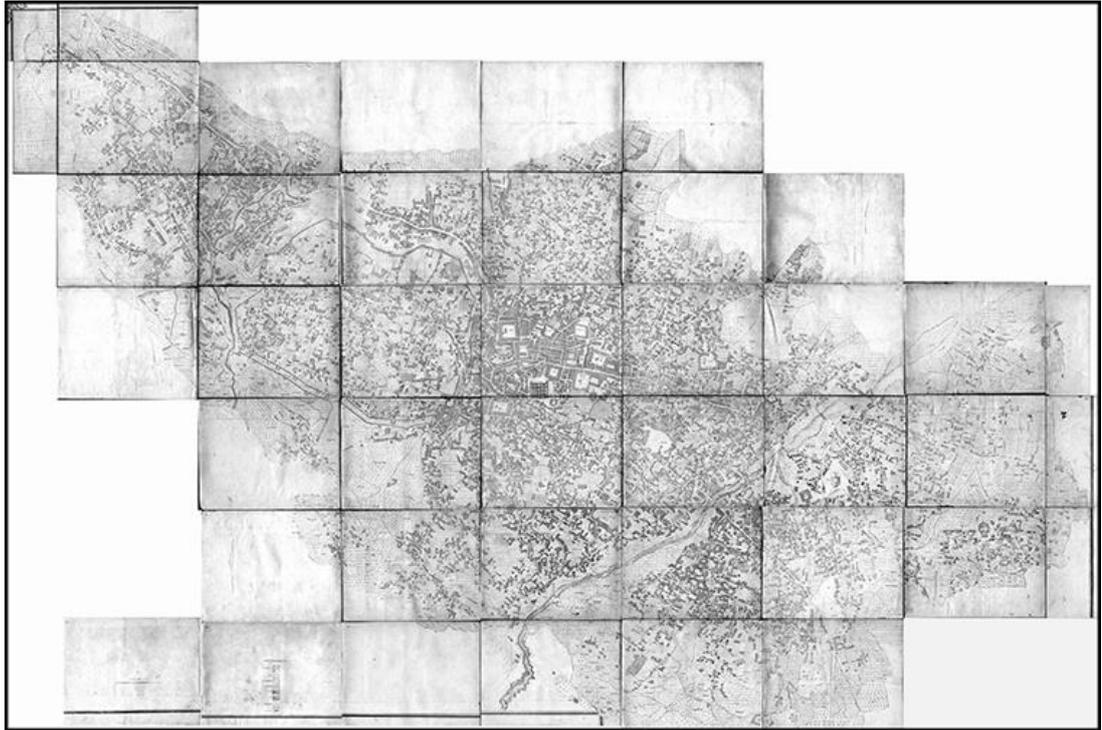


*Figure 3.3.* 1862 Suphi Bey Map

*Source: Bursa City Museum Archive*

In 1855, almost the whole city center was destroyed by an earthquake. After this disaster, a group of the army staff (Erkan-ı Harbiye) directed by the surveyor of Suphi Bey prepared a 1/1600 scaled map in 1862 which covered not only the destroyed areas

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[132] Kaygalak, 2008, p. 156
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 150
[134] *Ibid.*, p. 156
[135] Kaygalak, 2008, p. 157

but the whole city including demolished and survived buildings (Figure 3.3.).[136] The significance of the map is that it recorded the state of the urban fabric before the destruction of the earthquake and essential physical alterations done in the city in the Tanzimat Period.[137] In Suphi Bey map, two areas draw attention which are silk factories situated next to Cilimboz stream in the west and Gökdere stream in the east of the city.[138]

As a governmental regulation in accordance with the Tanzimat reforms, a municipal administration was founded in Bursa in 1867.[139] The aim was establishing a modern institution chain to solve the city's problems easily instead of the old system in which religious officials were local authorities. In this period, influential Tanzimat bureaucrats were inducted as the governor of Bursa. The most influential governor owing to his performance was Ahmet Vefik Paşa. He was assigned as Bursa governor between 1879 and 1882.[140] His experience as ambassador in Paris and interests in literature and history created a perspective that was the combination of the western planning and building methods with the conservation of traditional architecture and urban tissue of Bursa.[141] He was influenced from activities of Baron Haussmann in city layout of Paris during his ambassadorial period.[142]

Bursa was damaged by the detrimental earthquake of 1855 and various big fires. All these disasters made the city a potential city for urban renewal and a laboratory for the Tanzimat reforms.[143] Ahmet Vefik Paşa started his renovations with the transportation systems. A modern road network that linked the major landmarks of the city with new institutions ws implemented by using wide linear avenues. In addition, he altered the old urban fabric by eradicating cul-de-sacs to facilitate the traffic.[144] Another

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[136] Dostoğlu & Oral, 1999, p. 236
[137] Erder, 1975, p. 86
[138] Aslanoğlu, 1998, p. 195
[139] Dostoğlu & Oral, 1999, p. 235
[140] St. Laurent, 1989, p. 53
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 55
[142] Dostoğlu & Oral, 1999, p. 236
[143] St. Laurent, 1989, p. 90
[144] *Ibid.*, p. 57

important development relating with the urban fabric was planning of new settlements. These residential areas damaged by the disasters reconstructed in a grid street layout. It is possible to see these new roads and districts in 1910 map (Figure 3.4.). These new axes formed the main communication arteries of the city.[145]

Regulations about the physical structure were also about building materials that were used during construction of new buildings. Due to the fire risk of timber-framed structures, the use of stone and brick was encouraged by the Tanzimat authorities.[146] In addition, new public buildings were constructed because of changes in the urban administration and institutional structure such as hospitals, schools, military buildings, and a government house.[147] These functions aimed to create new centers of gravity in the modernized urban tissue and to draw a "modern and secular imperial image".[148]
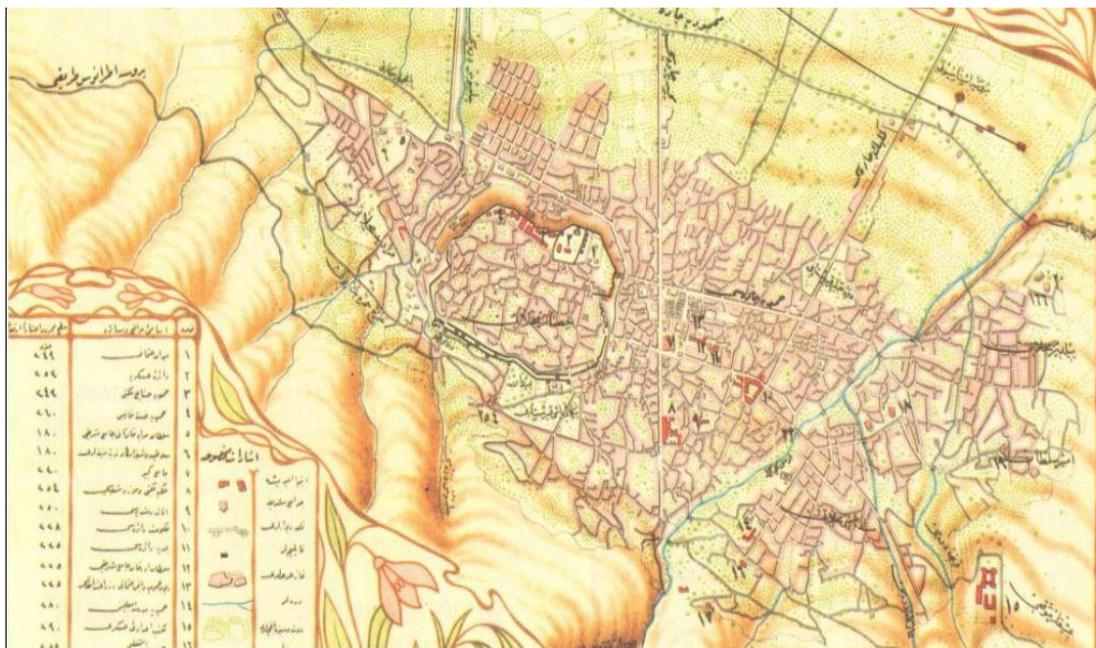


*Figure 3.4.* 1910 Map

*Source: Oğuzoğlu, 2008*

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[145] Dostoğlu & Oral, 1999, p. 237

[146] *Ibid.*, p. 235

[147] *Ibid.*

[148] St. Laurent, 1989, p. 122

Although the city center experienced big changes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the importance, role and physical fabric of the neighborhoods did not change too much. The only change that affected them physically was the removal of cul-de-sacs at certain areas in accordance with the transportation reforms in this period and changes that occurred in the housing typology. However, the social structure started to change in terms of social stratification. The class-based settlements in residential areas started to appear, next to the ethnic and religious divisions.[149]

As a result, the development and richness of Bursa were originated from two advances in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first of them was the silk manufacture that affected the city in terms of production and labour processes, public and cultural lifestyles, relations with the countryside, and dynamics of spatial changes.[150] The second one was administrative changes and their effects on the urban form and the everyday life under the influence of the Ottoman reforms that started with the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 and continued until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, Bursa experienced a change from being a pre-industrial and Islamic city to developing as an industrial city.[151] As St. Laurent states, Bursa became the summary of the past and the path to the future for the Empire with the dual effects of modernization and Ottomanization.[152] In this summary, the emphasis on modernization and restoration that was put equally by the Ottoman reformers was effective in retaining the character of the early Ottoman city.[153]

### 3.1.3. Bursa from the Republican Period to the Present

After the proclamation of the republic in 1923, foreign architects and city planners were invited to the country to prepare modern city development plans and building. Bursa was one of these cities.

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[149] Özbek Eren, 2012, p. 1552
[150] Kaygalak, 2008, p. 136
[151] Erder, 1975, p. 96
[152] St. Laurent, 1989, p. 20
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 71

The first development plan was prepared by German architect Carl Christoph Lörcher in 1924 (Figure 3.5.). It is a 1/8000 scaled map having many details.[154] This plan was not implemented except its proposal for the administrative functions on the main road, namely Atatürk Street, next to the old commercial center which is the Han District. Additionally, Lörcher proposed a new development area with garden-houses under the effect of the Garden City movement in that period without any reference to the historical tissue of the city. However, Bursa was not suitable for these decisions due to its rising potential of allowing migrations.[155] As a result, this plan could not be applied due to its preparation only in an aesthetic concern and ignoring the current old urban fabric.



*Figure 3.5.* 1924 Development Plan prepared by Carl Christoph Lörcher

*Source: Vardar, n.d.*

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[154] Kaplanoğlu, 2008
[155] Dostoğlu & Vural, 2004, p. 124

After Lörcher, a new development plan was prepared by the French architect and city planner Henri Prost in 1940 (Figure 3.6).[156] The aim of this plan was creating a transportation network to make the city appropriate for the motorized traffic and to bring infrastructure through all districts of the city. For this purpose, he proposed the expropriation of old buildings on specified road axes defined on the plain. Prost put emphasis on the historical landmarks such as *külliyes* and mosques. He proposed to plan these areas in greenery, so that these structures can mirror the history of the city easily. Also, he thought that the tourism of the city could be revived by using thermal water sources and baths in the Çekirge district. In addition, as a decision that would shape the architecture of the city, he proposed buildings with porticos on the main streets, so people could shop easily while the weather is sunny or rainy. The effect of this idea can be seen in the Atatürk Street next to the Hans District.[157]



*Figure 3.6.* 1940 Development Plan prepared by Henri Prost

*Source: Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel Archive*

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[156] Çakıcı, 2009, p. 24
[157] Dostoğlu & Vural, 2004, p. 125

44

Legend (within figure):
- Mevcut konut alanları
- Gelişme konut alanları
- Ticaret alanları
- Eğitim tesisleri
- Üniversite
- Sağlık tesisleri
- Sanayi alanları
- K. Sanayi alanları
- Depolama alanı
- Park, çocuk bahçesi
- Spor tesisleri
- Kaplıcalar, turistik tesisler
- Terminal
- Kamu kuruluşları B.H.A Askeri alanlar
- Mezarlıklar

1/4000 ölçekli planda küçültülerek kullanılmıştır
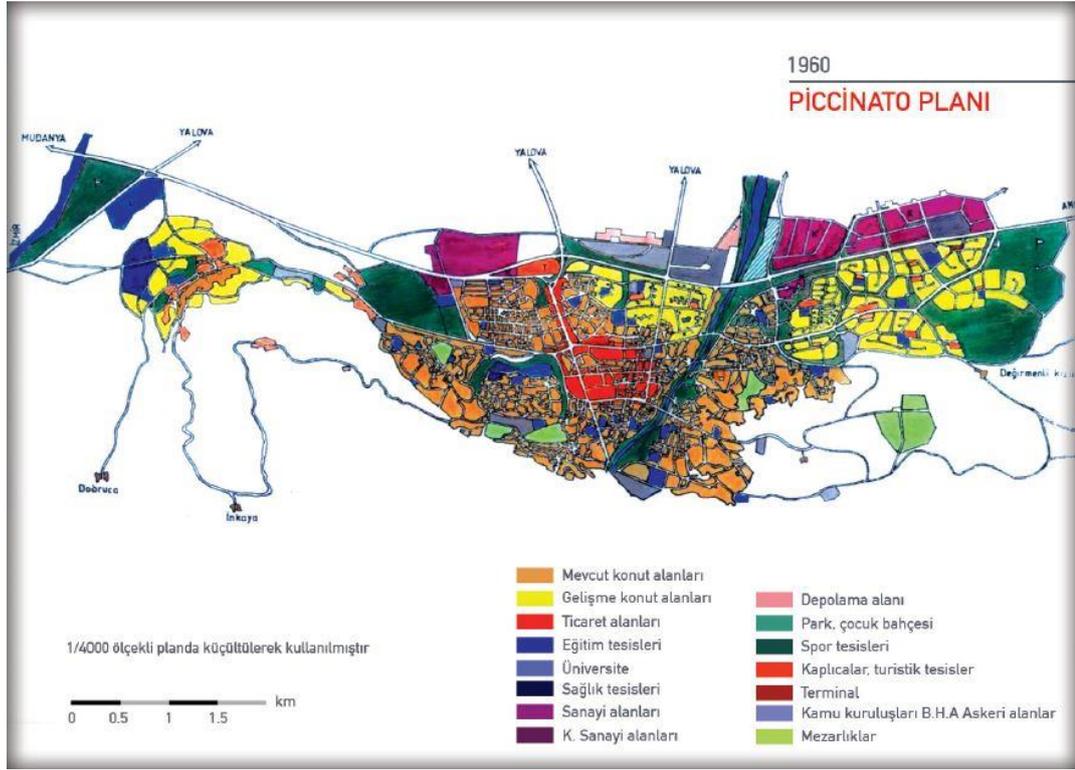
*Figure 3.7.* 1960 Development Plan prepared by Luigi Piccinato and Emin Canpolat

*Source: Vardar, n.d.*

After the 1958 fire and the earthquake which ruined the historical city center, the Italian architect and city planner Luigi Piccinato and the Turkish architect planner Emin Canpolat prepared a 1/4000 scaled development plan (Figure 3.7.).[158] Piccinato defended that the traditional urban fabric of the city should be protected and revitalized. In his detailed planning, he specified heights, widths and even colors of the new buildings to be constructed in historical sites of Bursa. He also studied the planning details of the Hans District in detail.[159] About the future of the city as a master plan decision, he proposed a linear development schema in the east-west direction. In addition, he thought an organized industrial zone at the north of the city center.[160]

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[158] Çakıcı, 2009, p. 24
[159] Dostoğlu & Vural, 2004, p. 125
[160] *Ibid.*, p. 126

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All these plans developed by foreign professionals could not be implemented totally. However, it is possible to read various partial applications and effects of these studies in the city.
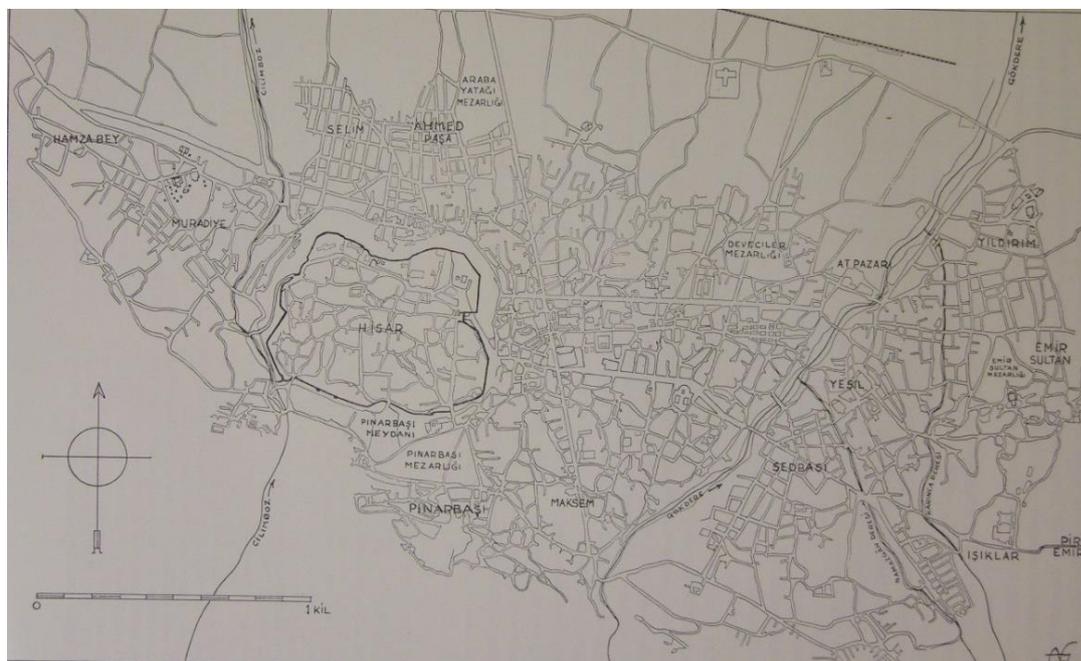


*Figure 3.8.* 1958 Street Layout Map drawn by Albert Gabriel

*Source: Gabriel, 1958*

It is possible to see the situation of the city during 1950s in maps (Figure 3.8. and Figure 3.9.) prepared by the French architect and art historian Albert Gabriel. He published a book in 1958 named as *"Une Capitale Turque: Brousse, Bursa"*. His book includes detailed information and technical drawings of the historical monuments of the city and the plans of the walled city, the Han District, sections and plans of the mosques and *külliyes*.
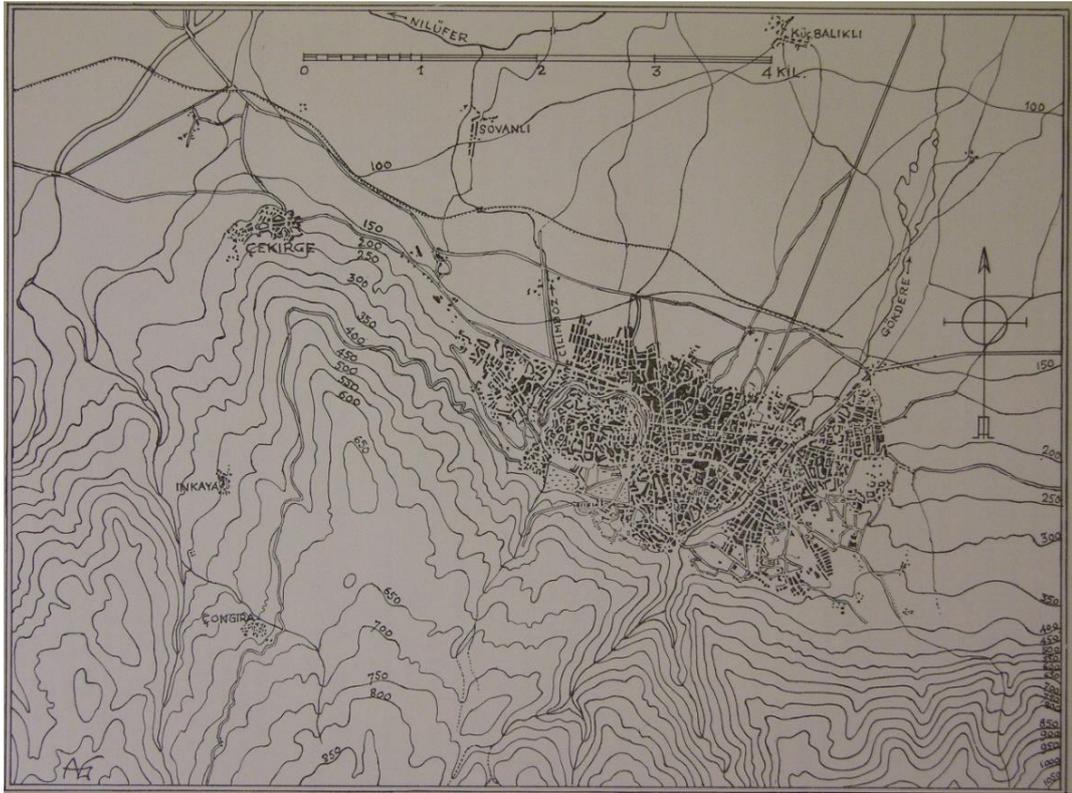
*Figure 3.9.* 1958 Map Showing the Urban Fabric and Topography drawn by Albert Gabriel

*Source: Gabriel, 1958*

After 1960s, the Bursa Municipality have new development plans prepared such as 1976, 1986, 1998, and 2020 plans in different scales.[161] The general aim of these plans is specified districts for new settlements to meet the need of rise of the population of the city due to rising migration rates. These rates reached its peak when the industrial zone was started to operate in 1962 and especially with the immigration from the Balkans that started in 1980s.[162] The growth of Bursa, which is the fourth biggest metropolitan city of Turkey, still continues and most of its citizens live in unplanned settlements. Therefore, the city needs a comprehensive physical and social analysis and study to design its future.

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[161] Dostoğlu & Vural, 2004, p. 126
[162] *Ibid.*

## 3.2. Place and History of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa Neighborhoods

In this section, the location of the case study area will be presented. Then, traces of the area will be searched in historical maps and aerial photos from different years to find out its development process through the time. Parallel to this, the answer of why people settled in this district will be searched by looking at the history of the city.
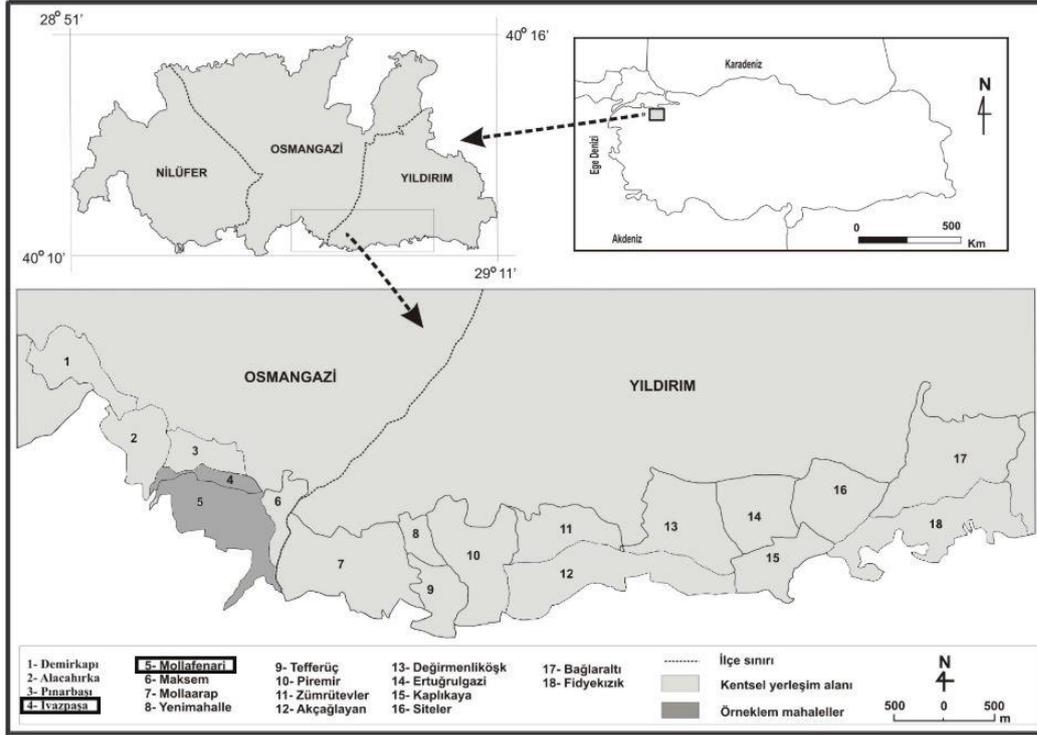


*Figure 3.10.* The Location of the Case Study in Bursa (Edited by the author)

*Source: Çaliskan & Akbulak, 2010b*

Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods are situated in the south of the Bursa city center. They are within the borders of the Osmangazi county (Figure 3.10.) and on the foothills of Uludağ. The study area is located next to several historical districts such as Maksem and Pınarbaşı neighborhoods. In addition, there is Pınarbaşı Graveyard which is an old cemetery that dates back to the Ottoman period.

*Figure 3.11.* The View of the Study Area from the City Center

*Source: Çalışkan,& Akbulak, 2010a*

Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods have a strategic location in the city. With other settlements situated on the foothills of Uludağ, they create a linear intermediary zone between the mountain and the city. This zone is observable from the city center. In the photograph (Figure 3.11.), it is possible to see the study area behind the historical walled city which is situated on a hill.

Its central location gives the area both a potential to be used effectively and a risk of being underestimated due to its appearance. Therefore, it is important to evaluate the area with its history, physical and social structures.
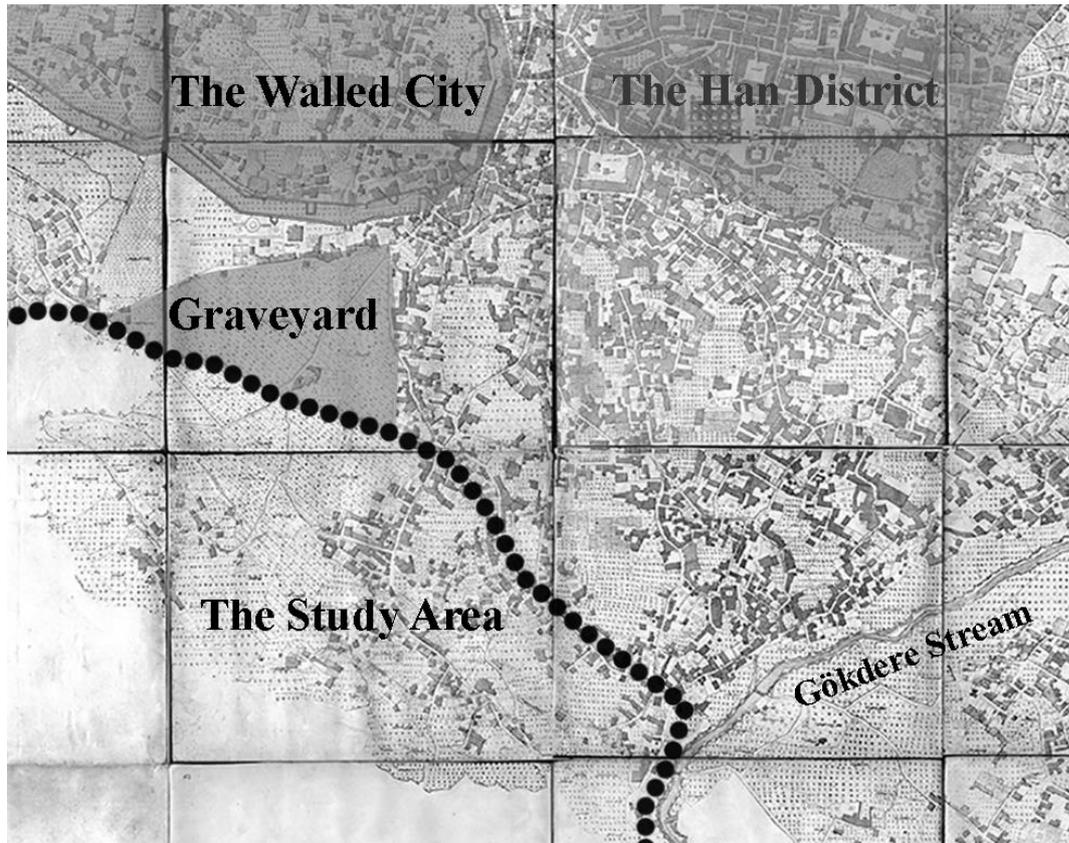
*Figure 3.12.* The Study Area on the 1862 Suphi Bey Map (Edited by the author)

*Source: Prof. Dr. F. Cânâ Bilsel Archive*

When the history of the study area is analyzed, its first clues can be seen in the 1862 Map drawn by Suphi Bey. As illustrated in the map (Figure 3.12.), a settlement made of several houses can be observed at the south of the historical walled city and the cemetery. The area had mainly an agricultural character and gardens but, it had not yet a built-up tissue similar to the residential neighborhoods at the south of the Hans District.

It is seen that the street texture of the same area became denser than Suphi Bey map by 1910 (Figure 3.13.). In the period between the years of two maps, following the establishments of the first silk factories around Gökdere and Cilimboz streams, the organization of the necessary labor force in the immediate surroundings formed the

basis of the settlements climbing to the foothills of Uludağ.[163] As a matter of fact, the caravan routes that connected the villages to the city in the past but not existed today and the economic activities carried out in this environment played an important role in the formation of the first migration networks and thus the emergence of the first residential settlement in this area.[164] One of these caravan routes namely Kuştepe was passing through Pınarbaşı and İvazpaşa neighborhoods, so this is why people preferred constructing their houses on the slopes of Uludağ[165]. Moreover, İvazpaşa, named as Hıdırlık in the past, was developed by immigrants coming from Keles, Orhaneli, Harmancık and Büyükorhan which are rural counties of Bursa.[166] These are reasons of the first migration movement to the city and this area.
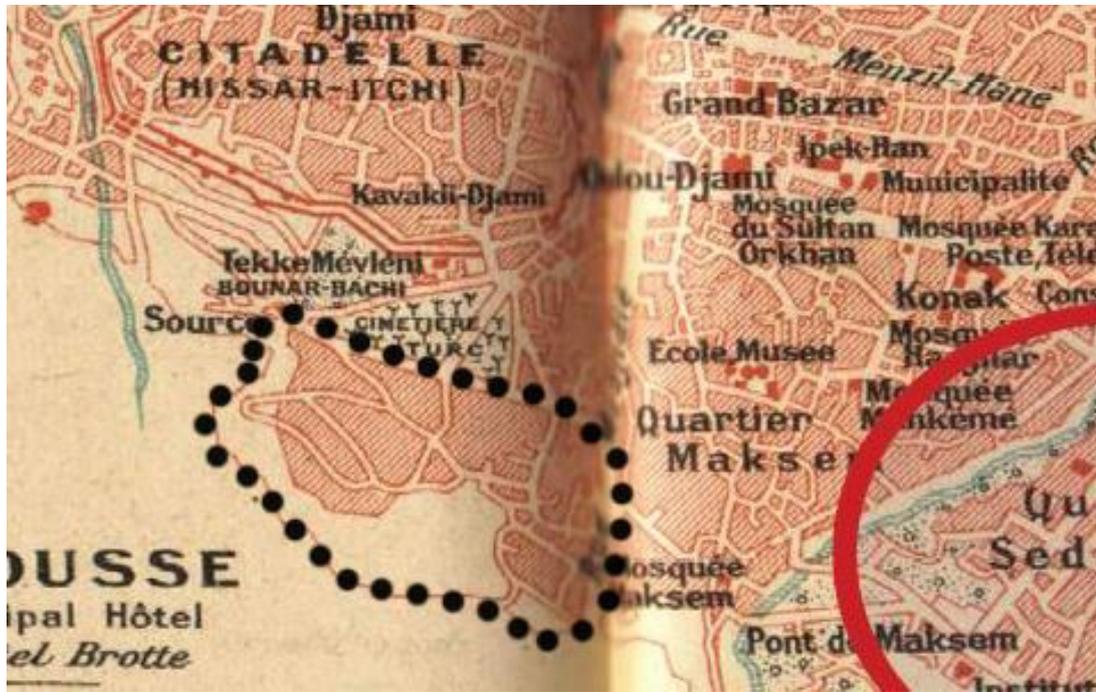


*Figure 3.13.* The Study Area on the 1910 Street Layout Map (Edited by the author)

*Source: Bursa Metropolitan Municipality Archive*

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[163] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 19
[164] *Ibid.*, p. 42
[165] *Ibid.*, p. 44
[166] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010b, p. 119

51

The second migration movement to big cities started in 1950s in the all country. The main reason behind that is the process of industrialization which gained momentum in the cities, accelerated the migration movements by significantly affecting the socioeconomic characteristics of the society and the rural-urban structure of the population.[167] In case of Bursa, this industrialization was accelerated by the establishment of the first organized industrial zone in 1962 and the increase of activities in textile and automotive sectors.[168] According to Tahire Erman, in this process, squatter settlements became widespread in such areas that are located near the city centers and on geographically unsuitable areas such as slopes and riverbeds.[169]

Beside the industrial development, another factor behind the formation of the squatter settlements in Bursa was the massive immigration from the Balkans. The municipality prepared plans for new neighborhoods in Bursa Plain for immigrants. However, the ones who were not capable of affording the housing units in these planned areas, preferred to settle in the squatter areas on the foothills of Uludağ because of the strict control of illegal housing in the plain.[170] Moreover, the fact that the non-muslim population had left the country in mid 1920s, caused a lack of labor in the silk industry, which was met by the immigrants from the villages of Bursa and other parts of the counntry. This intense migration movement reached the peak point between 1960 and 1970.[171] These people chose steep mountain slopes near the city center, which made the residential area on the slopes of Uludağ more visible.

This migration movements gave the basis of the urban fabric of the study area. The main street layout was formed as it can be seen in the 1970 aerial photograph (Figure 3.14.) while the Maksem district which is situated between the Han District and the study area was getting denser. After almost 20 years, the densification of the city

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[167] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010b, p. 116
[168] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 25
[169] Erman, 1997
[170] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 24
[171] *Ibid.*, p. 43

center is more visible. In 1989 aerial photograph (Figure 3.15.), the study area was widened towards the slopes of Uludağ and the number of empty sites decreased.
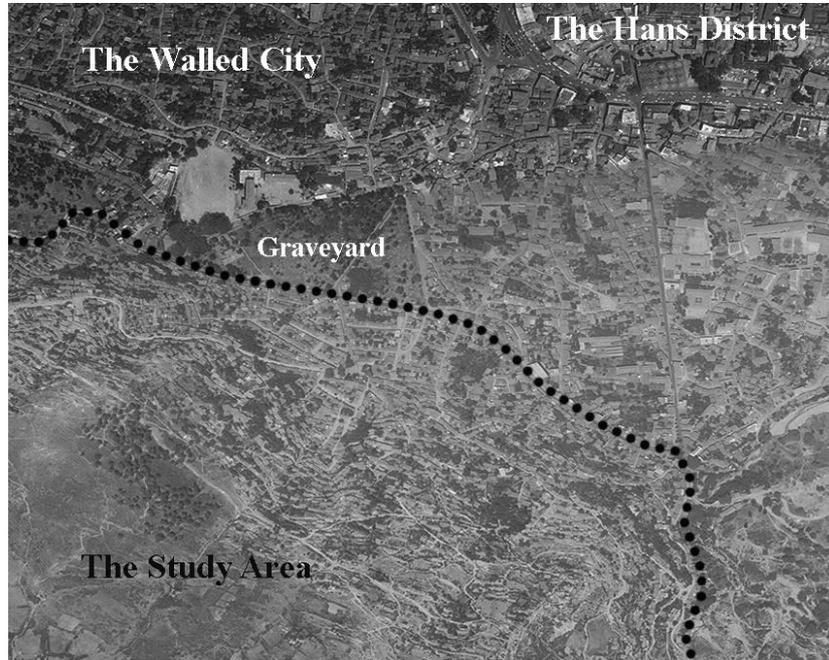


*Figure 3.14.* The Aerial Photo of the Study Area Taken in 1970
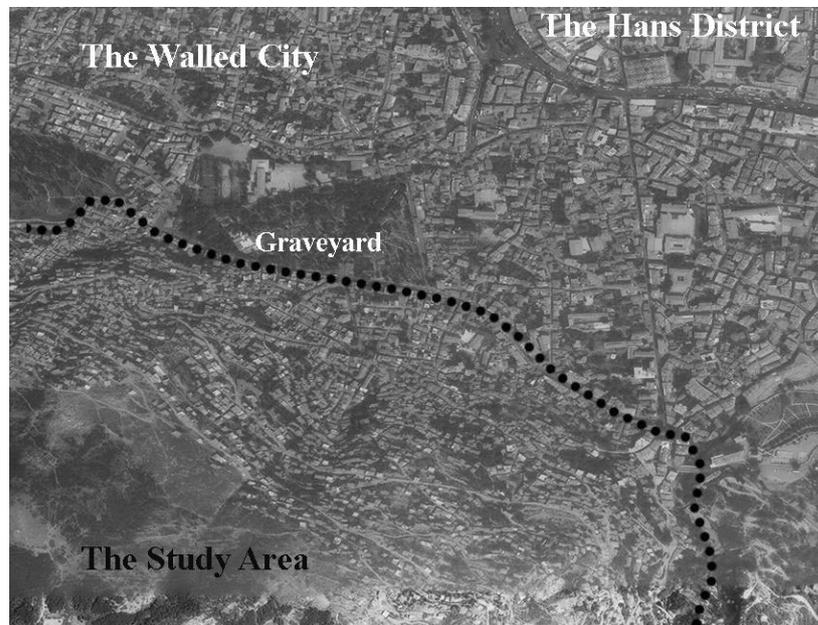


*Figure 3.15.* The Aerial Photo of the Study Area Taken in 1989

*Source: General Directorate of Mapping (Harita Genel Müdürlüğü)*

## 3.3. Current Situation of the Study Area



*Figure 3.16.* The Aerial Photo of the Study Area Taken in 2015

*Source: General Directorate of Mapping (Harita Genel Müdürlüğü)*

The densification process of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods has continued since 1900s in parallel with the densification of the city center. Green areas have decreased because of the construction of new buildings in the urban voids (Figure 3.16.). The two neighborhoods have continued to widen especially towards the slopes of Uludağ. Some parts of the study area are currently within the limits of the 1st degree natural protection area approved by the municipality in the conservation plans.[172]

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[172] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 43

54

### 3.3.1. Physical Aspects of the Neighborhoods



*Figure 3.17.* General View from the Study Area

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

When Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods are considered as a physical urban formation, a multi-layered and complex structure is observed. Due to their development phases in different time periods, they show different characteristics which belong to various times and typologies (Figure 3.17.). These typologies will be mentioned in the fourth chapter. This unique framework creates a situation that should be analyzed and evaluated carefully.

Setting on the foothills of the Uludağ mountain provides these neighborhoods with a unique site which has a wide range of slope between 20 and 45 degrees (Figure 3.19.). The development of neighborhoods in relation with the slope can be seen in the diagram prepared by Çalışkan and Akbulak (Figure 3.18.). This steep slope made residents find new ways to deal with it by using urban design and architectural solutions that will be mentioned in the next chapter.
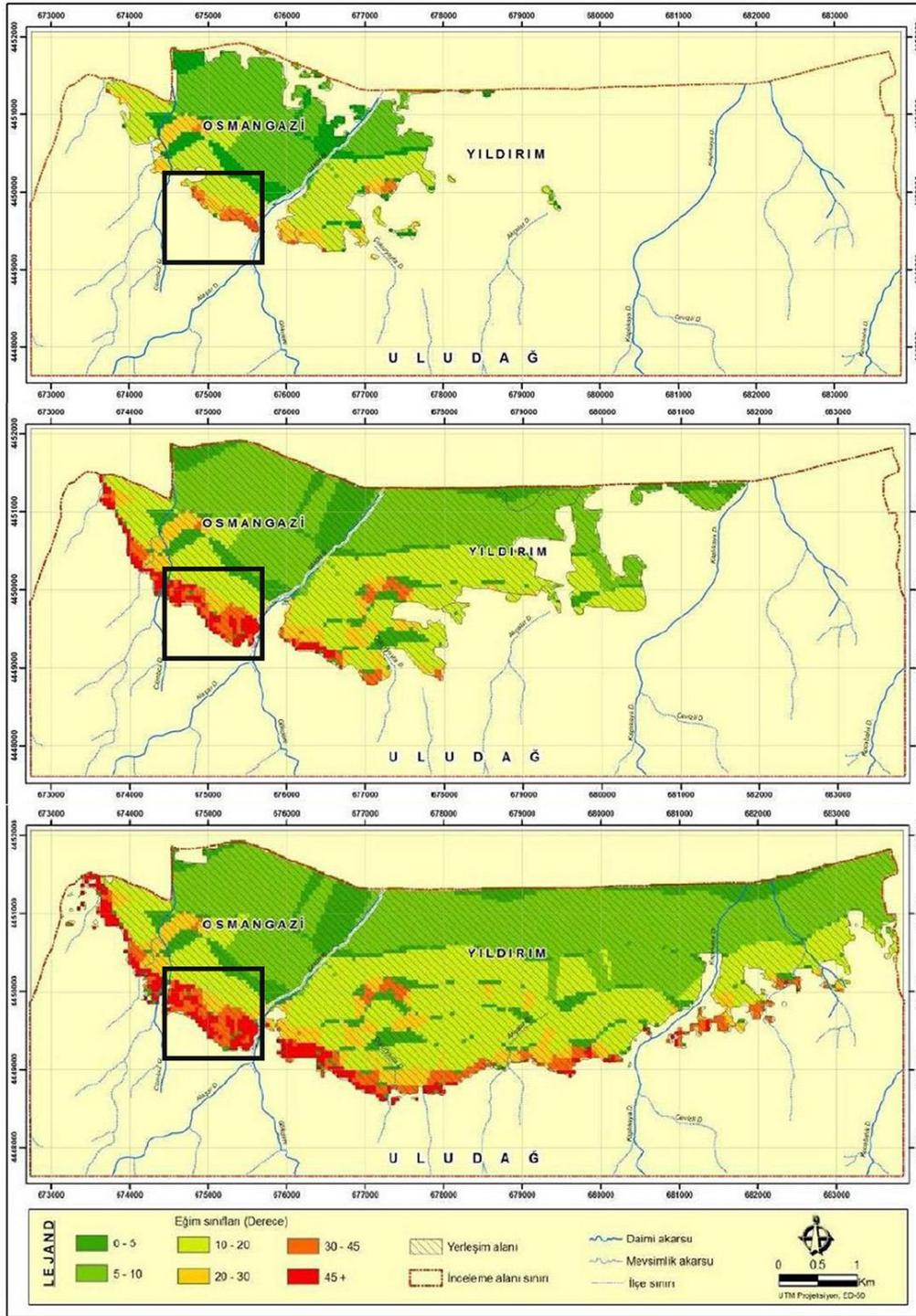
*Figure 3.18.* Urban Development and Slope Relation in 1959-1977-2007 (Edited by the author)

*Source: Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a*

56

*Figure 3.19.* Slope and Street Relation of the Study Area

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

Almost 60% of the houses in the area have one or two floors.[173] Apartment blocks that have three or more storeys, are being constructed recently. In terms of public buildings, the two neighborhoods have one primary and one secondary school. Also, the area has one community health center. There are mosques and tombs, *türbe* in Turkish, more than ten that dates back to the Ottoman period and a number of which are considered as the tombs of saints and continue to be visited by many people at present. As open public spaces, there are two parks having playgrounds. The effectiveness of their usage is a discussible issue (Figure 3.20. and 3.21.). there is also a public square with a coffee house for men.

Due to socio-economic and physical reasons, coal stoves are used as heaters in almost 70% of the houses.[174] This usage causes air pollution in the area and smoke poisoning

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[173] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 111
[174] *Ibid.*, p. 118

risk due to the strong winds in Bursa. Details about the physical structure of the two neighborhoods will be analyzed in the next chapter.



*Figure 3.20.* A Park in the Study Area

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*
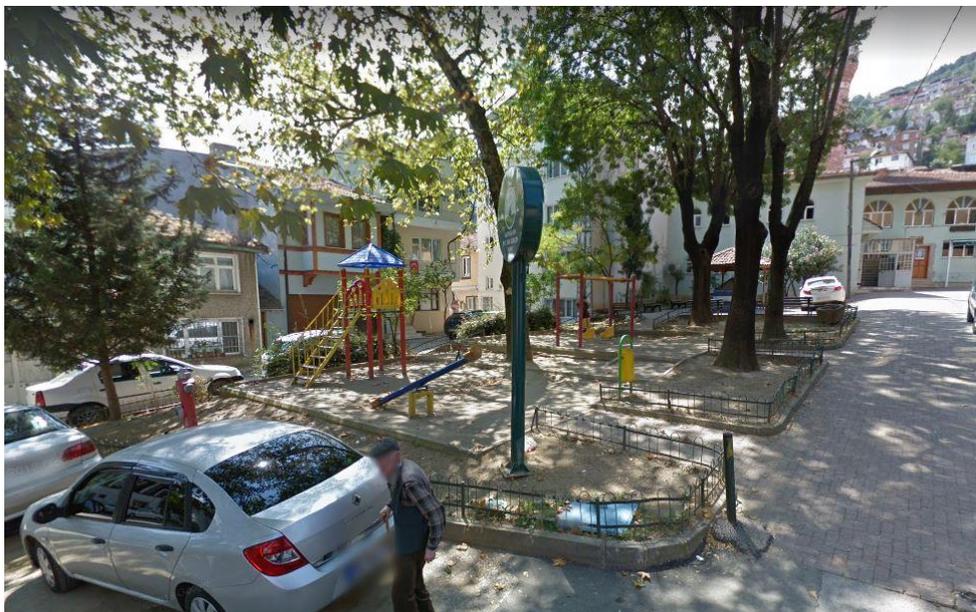


*Figure 3.21.* A Park in the Study Area

*Source: Google Street View, accessed in August 2019*

### 3.3.2. Social Aspects of the Neighborhoods

Squatter settlements have generally an intermediary family structure between urban and rural family types. They have a higher rate of people per house than city centers. According to Çalışkan and Akbulak's study in 2010, the rate of number of households per house in the case study is 4. The extended family, which previously dominated the area, was replaced by the nuclear family due to economic difficulties.[175] Therefore, migrant families have adapted their family structure according to the requirements of the big city in time.

In terms of demography, the hometown of 80% of the residents in the study area is Bursa and the half of the total population migrated from the countryside. 88% of the people migrating from rural areas have their origins in Bursa's countryside.[176] These citizens mostly came from Orhaneli, İnegöl and Büyükorhan as mentioned in the history of the area. The reasons of migration vary among families such as economic needs, wish to be near to relatives, marriage, education and job assignment.

The biggest increase in the population realized after 1950.[177] Most of the residents live in the area for more than 10 years.[178] In addition, almost %80 of residents are owner of their houses.[179] This leads to the establishment of a strong relationship between neighborhoods and citizens. Also, neighborliness relations are powerful owing to living together for a long time.

In the area, the importance of religious buildings is higher than education and cultural centers for residents. Rana Aslanoğlu states that mosques have been used to gain legitimacy for squatters in addition to religious purposes.[180] Also, citizens living in the area see mosques and tombs as places for visiting and gathering.[181] The main shopping

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[175] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 54
[176] *Ibid.*, p. 62
[177] *Ibid.*, p. 79
[178] *Ibid.*, p. 80
[179] *Ibid.*, p. 105
[180] Aslanoğlu, 1998, p. 213
[181] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010a, p. 103

area is situated in a small public square in İvazpaşa neighborhood. There is a coffee shop for men use in the same square (Figure 3.22.). This square located at the intersection of the main roads, the public transportation and commercial activities, is a meeting point for citizens (Figure 3.23.).



*Figure 3.22.* A View from the Public Square of the Study Area

*Source: Google Street View, accessed in August 2019*



*Figure 3.23.* A View from the İvazpaşa Street

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

# CHAPTER 4

# MOLLAFENARİ AND İVAZPAŞA NEIGHBORHOODS AS A "PLACE"

The aim of this study is the evaluation of the squatter settlements as the way they are. The most comprehensive way to achieve this is accepting these areas as a place including their unique specialties, potentials and problems. To present an instance, Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods are chosen. In this chapter, these settlements will be analyzed in terms of their morphology and architecture to reveal their significance for the city in various scales. In the end of this analysis, positive and negative sides of the area and their effects will be discussed.

## 4.1. Morphological Analysis

Morphology reveals the formation of a territory in urban scale and the reasons behind this development. It represents reflections of relations between the urban form and the geography on the physicality of a settlement in a range of scale. In addition to geographical factors, it demonstrates solutions that are found by people against urban problems in relation with their lifestyles.

Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods have a challenging landscape. They are situated on the foothills of Uludağ (Figure 4.1.), thus they are shaped according to this steep site with a slope reaching 45 degrees at some parts as mentioned before. This situation gives these neighborhoods a panoramic view of the city center and Bursa Plain behind that. It is one of the reasons why the location of the settlement is critical.

As the most powerful factor on morphology in this case, geography has affected the development of the street layout of these neighborhoods. To deal with the steep slope of the topography, streets were shaped parallel or diagonal to the slopes of the mountain. With this formation, this area differentiates itself from the walled city and

the historical commercial center. The difference can be seen clearly in the street layout map (Figure 4.2.). The main Pınarbaşı Street situated at the south of the graveyard separates the organic urban fabric from the linear development of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods. Because of lack of flat surfaces on the foothills, streets are narrow in comparison with the roads of the historic city center. They are like capillary vessels due to their angular connections and cul-de-sacs.



*Figure 4.1.* View of the Neighborhoods on Foothills of Uludağ

*Source: Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010b*

There is a second element which is the stairs used by residents as the streets to access their houses. In order to cope with the steep landscape, stairs are used to link long main streets and the cul-de-sacs with each other, as perpendicular secondary connections. The significance of these elements in the area can be seen in the map (Figure 4.3.). Their usage is the same with asphalt roads functionally except the vehicle use. In addition, they are used to divide the plots which are bigger and more longitudinal than normal sizes in the city center.
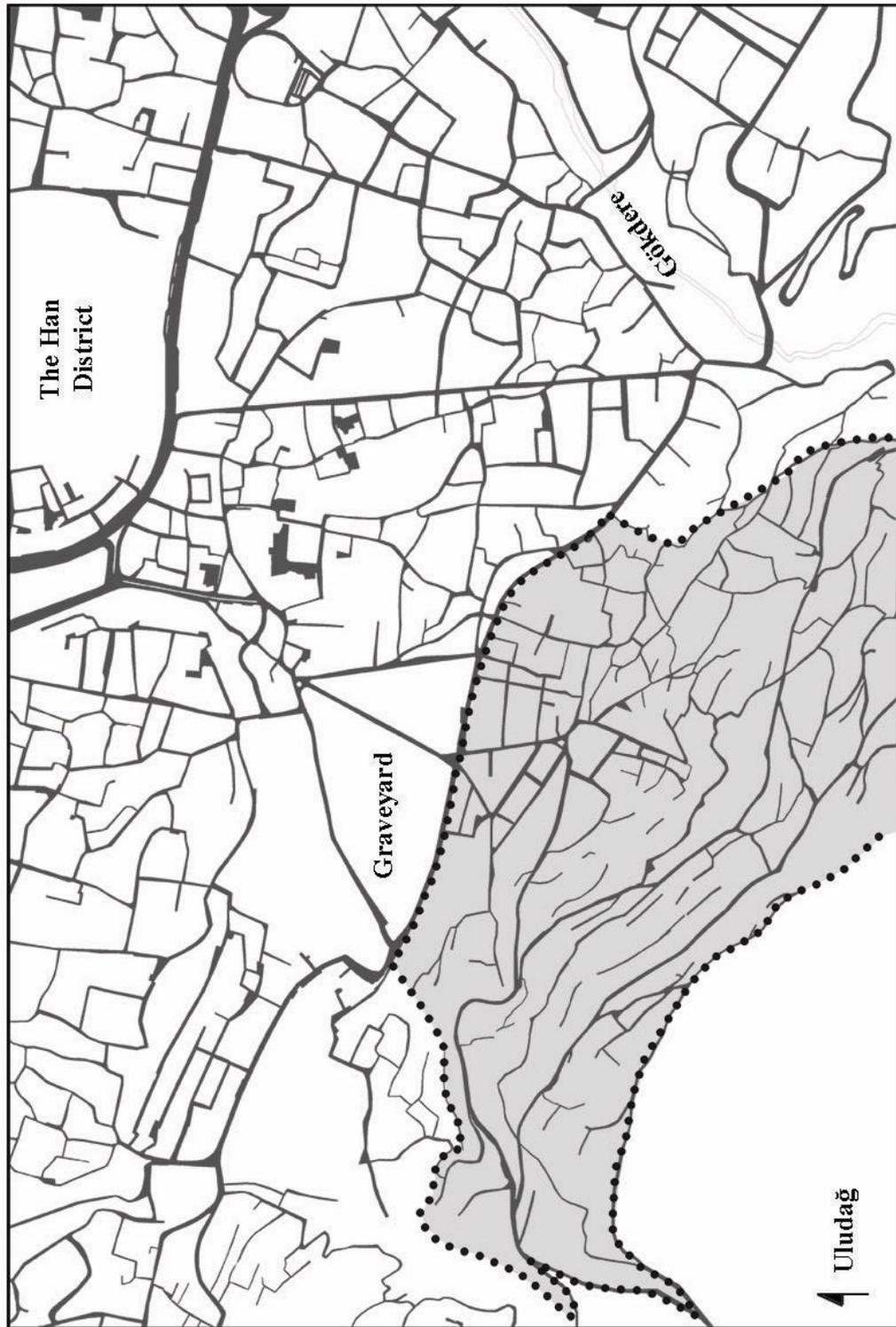
*Figure 4.2.* Map Showing the Street Layout of the Study Area

*Source: Prepared by the author by taking the base map provided by Bursa Osmangazi Municipality.*
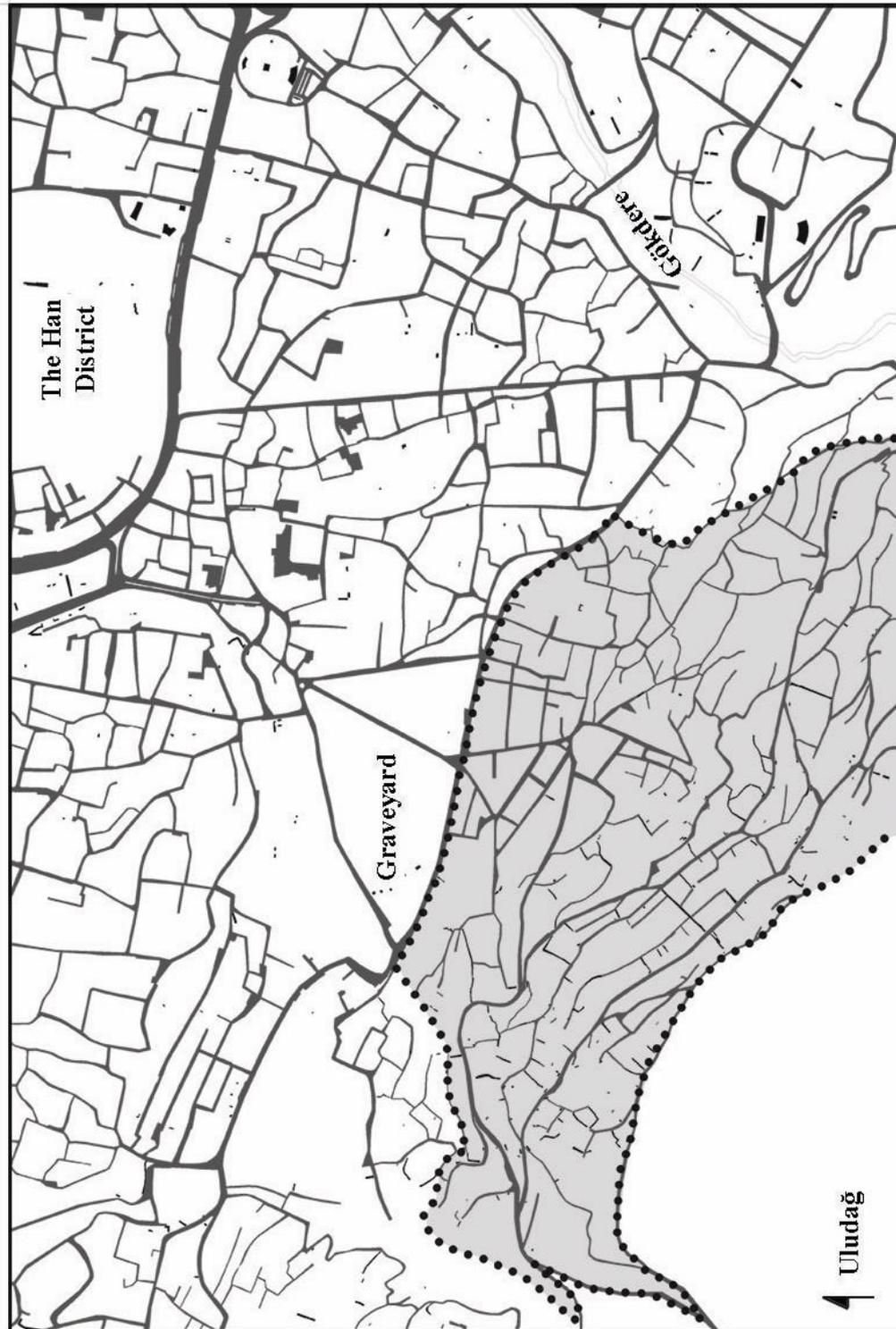
*Figure 4.3.* Map Showing the Street Layout with Stairs

*Source: Prepared by the author by taking the base map provided by Bursa Osmangazi Municipality.*

The difference of the shape of the plots between the area and the central districts can be distinguished in the plot layout map (Figure 4.4). They have more longitudinal shapes than plots of the center. In order to increase the area to the constructions and to reach the inner areas of plots, cul-de-sacs, stairs and ramps are used. Moreover, there is a hierarchy between streets in terms of their width. Due to the insufficiency of their width for fire engines and ambulances during emergencies, several streets were widened or newly constructed by the municipality. The difference between the old and new roads can be differentiated on the maps.

In terms of buildings, it is possible to say that the size of structures, especially housing units, is getting smaller as the slope degree increases (Figure 4.5.). In the city center, specifically the Hans District, the historic public buildings – *hans* – with courtyards and big apartment blocks and commercial purposes can be differentiated from on the solid-void map. Towards the south of the city, while the sizes of the buildings become smaller, the voids between them also get narrower. Even in some areas, owing to the projections, the streets cannot be seen in the top view.

The linear structure of the street layout also influences the formation of residential buildings. Instead of enclosing an urban void like in the city center, these houses follow long and narrow streets and create sequences of dwellings. Another reason of this can be the need for increasing the density owing to population increase. As a result of this formation, the deficiency of public squares and the orientation to landmarks is one of noticeable problems in the area.

Moreover, because of the need of places for functions such as storage, woodshed and garage, additional structures are constructed. They can be seen in the solid-void map in gray color (Figure 4.5.). They are mostly single storey and situated in gardens and courtyards of squatters. They represent the additive forms directed by functional needs.

As a result, these neighborhoods show threshold characteristics by their in-between location and their formation reflecting the transition between the city and Uludağ.
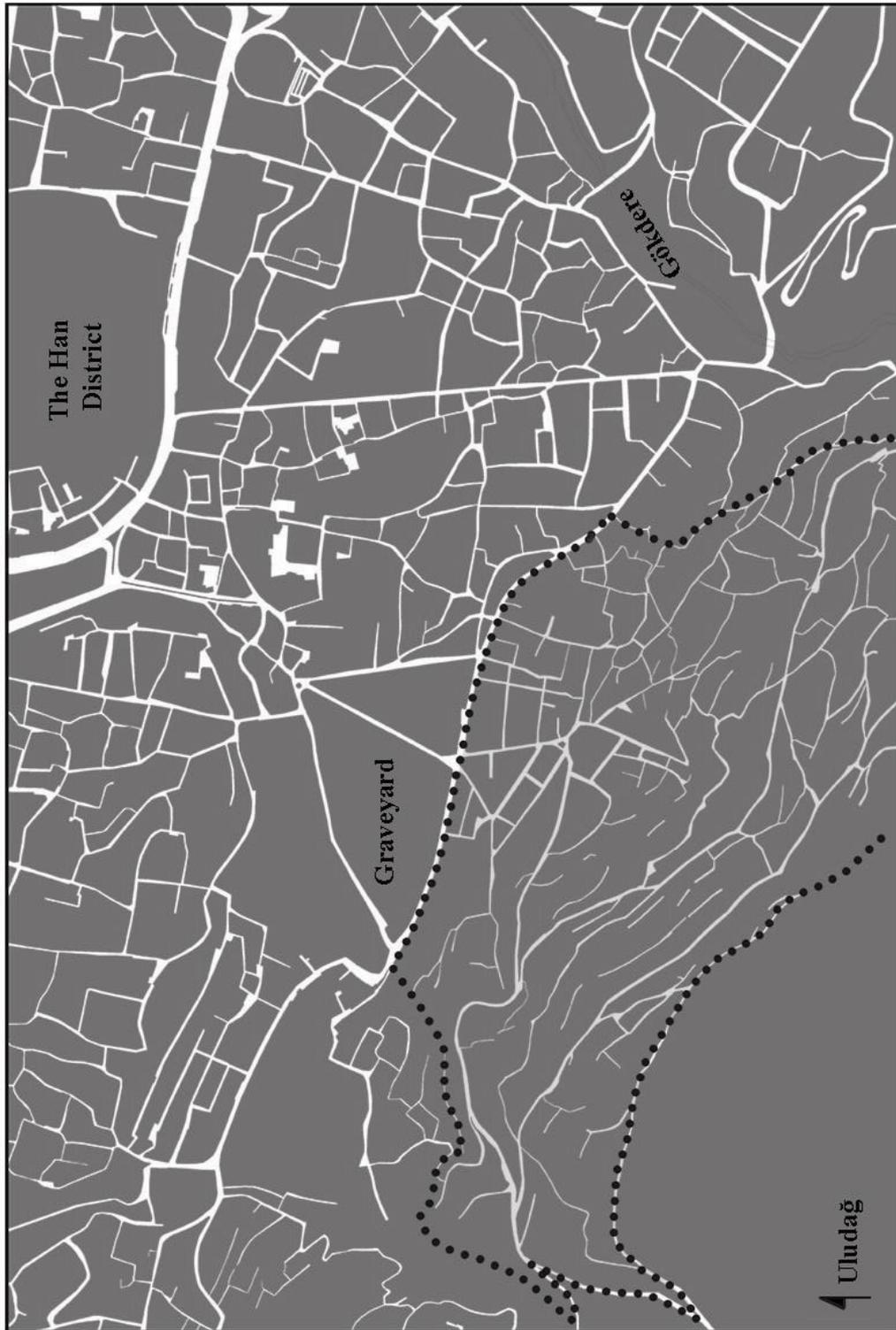
*Figure 4.4.* Map Showing the Urban Blocks of the Study Area

*Source: Prepared by the author by taking the base map provided by Bursa Osmangazi Municipality.*

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*Figure 4.5.* Solid-Void Map of the Study Area

*Source: Prepared by the author by taking the base map provided by Bursa Osmangazi Municipality.*

67

## 4.2. Architectural Analysis

After considering morphological features of the case study, examining its architectural formation and characteristics is a requirement for a study focusing on the place concept. As mentioned before, a place may consist of a wide range of scale from a room to a city. It is a necessity to examine the architectural scale when a neighborhood is concerned. In this section, architectural features of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods will be analyzed under five categories namely historical public structures, residential buildings, streets, stairs and ramps, and lastly gardens.

### 4.2.1. Historical Public Structures

As mentioned in the third chapter, Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods have a historical background including the Ottoman period. Especially the time period beginning with the development of Bursa as an Ottoman capital city in the 14th and 15th centuries affected this area in terms of architectural heritages.

In the region, there is a spring structure (Figure 4.6.), namely Şeyhhamit Ayazması[182] in Turkish. However, there is not detailed information about this place, although the term "ayazma" –ayíasma ἀγίασμα– in Greek, refers to the presence a holy spring, which might date back before the Ottoman period.



*Figure 4.6.* A Spring Structure (Ayazma)

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

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[182] Kaplanoğlu, n.d.

*Figure 4.7.* Haydar Hane Public Bath

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

Owing to the potential of the thermal water springs of Bursa, there is a public bath, *hamam* in Turkish, in İvazpaşa neighborhood. It was constructed by Fenari Ahmed Paşa in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Figure. 4.7.). It belongs to the foundation – wakf – of Fenari İsa Mosque in İstanbul. The bath was built by using masonry structural system including bricks and rubble stones as materials. It has a square shaped plan layout which an edge is 10,20 meters. It is covered by a singular dome. To take the natural light inside, there are seven lighting lanterns on its domes.[183] It is still used with its original function and serves both men and women. It attracts not only residents of its neighborhood but also people from nearby areas, because going to a public bath is still an important ritual and activity to relax in Bursa.

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[183] Türkiye Kültür Portalı, March 25, 2013

*Figure 4.8.* Somuncu Baba Mosque

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

There are various mosques in the site. Somuncu Baba Mosque is the most famous and oldest one between them (Figure 4.8.). It was constructed in 1407 during the reign of Yıldırım Beyazıt. It is situated in Mollafenari neighborhood. It has a rectangular plan layout that has edges of 5,70 to 8,70 meters. It is covered by a single dome. Its entrance gate has Bursa type arches. The walls of the mosque were constructed with stones and bricks. Its minaret was built with only bricks on an octagonal base. The mosque is surrounded by graves in its courtyard. The restoration of the building was done in 1960s.[184] It is actively used by the community to worship.

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[184] Türkiye Kültür Portalı, February 19, 2013

*Figure 4.9.* Somuncu Baba House, Bakery and Cultural Center

*Source: The photograph above - taken by the author*

*The photograph below taken from the website - http://www.osmangazi.bel.tr/tr/proje/somuncu-baba-evifirini-ve-kultur-merkezi*

Somuncu Baba was a baker who prepared bread for workers during the construction of Bursa Grand Mosque (Ulu Cami in Turkish) in 1390s. This complex (Figure 4.9.) includes his home and the masonry oven attaché to it. Restoration of the structure was completed by Bursa Osmangazi Municipality. The complex serves as a cultural center

and it is used especially in the Ramadan month for activities in Mollafenari neighborhood.
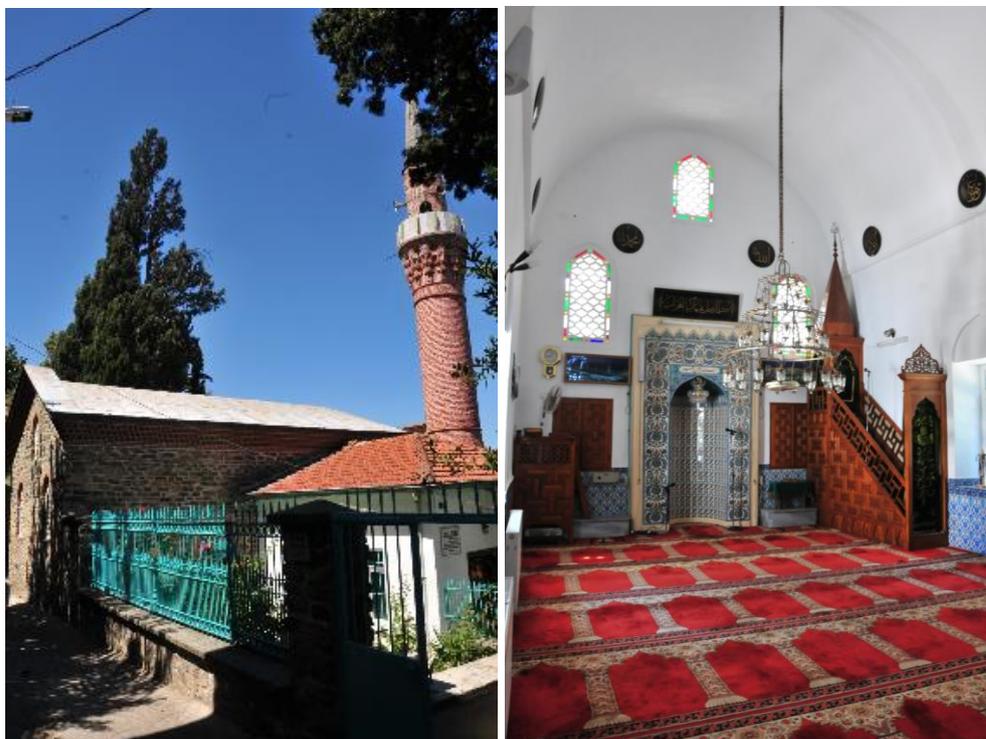


*Figure 4.10.* Molla Fenari Mosque

*Source: https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/bursa/kulturenvanteri/molla-fenari-camii*

Another historical building is Molla Fenari Mosque which gives its name to the neighborhood (Figure 4.10.). It was built by Molla Şemsettin Mehmet Fenari who was a religious officer and judge – *kadı* – in the 15th century. The structure has a rectangular plan layout in sizes of 13,80 and 5,40 meters. Its minaret was constructed with bricks on an octagonal base. The space is spanned by a simple vault structure covered by a timber-framed roof covered by tiles. There are traditional glazed tiles used on the *mihrab* and below the windows inside the mosque. The tomb of Molla Fenari is situated in the garden of the mosque.[185]

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[185] Türkiye Kültür Portalı, February 18, 2013

*Figure 4.11.* Üftade Tekke Mosque and Complex

In Mollafenari neighborhood, there is also a historical religious social complex, namely *tekke* in Turkish, that was constructed by Üftade Mehmet Muhiddin in 1565. In the complex (Figure 4.11.), there is a mosque and a building named as *semahane* where several religious rituals are performed. The mosque has sizes of 6,60 and 6,75 meters and a timber roof. Its minaret was built by using bricks. The *semahane* has sizes of 9,75 and 9,90 meters with a timber roof. While the walls of the complex were built with bricks and stones in the basement level, the second floor has timber-framed walls. There are ornaments on timber ceilings. There is a part that served as an *imaret* in the past and this part includes stone ovens to bake breads for the community.[186] The complex serves as a mosque and a cultural center at present.

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[186] Türkiye Kültür Portalı, February 20, 2013

*Figure 4.12.* Tomb of İvaz Paşa

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

Besides the mosques, there are also several tombs – *türbe* – in different points at the study area. One of them is the tomb of İvaz Paşa (Figure 4.12) who gives his name to the neighborhood.

The community living in these neighborhoods and many citizens of Bursa visit these mosques and tombs according to their beliefs. More importantly, these architectural heritages are one of the main components of the collective memory since they were constructed. Therefore, it is a must to protect them physically and include these structures into the everyday life. In this way, residents can internalize the existence and importance of these structures in their living places. Moreover, these heritage places have a role in the physical environment as landmarks. They are the main physical elements that contribute to the sense of place and, the identification and orientation in the neighborhoods.

## 4.2.2. Residential Buildings

As a settlement area with predominantly residential character, the houses and their specialties are important for the place characteristic of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods. Because of the historical stratification in the area, there are different houses that belong to different typologies. They can be classified mainly under three categories. They are historical structures such as timber-framed houses, squatter houses and newly constructed apartment blocks. Owing to these typologies, neighborhoods represent a complex physical appearance and architectural places.



*Figure 4.13.* A Historic Timber-framed House in the Area

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

The historical houses, that form the first typology in the study area give clues about the everyday life in the past. One of the most impressive building in Mollafenari neighborhood is a two-floor timber-framed house (Figure 4.13.). Its walls were built with bricks and it has a timber roof covered by tiles. The building has a panoramic view of Bursa city center and the plain. Unfortunately, this house is not used actively

anymore. In addition, there are old houses having different forms and plan layouts. Two of them can be seen in the photographs (Figure 4.14.). These houses are still used by residents. The left one is big like the previous example and directed to the view. The right one is situated at the intersection of two streets and is smaller in size. These historical houses are perceived as landmarks of the neighborhoods, so they contribute to the identification and orientation of the area.



*Figure 4.14.* Timber-framed Houses

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

The second typology is formed of squatters, *gecekondu* in Turkish, which began to appear with the immigration from the rural areas to the city, which began in 1950s. In the two neighborhoods, most of the squatters have one floor (Figure 4.15.). Almost half of them have their own small gardens or courtyards. Although, they have structural problems and do not have modern fixtures, they have a lively appearance as they are part of the lived space, i.e. their place in the daily life and the collective memory of the residents (Figure 4.16.). However, they make apparent the contrast between the city center and the neighborhood (Figure 4.17).

*Figure 4.15.* Views from Squatters in the Area

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*



*Figure 4.16.* Views from Squatters in the Area

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

*Figure 4.17.* Contrast between a Squatter and the City

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*



*Figure 4.18.* Apartment Blocks in the Area

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

The last typology is the apartment blocks that have been constructed recently by the landowners on the sites of old and ruined houses. The increase of incomes of families and flexible planning regulations about constructions cause the rise of these buildings. Most of them have two or three floors but some of them have more than three storeys as seen in the photograph (Figure 4.18). This situation creates a risk in terms of natural

disasters because Bursa is situated in the high-level seismic zone and the study area is situated on steep foothills. An earthquake with high intensity can damage these apartment blocks easily.

As a result, it is possible to say that mostly historical houses and squatter houses constitute the main physical framework of the everyday life, the collective memory and the sense of place in these neighborhoods. It is a result of creating a place for memories and neighborliness relations for a long time. Even if apartment blocks seem to destroy effects of the historic texture, the settlement is worth to protect and sustain due to the historical and place characteristics, and the collective memory of the two neighborhoods.

### 4.2.3. Streets

Streets have been the primary component of the unification of architectural elements and social entities. For this reason, they serve as a base for the network of relations, which consist of physical and social variables, and their interrelations. Owing to this potential, neighborhoods as a socio-spatial approach need streets and the social life processing on them.



*Figure 4.19.* A Street Intersection from the Area

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

In Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods, streets have a significant role. Houses and residents have an intimate connection to each other owing to the formation of the streets. Their physical connections create various perspectives that present different views from the area and the life itself (Figure 4.19.). Most of them are narrow, which makes the houses situated closely. As their houses are next to one other, residents can establish neighborliness relations easily. It is observed from the conversations with them that they generally trust each other.

In the area, there are no sidewalks owing to the lack of place in the tightly woven fabric of the neighborhoods. Therefore, all doors open to the streets directly (Figure 4.20.). This situation creates a different kind of bond between citizens and the street.



*Figure 4.20.* Street Views

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

*Figure 4.21.* Narrow Streets

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*



*Figure 4.22.* Views from Cul-de-sacs

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

Some streets in the area are so narrow that even a car cannot pass (Figure 4.21.). They work as traffic free pedestrian ways and serve as a free place for their residents. In such cases, the everyday life in the houses can spread out to the streets. Therefore,

such streets become a secondary place for houses and a common public place for people living on the street. Remnants of the organic urban fabric dating back from the Ottoman period, there are still cul-de-sacs in the neighborhoods (Figure 4.22.). These dead-end streets provide semi-private open places for residents who live there. Moreover, these places enhance the place attachment and belonging for groups of residents.

At some points in these neighborhoods, the municipality widened certain streets for not taking any risks during emergency such as fires and health problems. The widened street (Figure 4.23.) also serves as a route for the public transportation.



*Figure 4.23.* One of the Main Streets in the Area

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

As in any other urban settlements, streets become one of the significant aspects of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods in terms of the physical and social structure. They strengthen the sense of place, the identification of the settlement and the fit to the place. Also, they enhance the place attachment and the memory of place by using the everyday life.

### 4.2.4. Stairs

Stairs are known as architectural elements that provide a connection between primary places such as main rooms of a house or floors of a building. In other words, mostly they are not given primary functions in architectural and urban structures. However, the role of stairs in Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods indicates a difference from other examples. At first, the citizens' aim while constructing these stairs was creating connections between streets in this steep site and dividing longitudinal plots into pieces to increase the construction area. In time, the function of stairs went beyond its main purpose. They began to work as traffic free pedestrian streets.
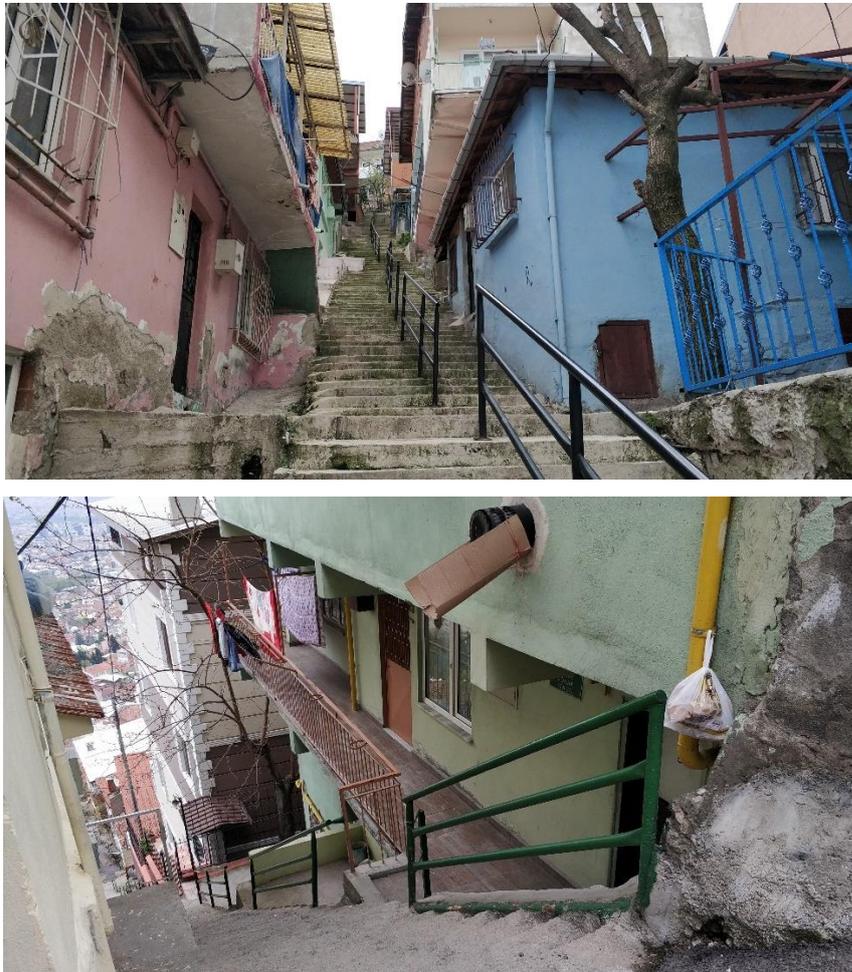


*Figure 4.24.* Stairs from the Area

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

*Figure 4.25.* Different Formations of Stairs

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

As stairs serve as streets, the entrances of houses connect to the stairs directly or after a small threshold space (Figure 4.24.). Therefore, attached houses are related to one another like flats in an apartment block connecting via stairs. According to the differences of the topography, several types of stairs are used in the area (Figure 4.25.). A number of stairs open towards impressive vistas towards the city center by virtue of situating on the foothills, whereas some of other stairs create miniature urban pockets between houses (Figure 4.26.).

At some nodes, scenes of the daily life of the residents can be seen on the stairs. For instance, it is possible to coincide with chickens during a walk or see flowers in pots belonging to a neighbor (Figure 4.27.). Therefore, clues about the life of the community can be observed.

These stairs were designed emergently by residents according to their needs in response to the challenging topography and landscape. They function as spontaneous social and communal spaces. Therefore, parts of their daily lives are experienced not only in their houses but also in these places and enhance the place attachment of the residents.



*Figure 4.26.* Stairs in Different Scales

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*



*Figure 4.27.* Intersection of Stairs and Private Places

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

## 4.2.5. Gardens and Courtyards

As an evolutionary instinct, living close to the earth and vegetation is a physical and psychological need for humans. Being interested in gardening is a relaxing method for people, for the elderly in particular. This activity also enhances the place attachment and the sense of belonging that individuals feel. Therefore, even owing a small piece of land for gardening or a courtyard to rest can create many positive effects on residents and eventually the community and the neighborhood.

In the study area, almost half of the houses have small gardens or courtyards (Figure 4.28). People use these areas for gardening, to raise fruit trees, flowers or some other plants, which can grow easily. Additionally, it is possible to see animals like chickens, dogs and cats in the gardens and courtyards.
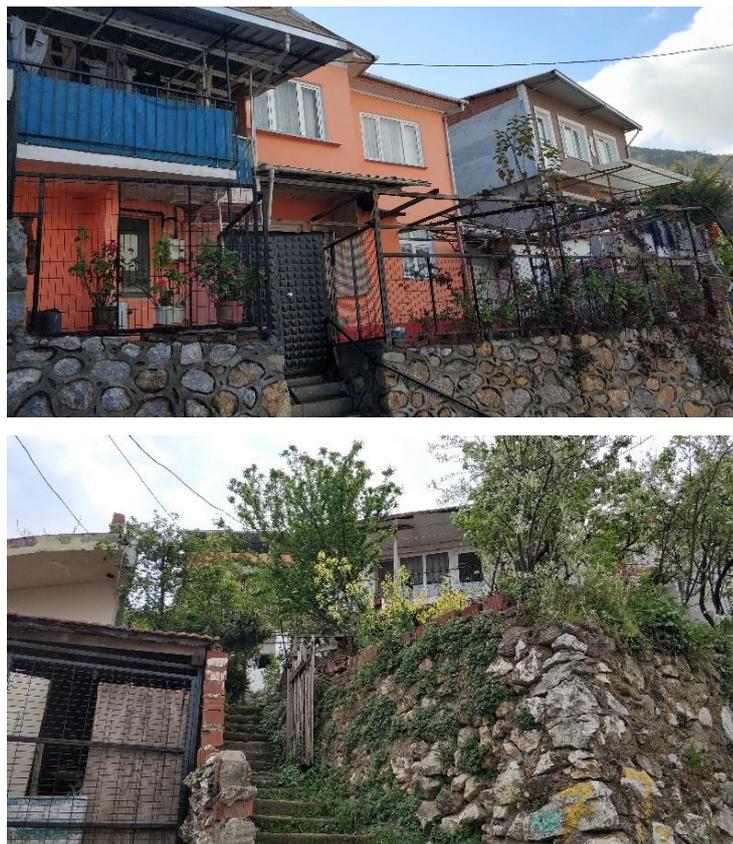


*Figure 4.28.* Private Gardens

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

*Figure 4.29.* Private Courtyards

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

These small plots using as a courtyard or a garden are formed from leftover spaces. They are situated next to the entrances of houses or behind them (Figure 4.29.). In addition to them, there are urban voids caused by the steep site or because of some property problems. Several voids are used as community gardens in the area (Figure 4.30.). It is an effective way to work together as a community in these neighborhoods. These greenery areas can be seen as a green network to work on.

*Figure 4.30.* Community Gardens

*Source: Photographs taken by the author*

## 4.3. Assessment of the Study Area

The analysis of the morphology, urban spaces and architectural elements of a squatter settlement reveals its positive and negative sides. These inferences lead to make suggestions for the present and the future of the area. Therefore, this makes possible to do an assessment of Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods by reasoning on their potentials and problems. While evaluating the qualities of the place, it is important to consider that the residents of these neighborhoods are the designers of this physical

and social structure. Therefore, the results of the analysis should be evaluated accordingly.

The study area has many potentials and problems to evaluate and to solve. While looking into these sides of the area, Christopher Alexander's book, namely The Pattern Language[187], is used as a reference list with the place theory mentioned in the second chapter.

### 4.3.1. Potentials

- First of all, the study area has a significant potential with its proximity to the city center of Bursa. According to Alexander, every citizen should be given the chance to benefit from the "magic of the city".[188] Therefore, it is easy to reach the physical and social infrastructure of the city for these settlements such as the public transport system and public facilities.

- The study area has an identifiable character in terms of its scale, population and boundary as Alexander suggested.[189] The study area is limited by the nature from three side and by a main street, namely Pınarbaşı Street, from the north. It provides that residents can define and sense their living place, so its identification can be possible.

- As a potential about the physical fabric, almost 90 percent of the buildings have less than four floors,[190] and most of them have one or two floors. The reason behind this is that higher buildings are inconvenient for the human health, besides economic reasons.[191]

- According to Alexander, the use of parallel roads can also decrease the usage of automobiles and can increase bicycles and walking.[192] In the study area, parallelly

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[187] Alexander, Ishikawa & Silverstein, 1977
[188] *Ibid.,* p. 59
[189] *Ibid.,* p. 81, 87
[190] Çalışkan & Akbulak, 2010, p. 111
[191] Alexander, Ishikawa & Silverstein, 1977, p. 117
[192] *Ibid.,* p. 129

situated narrow streets can lead to decrease the use of automobiles and promote the public transportation.

- In the area, there are residents from different ages, hometowns and education levels, so it creates a mixture of households. This diversity creates a mixture of culture and collective memory that feed the spirit of place of neighborhoods.

- As a potential about the urban fabric of the study area, there are "degrees of publicness" in terms of the relation between houses and streets.[193] It creates different atmospheres for residents having houses on the streets with traffic or houses situated next to stairs or pedestrian paths.

- For housing in high densities, Alexander proposes row house typology to prevent apartment blocks.[194] In Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods, it is possible to see this typology in the majority of the dwellings. With their gardens, courtyards and relations with the streets, they offer a potential to be utilized.

- People need sacred places for their religious beliefs and these places make people feel to belong a community.[195] The study area has several historical mosques in use. While they create a support to the collective memory, people using these places can connect each other easily.

- There are various houses for different family types such as single people, nucleus or extended families and the rate of owning a house is almost 80% in the settlement. The ownership provides the place attachment feeling for the community, not only for their home but also for the neighborhood itself.[196]

- Owing to being settled on the foothills of Uludağ, there are open public places facing a wide panorama over the city center and Bursa Plain. According to Alexander, climbing a high point in the city can refresh citizens' mind and body[197],

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[193] Alexander, Ishikawa & Silverstein, 1977, p. 195
[194] *Ibid.,* p. 205
[195] *Ibid.,* p. 332
[196] *Ibid.,* p. 395
[197] *Ibid.,* p. 317

so such places (Figure 4.31.) in the settlement have a potential to use as public parks and recreation spaces.



*Figure 4.31.* One of Open Areas Seeing the City

*Source: Photograph taken by the author*

- It is a significant point to arrange buildings to form pedestrian paths and to connect these paths with entrances and stairs in a neighborhood.[198] Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods have narrow pedestrian paths and stairs. The absence of the traffic provides free space for the residents and especially for children.
- In the settlement, many houses have their own gardens and most of them have not direct connection with the streets. Not exposing to the public in "half-hidden gardens" make residents feel comfortable.[199]
- Threshold places situated before entrances of houses are important to provide a smooth transition between the street and the entrance.[200] Therefore, an enclosure is achieved to create a balance between the public and the private place. In the study area, most of houses have this transition place shaped as a stair, a balcony or a small courtyard.

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[198] Alexander, Ishikawa & Silverstein, 1977, p. 490
[199] *Ibid.,* p. 547
[200] *Ibid.,* p. 549

- Use of public open stairs as a continuation of streets provide that citizens perceive entrances of houses and public facilities as "the domain of real people, not the domain of corporations and institutions".[201] Open stairs are used in the squatter settlement except several new apartment blocks to connect houses like a street.

- In the study area, houses have street windows owing to directly have an edge to them. Alexander states that these windows increase the feeling of being secured for the passersby in the street and the connection of residents living in these houses.[202]

- Houses in Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods mostly have a piece of earth such as a small garden or a green space around them. It is a potential to refresh minds and body of citizens living there. It provides rootedness of human beings to the lived place physically.[203]

## 4.3.2. Problems

- To achieve the balance between the public and private life, mixed use in the urban fabric is a positive aspect in a neighborhood. Therefore, according to Alexander, the concentration of workplace or family life in a zone should be prevented.[204] In the study area, there is a concentration of houses. Except one main street consisting of commercial functions, there is heterogeneity in the area in terms of different functions. Although, this depends on the cultural preferences of the community, shopping facilities and workshops are also needed.

- There is a lack of public places such as small public squares, public outdoor rooms, promenades and shopping street.[205] Neighborhoods have these elements at a minimum level, and this is not sufficient for the population of the community. For instance, there are places named as "cultural center" in the area, but they are not used efficiently. They can be used to enhance the community engagement. In

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[201] Alexander, Ishikawa & Silverstein, 1977, p. 744
[202] *Ibid.,* p. 772
[203] *Ibid.,* p. 787
[204] *Ibid.,* p. 56
[205] *Ibid.,* p. 164, 169, 175, 311, 349

addition, there is one main public square in both neighborhoods, but it is not suitable for citizens from all genders and ages.

- Arranging houses in identifiable groups around a public place makes residents feel more secured.[206] In Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods, there are clusters of houses, but they are not identifiable. The public places lack in most of them.

- Newly constructed high-rise apartment blocks in the area can be a risk during a natural disaster. In addition, they adversely affect the appearance of the settlement when compared to the squatter houses.

- There is a lack of sidewalks for pedestrians in the area. Most of the streets in these neighborhoods are not suitable for them because of their narrowness. However, there are no appropriate pavements in wide roads either.

- Children are sensible members of a community in a neighborhood. Therefore, it is crucial to design safe places and connections in the settlement for their exploration trips and plays to develop their social development.[207] In the study area, there is not enough and effective playgrounds for the children. They use the streets for this purpose.

- Accessible green areas are a must for a residential settlement to increase satisfaction of the community.[208] In the settlement, there is a lack of designed green places. Current green areas are in-between plots next to houses and they should be arranged for the use of residents.

- In the area, there are not any sport fields except the ones situated in the courtyards of the two schools.

- A local street café can make citizens feel relax and create a place to socialize to achieve the community engagement.[209] In the study area, there is only one coffee house which serves to just men. A social place for all family is a need in the settlement.

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[206] Alexander, Ishikawa & Silverstein, 1977, p. 202
[207] *Ibid.,* p. 294, 342
[208] *Ibid.,* p. 305
[209] *Ibid.,* p. 437

- Owing to geographical factors, there is a lack of parking places. In narrow streets, parking cars prevent the circulation on the roads. There is one open parking place in the neighborhoods, but it is not enough for the population. Alexander proposes small parking lots for 5-7 cars surrounded by green areas instead of vast parking areas to solve this problem.[210]

- There are many open stairs in the area, but they are not used as social places adequately.

### 4.3.3. Suggestions for the Future

All of the potentials and problems enumerated above indicate that Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods can present a future if a comprehensive study for a guideline for the future is done. To reach this step, accepting this squatter settlement as a developing social and physical structure is a prerequisite. If it is seen as an undesirable area that should be demolished especially by the authorities, the sustainability of the area is not possible.

The settlement needs a regeneration process instead of a radical transformation/renewal that will result in a total destruction. The following articles are a tentative proposal for a basic guideline for the future of this settlement.

- Urban voids in the area should be designed and opened to use as accessible green areas for all community. These areas should include small public squares and playgrounds for children.

- Urban voids having the panoramic view of the city center should be designed as public parks to attract people's attention.

- Stairs should be evaluated as a network that provide both accesses to the houses and social spaces for the residents, and they should be refurbished.

- Old residential buildings should be renovated according to the owners' requirements and demands, with their participation.

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[210] Alexander, Ishikawa & Silverstein, 1977, p. 506

- Construction of high apartment blocks should be prevented by the municipality.
- Historical building complexes and houses should be conserved and used for activities to enhance the community engagement and belonging.
- The main commercial street, namely İvazpaşa Street, should be developed physically and serve to all community.
- Commercial nodes should be increased in number at different points in the settlement and a homogeneous neighborhood should be aimed to achieve by the local authorities and the community.

# CHAPTER 5

# CONCLUSION

*...towns and buildings will not be able to become alive, unless they are made by all the people in society, and unless these people share a common pattern language, within which to make these buildings, and unless this common pattern language is alive itself.*[211]

Squatter settlements have been recognized as a problem to solve by governments and citizens since their appearance in 1950s in Turkey. The solution found by authorities is implementing transformation projects including a demolition and re-construction process. The success of this solution directed by TOKİ – Turkish Mass Housing Institution – could not go beyond financial profit and fulfillment of quantitative requirements. In these transformation projects, wishes and thoughts of residents and landowners of squatter settlements are not taken notice by project coordinators. Therefore, the finalized projects implemented cause gentrification due to the high expenses of new housing estates aimed for the upper income social groups, while the residents of old squatter settlements are mostly relocated to the areas far from the city centers and the places where they lived before.. This situation creates conflicts between citizens and administrative institutions. The social lives of the old squatter neighborhoods are devastated with the annihilation of their physical existence in the end of these projects.

Understanding the physical and social fabric of squatter settlements by studying these areas from the perspective of place theory, will serve to enhance these areas as living neighborhoods and the lives of their inhabitants. This thesis aims to represent how both the spatial and social values of these neighborhoods can be examined before a

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[211] Alexander, Ishikawa & Silverstein, 1977, p. x

possible physical and social transformation process. In this scope, Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods situated in the city center of Bursa are studied.

This squatter settlement has a history that dated back to 14th century. There are historical heritage places and buildings in these neighborhoods from the period when Bursa was the capital city of Ottomans. This area had lived two periods leading to the population increase. Firstly, owing to industrial development of Bursa in the silk production, the need for labour was met by the people migrated from the nearby villages by using caravan routes in the 19th century. Therefore, new neighborhoods were formed at the south of the walled city.

The second migration process happened in the 20th century in the period beginning after the proclamation of the Republic. The advances of the textile and automobile industries in Bursa brought the need for workers again, so many people from nearby counties and eastern cities migrated to the city. As a result of this, squatter settlements were formed by the migrants due to the lack of housing. Neighborhoods near the historical city center were situated on the foothills of Uludağ, on steep slopes

Geographical factors have affected the formation of the urban and architectural fabric of the squatter settlement. A detailed look to the fabric introduces spatial potentials and problems that the area has. They are proofs of the life in the area and can indicate that this life can continue in the future effectively with the regeneration of the settlement without losing the sense of place, belonging, neighborliness relations and the collective memory of the community. Therefore, a participatory process can be managed for the development of the squatter settlement and the development of comprehensive design guidelines for a future regeneration process in these neighborhoods. This process can be a start-up not only for Mollafenari and İvazpaşa neighborhoods but also other squatter settlements in the city.

In conclusion, squatter settlements should not be evaluated as a physical and social obstacle against the urbanization and globalization. They are witnesses of the spatial and social history of cities and deserve preservation and regeneration. Their existence

in the city would contribute to promote a socially and economically sustainable development model for the city itself.

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