CHANGING URBAN ENVIRONMENT AND LIFESTYLES: A STUDY ON HOUSING ENCLAVES IN BURSA

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iv				

ABSTRACT

CHANGING URBAN ENVIRONMENT AND LIFESTYLES: A STUDY ON HOUSING ENCLAVES IN BURSA

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Bursa has been particularly subject to rapid urbanization and migration due to its location and its part in the economy of Turkey as an industrial center. With the rise in the population, the increasing density in the city center and the emergence of traffic problems, the middle and upper-income groups have left their residences in the city center and searched for a different habitat. The increasing popularity of gated housing in Bursa has created urban enclaves leading to detachment from the city center and accentuating social segregation.

This study aims to determine if these housing enclaves affect the lifestyles of the inhabitants, how much did the users adopted the lifestyles suggested by the affordances of the new built environment and are they happy with their new way of life. Based on a review of the literature on Environment – Behavior Studies (BHS) and architect Amos Rapoport's discussions on the subject, semi-structured in-depth-interviews conducted with the users of the chosen housing enclaves in Bursa namely; Saygınkent, Korupark, and Bursa Modern. Analysis of the responses demonstrates that gated housing has become a norm for the upper-middle-income group and define a new lifestyle embraced by its users. The results indicate that housing enclaves affect the lifestyles of the upper-middle-income groups, the city center has lost its

v

importance, and the already existing social segregation has become more emphasized. Further research is needed on the future of the city center and the sustainability of the new housing model as housing enclaves.

Keywords: Housing Enclaves, Lifestyles, Upper-Middle Class, Environment–Behaviosr Studies, Social Segregation

DEĞİŞEN KENTSEL ÇEVRE VE YAŞAM BİÇİMLERİ: BURSA'DAKİ KAPALI KONUT ALANLARI ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Bursa, bir sanayi kenti olarak Türkiye ekonomisindeki yeri ve önemi nedeniyle hızlı kentleşmeye ve göçe maruz kalmıştır. Nüfusun artması, şehir merkezindeki artan yoğunluk ve trafik sorunlarının ortaya çıkmasıyla üst ve orta gelir grubu şehir merkezindeki konutlarını terk ederek yeni yaşam alanları aramaya başlamışlardır. Bursa'da kapılı konutların artan popülaritesi, şehir merkezinden kopuşa neden olmuş ve sosyal ayrışmayı vurgulayan kentsel çevreler yaratmıştır.

Bu çalışma, son zamanda rağbet gören kapalı konutların kullanıcıların yaşam biçimlerini etkileyip etkilemediğini, kullanıcıların yeni oluşan çevrelerin sunduğu yaşam biçimlerini ne kadar benimsediklerini ve bu yeni yaşam biçimlerinden memnun olup olmadıklarını belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çevre—Davranış Kuramları (BHS) ve mimar Amos Rapoport'un konuyla ilgili tartışmalarının incelemesine dayanarak, Bursa'da seçilen Saygınkent, Korupark ve Bursa Modern kapalı sitelerinin kullanıcılarıyla derinlemesine görüşme tekniği kullanılarak mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Mülakatların yorumlanması sonucunda Bursa'da kapalı konutların üst-orta gelir grubu için bir norm haline geldiği ve kullanıcıları tarafından benimsenen yeni bir yaşam biçimi tanımladığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Sonuçlar konut çevrelerinin üst-orta gelir gruplarının yaşam biçimlerini etkilediğini, şehir merkezinin önemini yitirdiğini ve

halihazırda var olan sosyal ayrışmanın daha da derinleştiğini göstermektedir. Şehir merkezinin geleceği ve kapalı konut modelinin sürdürülebilirliği konusunda daha fazla araştırmaya ihtiyaç duyulduğu belirtilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kapalı Konut Alanları, Yaşam Biçimleri, Üst-Orta Sınıf, Çevre-Davranış Kuramları, Sosyal Ayrışma To my parents...

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
ÖZ	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	X
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	XV
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Problem Definition	1
1.2. Aim and Scope of the Research	4
1.3. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review	6
1.4. Methodology of the Research	17
2. METROPOLITAN PLANNING AND URBAN IN BURSA	
2.1. Urban Plans of Bursa	
2.2. Urban Development of Bursa through Master Plans	
2.2.1. Housing Development in Bursa after 1980s	
2.3. Housing Enclaves of Bursa: Case Studies	
2.3.1. Saygınkent Housing Estate	27
2.3.2. Korupark Housing Estate	31
2.3.3. Bursa Modern Housing Estate	36
3. COMPARATIVE EVALUATION OF THE INTERVIEWS	41

3.1. Methodology of the Interviews	41
3.1.1. Interviews with the Inhabitants of Saygınkent	42
3.1.1.1. The Profiles of the Interviewees	42
3.1.1.2. Reasons to choose the Housing Estate	44
3.1.1.3. Opinions about the Housing Estate and Housing Units	45
3.1.1.4. Commuting and Transportations	47
3.1.1.5. Use of Open Space and the Common Garden	47
3.1.1.6. Use of Sport Facilities	48
3.1.1.7. Use of Commercial Facilities	49
3.1.1.8. Socialization and Leisure Activities	50
3.1.1.9. Use of the Services Provided	53
3.1.2. Interviews with the Inhabitants of Korupark	54
3.1.2.1. The Profiles of the Interviewees	55
3.1.2.2. Reasons to choose the Housing Estate	56
3.1.2.3. Opinions about the Housing Estate and Housing Units	58
3.1.2.4. Commuting and Transportations	60
3.1.2.5. Use of Open Space and the Common Garden	61
3.1.2.6. Use of Sport Facilities	62
3.1.2.7. Use of Commercial Facilities	63
3.1.2.8. Socialization and Leisure Activities	64
3.1.2.9. Use of the Services Provided	65
3.1.3. Interviews with the Inhabitants of Bursa Modern	66
3.1.3.1. The Profiles of the Interviewees	67
3.1.3.2 Reasons to choose the Housing Estate	68

	3.1.3.3. Opinions about the Housing Estate and Housing Units	69
	3.1.3.4. Commuting and Transportations	72
	3.1.3.5. Use of Open Space and the Common Garden	72
	3.1.3.6. Use of Sport Facilities	73
	3.1.3.7. Use of Commercial Facilities	74
	3.1.3.8. Socialization and Leisure Activities	75
	3.1.3.9. Use of the Services Provided	77
3	3.2. Evaluation of the Interviews	79
4.	CONCLUSION	91
RE	FERENCES	97
AP	PENDICES	101
A.	QUESTIONNAIRE	101
D	INTEDVIEWS	105

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

Table 3.1. Interviewee Profile of Saygınkent Housing Estate	. 42
Table 3.2. Interviewee Profile of Korupark Housing Estate	. 55
Table 3.3. Interviewee Profile of Bursa Modern Housing Estate	. 67

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 2.1. Location of the Housing Estates (Cesur-Türkmen 2014)27
Figure 2.2. Saygınkent Common Garden (Cesur-Türkmen, 2019)29
Figure 2.3. Saygınkent Site Plan (retrieved from: http://www.sayginkent.com.tr/kat-
planlari)
Figure 2.4. Saygınkent: Apartment Block Interior, Sports Hall, Shopping Center
(Cesur-Türkmen 2019)30
Figure 2.5.Saygınkent Floor Plans (retrieved from: http://www.sayginkent.com.tr/kat-
planlari)30
Figure 2.6. Courtyard of Korupark 1 (Cesur-Türkmen, 2019)33
Figure 2.7. Courtyard of Korupark Terrace (Cesur-Türkmen, 2019)34
Figure 2.8.Korupark Terrace Site Plan (retrieved from: https://3dkonut.com/korupark-
terrace/projesi/)34
Figure 2.9. Bursa Modern (Cesur-Türkmen 2019)
Figure 2.10. Bursa Modern Site Plan (retrieved from:
http://www.evrenolarchitects.com/projeler-Bursa_Modern-7.html)37
Figure 2.11. Bursa Modern – Various Floor Plans (retrieved from:
https://3dkonut.com/sinpas-bursa-modern/projesi/)
Figure 3.1. Interviewee Profile
Figure 3.2. Reasons to choose the housing enclaves (Cesur-Türkmen, 2019)80





CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

Bursa has been particularly subject to rapid urbanization and migration due to its location and its part in the economy of Turkey as an industrial center. The industrial development in Bursa has been supported as a state policy since the 1960s. OEMs (original equipment manufacturers) of the prime automotive sector is located in the city. As a result, Bursa is one of the preferred locations for white-collar workers in Turkey. The first organized industrial zone was planned in Bursa by the Italian planner Luigi Piccinato, which affected later growth of the city towards its peripheries. The urban growth, that seemed to be relatively under control until the 2000s, has been accelerated especially in the last decade. There are consecutive reasons for this rapid expansion. New industrial zones have been established in Bursa due to the increasing industrial investments in this period. Priority is given to the location and accessibility of the development areas. Consequently, the locations of these industrial developments have been selected incrementally, mostly independently from the planning decisions on the whole city, the ecological balance has not been taken into consideration. Since the new industrial zones are not concentrated in a single area, with the increased migration and demand for new housing, new residential developments are expanding currently towards these zones; and sub-centers are formed in their surroundings. Local governments make rapid changes in the urban development plans in order to control this situation, yet this process is not working as it should.

Migration is considered as the basic reason of the urban expansion due to the rapid increase in population in many researches. Although the rural to urban migration

dominated the population flow until 1980s, however, the urban to urban migration has recently a more considerable effect on the expansion of the cities. In the case of Bursa, the migrants who come to the city vary in socio-economic terms. Both white collars and blue collars choose to live in Bursa. While the low-income group settle in the existing residential areas or squatter areas, the upper-middle income group creates an opportunity for the housing market as they aspire to more luxurious housing. In Turkey, the emergence of gated enclaves can be traced back to the period after 1980s, with the formation of a new mass housing legislation. Baycan-Levent and Gülümser suggest that with this legislation, the distinction between the developer, the investor or the constructor has become unclear and the construction firms mostly play all the roles. Thus, the urban policies implemented after 1980s resulted in the transformation of form and structure of major cities since they were following global trends.² As Ertuna suggested, the inter-urban migration has become more significant than the rural-urban migration, meaning the upper-middle class in Turkey is seeking to distinguish themselves for better living conditions in accordance with their new standards following the global trends. The changing economic and political environment in the post-80s suggests that, the emerging upper-middle class as the demander is not the only actor in the process of suburbanization in Turkey, but also the government and private entrepreneurs have been decisive in this process.³

The housing supply for the upper-middle-income group in Turkey commencing with housing cooperatives in 1980s, has evolved into a lifestyle marketing by the 2000s. The real estate investment trusts took the place of cooperatives by expanding their volume of investments. They began to sell new lifestyles with marketing strategies to

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¹ Baycan-Levent, Tüzin; Gülümser, Aliye Ahu (2004): Production and marketing of gated communities in Istanbul, 44th Congress of the European Regional Science Association: "Regions and Fiscal Federalism", 25th - 29th August 2004, Porto, Portugal, European Regional Science Association (ERSA), Louvain-la-Neuve. p.5.

² Ertuna, A. Can, "Urbanization in Turkey after 1980: Increasing Spatial Differentiation", *Gated Communities As A New Upper-Middle Class* "Utopia" In Turkey: The Case Of Angora Houses, Thesis (Master), Ankara: METU, 2003, p.77.

³ Geniş, Şerife, "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in İstanbul", *Urban Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 4, April 2007, pp. 777-778.

attract users while the projects were still in the design phase. Luxury and status indications such as large apartments, spacious green areas, swimming pools, closed parking garage have been made attractive to middle-income groups with easy terms of payment. In this way, this new kind of housing projects drew attention and as investors succeeded, the targeted group, i.e. the upper-middle-income group, was introduced to a new way of life. Due to the growing importance of the construction industry in the Turkish economy, with the incentives, the number of high-standing housing projects in Bursa has been increasing, as in all big cities. The rapid expansion of the city had to meet the needs of the increasing number of upper-middle income groups. The new settlement areas that have emerged as a result of this expansion are concentrated around the main transportation axes (motorways) in the northern and western development areas of the city, in proximity to the main industrial zones of Bursa. Housing projects in these emerging residential areas are generally prestigious housing projects that are enclosed, secured and offer improved lifestyle and social opportunities within their borders. The increasing number of these gated housing complexes in Bursa results in the proliferation of urban enclaves causing uncontrollable urban sprawl, and promoting a lifestyle that is estranged from the city. The expanding construction industry with the support of neoliberal policies appears to be under the control of investment companies.

The housing sector changing and developing with neoliberalism produces new forms of housing for upper-middle-income groups. These are usually in the form of housing enclaves⁴ and offer a new way of life to their inhabitants. With the increase in the population of Bursa, the increasing density in the city center and the emergence of traffic problems, the middle and upper-income groups have abandoned their

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⁴ Since "community" is also used for friendship and sense of unity between different people and different groups, in this study the word "enclave" preferred instead of "community". Also, the origin of the word "enclave" driven from the French word "enclaver" which means "enclose". Hence, the term "housing enclaves" used for enclosed/gated housing.

Collins English Dictionary definition; "Enclave: An enclave is an area within a country or a city where people live who have a different nationality or culture from the people living in the surrounding country or city. Mid 19th century from French, from Old French enclaver 'enclose, dovetail', based on Latin clavis 'key'."

residences in the city center and searched for a different habitat.⁵ The present study hypothesizes that, the lifestyles of the inhabitants are shaped around this new built environment, mostly constituted of gated housing estates that form urban enclaves in the periphery of the city, disconnects the inhabitants from the city center, and leads to a sharp social segregation in the city. The cities of western industrialized countries have been shaped to a great extent in harmony with city planning decisions, however the cities of developing countries are spatially and socially more complex. 6 In the third world cities urbanization occurs mostly by independent decisions and actions. Consequently cities have been fragmented, in terms of the physical environment, services, incomes, cultural values, and institutional systems that vary from neighborhood to neighborhood and from street to street. The city planning practice in Bursa, as in other cities in Turkey, are mostly carried out at upper scales through piecemeal decisions yet neglecting urban design considerations which lead to the loss of unique characteristics of the existing settlements. The standard planning studies applied to every city in every region, regardless of local characteristic, result in the degradation of the original structure of the settlements and destroy their sustainability.⁷ A dichotomy occurs in many Turkish cities. There is usually a city center bears the vernacular elements, and there are newly developed subcenter adaptive to the market needs.

1.2. Aim and Scope of the Research

This study aims to analyze the effects of neoliberal urbanism on the housing market, how it creates a new lifestyle and sets an architectural trend in Bursa. The objectives of the thesis are:

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⁵ Ertürk, Hasan, and Elif Karakurt Tosun. "Küreselleşme Sürecinde Kentlerde Mekânsal, Sosyal Ve Kültürel Değişim: Bursa Örneği." *U.Ü. Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 16, 2009, p. 41.

⁶ Balbo, Marcello. "Urban Planning and the Fragmented City of Developing Countries". *Third World Planning Review*, Vol.15, 1993, pp. 23–35.

⁷ Yalçıner Ercoşkun, Özge. "Kentsel Tasarım Rehberleri, Sürdürülebilirlik Ve Türikiye Örnekleri." In *Sürdürülebilir Kentsel Planlama Ve Tasarım: Dünya Örnekleri*, Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 2018, p. 83.

- To assess the effects of neoliberal urbanism on the production of housing enclaves in Bursa.
- To assess if housing enclaves affect the environment and lifestyles of users.
- To assess the relationship of the users with the city center.
- To assess if the users adopt the new lifestyle and if they are happy with this new way of life.

In this scope, interviews with the inhabitants of three major high-standing housing enclaves in Bursa are conducted. Housing enclaves are generally criticized negatively by scholars in urban studies and architecture. Investigating the gated housing over the users can be a step towards increasing the role and importance of the architects in the production of housing estates, which is currently under the control of construction companies. The study also aims to answer the following questions:

- Do housing enclaves, as a new housing model introduced by the neoliberal housing market, affect the lifestyles of users?
- How much did the users adopt these lifestyles? Are they happy with their new way of life?

This thesis focuses on the new model of housing estates in Bursa produced for upper-middle income groups, regarding the user aspect of the built environment in an architectural point of view. In order to do so, first, the issue is discussed in the conceptual framework of the built environment, then three selected examples of enclosed housing estates are investigated. The selected projects studied in this research are Saygınkent Housing Estate, Korupark Housing Estate, and Bursa Modern Housing Estate.

A rapid increase in housing construction was observed between the years 2016-2017 due to the zoning regulations in Turkey. Other reasons for the increase in the housing production between those years are the urban transformation law, and many construction companies investing in the housing market. One of the most affected

cities from this rapid housing production is Bursa. During this period many gated housing projects were constructed in Bursa to appeal to the upper-middle-income group. The common features of these projects are providing enclosed secured environments, common garden, some luxury facilities (such as an outdoor swimming pool or a closed parking garage), and proximity to motorways. The three projects selected for this study were constructed between the late 1990s and early 2000s. The reasons for this selection are; the similar scale of the projects, the variety of social areas, spacious greenery, a wide range of sports facilities, commercial facilities and the fact that all three offer a relatively self-sufficient lifestyle and they have been used for almost twenty years. Besides, each of these projects was pioneers for the Bursa housing market. Sayginkent housing estate was established by a group of scholars from Uludağ University as a housing cooperative. Unlike other cooperative organizations, the purpose of this establishment was to create a self-sufficient lifestyle isolated from the outside. This project is also important as it introduced the concept of the enclosed housing estate to the inhabitants of Bursa. Korupark Evleri, stands out as the first real gated community project in Bursa. 8 With its shopping mall, which is one of the biggest shopping malls in Turkey, adjacent to the housing complex, the project created a tremendous impression on the locals, when it was first constructed. The third housing estate studied in this research, Bursa Modern was marketed as "the new center of attraction of the city" with its facilities and modern infrastructure. 9 It is also the biggest housing project implemented in Bursa. 10

1.3. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

David Harvey describes neoliberalism as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized

⁸ http://www.torunlarreic.com/koruparkfaz.php, Last access: June 2014.

⁹ http://sinpasbursamodern.com/eng/MimariKonsept.aspx, Last access: June 2014.

¹⁰ <u>https://www.arkitera.com/haber/iste-bursanin-en-buyuk-konut-projesi/</u>, Last access: December, 2019

by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." Neoliberal urbanism, which has preceded neoliberal economic reform, aims at expanding the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, privatizing the development of urban and social services, and increasing the role of elites in the urban environment. Urban services, what is left of them, have been increasingly privatized, and city governments have become purchasers rather than providers of services, the goal of which is to activate and entrepreneurialize 'clients'. 13

The housing market under neoliberal policies produces new models which are appealing for high income groups. In order to create demand for their supply, the promotion of new lifestyles offered by new projects is used as a marketing strategy. Globalization has resulted in the growth of the housing market. Implication of globalization is another reason for rapid urbanization and growth of the housing market. Notions of the "world city" and the "global city" have increased the competition among cities. To compete with other cities, local governments try to attract large scale investments to the city. In most cases, the investments are for prestigious megaprojects since the investors want to guarantee profitability.

Margit Mayer claims there is a diverse place and territory specific patterns of neoliberalization in cities as the search for urban policy models and forms of governance. 14 She says, these context-specific trends have emerged wherever global, national, regional, and local collaborations advocate market-oriented solutions to operational issues: housing, transport, economic development, labor, climate, and so on. She describes neoliberal urbanism as "a complex configuration involving the local adaptation of neoliberal regulations, such as the enforcing of low wages and insecure working conditions, restrictions of tenant's as well as worker's rights debt as a

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¹¹ Harvey, David. "Introduction", *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. p.2.

¹² Geniş, Şerife. *op.cit*, p.772.

¹³ Mayer, Margit. "Neoliberal Urbanism and Uprisings Across Europe." Urban Uprisings: Challenging Neoliberal Urbanism in Europe, Margit Mayer, Catharina Thörn and Håkan Thörn (eds.), London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, p. 64.

¹⁴*ibid.*, p. 61.

disciplinary technique and specifically spatial adaptations of neoliberal tenets, such as increasingly uneven spatial development". ¹⁵

Other than the economic and political reasons, it is essential to consider the user factor in this process. Consumers demand these mega-housing projects as enclosed, secured areas for the sake of their lifestyles. According to Bagaeen and Uduka, "much of the current analysis, and resultant planning guidance and codes assume that gated communities are simply a 'me too' reaction by the local elite in emulating the 'American lifestyle' within the local urban context. With the increasingly similar globalized work patterns and lifestyles in the world, gated communities have become a ubiquitous part of urban life. Subsequently, the emerging middle class or bourgeoisie acquires local affluence and with it a true or perceived fear from the society that is not part of their socio-economic status of intruding crime and 'contamination'. Hence, besides evaluating the produced space within the framework of classical urban theories, user's perspectives and why the upper-middle-income group prefers the high-standing housing enclaves should be investigated.

Gated housing projects have been a good subject for researchers since they provide "a rich vein for research" in terms of urban theory and empirical profiling along with the desired housing provided in our towns and cities. ¹⁸ They claim that the withdrawal of generally affluent social groups into gated communities presents a range of possibilities and problems for cities.

Gated communities defined as walled or fenced housing developments, to which public access is restricted, characterized by legal agreements which tie the residents to a common code of conduct and (usually) collective responsibility for

¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 65.

¹⁶ Bagaeen, Samer & Uduku, Ola, ed. "Gated Histories: An Introduction to Themes and Concepts", *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated_Developments*, London; Washington, DC: Earthscan, 2010, p.1.

¹⁷ *ibid*., p.2.

¹⁸ "Introduction: International Perspectives on The New Enclavism and the Rise of Gated Communities", *Gated Communities*, Atkinson, Rowland & Blandy, Sarah. ed., London; New York: Routledge, 2006, p.xv.

management.¹⁹ Yet another motivation would be the desire for social segregation of the elite. Where uptrend gated communities underlie the sense of security; desire for status, privacy, and profitability of the dwellings are also crucial factors that are behind the demand for this type of housing. ²⁰ These definitions are mostly made for the American model of gated housing. In this sense, another characteristic of a gated community is that it is distinguished by self-governing groups of residents, where elected boards oversee the common property and create covenants, conditions and restrictions as part of the experience.²¹ Consequently, gated communities are an aspect of a larger private decision-making pattern that has broader and more public consequences. In short, the location choices made by affluent households have an effect on city development, security and social segregation. ²²

Neo-liberal urbanization and housing production have created new habitats for the upper-middle-income group. Whether these new habitats affect the lifestyles of the users and how they affect it could be better understood by reviewing studies on the human-environment studies. People's perception of the environment has been studied by anthropologists, urban designers, architects and sociologists for over fifty years to evaluate the built environment from the perspective of the users, rather than relying solely on economic and political reasons. In her book "Humane Approach to Urban Planning", Priya Choudhary investigates various theories related to a built environment to investigate the relationship between spatial configuration and spatial cognition.²³ Amongst theorists such as Lewis Mumford, Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Christopher Alexander, Hillier and Hanson, the ideas of Amos Rapoport stood out for emphasizing the need to develop the scientific approach to the built environment through environment behavior investigation. Environment – Behavior Studies

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.viii.

²⁰ *ibid*. p.ix.

²¹ Vesselinov, Elena. "Members Only: Gated Communities and Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan United States." *Sociological Forum*, vol. 23, no. 3, Sept. 2008, p. 539.

²² Atkinson, R. & Blandy, S. ed., op.cit., p.xv.

²³ Choudhary, Priya. "Spatial Configuration and Cognition", *Humane Approach to Urban Planning*. Copal Publishing Group, 2015. pp.29-40.

investigates the mutual interaction of people and their built environment and it differs from social sciences by stressing physical environment.

He has continued his studies on the same subject and expanded his work. He emphasizes the importance of a theory on Environment – Behavior Studies in order to achieve a multidisciplinary and international approach. ²⁴ Without such theory EBS would have an accumulation of material rather than a cumulative field of studies. He says EBS should be more than an ad hoc attempt to improve design, it must be considered as a new discipline. He claims that there needs to be much more effort to coordinate and synthesize existing materials, including applied work like projects, reports and programs. He says the resulting synthesis should be used in textbooks and conference organization (and classes) to create, improve, advance and apply to EBS conceptualizations. ²⁵ He further states that this would produce a "cognitive map" of the field and domain which reveals concepts and their connections. In other words, he says, the framework on the subject that many data and approaches fit and could be improved with additional work.

Rapoport's works on Environmental – Behavior Studies are still valid today and have been the subject of many researches. In the book "Encyclopedia of the City" his life and works described as follows:

"Leading researcher in anthropology, environmental cognition and behavioural studies as applied to architecture, planning and URBAN DESIGN, Rapoport's work is widely published and influential in many countries. He was one of the founders and is an active member of the Environmental Design Research Association, has held honourable and visiting positions in many universities around the globe, and is professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Rapoport argues strongly for a design process that is

²⁴ Rapoport, Amos. "Theory in Environment Behavior Studies: Transcending Times, Settings, and Groups"" *Handbook of Japan-United States Environment-Behavior Research: toward a Transactional Approach*. Wapner, Seymour, *et.al.*, ed., Plenum Press, 1997. p.400. ²⁵ *ibid.* pp.416-417.

based on rigorous investigation, and believes that advancements in the design disciplines can only happen through the development of theory and applied research."²⁶

In another article Irwin Altman assess Environment – Behavior Studies and raises the question as to whether then 25-year-old venture known as EBS is or can ever be a distinctive field of study.²⁷ He concluded that environment-behavior studies did not constitute a traditional "field" or "discipline." However, this does not mean that scholars and practitioners who have devoted themselves to years of environment-behavior work have wasted their time nor should it discourage newcomers from investing their energies in this topic. As a social psychologist, he argues that there are opportunities for practical and conceptual creativity in the framework of EBS. Therefore, classification as a "field" or "discipline" is less important than knowing who we are, why we do what we do, and the similarities or differences between academics and practitioners who adopt different perspectives. He admits that, without fundamental philosophical assumptions about the richness of environment-behavior phenomena, there would not be cumulative and coherent bodies of knowledge, approaches to understand and conceptualization about it.

In another study that consists of critical reflections acknowledges Rapoport's works on culture and architecture. ²⁸ In the introduction of this book Keith Diaz Moore says the idea of culture and architecture are somehow related, but was largely ignored prior to studies of Rapoport and others like him. ²⁹ He says:

"Individuals such as Aldo Rossi (1966), Robert Venturi (1966) and Charles Jencks (e.g. Jencks & Baird, 1970) seized the opportunity for challenging the status quo, but did so in the traditional form of architectural discourse:

²⁶ Caves, Roger W. *Encyclopedia of the City*. Routledge, 2013. p.556.

²⁷ Altman, Irwin. "Environment Behavior Studies: A Discipline? Not a Discipline? Becoming a Discipline?", *Handbook of Japan-United States Environment-Behavior Research: toward a Transactional Approach*. Wapner, Seymour, *et.al.*, ed., Plenum Press, 1997. p.423.

²⁸ Moore, Keith Diaz, ed. "Culture-Meaning-Architecture: Critical Reflections on the Work of Amos Rapoport. Routledge, 2017.

²⁹ *ibid*. Pp.1-3.

polemical statements. Others, such as Amos Rapoport, chose a more radical path — to challenge the traditional approach to architectural inquiry altogether. Rather than looking solely internally to architecture, Rapoport sought to broaden his connections to other disciplines to help understand the complex nexus between culture and architecture. While the work of Rossi, Venturi and Jencks are better known within architecture than is Rapoport's, it is Rapoport's work that has extended beyond the confines of architecture to become influential in landscape architecture, urban design, anthropology and beyond. It is Rapoport's work that was seminal in the formation of the multidisciplinary field of Environment-Behavior Studies and it is Rapoport's work that Kent points out provided archaeologists and anthropologists the means for critically exploring the linkage between culture and architecture."³⁰

There are also researchers who stress the inapplicability of some of Rapoport's ideas to the eastern culture.³¹ This may result from the lack of works on theory on EBS. Rapoport sees Environmental – Behavior Studies (EBS) as an improvable field. He says:

"The discussion of culture raises an important question. Since most EBS research so far has been done in Western countries: is it generalizable to other cultures? These questions about the transferability of EBS research arise as EBS expands globally (not only EDRA, but IAPS, PAPER, MERA and EBRA). There is a need to consider how research done in one context can be applied in other locales and cultures, whether it can be transferred and from where to where, to what extent, in what specific contexts and scales, with what modifications, etc. (Rapoport 2002b). These are researchable questions which,

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³⁰ *ibid*. Pp.1-3.

³¹ York, Abigail M. *et.al*. "Ethnic and Class Clustering through the Ages: A Transdisciplinary Approach to Urban Neighborhood Social Patterns." *Urban Studies*, vol. 48, no. 11, Aug. 2011, p. 2410.

with further research on constancies, will enable us to deal with all these issues and any limits to generalization."³²

As Amos Rapoport points out, high-style and vernacular elements are usually studied separately and in isolation from one another.³³ He says, separating does violence to both because frequently the quality, meaning and so on of one depends on the relationships with the other and the buildings should not be studied alone but as a part of a system of settings where activities took place, and particularly the "cultural landscape" (the result of human action on the pre-existing landscape) should be considered. After all, there are studies on relations between human beings and their environments have developed internationally. The book "Handbook of Japan – United States Environment – Behavior Research: Toward a Transactional Approach" constitutes of works of various scholars including Rapoport from Japan and the United States. In the preface studies and organization about Environment – Behavior Studies refined as follows:

"This development [on human-environment relations] is evident in environment-behavior research studies conducted in countries other than the United States. See Stokols and Altman (1987) for examples of such work in Australia, Japan, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the former Soviet Union, and Latin and North America. The international development of this research area is also evident in the establishment of professional organizations in different countries such as the Environment-Behavior Design Research Association (EDRA) in the United States, the Man-Environment Research Association (MERA) in Japan, the International Association for People-Environment Studies (IAPS) in Great

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³² Rapoport, Amos. "Environment - Behavior Studies: Past, Present, and Future." *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, vol. 25, no. Theme Issue: Environmental Design Research (EDR): The Field of Study and Guide to the Literature, 2008, pp. 276–281.

³³ Rapoport, Amos. "A Framework for Studying Vernacular Design." *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring), 1999, p. 54.

Britain, and the People and Physical Environment Research Association (PAPER) in Australia."³⁴

The Environment – Behavior Studies faces other obstacles, such as the need for interdisciplinary collaboration. In the same book another article by Susan Seager, an environmental psychologist, examines the situation of Environment – Behavior Research.³⁵ Despite Rapoport's desire to achieve a broad synthesis of scientific literature, Seager says, this multidisciplinarity has led to isolated works of literature completed by each author's specialty. She further states that the specialized information that each author brings to the production of the narrative is disconnected from much of the literature of the common environment-behavior. This disjuncture stems not only from the lack of adequate literature review or synthesis but also from the fact that writers are related to various works of literature that teach suitable narratives in different forms and contents.³⁶

Even though there have been some obstacles and confinements, Rapoport continued his works on the subject. He grounded his ideas in his infamous book "House Form and Culture" in 1969, one of his earliest works on the subject of culture and environment relationship. He, then, presented "Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man – Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design" in 1977 where he thoroughly investigates the relationship between people and the built environment. The ideas in this book later developed by Rapoport and others as mentioned above. He later described three basic questions of Environment – Behavior Studies which was first developed in this book:

1. "What are the characteristics of people, as members of a species, as individuals, and as members of various groups, ranging from families to

³⁴ Wapner, Seymour, et.al. ed. Handbook of Japan-United States Environment-Behavior Research: toward a Transactional Approach. Plenum Press, 1997. p.ix.

³⁵ Saegert, Susan. "What is the Situation? A Comment on the Fourth Japan – USA Seminar on Environment – Behavior Research" *Handbook of Japan-United States Environment-Behavior Research: toward a Transactional Approach*. Wapner, Seymour, *et.al.*, ed., Plenum Press, 1997. pp.385-398.

³⁶ *ibid*. pp.386-387.

societies, that shape the environment and, in design, should shape the environment so that it is congruent with these characteristics and supportive of them?

- 2. In what ways do which attributes of which environments affect what groups, in which ways, under what sets of circumstances, why and how?
- 3. Given this two-way interaction between people and environment, they must be linked in some ways: What are the mechanisms that link them and what are their characteristics (e.g., Rapoport, 1977a, 1983b, 1990b, 1995c)"³⁷

This book becomes a good source for investigating human – environment relations. Although it dates back to 1977, the ideas presented there are still applicable today. Especially these following chapters of "Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man – Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design" provide an applicable framework for this present research, especially to analyze upper-middle-class aspirations and suburban development trends in Turkey.

In chapter two "Perception of Environmental Quality – Environmental Evaluation and Preference", he examines selection of habitat and the relationship between lifestyle and environment. He claims, people would pick settings with characteristics which they value highly (pull factors) and avoid (or leave) environments which they regard negatively.³⁸ He says, the organization of the city and behavioral patterns in it resulted from the interaction of environmental characteristics, the choice processes of individuals and groups, and various constraints. He states that:

"[Lifestyle] affects the allocation of resources, time and space, social activities, leisure and recreation, definition of privacy, degree of interaction desired, the importance of the dwelling and various facts of the city. People

Rapoport, Amos. "Perception of Environmental Quality - Environmental Evaluation and Preference." *Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man - Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design*, Pergamon Press, 1977, p.82.

³⁷ Rapoport, Amos, *Handbook of Japan-United States Environment-Behavior Research: toward a Transactional Approach. op.cit.* pp.414–415.

sharing given lifestyles are more comfortable living together than those who have different lifestyles and thus tend to cluster together and also select different environments which provide appropriate settings." ³⁹

In this chapter he also mentions the importance of understanding lifestyle and environment of the habitants in order to understand cities. He says there is a similar underlying mechanism of choice and selection based on desires, while the individual choices are different, representing different priorities, expectations, ideals and images.⁴⁰

In chapter five "The City in terms of Social, Cultural and Territorial Variables", he talks about neighborhoods and clustering. According to Rapoport, based on perceived homogeneity, different interpretations of environmental quality, behaviors, symbol systems and defenses against overload and stress, clustering processes tend to occur in cities.⁴¹ He suggests, among upper classes neighboring is less important and private life-space dominates neighborhood relations.⁴² People have desire to change their habitat. People fled from strangers with different lifestyles and culture. He explains the flight of the upper-middle class to the suburbs as:

"The flight to the suburb was then a search for a place where all those things still operated and hence for a reduction of stress. At the same time there was a search for an environment more congruent with ideal images. Thus, as in the case of traditional cities and migrant areas, when able to, people selected to live with others like themselves in environments compatible with their tastes and ideals."

There are many researches on the subject of human – environment relationships with the focus on housing settlements, especially gated housing estates. Researchers trying

³⁹ *ibid*. pp.86-87.

⁴⁰ *ibid*. pp. 91.

⁴¹ *ibid*. p.249.

⁴² *ibid*. p.267

⁴³ *ibid*. p.271.

to understand the role of behavioral patterns in the development of the built environment. Especially in developing countries, where the construction industry is one of the key elements of neoliberal development, there are many studies on perception of the users on choosing a habitat. Studies in countries like China⁴⁴, Egypt⁴⁵, India⁴⁶, and Gaza⁴⁷, shows that the issue is still on the agenda, and works on Environment – Behavior Studies maintains its importance in urban studies.

Researchers concentrate on the consumer dimension of housing enclaves in Turkey as well. As the biggest city, İstanbul is the main focus of many of these studies. Some of these studies investigate the people-environment relationship in gated housing using Rapoport's ideas on Environmental Behavior Studies. There are other studies investigating users' satisfaction, multiple-choice questions. There are also studies conducted on urban transformation in Bursa, focusing on urban agents in the housing market. These studies mostly use the survey method in order to investigate the user perspective in the lived environment, focusing on collecting data rather than insights into the lifestyles of the residents.

1.4. Methodology of the Research

This study examines post occupancy situation in housing enclaves, focusing on the behavioral patterns of the inhabitants. In this research two research methods are used

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⁴⁴ Huang, Jiayu, et al. "Territorial Cognition, Behavior, and Space of Residents: A Comparative Study of Territoriality between Open and Gated Housing Blocks; a Case Study of Changchun, China." *Sustainability*, vol. 11, no. 8, 2019, p. 2332.

⁴⁵ Salah, Nesma Mohamed, and Hany M. Ayad. "Why People Choose Gated Communities: A Case Study of Alexandria Metropolitan Area." *Alexandria Engineering Journal*, vol. 57, no. 4, 2018, pp. 2743–2753.

⁴⁶ Kar, Zinia, and Amitava Sarkar. "Exploring the Role of Environment-Behavior Studies (EBS) in Residential Architecture- From Literature Review to Field Study." *International Research Journal of Engineering and Technology (IRJET)*, vol. 4, no. 11, Nov. 2017, pp. 409–418.

⁴⁷ Jabareen, Yosef. "Culture and Housing Preferences in a Developing City." *Environment and Behavior*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2005, pp. 134–146.

⁴⁸ Garip, S. Banu, *Dışa Kapalı Konut Yerleşimlerinde Sosyal İhtiyaçların Fiziksel ve Sosyal Etkileşim Çerçevesinde İrdelenmesi*. (doctoral dissertation). İstanbul Technical University, Turkey. 2010.

⁴⁹ Bekleyen, Ayhan, and Ilham Yilmaz-Ay. "Are Gated Communities Indispensable for Residents?" *Urbani Izziv*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2016, pp. 149–161.

⁵⁰ Tomruk, Banu. *Bursa'nın 2000-2010 Arası Yeniden Yapılanmasında Kentsel Söylem Üzerinden Dönüşüm Rotaları*. (doctoral dissertation). İstanbul Technical University, Turkey. 2010.

for the purpose of answering the research questions. In pursuit of finding answers to the research questions, literature review was held on the topics of housing enclaves, urban planning, development of Bursa, and Environmental Behavior Studies. Information on the selected projects was collected and reviewed. In addition, a number of semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the inhabitants of these housing enclaves. In order to better analyze the outcomes of the interviews, the outcomes will be evaluated with the conceptual framework of the architect-anthropologist Amos Rapoport on human – environment relationship. User-focused studies on housing enclaves have been conducted to collect statistical data based on surveys and multiple-choice questionnaires. Semi-structured in-depth interview was especially preferred in this study. The goal is not to collect statistical data, but to understand user's perspective and preferences. Understanding these issues is more essential as an architect.

Throughout this study, first, the urban plans and urban development of Bursa through the master plans is reviewed in Chapter 2. How the city was affected by political decisions and economic investments, and the reasons of the rapid urbanization are discussed. In the second part of this chapter, three selected projects are studied. The concepts, facilities, common areas, and housing units are examined. In Chapter 3, how the housing enclaves determine the lifestyle of the users constitutes the main question. In-depth interviews are conducted in order to better understand the perception of the inhabitants. A total of twenty-one user were interviewed, seven of whom from were from each of the selected housing estates. With these interviews; educational backgrounds, occupations, incomes, reasons to choose to live in that housing estate, opinions about the housing estate and housing units, the way of commuting and use of public transportation, their use of open space and common garden, their use of commercial facilities, leisure activities, and their opinions about the facilities provided to the users are questioned. The outcome of the interviews will be discussed within the framework of earlier discussions.

CHAPTER 2

METROPOLITAN PLANNING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN BURSA

2.1. Urban Plans of Bursa

When the urban development of Bursa is considered, it is vital to focus on four urban plans. First of these is the plan prepared by the Italian city planner Luigi Piccinato in 1960, which is the first comprehensive urban plan put in implementation and laid the main development axes and zoning decisions, some of which are still in use today. Secondly, there is 1984 Metropolitan Master Plan (Çevre Düzeni Planı) that searched for solutions to the increasing population and compensating previous execution deficiencies. The third one is the 2020 1 /100 000 regional plan of Bursa, prepared in order to control and direct the rapid development of the city of Bursa in 1998. Another planning initiative for the current problems of Bursa is 2030 1/100 000 Metropolitan Region Plan which has not yet been approved. Although this plan is not put into implementation, it is important in order to understand the current urban development problems of Bursa and to understand the solution options of these problems.

In 1958 the historic center of the city was destroyed in a big fire. After that fire, a planning office was established in Bursa with the support of the Bank of Provinces (İller Bankası) and Emlak Kredi Bank. A delegation under the consultancy of the Italian city planner Luigi Piccinato began working on an urban development plan. This plan approved in 1960, is known as Piccinato Plan. In 1960, the Bureau prepared plans of 1 / 10 000 and 1/4 000 scales. The city was planned according to a projection of 250.000 population. The plan basically aimed to preserve the natural and historical values of the city, but also gave way to increase the density of the urban

development. 51 Piccinato's interest was focused also on the re-building of the historic central district - "Hans District - of Bursa which had been damaged in the fire of 1958. In his plan, Piccinato preserved the historical structure of the historic city and proposed to develop the new center on Fevzi Çakmak Avenue, and the new administrative center on Haşim İşcan Street at the north of the historic center of the city. Development areas with higher density were proposed in the east, north and west of the new center. In line with these plan decisions, Piccinato envisaged the linear growth of the city in the Ankara-Bursa-Mudanya axis. The highway crossing in the north of the city was constructed accordingly. The measures brought by the plan in the regional and metropolitan scale were the protection of agricultural areas and the creation of a new industrial zone (which is the industrial zone in Yıldırım, Duacınarı). It can also be seen that Bursa Organized Industrial Zone was included in Piccinato plan for the first time.⁵² However, this decision was preliminarily found in the studies on Marmara Regional Plan.⁵³ The fact that the development of metropolitan Istanbul would affect the eastern Marmara cities such as Bursa and Izmit, new urban development poles would be created such as Bozüyük-İnönü development axis.

In an article that Piccinato wrote on his work in Bursa, he pointed out four important determinants about the future development of the city.⁵⁴ The first one of these was agriculture. Piccinato drew attention to the productive soil of Bursa plain and argued that the location of Bursa and its proximity to other big cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir was an advantage for the further development of agriculture. Second one was the industry. He mentioned the mining potential of the mountain in the south of Bursa. He put the emphasis on the necessity to establish new and larger industrial

⁵¹ Vardar, B. "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminden 21. YY Bursası'na Kentsel Gelişim: 20. YY Bursası'nda Planlama Örnekleri". In Y. Oğuzoğlu (Ed.), *Bursa Şehrinin Gelişmesi ve Kentsel Planlama Kültürü*, Bursa: Bursa Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları,2008, pp.82-89

⁵² Aslanoğlu, R. A. "Bursa Kent Planlama Tarihi". *Kent, Kimlik ve Küreselleşme*, Asa Kitapevi, Bursa, 1998, pp. 188-189.

⁵³ Bilsel, S. Güven, and F. Cânâ Bilsel. "Greater Istanbul Metropolitan Area Planning Experience (1965-1980): Implementation of a Strategic Planning Approach." *The 18th International Planning History Society Conference*, Yokohama, 2018.

⁵⁴ Piccinato, L., "Bursa Planı Deneyimi", Bursa'da Yaşam, Oct. 2004 [Special Issue], pp. 30–34.

zones at the western and northern edges of the city, along Izmir and Istanbul roads respectively, in addition to the existing industrial zone plans (in Bursa Municipal Master Plan) on Mudanya Road. The third sector that Piccinato envisaged to develop in Bursa was tourism. In his article he stressed the importance of tourism for Bursa by pointing out the main attractions such as; thermal springs, winter sports, seaside facilities, and the historical background of the city. Finally, in relation with the location of Bursa, Piccinato put emphasis on the marine transportation and predicted that İzmit, Gemlik and Bandırma ports would gain importance in the future besides İstanbul port.

As Bayram Vardar states, 1984 plan, prepared by the Metropolitan Planning Bureau was the result of the increasing population, inadequacy of the implementation plans, the need for larger scale plans to direct the development of Bursa. ⁵⁵ The extension of the settlement along the Ankara – İzmir highway was determined as the main macroform decision. Vardar states that the main reason for this was the natural borders of the irrigated farming areas in the north, which were declared as "agricultural areas under preservation" and the natural protection areas by the mountainside of Uludağ in the south. In the western axis, the settlement of approximately 500.000 people was planned in the new development areas along the İzmir and Mudanya roads. New subcenters were proposed for these settlements. The city center was also extended towards Ankara – İzmir road with this plan by the provision of new trade and service areas. Industrial areas were specified as Organized Industrial Zone in the west and Demirtaş Industrial Zone in the north, and the pre-existing industrial establishments were prevented from further development.

The plan reports of 2020 1 / 100 000 Bursa Metropolitan Region Plan (*Çevre Düzeni Planı*) approved in 1998 reveals important points of failure in the implementation of the previous plans for Bursa.⁵⁶ While the development trends of the metropolitan city

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⁵⁵ Vardar, B., *op.cit.*, p.86.

⁵⁶ Bursa 2020 Yılı 1/100000 Ölçekli Çevre Düzeni Planı Plan Kararları ve Uygulama Hükümleri. pp.133-134.

of Bursa were described, it was stated that each sector was developed with its own decisions, especially the industrial developments caused unplanned expansions. The fact that the implementation of the organized industrial zones, the construction of Istanbul – Izmir motorway, Ankara motorway, the construction of the railways, and the airport were considered independent from each other, has caused the sprawled development of the districts of Bursa.

As stated in the Bursa 2020 Metropolitan Region Plan (*Çevre Düzeni Planı*) report, if the necessary measures are not taken, the city will expand towards the motorway in the north uncontrollably. The industrial areas will spread around the freeway and the agricultural protection areas will eventually turn into residential areas. 2020 Environmental plan aims to determine the development areas of Bursa in a way that will not destroy agricultural areas.⁵⁷ In addition, it was planned to develop sub-centers in order to ensure the decentralization of population and commercial facilities in high-density urban areas. New organized industrial zones or specialized industrial zones in areas with low agricultural quality are also planned to be developed to support the conservation principles and decisions concerning the Bursa Plain.⁵⁸

2030 Bursa Environmental Plan was prepared between 2010 and 2012 but has not been approved by the Ministry of Urbanism and Environment yet. However, it is noteworthy to overview this plan in order to understand the current development problems and possible solutions in Bursa.⁵⁹

2.2. Urban Development of Bursa through Master Plans

In the master plan prepared by Luigi Piccinato, the closest industrial area to the center of Bursa was the area which has developed into today's Organized Industrial Zone by the Mudanya Road. In the planning of this zone, the development of residential areas around the Mudanya road were foreseen as the housing areas for the users employed

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⁵⁷ *ibid.* p.7.

⁵⁸ ibid. p.8.

⁵⁹ 2030 Yılı 1/100.000 Ölçekli Bursa İl Çevre Düzeni Planı: Sentez Raporu, 2013.

in the industrial zone. Bursa Organized Industrial Zone has been established as it was foreseen, however it has grown more rapidly than expected. As Rana Aslanoğlu indicates, it was met with suspicion whether the Organized Industrial Zone would be filled.⁶⁰ However, in line with the industrialization pattern across the country, the lots in the region were all constructed within ten years. She says, following the opening of TOFAŞ and RENAULT automotive factories in the 1970s, Bursa has become an important attraction point for the industrial companies.

Urbanization in Turkey, is known to be shaped by the internal migration connected to the unbalanced industrialization of the country, rather than being developed according to the regional and/or master plans.⁶¹ As a result, with the increasing immigration and growth in population in Bursa, the Piccinato plan could not be implemented completely.⁶² In the 1970s, as the Organized Industrial Zone reached its full capacity, the industry started to spread over the main transportation axes.⁶³ Increasing the standards of Izmir, Istanbul, Ankara and Mudanya roads has also been a factor accelerating the urban sprawl.

As seeking a solution for the rapid urbanization problem, 1984 Metropolitan Master Plan was prepared to designate Bursa Industrial Zone and Demirtaş Industrial Zone as the only official development areas for the industry foreseen in the plan.⁶⁴ However, new industrial zones were established when the allocated areas became insufficient.

When the planning history of Bursa is examined, it is seen that a series of new plans were prepared in order to cope with the problems caused by the continuing urban expansion since the previous plans could not be implemented as they should be. Therefore, although the city was originally projected and planned to grow towards west, uncontrolled and unplanned construction activity could not be prevented as this

⁶⁰ Aslanoğlu, op.cit., p.189-190.

⁶¹ Aslanoğlu, *op.cit.*, p.191.

⁶² Tülin Vural, "Bursa'nın Kentsel Gelişimi ve Piccinato Planı", *Bursa Şehrinin Gelişmesi ve Kentsel Planlama Kültürü*. Bursa; Bursa Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları, 2008, p.101.

⁶³ Batkan, Önder. "Bursa Kentsel Gelişim Ve Planlama Süreci.", *Bir Masaldı Bursa*, by Engin Yenal, İstanbul: YKY, 1996, p.255

⁶⁴ Aslanoğlu, *op.cit.*, p.190.

development has been faster than planned. After the planning process has been concluded, it is seen that the interventions made by the decision-makers change the point to be reached by the planning decisions.⁶⁵

2.2.1. Housing Development in Bursa after 1980s

After 1970s, the city's population multiplied and as a result, its socio-cultural structure has completely changed with the growing industrialization. As a result of the incapacity of the central city for the increasing population, new settlement areas for the middle- and upper-income groups were formed on the periphery of the city.⁶⁶

As viewed in the previous section, the city of Bursa developed for its own needs. Since the sequential industrial zones along the western axis are not completely independent from each other, the formation of residential areas along this western axis has developed accordingly. Consequently, it could be predicted that each industrial zone would generate its own sub-center and residential areas for different social groups. In order to fully understand the fundamental dynamics, behind the creation of these residential areas, it is essential to understand the factors related to these industrial areas. The proliferation of the new residential areas in the periphery of the city is inevitably related to the image and marketing strategies of the real estate sector and the construction companies. Initially, the development of residential areas around the planned industrial zones were foreseen in 1960 master plan for the employees of the industries. However, one can see that this is not the case today, due to the problem of affordability. Most of the newly developed residential areas around the industrial areas appeal to the middle- and upper-income groups rather than workers and lower-income groups. The reason behind upper-middle income group tends to live nearby the industrial zones is shorter commuting time (closeness to workplace and peripheral The formation of these residential areas has resulted also in the highways).

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⁶⁵ Batkan, Önder. op.cit., p.259.

⁶⁶ Türkoğlu, Handan. "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Bursa'nın Kentsel Gelişimi Ve Planlanması." Proceedings of Prof. Dr. Rana Akdiş Aslanoğlu Anısına Cumhuriyet Döneminde Bursa'da Kentleşme Sempozyumu, Bursa. 2011, p.165.

development of sub-centers in the periphery of the city and have resulted in urban sprawl. Since most of the residential areas formed as enclosed housing estates it also causes a social segregation in the medium and long term.

The rapid growth of the population in Bursa caused increasing demand for housing. This "Urbanization Problem" can be defined as uncontrolled expansion of the city towards areas which are initially intended to be preserved. The importance of Bursa as an industrial city leads to planning of new industrial zones. Even if the new industrial sites are located outside the city, they are rapidly surrounded by residential developments, that were enabled via partial changes done on the urban development plans by the local authorities. Although some of the new development areas are preassigned in urban plans, some additions to development plans in favor of real estate companies both affect the surrounding of housing areas and the city scape in the long run. The city of Bursa began to take its present form in the 1990s. With the effects of the globalization process increased after the 1990s, Bursa has developed in the west direction, and Nilüfer District in the west has become the fastest-growing district of Bursa. According a study conducted by Ertürk and Karakurt-Tosun the population of Nilüfer District increased from 65,799 in 1990 to 135,430 in 1997, 178,682 in 2000 and 251,344 in 2007. ⁶⁷ They show that the growth rate of Nilüfer District is higher than the other two central districts of Bursa (Osmangazi and Yıldırım). Accordingly, the population of Osmangazi District increased by 14.58%, the population of Yıldırım District increased by 19.82% between 2000 and 2007, while the population of Nilüfer District increased by 40.66%.

In order to ensure the regular urbanization of Nilüfer Municipality, collective housing projects have been initiated primarily by the cooperatives, and the region has become a place where middle- and upper-income groups prefer to live.⁶⁸ However, the population continued to increase rapidly after 2000s. With the population increase in

67 Ertürk, Hasan, and Elif Karakurt Tosun. "Küreselleşme Sürecinde Kentlerde Mekânsal, Sosyal Ve

Kültürel Değişim: Bursa Örneği." *U.Ü. Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 16, 2009, p. 41.

the city, it is observed that housing projects have been implemented in the development areas in the form of residential enclaves outside the city, promote new ways of life and the comfort of their residents. Especially the enclosed housing projects located around the main axes in the west and north directions have been built to appeal to the upper- and upper-middle-income groups. Gated housing complexes stand out among these residential areas rather than an urban development composed of single apartment buildings, which had characterized previous developments in the city. According to a research conducted for Bursa in 2011, 57.4% of the residents prefer the four-bedroom apartments and 39.6% (in case of enough accumulation) prefer gated housing complexes.⁶⁹

The urban plots are selected prestigious housing projects by the investors depending on whether the investor can and would afford. The existence of infrastructure and public transportation is not a priority for them since it is not obligated by bylaws. The new housing areas are shaped by the real estate market mostly for the upper and upper-middle income groups, instead of providing housing for the workers of the industrial zones. The urban expansion of Bursa is not completely unplanned, but with the demand of the market increasing with an out-of-control pace, the industrial zones are no longer satellite settlements outside the limits of the city, but they are swallowed by the city. This urban sprawl is not only unsustainable with the expanding commuter zone, and damages the urban and architectural fabric of Bursa, but results in the segregation of social groups in the urban space.

2.3. Housing Enclaves of Bursa: Case Studies

The three main axes, Izmir-Ankara Road, Mudanya Road and Istanbul Road have always been important in the urban planning of Bursa as mentioned earlier. But also, the areas surrounding these main axes have always drawn the attention of the developers and

⁶⁹ Karakurt Tosun, Elif, and Fırat, Zerrin. "Kentsel Mekandaki Değişimler Ve Kişilerin Konut

Tercihleri: Bursa Örneği." Business and Economics Research Journal Volume: 3, no. 1, 2012, p.192.

⁷⁰ Tomruk, Banu. "Bursa'nın Kentsel Mimari Dönüşüm Dinamikleri." *Mimarlık*, no. 344 (November/December 2008). Accessed August 2017.

http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=357&RecID=2131.

investors, for their accessibility. The location of the industrial zones along these axes have been another reason that pulled the residential developments. While these factors triggered the urban sprawl in Bursa, some big-scale housing projects have affected the development of their surroundings by setting new trends of housing needs for upper-middle income groups.

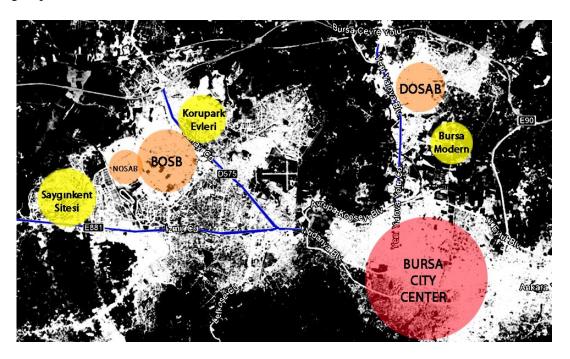


Figure 2.1. Location of the Housing Estates (Cesur-Türkmen 2014)

2.3.1. Saygınkent Housing Estate

The first selected project *Saygınkent Sitesi* in Özlüce, founded by *Saygınkent Konut Yapı Kooperatifi*, located on the western axis of Bursa (İzmir Road) and close to Bursa Industrial Zone and Nilüfer Organized Industrial Zone, is claimed to be the first project in Bursa is presented as a "prestigious" housing project for the middle- and upper-income groups.⁷¹ The housing cooperative established by a group of scholars from Uludağ University, and the project constructed in 2001. The design and construction process took a long time, and some aspects of the project could almost

⁷¹ http://www.sayginkent.com.tr/kurulus Last access: September 2019.

not be realized, due to financial reasons.⁷² While the cooperative was in the process of setting up, the founders recruited members using their networks, and a homogeneous sociocultural community was formed. This elite group came together to build a habitat for themselves, naming the project "Saygınkent" as "saygın" in Turkish means "respectable.". However, during the long-term construction phase, many members who could not afford it transferred their membership share to others. In the early 2000s, when the project was finally completed, many people started to call it "Soygunkent", meaning "robbery town" due to the high payment extend over a long period of time.

The slogans used for the promotion of the project, "It is a privilege to live in Saygınkent" and "Prestigious Face of Bursa", indicates that the main objective is to provide a high-standing lifestyle for the users. A number of features, such as; social gathering areas, a Japanese garden, a winter garden, a swimming pool, sport facilities, and a shopping mall as an indicator of a "better lifestyle" were promoted as spaces of a prestigious way of life. The housing estate described in the website as follows:

"Within the chaos of a metropolitan stress becomes unbearable, the noise of the city becomes intolerable, and bustles of everyday-life become exhausting. If you would like to leave all these problems aside and aim for a safe and healthy environment, if you look for the comfort brought with an understanding that merges technology with life standards and protects the nature, if you desire to have a happy, quiet, trouble-free life in such a place where you can spent time with your friends you are welcomed in our site." ⁷⁴

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⁷² Sayginkent Housing Estate, User Interviews

⁷³ Instead of "*Saygin*", the word "*Soygun*" is used meaning "robbery", a paronomasia unending construction and ongoing payments.

⁷⁴ http://www.sayginkent.com.tr/kurulus, Last access: September 2019.



Figure 2.2. Saygınkent Common Garden (Cesur-Türkmen, 2019)



Figure 2.3. Saygınkent Site Plan (retrieved from: http://www.sayginkent.com.tr/kat-planlari)



Figure 2.4. Saygınkent: Apartment Block Interior, Sports Hall, Shopping Center (Cesur-Türkmen 2019)

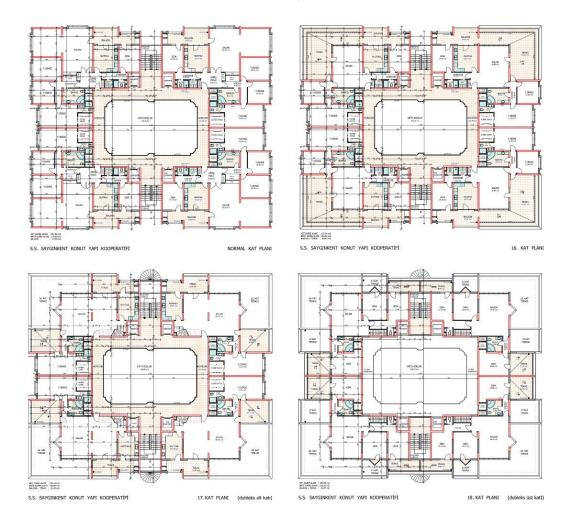


Figure 2.5. Saygınkent Floor Plans (retrieved from: http://www.sayginkent.com.tr/kat-planlari)

The project includes 7 residential blocks of 18 story, and 500 apartment units in total. Each floor has 4 apartments. First 15 stories have regular four-bedroom apartments. There are three-bedroom units with terrace in the 16th floors, and five-bedroom duplex on top floors. All of the apartment units are currently occupied. The housing estate has open sports courts, walking trails, a semi-olympic outdoor swimming pool, a small shopping center, an indoor sports facility, a café, and various green areas for leisure activities. The project has open and closed parking garage.

Within the years *Sayginkent Sitesi* generated a sub-center in Bursa. The project has attracted a considerable number of people from the upper-middle income group with the opportunities it provided. It is a self-sufficient environment in terms of commercial and sports facilities as a result of its detachment the city.

2.3.2. Korupark Housing Estate

The second project *Korupark Evleri* located in the northern axis of Bursa (Mudanya Road). The project is within the Emek district, across the Bursa Organized Industrial Zone. The project executed by a real estate investment trust (REIT) company; *Torunlar GYO*, constructed as a mixed-used project with a shopping mall nearby also named as *Korupark AVM*. The same real investment trust also constructed the first shopping mall in Bursa, Zafer Plaza in the city center. Korupark was designed by Tago Architects, a firm located in İstanbul.

The project claimed to offer its users a "Comfortable Life" and a "Social Life" out of the troubles of the city. In the promotional website of the project, it is also defined under these two titles. In the "Comfortable Life" section the privileges and opportunities of living in *Korupark* by pointing out technical, technological and spatial qualities of the project are mentioned. In the "Social Life" section the activities available within the project area are enumerated. Social gathering spaces, sport facilities and living in walking distance to a shopping mall is praised as requirements of a "Social Life". Consequently, it is simply pointed out that a quality living requires

being free of the works of daily life and being distant from troubles and chaos of the city.

The introverted design of the complex also aims to prevent the "daily stress". Wide terraces and rooftop gardens are offered as relaxing areas and courtyards as a piece of nature to meet the diverse needs of inhabitants. The design is described as:

The facades of all apartments at Korupark Terrace overlook the lush green and peaceful world of the courtyard garden while their backs are turned to the hardship and noise of the city. All apartments at Korupark Terrace are thus facing the beautiful side of life. ⁷⁵

While praising the advantages living in distance from the chaos of the city, connection to the other parts of the city is not entirely ruled out. However, in a complex where one can satisfy the needs of everyday life with provided services, motorized connection to the city is described as "living in the city".

Korupark Evleri with the shopping mall located next to it, has changed the character of the area. The site, which was once a vacant land located across an industrial zone, has become a preferred housing area for the upper-middle income group. This enclosed settlement which is accessible only by vehicles forms an independent environment which is most likely the reason why the users choose to live there. Korupark Shopping Mall was opened as the tenth shopping mall in Bursa at a time when the trend of shopping mall increased. Considering it is the third largest shopping center in Turkey at the time, the importance and prestige of the investment project is deductible.

This project consists of two separate parts. First two stage named as "Korupark 1", the last stage named as "Korupark Terrace". The 13 housing blocks in the first two stages were completed and sold in 2008-2009. The construction of the third and final stage

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⁷⁵ http://www.koruparkevleri.com.tr/en/#terrace, Last access: June 2014.

⁷⁶ Tümer Yıldız. H. Özge, & Polat, Sibel. "Bursa-Korupark Alişveriş Merkezi Ve Korupark Evleri'nin Mekânsal, Anlamsal Ve Göstergebilimsel Analizi" *Uludağ Üniversitesi Mühendislik-Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2011, pp. 11–24.

was started in 2011 and completed at the end of 2012. The reason for the delay is the bureaucratic procedure for changing the zoning status from "Official Institution Area" to "high-density housing area" before the construction started. Although the objections that were made were approved in 2016 by the court and passed unanimously by the city council, no sanctions could be imposed because the houses were already completed and sold. This case indicates a general situation in Turkey. Due to the high-profit margin, the place of choice for large-scale residential complexes in Turkey can change the initial urban plan decisions.

Although the design objectives of each stage are similar, layouts and architectural designs are different. The first part of the project, Korupark 1, consist of 13 blocks and 753 apartment units, varying between one-bedroom apartments to five-bedroom duplex units. Currently all residential units are currently occupied, according to the management of the complex.⁷⁸



Figure 2.6. Courtyard of Korupark 1 (Cesur-Türkmen, 2019)

⁷⁷ http://www.bursadabugun.com/haber/bursa-korupark-ta-simdi-ne-olacak-639638.html , Last access: June 2019.

⁷⁸ Information taken from the management in October, 2019.

The second phase of the project, Korupark Terrace, consists of 16 blocks, 678 apartment units. The blocks have 140 one-bedroom apartments, 74 two-bedroom apartments, 352 three-bedroom apartments, and 112 four-bedroom apartments.

Currently, only nine apartment units are unoccupied in the complex. Both Korupark 1 and Korupark Terrace have open sports courts, walking trails, outdoor swimming pools, a café, and green areas for leisure activities. It has a connection from the closed parking garage to one of the biggest shopping malls in Bursa. This project only has a closed parking garage and the garden is a vehicle-free zone. The complex overall has approximately 6000 residents.



Figure 2.7. Courtyard of Korupark Terrace (Cesur-Türkmen, 2019)



Figure 2.8. Korupark Terrace Site Plan (retrieved from: https://3dkonut.com/korupark-terrace/projesi/)



Figure 2.9. Korupark 1, Apartment Plans (retrieved from: https://www.zingat.com/site/korupark-evleri-140848b Last access: September 2019)

2.3.3. Bursa Modern Housing Estate

Bursa Modern which is located near the northern axis of Bursa (İstanbul Road), close to Demirtaş Organized Industrial Zone. The recently completed project was initiated by another real estate investment trust (REIT) company; Sinpaş GYO. The design of the project gives some references to the architectural history of Bursa, mostly to the glamour of Ottoman period. Bursa Modern declares itself as the launcher of a project befitting the history of Bursa as the former capital of Ottoman Empire, and as the creator of a new heritage for the future originating from the 21st century, by its use of traditional composition with a modernist concept. The project claims to become "the new center of the attraction of the city" with its facilities and modern infrastructure. While talking about the project Bursa Modern, Ömer Faruk Çelik, the CEO of Sinpaş GYO, says: "Unplanned urbanization threatens not only aesthetic but also social life." He suggests that they developed the project to overcome the negative sides of the existing urbanization of the city.



Figure 2.9. Bursa Modern (Cesur-Türkmen 2019)

The project seems to attract the future inhabitants with the promise of a self-sufficient "city". While the only connection to the city center provided by highways, the created

⁷⁹ http://sinpasbursamodern.com/eng/MimariKonsept.aspx, Last access: June 2014.

⁸⁰ http://sinpasbursamodern.com/eng/MimariKonsept.aspx, Last access: June 2014.

⁸¹ http://www.arkitera.com/haber/5424, Last access: June 2014.

environment offers an architecture mimicking of the historic residences combined with modern facilities as a sign of prestige. The design office, Enverol Architects, is an İstanbul based firm. They describe their design as:

"The location of the multi-storey blocks (Circle Block, Tower, and High Row Block) placed parallel to the periphery of the site, it creates an "inner - urban courtyard". The peripheral wall of the tall blocks preserves the privacy of the waterside residences, mansions and social areas within this courtyard, and proposes an urban fabric that supports the whole dynamic and organic of relations of socialization, sense of belonging. The most important feature of the rich landscape is the proposed 35.000 m² pond with walking-jogging trails surrounding it. With its multi-purpose square, it provides alternative meeting/gathering activities for local people and Bursa and offers a pleasant atmosphere to its users day and night." 82



Figure 2.10. Bursa Modern Site Plan (retrieved from: http://www.evrenolarchitects.com/projeler-Bursa Modern-7.html)

37

⁸² http://www.evrenolarchitects.com/projeler-Bursa_Modern-7.html Last access: June 2019.

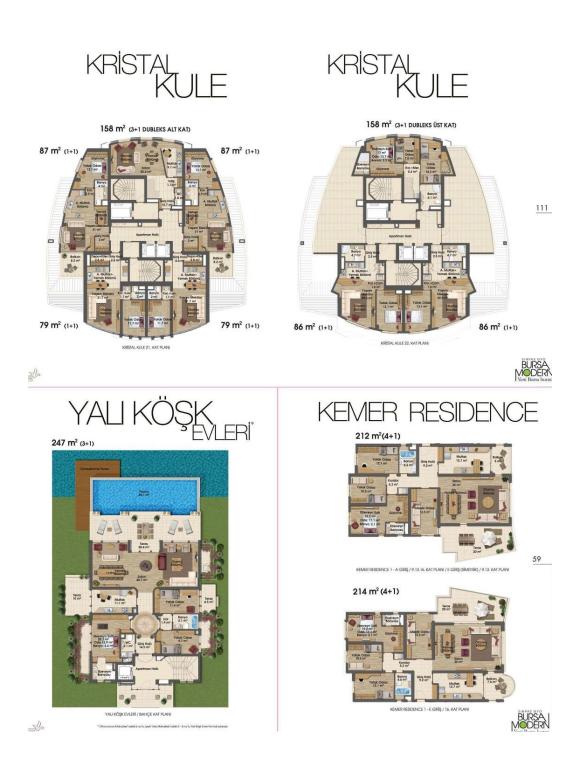


Figure 2.11. Bursa Modern – Various Floor Plans (retrieved from: https://3dkonut.com/sinpas-bursa-modern/projesi/)

The housing estate have various blocks with different concepts. There are tower blocks, residence blocks, waterside buildings, and mansions. The total number of apartment units is 1466. 412 of them are one-bedroom apartments, 295 are two-bedroom apartments, 465 are three-bedroom apartments, 84 are four-bedroom apartments, 74 are four-and-a-half-bedroom apartments, and 3 of them are five-bedroom apartments. Currently 80% of the apartment units are occupied.

The housing estate have various facilities, including a pond where one can go rowing. There are also sports courts, walking trails, an outdoor swimming pool, a small shopping center, an indoor sports facility, a café, and various green areas for leisure activities. Different from previous examples, this housing estate also includes an indoor swimming pool, Turkish bath, fitness center, and an open area for the social organizations.

CHAPTER 3

COMPARATIVE EVALUATION OF THE INTERVIEWS

3.1. Methodology of the Interviews

The interviews conducted in this study were formulated as semi-structured in-depth interviews with open-ended questions. 30 questions were formulated in subcategories in order to investigate the use of spaces with regard to the lifestyles of the users. The questions were grouped under the following headings: reasons to choose this project, ways of commuting and other transportation, use of common garden, use of social facilities, use of commercial facilities, leisure activities. The questions are attached in Appendix A. The interviews were conducted with 21 inhabitants, 7 from each selected project, aged between 24 to 64. The interviewees were chosen from different social backgrounds and various occupations. 9 of the interviewees are females and 12 of them are males. According to education levels interviewee profile varies as follow: 17 of the interviewees are university graduates, 2 of them is a high-school graduates, 1 of them are middle school graduate and 1 of them elementary school graduate. The distribution of the interviewees according to their professions is as follows: 10 engineers, 1 art director, 1 mechanical technician, 1 retired worker, 1 international relations specialist, 1 pilates instructor, 1 retired teacher, 2 housewives, 1 retired tradesperson, 1 pharmacist, 1 banker.

The subject and the aim of the research were explained to the interviewee before each interview. The interviewees were asked to answer the questions and were given time to develop their answers. They were also notified that the interviews were recorded, and their consent was asked on this before the interview.

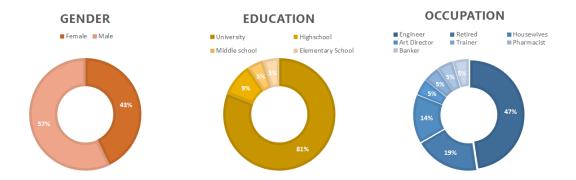


Figure 3.1. Interviewee Profile

3.1.1. Interviews with the Inhabitants of Saygınkent

The interviews were conducted separately with each interviewee between the 24th and 26th of October 2019. Three of them were held in the common garden of Saygınkent, and three of them were held in a nearby café and one of them took place in the workplace of the interviewee. The aim of the research was explained to each of the interviewees and they were asked to answer freely. Conversations were recorded with the consent of the interviewees.

3.1.1.1. The Profiles of the Interviewees

Table 3.1. Interviewee Profile of Saygınkent Housing Estate

Name	<i>A.B.</i>	H.A.	<i>M.K.</i>	<i>N.P.</i>	<i>S.G.</i>	Ş.K.	<i>Y.G.</i>
Age	39	52	46	36	34	57	60
Sex	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Birthplace	Bursa	Ayvalık	Ankara	Ankara	Bursa	Bursa	Bursa
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married	Single	Married	Married
Education	University	University	University	University	University	High	Middle
						School	School

Occupation	Engineer/	Engineer/	Executive	Executive	Art	Retired	Retired
	Bosch	Business	Engineer/	Engineer/	Director/	Technician	Worker
		Owner	Oyak	Oyak	Freelance		
			Renault	Renault			
Household	4	5	5	3	4	4	4
Population							
Household	Over	Over	Over	Over	10.000-	Below	4.000-
Income	15.000	15.000	15.000	15.000	15.000	4.000	7.000
(TL)							
Ownership	Tenant	Owner	Owner	Owner	Owner	Owner	Owner
Status							
Residency	3	12	5	4	15	13	15
Duration							

The profiles of the interviewees change according to their education level, marital status and income level. Five out of seven were graduated from university. In terms of income, four of them with their above 15.000 TL income, they are considered high income families. Two of the interviewees, with their changing conditions due to retirement were below the average income of the interviewees. six out of seven interviewees are married with children, one of them is single and living with his parents. Four people chose to live in Bursa because they were originally from Bursa while three of them chose to live in Bursa because of the job opportunities. Four out of five of the university graduates, who are engineers, work for the automotive sector. One of them manages his own business near Bursa Industrial Zone, Three of them work for major companies in the same industrial zone, where two of them are executives. The other university graduate works as a freelance art director. Two of the homeowners became members of the Sayginkent Cooperative before the construction. One of them had a share from the beginning, since he was one of the landowners of the project site. The other interviewee purchased his share from another cooperative participant who had difficulties in payments. Only two of the interviewees indicate difficulties covering expenses for the housing complex (maintenance fee or otherwise). However, both of them indicated that although the amount to pay is high,

it is worth living in Saygınkent for the facilities it offers. One of them even pointed out that the fees should be higher due to the opportunities provided.

3.1.1.2. Reasons to choose the Housing Estate

When the reasons why they chose Sayginkent to live in are asked, the most common answer is the size of the green areas. Especially families with little children declare that they were impressed with the gardens with lots of space for children to play. Also, the existence of various sport opportunities, hiking trails, picnic areas and a swimming pool are effective in the users' preference. Another feature that stands out for the same reason is the security. Having security for 24 hours over 7 days creates a sense of security for the inhabitants. Other reasons that are mentioned are the closed parking garage, the size and layout of the apartments, large distance between the apartment blocks and interior design (plan layout and interior arrangement) of the blocks. The only tenant amongst the interviewees chose to pay rent for the layout of the apartment and the facilities provided in Sayginkent, even though he owns a house in the same district but in a different neighborhood.

Only one of the interviewees was informed about the presentation of the project in its early stages. This user mentions that when the cooperative was established, the founders went to big companies to present the project to executives in order to increase the number of the members. He mentions, he was impressed by the size of the apartment as well as 130.000 m² site and sport facilities such as basketball court, tennis court, football field, closed court and swimming pool. He says the project was very original and unique for the time. Others mostly heard about the project from their friends or they became aware during the construction period. Being the first big housing complex in the area, Saygınkent stood out and drew attention at the time it was constructed. For the interviewees who lived in Bursa before, the first impressions and how they learned about the project becomes unclear, since they were hearing about it or seeing the construction in their daily life. The users who are from out of Bursa have mostly learned about the project from their friends and co-workers. For

them, its closeness to workplace was important in their choice, since they were new to the town and did not know Bursa enough.

One of the inhabitants admits that he was biased about the project in the beginning. He described his initial thoughts about the complex as:

"From the moment I first saw this complex I thought "What is this, like Soviet socialist buildings, how bad. I can't live in a place like this. However, when I came here, I saw that the plot was very big." (A.B.)

One of the inhabitants, who is from outside of Bursa says that he prefers to live in a neighborhood in which people from similar social background live. He says:

"In 2007, I thought it was an unfinished neighborhood that is still developing but with the potential to be preferred in the future. It really did. Right now, I can spend my whole life just staying on this side of the town. I do not have to go to the areas of the city where the traffic is dense." (N.P.)

3.1.1.3. Opinions about the Housing Estate and Housing Units

The interviewees were asked about their previous residence. From the answers it can be observed that the locals and migrants who came to Bursa in the 90s were generally living in the central districts of Bursa. Five out of seven interviewees were living in the center of Bursa, two of them moved directly to this housing complex 15 years ago. Three of them first moved to another place in the same district, i.e. Nilüfer district, and after a while, they decided to move to a bigger housing complex. The other two interviewees, who came to Bursa for business, directly chose to live in the western district of Bursa.

When the interviewees are asked to compare their previous residence with their current residence, all of them express their satisfaction. They all mention the size of the gardens, sport courts, hiking trails, picnic areas and swimming pools as the advantages of their current residence. The size and the layout of their apartments are expressed as functional. The ones who lived in central Bursa before, mention the

density, traffic and parking problems of their previous neighborhoods. They also express disappointment since they no longer feel belonging to their old neighborhoods, due to the changing socio-cultural structure of the area. Although they were upset to leave the places where they were born and raised, they are not willing to go back since they are happy with their current neighborhood and residence.

There are three types of apartments in the complex. The regular apartment with four room and a living room, terrace apartment with three bedrooms and a living room, and duplex apartment on top floors. Six of the seven interviewees live in four-bedroom apartment. One interviewee lives in a terrace apartment. The ones who have fewer household population than the number of rooms use the extra room as guest bedroom. The design of the four-bedroom apartment has a separable room, for quests and full-time helpers. The apartments have a room, which can be separated with a door from the rest of the apartment including a separate bathroom. Three of the interviewees use this separate room as the guest room. Two of them use as their teenage or older children's room since it is separable. One of the users mentioned that they redecorated this room as the playroom for their children. The users with the household population less than the room number use a room as a living room (*oturma odasi*).

When asked about the open areas in the apartment (for example, balconies, terraces, etc.), they all mentioned that it is an important aspect for a house to have. All of them said they use their balcony/terrace effectively.

All of them express the functionality of the apartment layout, and they say they are happy with their apartments. It is observed that although some users have extra rooms, they are happy with their extra space. When asked if they would like to change anything about their apartment, three of them say they are happy as it is. Two people mention that they are not happy about the inset balconies, as it could be cantilevered, and parapets could be lower for the light and visual connection to the outside. One of the interviewees said he wishes the buildings were new, since their construction dated

back to the 90s. Only one of the interviewees mention that the size of the rooms and living room as "unnecessarily big" (Y.G.).

3.1.1.4. Commuting and Transportations

All the interviewees have vehicles, two of which are motorcycle. They all are happy with their commuting time. The ones, who do not work, mostly use their car for transportation. However, it is understood that, underaged or non-driver householders are also happy about the location of the project. A nearby railway stop and various bus lines in the district makes the area highly accessible. Even the car owners mention they occasionally use the public transportation. Another comment about the closeness to public transportation is the easy access of the helpers (such as tutors for the children or cleaning lady).

3.1.1.5. Use of Open Space and the Common Garden

All the interviewees think that the common garden being private is a positive feature. However, the common reason for that is not the security, as one may aspect. The most common reason is the sufficiency of the existing areas. Many thinks that if the outsiders would come to use the garden (green areas, picnic areas, sports courts, etc.), the maintenance and crowd would not be under control and areas would be incapable to provide intended services. Only two of the interviewees said their main concern would be the security if their garden was public.

When the interviewees are asked whether they use the common garden of the housing estate, four of them say that they use the garden effectively. Two of the users say they use it occasionally. One of the users said, "Even if you don't use these facilities, you may use them one day". The ones who actively use the area are the ones with children or grandchildren. They use the area for family picnics, special events (birthdays, baby showers, etc.) or having weekend breakfast with the family. One of the interviewees points out that, especially children love the birthday parties in the garden, since the area is big and isolated from the surrounding. One interviewee stated that they also use fruit gardens with his family, they pick fruits from the tree. The ones who say that

they use it occasionally, mention that they use the picnic areas for barbeque with friends.

The interviewees think generally that their garden is a characteristic feature for their housing complex. They all express satisfaction about the garden. Some of the regular users mentions the low percentage of the users considering a housing complex with 500 units. They also mention that they are surprised to see the same few people every time they use the facilities. One of the users stated that they prefer to use the garden during weekdays since they are retired, and it is crowded on weekends.

Interviewees with small children are asked if they feel safe leaving children by themselves on the playgrounds. They say it is safe to leave their children alone, however the ones who are too little to play by themselves need supervision. Also, since the area is large, some parents are concerned of their children falling or hurting themselves. However, having a security in the site helps them to be more comfortable about the situation.

3.1.1.6. Use of Sport Facilities

When asked about the sport facilities only one interviewee says he uses the courts regularly. He states that they get together with other residents from the same workplace and make volleyball or basketball matches. The others say that their children use the courts, for learning the sport with an instructor or playing with other children. Three of the users mention that they sometimes use the courts. One interviewee mentions that they use the football field for flying kites with their children. The most commonly used feature for sport is the hiking trails. All the interviewees say they use the trail for walking or jogging. They all agree that the sports areas are sufficient and an advantageous feature to have.

Another feature appeals to the users is an Olympic size swimming pool with water slides. None of the interviewees say they do not use the swimming pool. 3 of the users said they use the pool regularly. One of them states that they use it as family, one of them says he uses it for sports, one of them says he uses it with his neighbor every day

for one hour before it gets crowded. One of the users mentions that they used to use the pool regularly, but since they have recently bought a boat, now they prefer to go sailing in Ayvalık. One of the users accepts that his children use the pool more than him and his wife, but not very often. One of the users states that he rarely uses the pool since he cannot swim. One of the interviewees states that he is happy about having a pool, although he rarely uses it. He says:

"For example, most housing complexes have pools, but they are always inbetween the buildings. I don't think these pools are used very effectively. But this is not the case here. Here you feel as if you have gone on holiday somewhere in a hotel and you use the pool there. It surrounded by trees. You feel isolated." (N.G.)

All users mention that the maintenance and cleaning for the pool is held regularly and they are satisfied about it. The size of the pool is also considered adequate. One user says that as many residents go to their summer houses, there are fewer people to use the pool. The interviewees mention that the pool could be crowded on Sundays.

3.1.1.7. Use of Commercial Facilities

The complex has a small shopping center, which also serves to the outside. This center contains a supermarket, a pharmacy, a barber shop, a hairdresser, a dry cleaner, a flower shop, a plumber and a computer technical service. When the users asked about their shopping habits (grocery or otherwise), the answers were various. The choices for grocery shopping differ among the users. Although all of them use the supermarket of the housing complex for their daily needs, their regular shopping habits change according to their economical background. One of the users said, they shop online since they like to purchase groceries in larger amounts. Only two of the users said they go to the bazaars. Also, some of the users prefer other supermarkets in the district due to lower prices. However, all of the users pleased to have the opportunity of a supermarket where they can order by phone or carry their groceries with the shopping

cart to their house. One of them said "here I can go to the market without any outside contact".

Second most frequently used shop in this shopping center is the pharmacy. Other than that, dry cleaning was also mentioned to be used infrequently. The other shops are not very often used, due to the high prices, and that the neighborhood have other options. However, the opportunity of having these facilities in case of any need provides comfort to the users.

For the other needs, besides grocery, interviewees told they use shopping malls. One of the users mentioned they go to the city center for some of their needs, where they are familiar with certain shops. Another user said he prefer to go his old neighborhood's bazaar since the prices are lower. One of the users say they prefer İstanbul to shop for clothes.

It is seen that, few of the interviewees have some of their previous shopping routines. The users form new habits when they move in this neighborhood. All of their needs can be provided from their surroundings, even within in a walking distance. The ones that are not are easily accessible by car. Many users admit they were seeking comfort before they move here, and they now achieve a comfortable way of life. From that, it can be driven that the inhabitants do not have to leave their comfort zone for their daily routines and needs.

3.1.1.8. Socialization and Leisure Activities

For gathering and social activities, the interviewees state that they also use the café in the garden. To get together with the neighbors and provide beverage for their social events like birthdays. Some users say they use this café daily, for drinking tea and socialize with friends.

Interviewees say common areas increase the number of encounters with other users, however it does not necessarily improve relations between neighbors. It is understood

that there is a social grouping among different income and occupational groups. One interviewee said:

"I am an outgoing person, I start conversations. I know almost everybody in my apartment block. However, common spaces are not working as agents of socialization. There is some class difference here. For example, I'm a retired worker who owns a house as the landowner from a nearby village. Unfortunately, people quickly learn about each other. Everyone has a social environment according to their occupations; they form groups respectively. But in my block, those who know me in person are unbiased. They became good neighbors for me." Y.G.

When the importance of knowing other people from your neighborhood, users who previously lived in the old neighborhoods in central Bursa express longing to their old neighbor relations. However, they were not expecting the same kind of relations when they move here, and that was acceptable since they would obtain new opportunities mentioned above. The ones who came to Bursa for work in older ages mostly socialize with their co-workers living in the same housing complex. They use the common areas to socialize, instead of visiting each other's houses. Although almost all of the interviewees emphasize the importance of neighborliness, they said it depends on one's personality. Families with children meet other neighbors via their children, in common areas such as playgrounds. One interviewee, who participated in the cooperative described knowing 10 neighbors as "I know many neighbors". He says knowing neighbors is important in terms of acculturation and network. However, he utters a dissatisfaction:

"Although there has been a change in the last two years. Now, more luxury sites are being built, maybe the residents want something different financially. There's a go-down in the profile, and we can feel it." (H.A.)

The interviewees understood to have some similar routines for leisure activities. 6 out of 7 interviewees told, they go for a walk on weekdays. The ones who work, spend

weekdays at home, sometimes do activities with their children and family in nearby locations, or in the garden. The retired interviewees mostly spend time with their friends in nearby locations (*kahvehane*). On weekends, they are usually more flexible with their schedules. Families with small children mostly spend weekends on their children's sports and other activities. Although some users spend time in the garden for leisure activities, it is not necessarily the only option for these families. They go out with their friends and family, mostly prefer nearby locations. If they would like to go further, they prefer the seaside. Only a few occasionally go to the city center and their old neighborhoods for social activities. One interviewee (Ş.K.) said he spends time outside of the city for his hobby, fishing. The users who are not from Bursa visit their families out of the city on some weekends. It can be deduced that the interviewees spend a significant amount of time in their current neighborhood, and if they do not have free time or do not want to go outside they are happy to spend time in their garden (in picnic areas, sports courts, café, pool, etc.). When asked their final opinions about their housing complex, some of the comments that stood out are:

"We bought a new house, but we will continue to live here paying rent. Even if our children grow up, we want to live here." (A.B.)

"Due to the architecture of the blocks, everyone is informed about each other. The cultural level here is also high." (H.A.)

"One advantage compared to other enclosed housing estates is that there are plenty of places you can reach by walking. Supermarkets, butcher shop, cafes, bakery, it's all within the walking distance. Therefore, you can experience the old neighborhood life as well as an enclosed housing complex luxury." (M.K.)

"I think the green area percentage per person is quite high. I think that if anyone does this kind of housing project right now, the prices will be very high, so they don't build such housing projects after all. They design housing projects with more buildings and less common areas. In this respect, I think Saygınkent

is one of the best housing projects in Turkey in terms of price/performance ratio." (N. P.)

"This place is much more civilized than my old neighborhood. Here, my wife and my daughter can easily go out and walk around. I would not want to go back to my old neighborhood. When I go there, I feel like a stranger. We're not from there anymore, we're from here." (Ş.K.)

3.1.1.9. Use of the Services Provided

For the housework (like cleaning) users mention that they have domestic helpers. The frequency varies from every day to once in two weeks depends on the household income. 3 of the users with the lower incomes say that the women from their family do the cleaning. For the maintenance jobs in the house, interviewees mention the service provided by the management of the housing complex. They explain that, the technical personnel of the management do not demand any money when the malfunction is resulted from the infrastructure of the building. However, the users say that the personnel demand money for the extra work or after hour's works. 3 of the interviewees mention that they are happy with this service and they use it actively. They state that it is easy to use, and accessible. Two of them say they do minor reparations themselves, and occasionally asked for service from the management. One user said: "I don't think this service is necessary, but by the time I get old, I would like to live in a place with this service, then it would be necessary and easy for me". One of the users states that he is neutral about the service and only used it once and it was expensive. One of the users says these personnel were only capable for minor services, and they would demand money for extra service, so they preferred getting help from the outside of the housing complex.

The majority of the interviewees mention having a parking space, and closed garage as the reasons to choose to live there. Two of them also uses the car wash service provided by a third party, in the closed parking garage. When they are asked, six of the interviewees state that this aspect is very important for them and it was effective

for their choice. Five of them tell, they are definitely seeking for closed garage in a housing complex. The other ones mention "it was not my priority but once I got used to it becomes very important for me" (H.A.) and "I was definitely looking for a parking space, but not necessarily a closed one" (M.K.). It is seen that, although some of the users did not require a closed parking garage before, they are now using it and it gives them a sense of prosperity. They say they only prefer a closed garage now, since it is comfortable. They can reach their homes from their cars easily without going outside, and their cars are preserved from weather conditions. Some users say that they put their second and third cars in the closed parking lot, while others say they have to put their second cars to the open parking lot. Some users say there is one reserved place for them, and some say there are two reserved areas for each apartment. This shows that there are opportunities that some users are not fully aware of or use.

Another opportunity that this kind of housing complexes provides is the security. When asked if they feel secured in the complex, all of them were affirmative. Only one of the users, who became a member of the cooperative because he was landowner, is not looking for security. However, he thinks that the security is a necessity for this housing complex in order to preserve the common areas from the outsiders. Another user also thinks he is not feeling secure due to having a security guard, but he thinks having a security has benefits. He describes his feelings about this situation as "it is like having another lock on the door" (S.G.). For the other five interviewees, having a security was a decisive criterion in their preference since they have children. They say, they feel more comfortable leaving their children and/or wife alone while they are away due to the security. While most of them are aware that the guards are not professional, controlling visitors at the entrance of the housing compound is important for the inhabitants.

3.1.2. Interviews with the Inhabitants of Korupark

The interviews were conducted separately with each interviewee between the 23rd of October and the 6th of November 2019. The four of them were held in the houses of

the interviewees, two of them were conducted over the phone and one of them took place in the workplace of the interviewee. The aim of the research was explained to each of the interviewees and they were asked to answer freely. Conversations were recorded with the consent of the interviewees.

3.1.2.1. The Profiles of the Interviewees

Table 3.2. Interviewee Profile of Korupark Housing Estate

Name	A.E.	E.G.	G.Y.	H.T.	İ.Y.	<i>N.M.</i>	S.E.
Residence	Korupark	Korupark	Korupark	Korupark	Korupark	Koruark 1	Korupark
	Terrace	1	Terrace	1	Terrace		Terrace
Age	30	36	37	24	59	32	55
Sex	Male	Female	Female	Female	Male	Female	Female
Birthplace	Erzurum	İstanbul	Bursa	Balıkesir	Sakarya	Ankara	Elazığ
Marital Status	Single	Single	Married	Married	Single	Single	Single
Education	University	University	University	University	University	University	University
Occupation	Engineer/	Engineer/	Stay at	Pilates	Executive	Engineer/	Retired
	Bosch	Oyak	Home	Instructor	Engineer/	Oyak	Teacher
		Renault	Mother		Sinta A.Ş.	Renault	
Household	2	1	3	2	3	1	1
Population							
Household	7.000 -	7.000 -	Over	10.000 -	Over	4.000 -	4.000 -
Income	10.000	10.000	15.000	15.000	15.000	7.000	7.000
(TL)							
Ownership Status	Owner	Tenant	Owner	Tenant	Owner	Tenant	Owner
Residency Duration (Years)	5	11	5	7 months	10	2	5

The profiles of the interviewees change according to their occupation, marital status, and income level. All seven interviewees were graduated from university. In terms of

income, two of them with their above 15.000 TL income, are considered high-income families. Five of the interviewees, with their 4.000 – 7.000 TL income, considered the middle-income group. Three of the interviewees are married, three of them with children, only one of which is underaged. Four of the interviewees are single, one of them lives with his mother. Only one of the interviewees is originally from Bursa. Two of them migrated in the early 90s from the eastern part of Turkey. Three people chose to live in Bursa because of job opportunities. One of them came to Bursa for University and stayed after graduation. Four of the university graduates, who are engineers, work for the automotive sector. They all work for the firms in the Bursa Industrial Zone. Occupations of other interviewees are: A stay at home mother, a pilates instructor, a retired teacher. Four of the interviewees are homeowners. Only one of them have bought with a bank loan, payments are the one-fifth of the household income. The other three interviewees are tenants, two of them who pays one-fourth of their income for rent think the amount is high for Bursa.

3.1.2.2. Reasons to choose the Housing Estate

Interviewees are asked why they chose to live in Korupark. The most common answers are "security" and "facilities". Four out of seven interviewees say being nearby to a shopping mall was determinant for them. Security is not only decisive for families with children, but also for single women who live alone. One user says the profile of the inhabitants was also a contributing factor in his/her choice. The location was also important for some users. Two of the interviewees said they chose to live there since it is close to their workplace. One said they prefer Korupark since it is close to the highway and their kid's school. The interviewee who came to Bursa after graduation nearly three decades ago said he considers the location of Korupark as "the center of the city" and he prefers to live there since it is close to anywhere.

Because the shopping mall also named Korupark was opened prior to residences, many interviewees noticed the project by the mall. The shopping mall became a stamping point for the citizens, as a result, most of the users saw the construction period of the housing blocks. Only one of the users says that he saw the billboards about the project; however, it is not the only factor as his workplace is located across the building site. Another interviewee says that she heard about the project before it was built. The contractor, Torunlar GYO, constructor of the famous shopping mall in the city center "Zafer Plaza" previously, hence, she heard about the same firm was going to build a housing project and became curious about it. Two of the interviewees, who came to Bursa for work, learned about the project by chance while searching a place to stay since it is across their workplaces (Oyak Renault). Another interviewee mentions that she heard about the project before it was constructed. She says:

"There is a construction company in Istanbul, Torunlar. They also built Zafer Plaza, the first shopping center of Bursa. This company had a lot of fame back then. I heard that this group would construct a housing estate in Bursa. Then a friend of mine bought a place here while it was under construction. This also caught my attention. Then, when I decided to buy a new house, I came to the sales office and saw the promotional brochures. Of course, in the brochures, things are reflected differently. But many things on our site are compatible with the visuals. When I came to the sales office, I was impressed by how systematic they were working." (S.E.)

The design and the concept of the housing estate impressed some of the interviewees. An interviewee said:

"I saw Korupark under construction. It was impressive for me, and even when we went to Korupark Shopping Center, we said, "I wish we could move here." What attracted us the most was the new building. Besides; the garden and the pool, social facilities, the café, a safe place, the design were also effective." (A.E.)

3.1.2.3. Opinions about the Housing Estate and Housing Units

The interviewees are asked to compare their previous residence with their current residence. Three of the interviewees previously lived in the city center (Çarşamba, Altıparmak, and Kükürtlü). The common comments about living in the center of Bursa were high density, low security, traffic, parking problem and lack of green areas. Low living standards due to old buildings (lack of elevator, old infrastructure) was also another reason why these interviewees chose to move from the city center. One of these interviewees who moved from Kükürtlü, with the small kid, said there was not enough space for her kid to play and socialize.

The other interviewees moved to this housing estate from other districts in the west of Bursa and one of them moved to Korupark from İstanbul for business. One of the interviewees (H.T., 24) came from Balıkesir to Bursa as a student. She settled in Görükle (the university district) since it is close to the university. As she works as a pilates instructor, she moved here to her customers' recommendation. H.T., who longed for her old place, when asked to compare the place where she lives now and with Görükle, she says:

"This is a soulless place. Compared to Görükle, this place is very inactive, quiet and mostly preferred by the families. It does not have any life outside the shopping mall, it is the only social life here. Because the surrounding neighborhood is very bad, it feels like a ghetto. Also, this area smells of garbage since it is close to a former dumping area, and that's bad. So, I wouldn't be living here if it was not for my business. There is no nightlife, diverse options for shopping, no social life. Shopping is limited to the shopping center here. I have to shop from specific brands and specific markets. For example, there is no \$OK Supermarket (a low budget Turkish grocery store chain) nearby. There are no small grocery stores (bakkal)." (H.T.)

The other interviewees also chose to live in Korupark for closeness to their workplaces and other parts of the city where they go for socializing (mostly Nilüfer district).

Korupark Housing Estate is a two-stage project. The first stage is called "Korupark 1" and the second stage is called "Korupark Terrace". Each stage has various types of apartments. Korupark 1 has six types of apartments (from one bedroom to five bedrooms), Korupark Terrace has four types of apartments (from one bedroom to four bedrooms). Interviewees are asked what type of apartment they live in, and how they use their rooms, and why they choose that type of apartment unit. Three of the interviewees live in three-bedroom apartments, two of them live in four-bedroom apartments, and two of them live in one-bedroom apartments. The ones who have an extra bedroom use it as a guest room or second living room. The pilates instructor who lives in the three-bedroom apartment chose this type of apartment for extra space for her home studio. One of the interviewees who lives in the three-bedroom apartment chose to live here since that type of apartment unit was the maximum amount that she could afford in the housing estate. The ones who lived in one-bedroom apartments chose that type of units since they were living alone, one of them chose her apartment for it also being furnished. For families with children, the number of children was also decisive.

Interviewees are asked if there are open spaces in their apartments such as balconies, terraces or private gardens, and if they are using them effectively. Two of the interviewees living in a single room apartment say they do not have any open spaces. One of them says, she would not prefer an open space in her apartment so close to the main road and an industrial zone. The other interviewee living in a one-bedroom apartment said she would prefer a balcony, to hang the laundry out. They also claim that the real estate company that built Korupark converted four-bedroom units to one-and two-bedroom units for marketability, hence, there are no balconies in studio apartments since it was not in the initial design. Both one-bedroom residents mention the acoustic insulation problem in between the adjacent apartment units, allegedly

separated after construction. The four out of the other five interviewees who have balconies in their apartment say they use their balcony actively. They say there should be an open space in an apartment, two of them said they would like it to be bigger. They mostly use their balconies during summer for dinners and family time. One interviewee says the balcony becomes their second living room during summer. The other interviewee of the five mentions he would not prefer to spend time in balcony, he rather prefers to spend his day off (from work) inside of the house.

When the interviewees are asked if there was anything they would like to change about their apartment, only one of the interviewees who lives in a four-bedroom apartment in Korupark Terrace says he is fully satisfied with the apartment. The comments about the apartment are variously related to the diversity of the units. The two one-bedroom residents complain about the acoustic insulation as mentioned earlier. One of them says she also would prefer a small storage area for her bike. Other comments were the size of the balconies could be bigger, the kitchen could be bigger, the size of the rooms could be more equal to each other, and craftsmanship could be better.

3.1.2.4. Commuting and Transportations

Interviewees point out that the location of the project was determinant for them for living there. The importance of the location is its proximity to the workplace and highway junction. Closeness to public transportation is important for only one interviewee (retired teacher). The commuting distance of the 4 interviewees, who work in the Bursa Industrial Zone, varies between 1,2 km to 4 km. Only one of these interviewees commutes by walking (1,2 km). The others commute with their cars. Two of the other three interviewees use their private cars for transportation. The last interviewee uses public transportation (light rail transit) and says she thinks it is convenient, and the location of the project is advantageous.

3.1.2.5. Use of Open Space and the Common Garden

Interviewees think that their garden being closed to outsiders is a positive feature. The reasons mentioned are a security concern, and lack of space for extra users. Also, some of the interviewees mention that with the socio-cultural structure of the surrounding neighborhood, it would be inconvenient and disrupt the "elite structure" of the estate. Even the interviewee who previously declared that security was not a necessary feature for a housing estate, states that the garden should be enclosed since there is a serious difference in profile and status between the "inside" and "outside".

All interviewees say that they use the garden. 2 of them admit that they use it rarely, due to their busy work schedule. 5 of them said they use the common garden and social facilities actively. The most frequently used area in the garden is the café. They use the café for socializing, which takes place, for some of them, with home visits between neighbors. Some of them go there to have a coffee and spend some free time. One interviewee said she uses the café for having Sunday brunches by herself if she does not want to prepare at home. The only interviewee with a small child says that they use the playgrounds and other green areas with other mothers and children. Two single interviewees who live studio apartment without a balcony mention that they use the garden as if it is their private garden. Since they live in a balcony-free apartment, they use the garden for activities other users do in their balcony. The reason why these users state, "it would be nice if there wasn't a balcony" and "it would have been nice to have a balcony to dry laundry" is that they could do other open-air activities in the common garden of the housing estate. They gather in the garden with their friends, drink a few glasses, have a little picnic, even take their computers with them to watch a movie. The social structure of the housing estate contributes to this comfort. As a result, the inhabitants of Korupark do not want people coming from outside, unless thay adopt a similar lifestyle.

The interviewees are satisfied with the garden and social facilities. They think the area is large enough for the inhabitants. With no car traffic above, various areas for children

to play, there is a peaceful environment and the inhabitants like to spend time in the garden. The only suggestion is from an interviewee who thinks that the landscape design could have been altered in every few years. The only interviewee with a small child says that she is comfortable with her child to spend time alone in the garden, and she feels secure about it.

3.1.2.6. Use of Sport Facilities

The housing estate has sports courts, football courts, hiking trail. Korupak1 also has a fitness center in the closed garage area, which is run by an indented third party. The most commonly used area is the hiking trails in the garden. Fields are used mostly by children or younger relatives of the interviewees. Two of the interviewees say that they do not use the sports facilities in the garden.

Three of the interviewees state that they frequently use the swimming pool, and they think that the maintenance of the pool is held professionally. One of them says that she enjoys the opportunity to order food at the poolside from the café in the facility. The other (stay at home mother) says that her kid uses it every day and it is a very positive feature for families with small children to enjoy. One of the interviewees mention that they prefer to use the pool on uncrowded times, and they avoid using the pool during weekends. One interviewee say that she rarely uses the pool due to hygiene concerns (since there are a lot of small children using the pool). Two of the interviewees state that they never use the swimming pool. The main reason for this is their concern for hygiene, due to the crowded population of children. One of them also says:

"A lot of people I work with also live here. I don't want to use the pool where I can see somebody from my workplace. Besides, it is not a very charming idea for me to use a pool in between the buildings, so close to an industrial zone. I'm not saying in terms of air pollution, for me, activities like swimming should

be on vacation. It's strange to go to the pool in a place where I know my business is across the street." (N.M.)

3.1.2.7. Use of Commercial Facilities

The interviewees are also asked about their shopping habits. Korupark Housing Estate is designed adjacent to a shopping mall with the same name. This shopping mall is one of the biggest and most popular shopping malls in Bursa. All of the interviewees say that they use the shopping mall for their shopping needs. They mention that it is preferable for them since the premises is directly connected through the parking garage to the mall, and they can use the shopping carts to carry the groceries directly to their homes. Only one of the interviewees say that they usually prefer to go to another shopping mall where they used to go before they moved in because it is more familiar for them. Two of the interviewees state that they only use the shopping mall for daily wants. One of them said even if she knew it would be cheaper, she is too lazy to go elsewhere. One of the interviewees says that she goes to another district bazaar since she enjoys visiting that bazaar. Only two of the interviewees mention going to the city center for some of their needs (boutiques, dairies, herbalists).

The interviewees are also asked how their shopping habits has changed after they moved here. Single women are happy with their current shopping opportunities since they have the chance to carry their bags with a shopping cart. Three of the interviewees are from Bursa, who previously lived in Altıparmak, Çarşamba and Kükürtlü districts. The ones who lived in Altıparmak and Çarşamba said they sometimes go to their previous neighborhoods for shopping. They said there were more options within the walking distance, and the food quality was higher in shops and bazaar. However, one of them admitted that when she comes back to her home she feels grateful for moving since she feels more peaceful and safe there. The other said, even if he thinks options are limited in shopping malls he would not go to Emek district since he does not trust the shop owners and he thinks it is not a safe neighborhood. The third interviewee states that she has not gone to the city center for years. Even when she was living in

Kükürtlü she was going to other shopping malls closer to her by car. She mentions that the socio-cultural structure of the city center has changed, and she feels like she is not in her country if she goes there. She adds that they used to go to the shopping malls because they were working, they could go and do everything together. Yet, the other interviewee do not mention if they go to the city center for shopping.

3.1.2.8. Socialization and Leisure Activities

All of the interviewees say they are familiar with their neighbors. Two of them report that they met their neighbors after they moved in and they spend time with their neighbors on a regular basis. One of the interviewees explains that even if he does not know the neighbors very well, his wife has a group for regular gatherings on the premises. One of the interviewees says that she only spends time with her friends who moved there after her. Different than the other interviewees, the pilates instructor says that she knows a lot of her neighbors due to her occupation. One of the interviewees, who has been living there for 11 years mentions that she met some of the neighbors in common areas, such as the gym. The last interviewee says, however, that she is only familiar with her next-door neighbor.

Three of the interviewees state that they do not think that knowing the neighbors is important. The others say that even if they think neighborliness is an essential concept, in today's conditions their expectations are lower. Although the housing estate is crowded, even the most enthusiastic person to form a relationship with other neighbors have only a few neighbors. However, they think that the similarity in the socio-cultural backgrounds of the inhabitants creates an atmosphere of mutual trust.

The younger working interviewees usually spend weekdays with their friends. They usually prefer the western part of the city for socializing. Some of them like to invite their friends to use common facilities, such as the garden. They also like to use sports facilities at their time. The most common activities on the premises are walking in the garden and spending time with friends in the café. For the weekends, the interviewees

state that usually prefer to spend time outside of the estate. Two of the interviewees say that they prefer to go out of town to visit their friends and families, otherwise, they stay at home resting. One interviewee says that she prefers to go camping. Another interviewee state that they prefer to go to the seaside or mountainside on weekends. None of the interviewees say that they routinely spend time in their garden for the weekends.

Those who were not from Bursa but came from outside the city for school or work did not prefer this place for social opportunities. They preferred it because of its proximity to work and social attraction points. They like to spend time inside their houses or out with friends. When they spend time outside, the common decisions of groups of friends are effective. Which means that they do not spend much time in the neighborhood.

3.1.2.9. Use of the Services Provided

6 out of 7 interviewees have regular domestic helpers, every one or two weeks for cleaning. The one who does not have a helper lives in a studio apartment, and says that she used to have a helper but now she does it herself.

The management of the Korupark 1 and Korupark Terrace are separated. However, services provided to the users are similar. Both managements have technical service for minor malfunctions in the site and apartments. 4 interviewees who live in Korupark Terrace state that they are happy with the service, and use this service if needed. However, while two of them say they are satisfied with the service the other two mentions that sometimes personnel could be understaffed or incapable of needed service. 3 interviewees who live in Korupark 1, declares the service is not sufficient and they often call help from outside of the premises.

Korupark housing estate only has one closed parking area underneath the complex. There are two separate parking areas for each phase; however, the size and design of them are similar. There is a passage door to the shopping mall special to the residents

(could only be open with a car assigned to each inhabitant). There are reserved places for each apartment unit, as well as extra areas for their guests. Five of the interviewees declares that having a closed garage was an important factor for them to choose to live in Korupark. Especially the ones who moved from central Bursa are looking for secured closed parking spaces for comfort and maintenance of their vehicles. One of the other interviewees explains that since a lot of other housing projects are designed with a parking garage, the decision they made was not affected by the parking garage specifically. The other interviewee mentions that it was not an important feature since she does not have a private car; nevertheless, she admits it is convenient for the guests.

One interviewee thinks that having security guards is not necessary. As a 24-year-old, she did not think the security control is a must-have feature for housing estates, however, she declares that having a kid would change her opinion. She is also the only interviewee in this estate who mentions the class inequality:

"If you have an older car, they (security personnel) are very suspicious of you, it is not nice." (H.T.)

The 32-year-old single interviewee also thinks that having security personnel is not a must-have feature for a housing estate, however she admits feeling safer with the security. For other interviewees, security was a decisive factor in choosing to live there. An interviewee previously lived in Çarşamba (former middle-class neighborhood, now a popular place for Syrian refugees) states that he did not feel safe there, especially in late hours. He says:

"It's safer here. You're isolated from everything. You're entering a whole different world. These are of course advantages." (A.E.)

3.1.3. Interviews with the Inhabitants of Bursa Modern

The interviews were conducted separately with each interviewee between the 23rd of October and the 3rd of November 2019. The four of them were held in the

interviewees' houses, and three of them were made over the phone. The aim of the research was explained to each of the interviewees and they were asked to answer freely. Conversations were recorded with the consent of the interviewees.

3.1.3.1. The Profiles of the Interviewees

Table 3.3. Interviewee Profile of Bursa Modern Housing Estate

Name	A.Ö.	D.M.	<i>E.M.</i>	G.A.	G.E.	H.I.	Y.D.
Age	41	46	46	64	61	57	41
Sex	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female	Male
Birthplace	Kocaeli	Bursa	İstanbul	Bursa	Bursa	Bursa	İstanbul
Marital Status	Single	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Single
Education	University	University	University	Primary School	High School	High School	University
Occupation	Bank Branch Manager	Pharmacist	Executive Engineer/ Oyak Renault	H.wife	H.wife	H.wife	Engineer/ Business Owner
Household Population	1	4	3	2	2	3	1
Household Income (TL)	10.000 – 15.000	10.000 – 15.000	Over 15.000	4.000	Uncertain	10.000- 15.000	Over 15.000
Ownership Status	Tenant	Owner	Owner	Owner	Owner	Owner	Tenant
Residency Duration	1,5	8	10	10	7	15	7

The profiles of the interviewees change according to their education level, marital status, and income level. Four out of seven were graduated from university. In terms of income, two of them with their above 15.000 TL income, are considered high-income families. Three of the interviewees with the 10.000 - 15.000 TL income, they

are considered the middle-income group. One of the interviewees, with their changing conditions due to retirement, were below the average income of the interviewees. There was one interviewee with an inconclusive income due to the economic crisis. Five out of seven interviewees are married with children, two of them are single. Four people chose to live in Bursa because they are originally from Bursa while three of them chose to live in Bursa because of the job opportunities. One of the university graduates, who is an engineer, works for the automotive sector as an executive in the Bursa Industrial Zone. One of them, who is also an engineer, has his own consultancy business that requires frequent out of town visits. The interviewee who is a bank branch manager works in Fomara, city center. Another interviewee is a pharmacist who works in the eastern part of Bursa as a business owner. The other three interviewees were housewives, one of which was retired from the family business. Five out of seven interviewees are house owners. Two house owners bought their houses with ready money. The other three house owners bought with bank loans, one of them continues to pay one-third of her income on loan installments. Two of the interviewees are tenants. One of them pays one-fifth of his income for rent, the other pays one-tenth of his income to the rent.

3.1.3.2. Reasons to choose the Housing Estate

When the interviewees are asked why they prefer Bursa Modern, the answers are diverse. What Four of the interviewees have in common is that they like the design of the project (including the site plan, common areas, housing units, and landscape design). The other reasons for choosing this housing compound are tranquility, location, security, facilities, reliability of the real estate company. Two of the interviewees moved to Bursa Modern even if their commuting time extended. Their reasons were the desire for isolation from the surrounding, and aspiration of a more prestigious lifestyle. Two of the interviewees moved from another housing estate next to Bursa Modern (Yasemin Park). Another interviewee, with the lowest income amongst the interviewees, moved to Bursa Modern because their kids are living there. Some of the interviewees state that Bursa Modern is more affordable amongst its

counterparts since it is located on the northern axis of Bursa while the city develops towards west.

The interviewees are also asked how they learned about the project. Two of the interviewees who moved from Yasemin Park housing estate were familiar with the project from the construction phase. The pharmacist became aware of the project when she attended to a brunch organization in the estate. One interviewee learned about the project when their daughter decided to move to Bursa Modern. Another interviewee found out about the project while commuting. Only two of the interviewees saw the commercial advertisement of the project; one of them saw the newspaper advertisement in a national newspaper in 2007, other interviewees saw the billboard and newspaper advertisements in 2012. Those two interviewees visited the sales office after they saw the commercials. When the former interviewee saw a newspaper advertisement, the construction had not yet begun. He admits he was impressed with the presentations (videos, visuals, and models) when he visited the sales office. He explains that the first-class treatment of the salesperson makes one feel like he moves up in terms of social status. When the other interviewee says that he was influenced by the slogan "a rent from you a rent from us"; hence, he visited the sales office looking for a rental.

3.1.3.3. Opinions about the Housing Estate and Housing Units

The interviewees were asked to compare their previous residence with their current residence. Four of them were living in the central districts of Bursa: Setbaşı, Tophane, Dikkaldırım, and Kükürtlü. All four said wider open space (common garden and landscape) was appealing comparing to their previous residences. The ones who lived in Setbaşı and Tophane, two of the oldest settlements in Bursa, mention the density of the apartment blocks, the noise, the old age of the buildings, traffic, and parking problems as his reasons for moving out from the center. The interviewee who lived in a single apartment building in Dikkaldırım said, Bursa Modern is better in every way, that the concept of the project suits their lifestyle better. The one who previously lived

in Kükürtlü, an older upper-middle-class district of Bursa, mentions that the apartment they live now is bigger and more comfortable. However, the distance to the city center is disadvantageous in terms of distance to commercial and social facilities. The interviewee who lived in Setbaşı moved to Yasemin Park (the housing estate across Bursa Modern) to obtain better conditions. After Bursa Modern was built, they moved there due to better design and better facilities. The other interviewee moved from Yasemin Park states that Bursa Modern presents better living conditions with its sports center and swimming pool. The other two interviewees previously lived in the western district of Nilüfer. One of them was a tenant and mentioned that Bursa Modern is more secure, has large green areas, and has better construction quality to provide a better quality of life. The other interviewee who moved from Nilüfer stated that Bursa Modern is better in terms of being isolated and quiet.

Bursa modern has different types of apartment blocks and different apartment typologies. There are towers, residence blocks, and waterside apartments. There are six types of apartments in the housing estate from one-bedroom to five-bedrooms units. Two of the interviewees live in one-bedroom apartments, both are tenants. One of them chose that type of apartment because it is furnished. The other mentioned there are various types of one-bedroom apartments. However, the layouts of the other apartments are misshapen for regular furniture to fit. They both have an open kitchen which they think is functional for small apartments. Two of the interviewees live in the waterside apartments with three-bedrooms. One of them lives in the garden floor, the other lives in terrace duplex. The one who lives in the duplex said in the show home, upper floor designed as the master bedroom. However, since it is connected to the terrace and the pool, they prefer to use it as the second living area. They also converted the storage room into another room. Two of the interviewees live in threebedroom apartments in mid-rise towers (Park Bahçe Konakları). One of them is a single-child family. They use the third room as the dressing room. The other resident is an elderly couple, uses the extra rooms as the second living room and the guest room. The last interviewee lives in a four-and-a-half-bedroom apartment. The "half" bedroom is designed for live-in help; however, the interviewee does not consider this room as convenient for a person to live since there is limited daylight access to the room. They use this "half" room as the storage space. The other rooms used as the master bedroom, second living room, and guest rooms.

The interviewees are asked about their opinions about the open areas in their apartments (for example, balconies, terraces, etc.). Since there are various types of apartments in the housing estate, the comments on this issue vary according to the type of residence. For example, although there are also one-bedroom apartments with balconies, two of the interviewees live in studio apartments without a balcony. One of them says, the reason there is no balcony in these apartments is that they were initially designed as three-bedroom apartments and then converted into two separate apartments for marketability. Both interviewees said they are pleased with their residences, but they would prefer a balcony. Two of the interviewees live in the waterside residences. One has a garden and a pool, the other has a terrace and a pool. The one with the garden says that they use the garden and the pool actively. The one who lives in the terrace apartment mentions that even though they do not use the pool actively, the terrace is a commonly used social gathering area for the family. Two of the interviewees have two balconies in their apartment. They use the main balcony often, especially during spring and summer. One of them closed the second balcony in order to use it as a storage. The other interviewee says they have only one balcony in the apartment and it is an important feature for an apartment to have.

Since the interviewees live in various types of residences in the housing estate, the layouts of their houses are different from each other. 4 of the interviewees state that they are satisfied with their residences. The two interviewees live in "Park Garden" and "Marine Block" mention that their bathrooms are small and rather inconvenient. The last interviewee states that he is not happy with the housing market in Turkey and he does not consider to become a homeowner.

3.1.3.4. Commuting and Transportations

Three out of four working interviewees commute by car. The other works independently as a consultant, visiting customers mostly out of the city. Three of the commuters mention that they are happy with the commuting time from home to work, which is around 15 minutes. One of them works in Fomara, close to the center of Bursa. One of them works in Yıldırım, an eastern district of Bursa, and uses the peripheral highway. The third works in the Bursa Industrial Zone, has the longest commuting time, up to 30 minutes during rush hours. However, he finds this commuting time acceptable since he previously lived in İstanbul where the commuting times are much higher.

The other three interviewees are housewives. Two of them have private cars, one of them is non-driver. However, all three use public transportation (bus and "dolmus") to access the city center. They state that the public transportation is sufficient and frequent and they are happy with their way of transportation. There is no other public transportation to the other parts of the city. While the two of the housewives who are car owners drive to further distances, the non-driver interviewee is dependent on her husband or friends for transportation.

3.1.3.5. Use of Open Space and the Common Garden

The interviewees are asked if they think it is a positive aspect to have an enclosed garden. Only one of them says that it does not matter for him since he does not use the garden actively. The other six of the interviewees state that the garden should be exclusive for the inhabitants of the housing compound. The reasons mentioned are; there would not be enough space with the outsiders, the garden should be private since the facilities are included in the prices (houses and monthly fees), they feel comfortable knowing only certain people can enter the site (inhabitants and guests).

Four of the interviewees say that they hardly ever use the common garden. Two of them, who are single and live alone mention that they a few times used the picnic areas with their friends. Another interviewee rarely uses the garden since they own a summer house and prefer to spend the summers there. The third interviewee lives in the waterside residence with a private garden and states that they prefer to spend time in their garden rather than in the common areas. Another interviewee says they used to spend a lot of time in the playgrounds while their child was younger. Now they seldom use the pond for boating with their child. Two of the housewives mention that they use gazebos to gather with other neighbors.

When asked if the interviewees are satisfied with the garden, five of them respond affirmatively. However, one of them explains that in the beginning landscape did not appeal to him, as the greenery had not grown fully. Another comment is:

"It's nice to have a pond and greenery. The garden is not next to the road. I see it more advantageous than other projects. When you look up here, you see something. But when you raise your head in Korupark, for example, you can see nothing but the apartment." (Y.D.)

Only one negative comment comes from a previous Yasemin Park resident. He states that he finds Bursa Modern a little be more of a "concrete jungle" compared to Yasemin Park and "feels as if missing its spirit".

Four out of seven interviewees who have kids or grandchildren are asked if they find it safe to let the children play by themselves in the common areas. Parents/grandparents seem to be comfortable leaving their children/grandchildren on their own after a certain age. For smaller children, the size of the garden, ponds and pools are the main concerns of the interviewees who think that they should be supervised.

3.1.3.6. Use of Sport Facilities

When asked about the sports facilities it is seen that the most commonly used area is the hiking trail. Five of the interviewees says that they use the hiking trail actively. Only one interviewee says that they (with his wife) use the gym actively. The gym of the housing estate serves the inhabitants with a small amount of fee while it also serves to outsiders. Two interviewees mention using the indoor swimming pool. Only one interviewee says that he uses the basket court, and it is nice to have this opportunity. One interviewee said they do not use the sports facilities, only enjoy the Turkish Hamam and sauna, complaining about them being under maintenance for a few months. One interviewee said he would prefer to work out with a personal trainer; hence, he prefers outside of the estate for the sports activities.

The interviewees were asked if they use the outdoor swimming pool. Only two of the interviewees state that they use the swimming pool actively. One of them says, as a divorcé, he prefers to use the swimming pool when his children visit. The other interviewee who uses the swimming pool actively also has small children, and he says, the whole family enjoys the swimming pool. Both declare that the maintenance service by the management is sufficient; however, the pool is insufficient when the crowd using it is considered. Two of the interviewees who have their private pools, say that they never use the common swimming pool. Two of the interviewees say that as they go to their summer houses in summer, they infrequently use the swimming pool. The last interviewee says he does not like swimming pools in general, in terms of hygienic conditions. Even the interviewees who do not use the swimming pool actively, mention the crowd and insufficiency of the swimming pool. Due to the increasing population of the Arab families in the housing estate, many inhabitants complain about the crowd in the common areas (due to the high number of children in Arab families).

3.1.3.7. Use of Commercial Facilities

The most used commercial facility is the supermarket in the bazaar (shopping area). The pharmacy and delicatessen follow the supermarket as the other two actively working places in the facility. However, the interviewees say they would prefer to use this facility more if it becomes fully functional with the opening of the other shops. Some of the interviewees prefer to shop from bigger supermarkets for groceries

where they get access by cars. Three of the interviewees who lived in the central districts before, state that they still visit the city center for some of their needs. They use public transportation in order to avoid traffic and parking problems. One of them says:

"We go to the shopping malls; besides shopping, it becomes a social activity for us. Although we sometimes go to the city center, shopping malls are more appealing to us." (G.A.)

When the interviewees asked if their shopping habits changed when they moved to Bursa Modern, three say their shopping habits changed, while four of them say it did not. Two of the interviewees who declare that their habits did not change, mention they used to go to nearby supermarkets and shopping malls, and now they do the same. The other interviewee whose habits remain the same uses the same gross market he previously used regardless of the distance. One of the interviewee's shopping habits changed due to his divorce. Another interviewee says they have completely changed their shopping habits and now they only use the shopping facilities located in the housing estate. The other two, who previously lived in the city center said they miss the diversity and proximity that the city center provided. They both use the shops in the surrounding neighborhoods (Panayır and Demirtaş), unlike other interviewees.

3.1.3.8. Socialization and Leisure Activities

Neighborliness changes according to the level of occupation and the design of the block. For instance, the waterside blocks have more visual connection with the neighbors while in tall blocks, the residents have nearly no visual connection with the others. Likewise, housewives spend more time on the premises, having a bigger chance to encounter with the neighbors, while the residents working full-time spend less time in the estate, hence, they have little or no connection with the other residents. One of the interviewees who lives in one of the tall blocks says:

"I have never had any neighbors here. This is an odd housing estate. I suppose I'm the most permanent tenant here. There are four apartments on each floor. One is empty from the beginning. There's no neighborliness like in the 80s. But I mean, this is like ghettos in American movies, and I don't know if it is just me not knowing anyone. This is a 25-storey building, I do not coincide with the one I came across in the elevator again." (Y.D.)

Another user also mentions the rapid change of the inhabitants. He explains that due to the short duration of residence, they have a hard time maintaining a relationship with the neighbors. Unlike these two male interviewees, female interviewees mention that they have close friends on the premises whom they frequently meet for social activities. They emphasize the importance of neighborliness. One of them mentions, even if they were not expected to know many neighbors in this kind of a housing estate comparing to their previous neighborhood, they are lucky that they have good neighbors. One of them explains the previous social gatherings that Sinpaş REIT organized for publicity were affective to develop a relationship with the neighbors and complained that such activities no longer take place.

When the interviewees are asked about their weekdays and weekend routines, two of them say they prefer to spend time outside of the housing estate. One of them is a single parent, who prefers to spend time with friends outside of the compound during weekdays, while he spends time with his children during the weekend in the garden of the estate. The other interviewee says since they have a summer house, they prefer to go there for leisure activities. As a result, they rarely use the common garden or other facilities of the housing estate. The other interviewees say they love to spend time in their houses, especially the one who lives in the waterside garden flat says they rarely go outside for leisure activities. Others mention that they go for a walk or use the café and picnic areas with their friends and families.

Some of the interviewees declared they would like to have additional cafés in the garden to use during winter. They said they would spend more time in the estate if

there were more enclosed places serving foods and beverages. The interviewees also complain about the promised activities during marketing. For example, the housing estate has a square for events and concerts would to be held, as declared in the marketing phase. As the interviewees mention, a few events took place in the first years, but that is no longer the case. Some users were told that there would be a social facility in Trilye (seaside district of Bursa) in exclusive use of the inhabitants of Bursa Modern and there would be free shuttles there. However, this facility could not be functionally operated before it was transferred to private investments and then closed permanently. Another regular activity that some of the older inhabitants mention was the open-air cinema, which is no longer being organized. They say they would enjoy living in Bursa Modern more if the management organizes such events. One of them explains:

"It is nice to have a place in this part of the city, a part that people do not prefer, that makes you peaceful when you enter. We do not use it very efficiently, but it is a nice place for those who use it. Some events can be organized to make this place even more beautiful. I do not know if people are unwilling or there are some problems with the management. Management can also gather people and organize events such as trips. People get more involved with each other, then. There would be a livelier place." (H.I.)

3.1.3.9. Use of the Services Provided

Five out of seven interviewees have regular help for housework, frequency from three days a week to every other weekend. Two other interviewees, who are housewives, do housework by themselves. The management provides maintenance and repair services for the inhabitants like previous examples. This service is included in the monthly fee of the apartments. Three of the interviewees say they are satisfied with this service and they use it if needed. The others think that there could be inconveniences with this service. One of the interviewees say, since the management having trouble collecting the monthly fees regularly, the quality of the service personnel is poor.

When asked if the parking space was decisive for them to move into Bursa Modern, four interviewees answered affirmatively. Especially the ones who moved from the city center were seeking a closed garage since it was a major problem for them in their previous neighborhood. The reason they were looking for a closed garage is the safety of the car and protection from the weather conditions. However, one of the previous residents of the city center says that she prefers to use the outdoor parking space by force of a habit. The other interviewees state that the parking garage was not a priority for them. Although, one of them admits that having a closed parking garage becomes an essential feature for him that he would look for in his feature residences. He says it is one of the most advantageous features of this housing estate. Another interviewee says they gave the priority to other aspects such as provided opportunities and lifestyle.

Interviewees find the parking spaces sufficient in terms of open and closed parking areas. However, due to the increasing population of the estate, some of the interviewees think it would become inadequate in the near future. In the closed parking garage, there are spaces reserved for users and there are common parking spaces for additional cars in the households. Some interviewees claim that parking garages are sold to the users at an additional cost. But none of the interviewees were amongst them. Some say that they can easily park both of their cars in the closed garage and others cannot park their extra car in the closed garage because they only have space for one car. This indicates the difference in opportunities amongst the users.

The interviewees are aware that the presence of a security control will not protect them from important threats. Nevertheless, they state that the 24-hour protection service creates a sense of security. For some of the interviewees having security was an effective criterion for choosing this housing estate, for others it was not a priority. But in the end, they are all satisfied with the security service provided and feel protected. One interviewee says she feels safe to leave her daughters home alone unlike their

previous neighborhood. Another interviewee who previously lived in the city center explains:

"For example, if we were going to go for a walk in Setbaşı (a central district of Bursa), I would go out with my upstairs neighbor. We wouldn't have stayed after midnight. We would go for a walk around the Ulucami area. But here you can go out alone within the area and walk as long as you want, you're not afraid. I feel safe. They (security personnel) immediately respond to your phone call in case of any need." (G.E.)

3.2. Evaluation of the Interviews

The purpose of the in-depth interviews was to reveal the relationship between the built environment and the user, focusing on the special cases in Bursa. The examples like selected cases, which reviewed above, usually criticized by architects and planners for the reason that they create urban enclaves and social segregation. Amos Rapoport's studies provide a guideline for this research due to his persistent works on Environmental Behavior Studies.

Rapoport says that, in order to use the house-settlement system (a concept that links behavior and activity systems with the dwelling) in analysis and design, it is necessary to be specific and do a profile which includes:

- "Which places are used and what are their physical and symbolic characteristics?
- By whom they are used and where groups congregate and separate?
- When places are used (weekend, weekday, time of day)?
- How long is spent in which places?
- What is allowed or prohibited in various settings (the rules)?
- The latent aspects of activities.

- The spatial and temporal relationships among the various places and their relationship to the dwelling."83

The interview questions were formulated to better understand the perception of the users on the highly criticized housing enclaves. The questions were structured under eight different categories and will be discussed in that order.

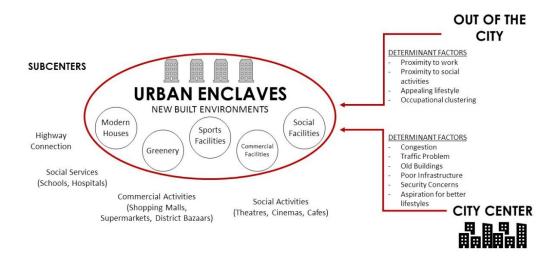


Figure 3.2. Reasons to choose the housing enclaves (Cesur-Türkmen, 2019)

Results of the in-depth interviews can be generalized as follows:

- They chose to live there for provided opportunities, better lifestyle, and proximity to work, main road connections and their social circle
- They like the design of the houses, and project in general.
- Although some of them occasionally use public transportation, they prefer and use motorized transportation
- They actively use the common garden for leisure activities and social events

⁸³ Rapoport, Amos. *Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man - Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design*, Pergamon Press, 1977, p.315.

- They use the sport facilities. Most commonly used facilities are walking trails and swimming pool. They rarely use the sports courts. Mostly small children uses them.
- Shopping center, especially supermarket serving the housing estate, is actively used by the inhabitants
- For leisure activities and socializing, inhabitants uses the facilities in the housing estate. However, they are not dependent on it. They also spend time outside of the housing estate, mostly western districts of Bursa.

The interviews revealed that there are variables other than the aspiration for a better lifestyle in the decision making. There are two types of users who have different motives to move to a housing enclave. The first group is the locals who moved from the central district of Bursa. In this group, the ones who moved to other districts around the western sub-center, prior to their current residence are also included. The western districts only developed to their current form after the 2000s. The local residents of Bursa once lived in the central districts of the city, and the subjects of this study, at one point, made the decision to move to a newly developed housing area from the city center. The reasons for this first group to leave the city center are stated as density, traffic congestion, parking problem, old buildings, poor infrastructure, lack of security due to the changing socio-cultural structure, and aspiration for a better lifestyle. The second group includes the ones who came from other cities. Within this group, there are mostly white collars who moved to Bursa for job opportunities. Some of them have been living in Bursa for a long time, some of them have recently moved. The main objective of this group is the proximity to the workplace and social activities. Other reasons are the desire to be together with other colleagues and appealing living conditions.

Most of those who prefer Saygınkent state that they prefer it because of the size of the green areas. They are impressed by the facilities offered, spacious settlement, greenery and proximity to motorways. They prefer bigger houses with well-designed layouts. For Korupark the security and facilities were the most common answers. Those in

Bursa Modern say that they like the settlement design and layout of the apartment units in general. For the most part, comfort, security, and social facilities have been preferred by the residents. Single employees prefer it because of its proximity to work. The choice of studio apartments for singles and the availability of furnished apartments in these sites has been a factor. The socio-cultural level of the residents was also determinant.

Only two people have been informed about the project, they have seen the presentations of the project, impressed by them. Those who have come from Bursa have heard about the project, as the news spread from ear to ear. Those who lived near the projects or those who passed by the estate on their way to their workplace became aware of the construction phases as witnesses. For Bursa, the impact of advertisements is not significant; in general, people become aware through an acquaintance, or they see, hear and be aware of the projects carried out in Bursa during the construction phase.

Rapoport argues that since the preferred form of housing is the most important influence on the form of cities, their spatial arrangements and location will have major effects on cities. ⁸⁴ He says if we want to change housing forms in any given way, the symbolism of the dwelling must be understood. The next part of the interview aimed to reveal users' opinions about the housing estate and housing units.

When the interviewees were asked to compare their current residence with the places they lived before, the common answers were high density in their previous neighborhoods and the problem of traffic and car parking. The positive aspects of the issued housing projects are stated as proximity to utilities (shopping centers, restaurants, cinemas, etc.), social and green areas, sports facilities, the outdoor swimming. The size of the dwellings is also mentioned by the families with children. The fact that there are areas where children can play safely was another positive feature.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp.321-322.

Those who previously lived in the city center have similar reasons for moving from there. They state that their old districts have degenerated, the socio-cultural structure had changed and that they no longer felt safe and "being at home" there. The ones who visited their old neighborhoods in the city center also admitted they felt relieved when they returned to their homes. Although they like to be close to a lot of facilities that the city center offers; the parking problem, dense outdated buildings, lack of infrastructure (such as elevators), crowds, noise, and lack of security have pushed them to look for new places. One of the reasons why they don't feel safe in the city center anymore is the internal and external migration (especially increasing population of Syrian refugees) and changing the socio-cultural structure of the city center. Both women and men say that they have been reluctant to walk around on their own late in the city center in the evening in the recent years.

Rapoport claims, people with similar lifestyles tend to cluster. ⁸⁵ This clustering occurs voluntarily with the upper classes, while it is necessity for lower class. He says, Western politicians and planners mostly ignore this tendency to cluster to idealize the city as a heterogenous environment. Of course, Rapoport talks mostly about ethnic clustering, mostly in Anglo-American cities. The situation in Bursa is different. One could observe the tendency to clustering due to the social and economic status, since the tendency of upper-middle class is to obtain a better lifestyle. However, due to the increasing number of Syrian refuges after the war, ethnical clustering could be observed, which pushes the former residence of the city center to the new settlements.

Everyone interviewed think that the housing estate they now live in is better in every way than where they lived before. They state that there has been a betterment in their living conditions. The high profile of the inhabitants in the three housing estates is mentioned frequently. Only one person described the housing estate (Korupark) where he lives as "soulless". This user was the youngest person interviewed, states that she was longing for the liveliness, social interactions and friendliness of small businesses

⁸⁵*ibid.*, p.251.

(rather than the shopping mall) of her previous residence in Görükle. She says that she would prefer his old place for its liveliness, but she got used to and liked the vast open areas in her new residence, and the social structure of the inhabitants.

Interviewees expressed their satisfaction with the layout of their houses. They find the plan layout of the apartment units practical, well-designed and state that they would not want to change anything about their apartments. The spaciousness of the apartments is emphasized, especially in Saygınkent housing estate. Some of the residents of the studios (one-bedroom units) in Korupark and Bursa Modern housing estates state that the studios were obtained from larger apartments.

The majority of the interviewees state that open areas within the apartment unit (such as balconies and terraces) are important and that they actively use these open spaces. Some of the interviewees living in the apartment without the balcony say that they frequently use the common garden of the housing estate.

Rapoport also discusses the different approaches of professionals and users giving examples from Sweden, U.S., and England. He claims, as he quotes Douglas J. Porteous, cultural and subcultural differences with cognitive styles, education, training and experience, it is inevitable that the planners and designers evaluate the environment different than the public. However, the situation is different in Bursa, since the interviewees agreed with the presented model. When asked if there is anything they would like to change or prefer to be different, none of them mentioned major changes. They are satisfied with the environment and architectural design including landscape design. Only one of the interviewees says he would prefer a residence with a private garden, within a walking distance to the attraction points of the city. This specific interviewee mention seeing that model during his visits to Europe and envies the structure of the cities.

The interviewees prefer to commute to their work and the city center with their private cars. Even the ones who work in the same place as other family members prefer to

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⁸⁶*ibid.*, p. 52.

commute with separate cars. Only one of the interviewees declare commuting by walking. Due to the proximity of the three housing estates to the main roads and highways, the maximum commuting time is stated as 20 minutes. There are only two non-driver interviewees who use public transportation on a regular basis. Some of the other members of the household actively use also the public transportation. Even though the majority of the interviewees do not use it, the public transportation was one of the factors that affected the choice of the housing estate by the residents. The target group of these projects, the middle-upper income group, lives a vehicle-dependent life in Bursa. The insufficient infrastructure of public transport network also has an impact on this situation. Amongst the users, there are white-collar employees as well as self-employed professions. Self-employed users are dependent on private cars due to the line of their business. Such projects are praised for being close to the motorways and the main road axes when they were in the marketing phase. The residents are affected by these features because they can avoid traffic congestion and the density of the city center.

Almost all of the interviewees say the garden being enclosed is a positive feature. However, the most common answer is not the desire for isolation from the surrounding neighborhood. The majority of the interviewees state that if the garden would be public then the area would not be sufficient for the crowd. The other reasons mentioned are; the low social profile of the surrounding neighborhood (only for Korupark and Bursa Modern housing estates; Saygınkent locates in an upper-middle-income neighborhood), and that the residents' payment for the management share (high prices of the apartment units and monthly fees).

Those who have limited mobility due to their workload or their children, generally prefer social opportunities to be together. They want to spend quality time in a limited time. Such families spend more time in the common areas of the housing enclave. Those who are single do not use many of the facilities provided (such as swimming pool, sports courts, and playgrounds). However, they feel comfortable within the

sociocultural environment provided by the housing estate and enjoy spending time in the common garden.

The most used sports facility is the walking trails. Sports courts are mostly used by the small children of the residence as playgrounds or for private sports lessons. This is the result of the newly adopted lifestyle. Since parents usually grew up in more traditional neighborhoods, they do not have the habit of playing tennis or basketball. However, the users say they are glad to have these opportunities even if they do not use them. They see these features as indicators of a better lifestyle. They live dependent on motorized transportation; however, they are happy about it. Yet, they regularly do sports.

In the early stage of the study, it is assumed that recreational areas (i.e. common garden, swimming pool, sports courts) of the housing estates would not be used very often and "latent function of recreational facilities" was to represent an appropriate image for the users. However, as a result of the interviews, it is understood that the residents enjoy using the common areas and actively use it.

Some maintain their old shopping habits and go to their old neighborhood to shop from the places they knew. These are the ones who lived in the city center before the 1990s. They usually do not use the small shops around because of the socio-cultural structure of the surrounding settlements. They are happy with the opportunities provided in the housing estate for shopping. Even if they could not find the facilities within the housing estate, they reach the shopping malls in the immediate surrounding. The position of these residential buildings within the city, and the facilities it contains appear to form the shopping habits of the users.

Rapoport says there are class differences in environmental preferences.⁸⁸ The monthly incomes of the interviewees are between 4.000 TL to over 15.000 TL. It is observed that the interviewees with higher income began to criticize the high population in the

⁸⁷*ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸⁸*ibid.*, pp. 50–51.

premises and seek for more privatized housing estates. On the other hand, for the middle-income group, the studied housing estates have been perceived as a means to obtain a better quality of life.

According to Rapoport, non-verbal messages from the environment are mainly affective, dealing with the feelings and setting the mood for other aspects of communication.⁸⁹ During the interviews conducted with the user of the enclosed housing projects in Bursa, it is noticed that small percentage of the residents know each other. The projects consist of 500 to 1500 apartment units; however, each interviewee mentions to know a small number of people. They only interact with their next-door neighbors, friends of their neighbors, and people they already knew. Many residents do not participate in the management, even one of the projects management held by a professional company. The management of each selected project mention they have difficulties to collect the regular maintenance fees. Although these are highdensity, highly populated housing estates, they do not generate any sense of community. Although most of the interviewees state that neighborliness is very important for them, they do not have many expectations about it. Especially the middle-income group, who grew up in the old neighborhood culture, did not expect to find close relations of the old neighborhoods due to the reputation subjected enclosed housing estates (distant, estranged people in a crowded environment). Mostly, the housewives want to get to know the neighbors, because they spend more time in the house. Employed people know fewer people, yet they do not complain. The residents of the housing estate have a certain socio-cultural level that provides a sense of reliance for establishing a relationship with the neighbors at any time. They think that the common areas increase the encounters and pave the way for initiating relationships. However, they do not prefer to meet more people than they already know.

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⁸⁹*ibid.*, p.331.

Some interviewees think that the common areas in the enclaves strengthen the neighborliness, others think that it has no effect on it. The common areas increase the encounters and generate familiarity. Usually low-income users observe occupational clusters which result in rankism. Nonetheless, they prefer to live there rather than with people having similar socio-cultural background (lower income groups). The luxury and privileges obtained by living in the given housing estates were motivations for them before they moved. They want their next children to be included in this upper class. Rapoport states that people feel satisfied from their environment when they move there with their own will. He says, people pick settings with characteristics which they value highly (pull factors) and avoid (or leave) environments which they regard negatively (push factors). They regard social status and live with similar people. Yet, neighborliness is not a factor in decision-making.

The design and facilities of the projects, such as layout, common areas, commercial facilities, take an important place in the weekday routines of the users. The residents who are working are mostly glad to have these facilities within their housing estates since they work all day and come home late in the evening. Those who do not work generally spend their weekdays with activities within the site.

Respondents say that they usually spend the weekends outside of the housing estate. It turns out that the diverse facilities and activity opportunities are not very effective in deciding leisure activities. While families with children prefer to spend time in the site, single and non-crowded families prefer to spend time in various parts of Bursa. They usually prefer nearby areas for shopping, and seaside, mountainside, and new districts for socializing.

This form of housing, which is accepted by a certain segment, is an indication of an accentuated class distinction. Some users find it positively not to be in contact with the lower-income groups in the neighborhoods where they live. Particularly the Emek and Panayır neighborhoods where Korupark and Bursa Modern project are located

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⁹⁰*ibid.*, p. 82.

and where there are lower-income groups contrast with the lifestyle offered by these projects. Users are happy to be able to do their daily work without contact ever, with no need to connect to the outside world. For Saygınkent housing estate the situation is a little bit different. Here users enjoy spending time around since it is located in a more developed neighborhood that accommodates the upper-middle-income group.

Monthly maintenance fees of these housing estates cost roughly between 400-600 TL. This amount does not include expenses like heating, only the maintenance of common areas. Nevertheless, this does not result in any financial distress. The respondents agree that, it is worth the amount of payment for the facilities provided. On the other hand, younger and especially single interviewees are not impressed by the promoted lifestyles, since their priorities are different. They do not think secured and enclosed environments are their priorities, though they appreciate these. Their priority was proximity to social opportunities and work. Even though, they use the social facilities on the premises they usually prefer to go out to trending places in Bursa (mostly in Nilüfer district). In general, middle and older ages are more affected by and adopted the lifestyles in the enclaves, especially those who previously lived in lower-income neighborhoods. The inhabitant profile of these housing estates generally handles household chores with a regular helper. These helpers come daily, weekly or every 15 days. In addition to maintainence and cleaning of common areas, management also provides technical support for malfunctions in the household to the users. However, the majority of the interviewees say that they do not prefer to use this service and not satisfied with it (due to previous experiences). Usually, they can do it themselves, or get outside help to pay less and get better service.

While Sayginkent aims a purely homogenous area, Korupark and Bursa Modern aims to mimic the heterogeneity of an advocated urban life. However, none of them are entirely socially heterogenic or homogenous environments. Scholars interpreting the urban form in various ways. Rapoport, for example, suggest that the more the

environment is homogeneous the less stress occurs, and this reduces the social overload. These projects provide controlled interactions, as their counterparts.⁹¹

Interviewees are happy with their current lifestyle. They comment on socio-cultural structure of the inhabitants, the ratio of green areas per user, the architecture of the blocks and apartment units. As conscious consumers, they prefer to live in an environment that have a lot of green areas and educated population.

Many discussions on this subject is made on the suburbanization. New urbanists even discuss the significance of a city center, advocating against urban sprawl. A city center described as a "healthy environment" with agglomerated commercial facilities, government offices, residential density, and cultural events in a concentrated area. However, the situation for Bursa is different. The oldest project creates a neighborhood occupied with similar housing models. Saygınkent is now in a location which can be defined as the "sub-city-center". It is within the walking distance to shops, malls, hospitals, schools, and cultural facilities.

One may argue that city development plans foresee the expansion towards west. But, the third project, Bursa Modern, proves a point that these housing enclaves works as pioneers and creates neighborhoods with similar models in nearby locations if not immediate surroundings. Yasemin Park (an early example of housing enclaves located near Bursa Modern) first set new standards. With a mega project like Bursa Modern, the neighborhood has already begun to transform. Many other housing projects are constructed, or they are under construction. Also, a shopping mall is planned to open soon. Hence, none of the projects remain completely isolated from its surrounding

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⁹¹*ibid*., p.336.

⁹² Nozzi, Dom, "Speed, Size, and the Destruction of Cities", in *New Urbanism and Beyond: Designing Cities for the Future*, New York: Rizolli, ed. Tigran Haas, 2008.p.91.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

After the 1980s, with the development of the automotive industry in Bursa, there has been a rapid increase in population due to the migration for job opportunities. The expansion in population required new supply for housing. Although some of the developments in today's Bursa have been determined with the planning decisions, many recently developed residential areas have been resulted from incremental decisions with economic or political incentives. The city began expanding rapidly after 1980s, and new subcenters have begun to emerge in the periphery of the city. Industrial areas played also an important role in the forming of these sub-centers. The development areas surrounding the industries, which were initially assigned to workers for proximity in the 1970s, were transformed into residential areas dominated by the upper-middle income group.

High profitability was the prior issue for developers and investors. By promoting high standards of living and modern luxurious conditions, the new residential areas nearby the industrial zones have been subject to gated housing projects aspired by the upper-middle income group. These new urban enclaves emerged in these development areas. Living in such housing estates have become a social status indicator for the upper-middle-income groups, although not explicitly stated in the interviews. Expeditiously, living in such environments have become a trend for the upper income groups in Bursa. The demand for such housing projects has attracted the contractors and investors. Many other gated housing projects constructed in these prestigious newly developed residential areas. However, the increasing number of such projects means these dwellings are also accessible by the middle-income groups. This pushes the upper-income group to look for other prestigious environments. Underneath this trend,

there is a social status concern. "Trendy housing projects" are more preferred. Some even go out of fashion.

The starting point of this study was to observe if the new housing trends form as urban enclaves affect the lifestyles of users, how much they adopt the new lifestyle offered by these housing estates and whether they are happy with their new way of life. The gated housing estates, of which three cases were examined in this study, have become widespread and the norm for the upper-middle-income group as a symbol of better lifestyles. The humblest features are opportunities like a parking garage, common garden, spacious dwellings, and even swimming pools. These features have begun to be included in the design of housing projects in various scales. The selected projects have made a noticeable impression at the time when they were built. They have become the object of desire/aspiration for the middle class, as an indicator of success in their social circle.

It is understood as a result of this research that the housing enclaves created in the new development areas of the city, affect also the lifestyle of the users. Although they are not fully dependent on the facilities within the housing estate, they adopt the lifestyles introduced by these housing projects. The frequency of the use of facilities and activities change according to the age and family structure of the inhabitants. The users interviewed are happy to a great extent with their new way of life. The majority of them are satisfied living in an enclosed housing estate. They generally think that it as a security measure.

Human-environment relations analyzed from the perspective of the architecture of the built environment was one of the main objectives of the study. It is found out that the users are happy in the investigated environments that the housing estate companies offer. The design and facilities define a lifestyle behind the gates, and most of the users' lifes are shaped around it, yet not fully depend on it.

The architectural designs are disputable; however, it was not within the scope of this research. As emphasized in the previous chapter, the human-environment relations

analyzed from the perspective of the architecture of the built environment was the main objective of the study. It is concluded that the users are happy in the investigated environments that the housing estate companies offer. The design and facilities define a lifestyle behind the gates, and most of the users' lives are shaped around it, yet not depend on it. The social homogeneity of the selected housing enclaves can be discussed. When the profiles of the interviewees are analyzed; educational, occupational and economic profiles are various. The reasons to choose to live in the given housing estates vary also. Some of them searched for better opportunities for their families, others looked for social facilities, and some others preferred proximity to their friends and families, some wanted bigger and better-quality apartments. However, given the opportunity, users now share a lifestyle within the same housing enclave. Although some of them had lifestyles similar to what they have now before they move in, others aspired the presented ways of life, and yet some of them have adjusted their lifestyles according to the conditions. In that manner, while the background of the inhabitants considered these enclaves are heterogeneous; yet, due to the changing lifestyles they become homogenous.

One of the initial ideas prior to this study was that the urban enclaves lead to isolated lifestyles and cause estrangement to the city. It is true that with the increasing popularity of this type of housing estates, new sub-centers have developed, and the old city center has lost its significance. The upper-middle-class has moved from the central city to these newly developed residential areas around newly formed sub-centers and left the center of the city to the low-income groups, migrants, and refugees, which result, in turn, in an accentuated social segregation. However, the fact that the users have access to many facilities in the premises of the housing estates and not in the need to go out is not the reason for this segregation. Even if most of the residents of the selected housing estates interviewed declare that they enjoy spending time within the housing estate, it is found out that they are also actively using other areas of the city. The reason why the city center is not preferred is the fact that many facilities that it offers is also found in the newly developed subcenters. The second

reason of the estrangement from the city center is the lack of infrastructure and the lack of attraction to live in the aging of the housing stock. Another reason is the change in the socio-cultural structure of the city center with internal and external migrations, independent from the built environment.

The rapid increase in population due to the industrial growth in Bursa also meant white-collar migration. The new population disregards the city center and seek dwellings closer to their workplace. Since the majority of them work in the industrial areas new housing areas developed in the surroundings of the industrial zones. As a result, the areas once reserved for workers' housing, became high-class housing zones. The new-comers' tendency to cluster in various neighborhoods has also affected the accentuation of the social segregation in Bursa.

The quality of life is determined by the perception of necessities for a person to be successful in today's cultural and economic context. In an industrial city like Bursa, white-collar workers constitute the majority of the upper-middle class. They consider a good job position, going away on holidays, owning a car and a house as the necessities for a better lifestyle. Residential areas where social life is active are preferred. Housing enclaves that provide social activities preferred if socialization with similar groups does not occur in public spaces of a neighborhood. Additionally, for this income group, housing estate should have certain features to support this new way of life, such as an extra room, large balcony, closed garage, sports facilities, and common areas. Since car ownership is a must-have for this lifestyle, these residential areas are not expected to be close to the city center or any public transportation. Therefore, new housing projects constructed in areas where the infrastructure has not yet been fully formed where security becomes an issue. This situation leads to the formation of enclosed, secured, self-sufficient housing settlements. As the whitecollar population grows due to the investments for new industrial zones, luxury housing demand has accelerated, and gated housing has become a trend for the housing market in Bursa. Many real estate companies invested in gated housing projects for the upper-middle-income group intending for attention-grabbing, exclusive designs. The choice of location for the projects prioritize profitability and disregards the planning decisions. This leads to rapid urban growth are new subcenters, which have developed independently from the pre-existing urban fabric, and from each other.

In conclusion, Bursa has expanded towards its periphery. This inevitable urban sprawl created by the emerging urban enclaves has resulted in the fragmentation of the public realm. The neoliberal economic policies are directly related to this situation. As this segregation becomes more visible, upper-income groups constantly search for new environments to respond to their needs. This ongoing situation brings some further questions. This new model will continue to be supplied by real estate companies in the near future. Whether this new model is sustainable for the city, and what the future of the city center would be, are questions that are open to further discussion.

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APPENDICES

A. QUESTIONNAIRE

The Profiles of the Interviewees

- 1. Can you introduce yourself briefly?
- 2. What is your educational background (undergraduate, graduate, etc.)? Where do you currently work and what is your position in the workplace (engineer, specialist, manager, etc.)?
- 3. Where did you complete your education and why did you choose to live in Bursa?
- 4. What is the population of your household?
- 5. How many people in your household, including you, have a regular income? What are their professions and their positions at work?
- 6. What is the range of the monthly income of your household?
- a. 4,000 and below
- b. 4000-7000
- c. 7000-10000
- d. 10,000-15,000
- e. 15,000 and above
- 7. Are you the owner of your house or a tenant? If you are the owner, did you buy your house with a bank loan? What is the ratio of your loan installment to your monthly income? If you are a rented, what is the ratio of your rent to your monthly income?
- 8. How long have you been living here?

Reasons to Choose the Housing Estate

- 9. Why did you choose to live here?
- 10. How did you find out about this project?

11. Have you seen any commercials of the project before you decide to live here? Did any of the commercials affect your choice? What appealed to you the most in these commercials?

Opinions about the Housing Estate and Housing Units

- 12. Where have you lived before you move here? Can you compare your previous residence with your current residence?
- 13. What type of apartment do you live in (for example, studio apartment, terrace, etc.)? How many rooms, bathrooms, kitchens do you have? Is that enough for you? Why did you choose this type of apartment? How do you use your existing rooms? For example, do you have a separate dressing room, living room and/or guest room?
- 14. Is there any open space in your house (for example, balcony, garden, terrace, etc.)? How often do you use these areas? Do you think it is important to have that kind of open space in the house?
- 15. Are you satisfied with your apartment? What would you like to change if you are not satisfied (for example, size, layout, the position of the house, etc.)?

Commuting and Transportations

16. What are your commuting time and way (service, private vehicle, public transport, bicycles, etc.)? Are you satisfied with your commuting routine? If you are not working, what way of transportation do you prefer?

Use of Open Spaces and the Common Garden of the Housing Estate

- 17. Do you think that your garden being enclosed is a positive feature?
- 18. How often and for which activities do you use the common garden?
- 19. Are you satisfied with the garden? If not, how would you prefer (for example, bigger, safer, greener, etc.)?
- 20. Do you find it safe for your children to spend time on their own in common areas or do you prefer them under your supervision?

Use of Sports Facilities within the Housing Estate

- 21. What are the sports facilities in your housing complex? Which frequency do you use them? Do you think these facilities are enough?
- 22. Do you use the outdoor pool in your housing complex? How often do you use it? The maintaining and cleaning services are enough? Is the size of the pool enough for users?

Use of Commercial Facilities

- 23. Where do you usually go shopping (for groceries and other needs)?
- 24. Where did you usually go shopping before moving here? Do you think your habits changed when you moved here?

Socialization and Leisure Activities

- 25. Do you know your neighbors? Do you spend time together? If you know any neighbors, did you meet before or after you move in (how did you meet)? Do you think it's important to know your neighbors?
- 26. How do you generally spend your weekdays and weekends? Would you spend some time in your neighborhood? What do you do?

Opinions about Provided Opportunities

- 27. How do you handle the housework? For example, do you get any help with the cleaning? What do you do in case of malfunctions that require repair?
- 28. Was having a parking area decisive criterion for you?
- 29. Do you prefer open or closed parking spaces? Is parking capacity sufficient for the inhabitants and their guests?
- 30. Do you think this housing complex is safe? Was having security decisive criteria for choosing here?

B. INTERVIEWS

1- H. A. ile söyleşi, Erkek, Makine Mühendisi, İş İnsanı – Saygınkent, 26.10.2019

Kendinizi kısaca tanıtabilir misiniz?

52 yaşındayım. Aslen Ayvalık doğumluyum. 93 senesinde Bursa'ya geldim. Bir süre profesyonel olarak iyi firmalarda çalıştıktan sonra kendi işimi kurdum. 2000 yılında evlendim, üç tane çocuğum var. Yaşları 17, 13 ve 8.

Eğitim durumunuz (lisans, yüksek lisans vb.) ve mesleğiniz nedir? Çalışıyorsanız şu an nerede çalışıyorsunuz ve işyerindeki pozisyonunuz nedir (mühendis, uzman, müdür vb.)?

Anadolu Üniversitesi mezunuyum. Makine mühendisiyim. 98 senesinden beri kendi işimi yapıyorum. Bursa Organize Sanayi Bölgesi içinde bir işyerim var.

Yükseköğreniminizi nerede tamamladınız ve neden Bursa'yı tercih ettiniz?

Eskişehir'de. 93 yılında iş arayışına girince, iş imkânları o zaman Bursa'da çoktu. İş bulunca buraya geldim.

Şu an yaşadığınız evde kaç kişi düzenli olarak yaşıyor?

Beş kişi yaşıyoruz.

Evinizde yaşayanlardan siz dâhil kaç kişi düzenli gelir sahibi, meslekleri ve işteki pozisyonları nedir?

Eşim de benim şirketimde muhasebeci olarak çalışıyor.

Aylık toplam geliriniz hangi aralıkta (TL)?

15.000 ve üstü

Ev ve iş yeriniz arası mesafe nedir ve ulaşımı nasıl sağlıyorsunuz (servis, özel araç, toplu taşıma, bisiklet vs.)? Ev ve iş yeriniz arasındaki mesafeden ve ulaşım biçiminizde memnun musunuz?

Eşimle ayrı özel araçlarımızla gidip geliyor. İşyeriyle evimizin arası yakın, büyük şehirlerle kıyaslama yaparsak biz çok şanslıyız. İşle ev arası 5 dakika sürüyor. Mesafe yakın olsun diye çok düşünmemiştik ama kendiliğinden böyle gelişti. Şu anda Nilüfer ilçesi merkez oldu. İşin başında bu kadar merkezi bir yer değildi.

Yaşadığınız konutta mülk sahibi misiniz kiracı mı?

Mülk sahibiyiz.

Krediyle mi aldınız peşin mi?

Kooperatiften girdik. Elden kooperatif üyeliği alarak sürece dâhil olduk. Sitede iki tane dairem var.

Kooperatif sürecinde etkin rol almış mıydınız?

Evet, çok etkin rol aldım çok mücadeleler ettik.

O süreçlerden biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?

Türkiye'de malum, dürüst kooperatif yok. Kooperatifi yapan şeyler bunu nemalanma aracı olarak bunu maalesef kullanıyorlar. Profesyonel kadro bu işi yürütüyor. Dolayısıyla onların gayesi, bu kooperatif olayını kötüye kullanıp para kazanmak. İşin doğrusu bu en kaliteli insanında da en kalitesiz insanında da, en yüksek gelirlisinde de en düşün gelirlisinde de böyle oluyor. Biz de burada çok mücadele ettik. Bizim kooperatifin adı "Soygunkent" olarak anılıyordu. Çok sağlam mücadelesini verdik. Onun neticesinde arzu ettiğimiz şekilde evlerimize kavuştuk. Aşağı yukarı 120-140 dönüm bir alana yayıldı. O şekilde de düşünerek almıştık. Bir ara kooperatif yönetimi bahçeyi villa yapacaktı, onları engelledik. Vaktimi baya bir harcadık.

Bu mücadelenizden bahsedebilir misiniz? Hukuksal süreç nasıldı?

Genel kurul kararlarının iptali için davalar açık. Genel kuruldaki profesyonel yöneticiler çok etkili ve ciddi de isimlerdi. Profesörler şunlar bunlar. Etki alanları da yüksek ve bazı işleri devlet dairelerinde, belediyelerde çok rahat halledebiliyorlardı. Bir de projeler büyük olduğu zaman bunların elinde baya bir kaynak da oluyor. Bu

büyük kaynaktan yararlanmak isteyen, yandaş olmaya çalışan iş yapmak isteyen bir sürü insan destek verebiliyor tabi. Bu şekilde biz biraz zayıf kalıyorduk. Bölgesel olarak da Bursa insanı biraz haksızlıklara çok net karşı çıkan bir yapıda da değil maalesef. Onun sıkıntısını da gördük. Mesela İzmir'de ya da daha küçük bir yerde bu böyle olmaz. E ama tabi insanlar dağınık olduğu için de birbirini tanımıyor, biraz derdimizi anlatmakta ve taraftar bulmakta zorlandık. Dar bir grup kooperatif üyesi olarak, 8-10 kişi olarak bu işin mücadelesini verdik. Çok da başarılı olduk. Çok da güzel oldu. Herkes de memnun şu anda tabi ki.

O zamanki konu tam olarak ilk projeye uygun olmayan düzenlemelerin yapılmak istenmesi miydi? Siz buna mı karşı çıktınız?

Tabi. Şimdi şöyle, yapılan iş tamamen kooperatif üyelerini kaz gibi görüp yolmak üzerine yapılmış bir düzenleme. Bunlardan bir tanesi ko-jenerasyon adı altında bir enerji santrali kurulacak, bu üçüncü bir şahsa verilecek. Üçüncü şahsa verildiği zaman bir 20 milyon dolar gibi bir miktarla sitemiz ipotek edilecek. O zaman hesapladık bunu, daire başına 60-65 dolar havadan para kazanma yolu. Bu da 500 dairede 20 sene 30bin dolar gibi aylık bir gelir olarak düşünmüşler kendilerine. Biz bunu iptal ettirdik. Ondan sonra 80 dönüme yakın bahçemiz vardı. Bu bahçeyi alıp villa yapacaklardı, genel kurul kararıyla geçirdiler. Onu da şöyle yapıyorlardı. Kooperatifi maddi olarak zora sokuyorlardı, bu maddi zorluğu nasıl aşarız dendiğinde de kooperatifin malı olan bahçeyi nakit olarak değerlendirme şeklinde bir çözüm sunuyorlar. Biz bunu da iptal ettirdik. Bunlar ana konulardı. Diğer konular ufak tefek şeylerdi. Bunlar iptal olunca 80 dönüm bahçesi olan bir sitemiz oldu.

Projeden ve kooperatiften nasıl haberdar oldunuz?

O zaman Bosch'ta çalışıyordum. Gelip sunumlar yaptılar. Bu kooperatifi yapanlar bu işin pazarlamasını da yapıyorlar. Pazarlama da hedef aldıkları kitlenin içindeydik biz de herhalde. O tarihlerde çok profesyonel bir yapı yoktu tabi. Kooperatifi kuranlar network'leri (iletişim ağları) geniş olan insanlar. Firmalarda tanıdıkları aklı başında insanlara gidip kooperatiften bahsediyorlar, "tanıdığımız bildiğimiz sevdiğimiz

insanları alacağız" şeklinde söylemler yapıyorlar. O şekilde insan topluyorlardı. Çok profesyonel değil de biraz daha içsel kendi ağlarını kullanarak üye topluyorlardı. Genelde kooperatifler de böyle oluyordu zaten. Burası lüks konutlar, o yüzden biraz daha gelir düzeyi yüksek kitleyi hedef almışlardı. Genelde yabancı şirketlerde çalışıp iyi ücret alan profesyoneller, sabit gelirini garantilemiş noter gibi doktor gibi meslek sahiplerini hedef almışlardı. Kooperatifi de kuranlar akademisyenlerdi, oradan da biraz ısınmıştık. Tercihimizde etkili olmuştu. Güzel de bir projeydi. İşte kooperatif başkanları filan böyle kötü yollara sapmasalardı gayet derli toplu herkesin memnun olacağı bir proje.

Kooperatifi ilk kuranlar kimler?

Üniversite hocaları, üç tane. Mustafa Aytaç, Erkan Işığı çok (Er-Kooperatifin yönetim kurulunda), bir de bir hocamız daha vardı ama unuttum adını şimdi o da makineciydi. Bunlar kurmuşlar ama taban alanı üniversite hocalarının olduğu bir gruptu. Bu saydığım isimler de kendi alanlarında son derece etkili networkleri kuvvetli, tanınan bilinen insanlar. Üye bulmakta çok sıkıntı çekmemişler. Ama sonra tabi bu kooperatif sürecinde çok acı çeken oldu. Yaklaşık 500 hanelik kooperatife 1500-2000 kişi girip çıkmıştır. Paraları ziyan oldu.

Neden peki?

Mesela noluyor? Bu ödeme şekliyle üç sene de veya dört senede bu binalar bitecek. İnsanlar diyor ben ödeyebilirim, üye oluyor. Dört sene geçiyor daha binanın dörtte biri bitmemiş. Ödemeler devam ediyor. E ne oluyor? Ekonomik sıkıntı oluyor. Adamın parası bitiyor, ya da bakıyor proje bitecek gibi değil, satmaya çalışıyor. Ya da hiç ödeyemiyor, üyelikten atılıyor. O zaman yerine yeni üye alınıyor. Kooperatif sürecinde yüksek enflasyonlu bir dönem de vardı. Milletin parası pul oldu. Çok ciddi sayıda insan zarar gördü. Genelde kooperatiflerde bu hep olur.

Yapılan tanıtımlarda sizi en çok cezbeden özellik neydi?

Bana direk tanıtım yapmadılar, o zaman müdürlerimize yapmışlardı. Ben dolaylı olarak onlardan duydum. Örnek daireleri vardı. Hakikaten o zaman için Bursa'da öyle bir yapı yoktu. Son derece güzeldi, hoşumuza gitti. Daire olarak, büyüklük olarak, tavan yükseklikleri, rahatlık ferahlık olarak son derece güzeldi. Aklımızda kaldı, o zaman için girme imkânımız yoktu. Sonradan kendim iş güç sahibi olup maddi imkânlarım yükselince o dönem ödeme yapamayan üyelerden birinden devraldım.

Projenin ortak alanlarıyla ilgili tanıtımları olmuş muydu? Onlardan etkilenmiş miydiniz?

Evet, zaten site muhteşem. 130 dönüm içinde yer alıyor. Tanıtımları yaparken de bunu vurguladılar. Gerçi bu özelliği gidiyordu ama onu kurtardık. Sekiz tane tenis kortu var, yüzme havuzu var, kaykay tesisleri var, çim futbol sahası var, voleybol sahası var, basketbol sahası var. Koşu yolu, bisiklet yolu var. Piknik alanları var, barbekü yapabileceğiniz. Zaten en başta da bu şekilde lanse edildi. Bizim hedefimiz de öyle bir şeye sahip olmaktı tabi ki. Binanın içi de güzel olunca etkileyici tabi. İşin doğrusu her ne kadar burada maliyetler yükseğe çıksa da bina kalitesinde herhangi bir sıkıntı yok. Bina kaliteli ve gayet iyi. Radye temel, tünel kalıp bizim sistem. Kooperatif sıkıntılı olup süre uzasa da o kalite konusunda taviz verdiklerini söyleyemem.

Daha önce nerede yaşıyordunuz? Daha önce yaşadığınız yerle şimdi yaşadığınız yeri karşılaştırabilir misiniz?

İlk Bursa'ya geldiğimde bekârdım, Setbaşı'nda oturuyordum. Çok büyük bir yere ihtiyacım yoktu. Merkezde olmasını istedim. Tiyatroya sinemaya yakındı. Hareketli bir yerdi. Sonra yine bekârken Çekirge'ye taşındım, orası da güzeldi. Manzaralıydı, kartal yuvası gibi bir şeydi. Ben oradayken evlendik sonra eşimle birlikte Beşevler'e geçtik. 12 dairelik bir apartmandı. Güzel bir daireydi, merkeziydi o zaman için. Şimdi çok kalabalık oldu. O zaman için çok iyi bir yerdi orası. Bursa'nın düzgün yerlerinden birisiydi. Apartmanımız da iyiydi.

Yaşadığınız konut tipi nedir (stüdyo daire, teraslı vb.)? Kaç oda, banyo, mutfak var? Sizin için yeterli mi? Neden bu konut tipini tercih ettiniz? Mevcut

odalarınızı nasıl kullanıyorsunuz? Örneğin ayrı bir giyinme odanız, oturma odanız ve/veya misafir odanız var mı?

4+1 bir dairemiz var. 3 tane banyosu, bir giyinme odası var. Evin kullanımı konusunda hanımlar etkili oluyor, ben çok söz sahibi olamıyorum. Salonumuz var ama salonda ben oturabiliyorum neyse ki, annem salona da sokmuyordu. Mutfağımız büyük, orada yemek yiyoruz. Çocukların birer odası var. Salonu büyük olduğu için salona özel mobilya yaptırmıştık. Biz çocuk odalarını da özel yaptırdık.

Konutunuzda açık alan var mı (balkon, bahçe, teras vb)? Bunları ne sıklıkla kullanıyorsunuz? Sizce konutta açık alan olması önemli midir?

Bir adet balkonumuz var. Balkon çok önemli. Çoğu yerde insanlar balkonlarına çıkıp rahat rahat oturamıyor çünkü çok dar evler, hep birbirlerine bakıyor balkonlar. Rahat bir ortam bulamıyorsunuz. Ama bizim Saygınkent'te önümüz tamamen açık kimse kimseyi görmüyor. Özellikle alkol alımı konusunda bütün aktiviteleri hava müsait olsa da olmasa da balkonda yapıyoruz. Balık pişirme, paça ciğer gibi kokulu şeyleri balkonda pişiriyoruz. Soframızı da balkonda kuruyoruz. Aktif olarak kullanıyoruz.

Konutunuzdan memnun musunuz? Elinizde olsa ne nasıl değiştirmek isterdiniz (büyüklük, oda sayısı, konum vs.)?

Evet memnunum. Bir şey değiştirme gereği pek duymadık. Saygınkent o konuda kullanışlı. Değişiklik yapmaya çok gerek yok.

Ev işlerini nasıl hallediyorsunuz? Örneğin temizlik için yardım alıyor musunuz? Tamir gerektiren arızalarda ne yapıyorsunuz?

Temizlik için günlük yardımcı geliyor. Tamir bakım işleri çok problem olmuyor. Sitenin ustaları var çağırıyorsunuz yapıyorsunuz. Burada o problem değil. Onlar da mesela mesai saati sonrasında ücretle yapıyorlar. Bence rahat oluyor, çok vaktimiz olmuyor. Ben kendim de yapabilirim ama yardım almak daha kolay oluyor.

Otopark olması sizin için belirleyici bir kriter miydi?

Birinci öncelik değildi. Belki dördüncü beşinci sıradaydı. Ama kapalı otoparkı kullanmayan belki farkını bilemez, çok güzel bir şey. Özellikle kar yağdığı zaman filan hemen aracınıza binip gidebiliyorsunuz. Güneşten de etkilemiyor. Kapalı otopark çok iyi bir şey.

Açık otopark mı kapalı otopark mı tercih ediyorsunuz? Otopark alanınız yeterli mi?

Biz kapalı otoparkı kullanıyoruz. Bence yeterli. Hane başına bir tane kapalı otopark alanı verdiler. Bir de misafir otoparkları var. Onlar da yaklaşık 40-50 tane filan. Her hanede iki araba yok ama bizde üç araba var mesela. Biz dışarıda da bırakıyoruz, bazen de o misafir otoparklarını kullanıyoruz. Kışın illa kapalıya koymaya çalışıyoruz.

Market ve diğer alışverişlerinizi nereden yapıyorsunuz?

Lüks alışverişlerimizi İstanbul'dan yapıyoruz. Son üç dört senedir bir fakirleşme süreci var, marketlerde de görüyorum bunu. Eskiden marketlerde bulduğunuz kaliteli markalı malları artık çok göremiyorsunuz. Kıyafette de bu var, hanımlar çok ondan şikâyetçi Bursa'da bir şey bulunmuyor diye. Bizim kıyafet işi %50-60 İstanbul'dan. Hem gezmek oluyor hem alışveriş oluyor. Burada da Korupark gibi yerlere gidiyorlar, ben çok ilgilenmiyorum. Market alışverişimizi sitenin içinde market var günlük şeylerimizin çoğunu oradan temin ediyoruz. Et balık gibi şeyleri balıkçım var kasabım var oralardan alıyorum. Kasap için tercih ettiğim birkaç yer var, yine bu semtte. Balığı da Ayvalık'tan alıyorum. Orada tanıdıklarımız var. Bazen de Metro marketten de alabiliyoruz.

Sitenizin içindeki diğer alışveriş imkânlarını kullanıyor musunuz?

Tabi tabi. Eczane ve kuru temizlemeyi çok yoğun kullanıyoruz. Terzi var, ayakkabı tamircisi var onları da kullanıyoruz. Bu tabi ki çok büyük kolaylık. Altı ay dışarı çıkmasanız bütün işlerinizi görebilirsiniz.

Sitenizi güvenli buluyor musunuz? Güvenlik bu siteyi seçmede sizin için belirleyici bir faktör müydü?

Çok profesyonel bir güvenlik yok tabi. Acayip bir güvenlik isterseniz biraz insanları rahatsız edici bir ortam oluşuyor. Şu anda yeterli bir güvenlik var. Bence güvenlik olması tabi ki önemli. Benim için çok önemli değil tek başıma olsam ama çocuklarımız olduğu için önemli. 7 yaşındaki çocuğum bile gece yarısına kadar bahçede kalabiliyor biz merak etmiyoruz ne oldu diye. Genelde bütün aileler de böyle. Tatillere giderken de rahat gidebiliyorsunuz. Kapınızı kapatıp gidiyorsunuz. Bir problem olduğunda burada müdahale edecek birilerinin olduğunu bilmek güzel. Şimdiye kadar bir problem olmadı. Bir ara villaya taşınmayı düşündük mesela ama güvenliğin problem olduğunu duyduk çevremizden. Türkiye şartlarında emniyeti tam olarak sağlamak mümkün değil dolayısıyla güvenlikli site olayı önemli.

Kooperatif kurulum aşamasında sitenin kapalı ve güvenlikli olacağı anlatılmış mıydı? Bu sizi etkilemiş miydi?

Tabi söyleniyordu. Özellikle bu işin pazarlamasını yapan, kooperatif yönetim kurulu "Türkiye'de nüfus artıyor, suç oranları artacak, kötü olacak, güvenli sitelere ihtiyaç olacak." şeklinde tanıtımlarını yapıyorlardı. O zaman bana bu ticari bir söylem, pazarlama taktiği gibi geliyordu. İnsan, içinde yaşamadıktan sonra çok da farkında olmuyor. O zaman çocuğumuz da yoktu. Böyle bir güvenlik ihtiyacımız yoktu, çok paramız yoktu. Ekonomik olarak kaybedecek bir şeyi olduğu zaman insan düşünüyor. Evde üç beş takısı oluyor saati oluyor parası oluyor. Bunların güvende olmasını istiyorsun. Çocukların emniyette olmasını istiyorsun. Bunlar içinde yaşadıkça anlaşılacak şeyler. Bunlara sahip olmadan çok bir anlamı olmuyor.

Bahçenizin dışa kapalı olması sizce olumlu bir özellik mi?

Evet olumlu. Kalabalık yok, rahatsız eden insan güruhu yok, bahçe bize özel.

Bahçeyi ne sıklıkta, hangi aktiviteler için kullanıyorsunuz?

Çocuklar çok sık kullanıyor, oyun oynuyorlar. Biz de piknik alanlarını kullanıyoruz. Çocuklar küçükken daha sık barbekü yapardık. Bu sene bir iki kere yaptık. Ortak alanları çocukların doğum günleri için kullanıyoruz. Birkaç sefer çok havalı gösterişli

partiler de yaptık. Bahçe büyük olduğu için, çoğu çocuğun öyle bir imkânı yok, onlar bahçeyi gördüler mi coşuyorlar. Çok hoşlarına gidiyor. Etraf kapalı kimseler yok, burada yapılan etkinlikler seviliyor.

Bahçenizden memnun musunuz? Değilseniz nasıl olmasını isterdiniz? Örneğin daha büyük, daha güvenlikli, daha yeşil gibi.

Belki de Türkiye'deki en iyi bahçe ve spor olanaklarına sahip siteyiz. Daha iyisi belki bir tane iki tane vardır. Orada oturanların yapısıyla da ilgilisi var, okumuş oranı yüksek. Ama spor yapanların yüzdesine bakıyorum çok da yüksek değil. 500 kişi de 40-50 kişi yoktur bile. Sürekli her zaman bahçede gördüğümüz insan sayısı az. Yüzme havuzunda da böyle, sürekli gidenlerin sayısı az. En çok kullanılan özellik barbekü sanırım. Orada da alışan bir grup var, bakıyorsunuz hep aynı insanlar geliyor. Çok homojenlik yok bu alanların kullanımında. Hatta çocuk bahçesine bile bakıyorsunuz bazı çocuklar hiç çocuk bahçesine bile çıkmıyorlar, bazısı da her gün çıkıyor.

Çocuklarınızın kendi başlarına ortak alanlarda vakit geçirmelerini güvenli buluyor musunuz yoksa sizin gözetiminizde olmasını mı tercih ediyorsunuz?

Evet, tek başlarına bırakıyoruz. Gözetlemeye gerek kalmıyor.

Sitenizdeki spor imkânları neler? Hangisini ne sıklıkta kullanırsınız? Bu imkânlar sizce veterli mi?

Futbol sahası var, basket sahası var, kortlar var, kapalı spor salonu var, havuz var, yürüyüş koşu alanları var. Bunları kullanıyoruz. Ben de kullanıyorum.

Sitenizdeki açık havuzu kullanıyor musunuz? Ne sıklıkta kullanıyorsunuz? Bakımı düzenli yapılıyor mu ya da büyüklük olarak kullanıcılar için yeterli mi?

Bu sene kullanmadık. Teknemiz var, Ayvalık'a gidiyoruz. Bir iki kere kullanmışımdır. Daha önceleri ailecek giderdik. Ama dediğim gibi Pazar günleri havuza gittiğimde kimleri göreceğimi biliyordum. Hep aynı yüzler oluyor. Belli insanların o alışkanlığı o kültürü var. Aynı şey spor alanlarında da var.

Komşularınızı tanır mısınız? Birlikte vakit geçirir misiniz? Tanıdığınız komşunuz varsa daha önceden tanıştığınız insanlar mı yoksa taşındıktan sonra mı tanıştınız (nasıl tanıştınız)? Komşularınızı tanımak sizce önemli mi?

Çok büyük bir site olduğu için hepsini tanıma imkânımız yok. Göz aşinalığı oluyor anca. Ama kendi bloğumuzda 70 hane var bunun 10 tanesini tanırız en baştan beri ve uzun süredir oturduğumuz için. Burada site içinde tanıştık. Bence çok önemli komşuluk, önemli olmaz mı? Kültürel paylaşım oluyor. Network yaratıyorsunuz. Bunlar iyi insanlarla tanışırsan artı şeyler. Biz şanslıyız bütün komşularımız son derece iyi ve saygın insanlar. Çok da keyifli 12 senedir oturuyoruz. Birçok faaliyetleri beraber yapar hale geldik, öyle gruplarımız da var. Ortak alanlarda da çocuklar vasıtasıyla karşılaşıyorsunuz konuşuyorsunuz. Öyle bir sosyalleşme olanağı sağlıyor bu site. Sitede yaşayanların profili de iyi. Gerçi son bir iki senede bir kırılma var. Şimdi daha lüks siteler yapılıyor, oturanlar belki maddi olarak daha farlı şeyler istiyor. Profilde bir aşağı gitme var, onu da hissediyoruz.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu vaktinizi genelde nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Yaşadığınız muhitte vakit geçirir misiniz? Neler yaparsınız?

İşlerim yoğun, çalışıyorum. Sabahları bahçede bir yürüyüş yapma imkânımız var. Akşam da bir 20 dakika olsa da yürüyüş yapmaya çalışıyorum ben yaz kış. Bir yerlere gidemezsek bahçede barbekü yapma imkânımız oluyor. Çocuklar zaten rahat, arkadaşları var onlarla vakit geçiriyorlar. Konum olarak da çok merkezi, önünde otobüs durağı ve metro var. Büyük çocuklarım kendi başlarına da istedikleri yerlere gidebiliyorlar. Bu merkezilik bizim için önemli, eve gelen yardımcılar da rahat bir şekilde ulaşım sağlayabiliyorlar. Hafta sonları, yaz ve kış aylarında değişiyor. 2-3 senedir teknemiz var, yazları tekneyle geziyoruz, balık avlıyoruz, dalıyoruz. Ayvalık'ta da bir evimiz var, teknemiz de orada. Bir dönem sitenin içinde de piknik gibi aktiviteleri çok yaptık, ama çocuklar büyüyüp kendi başlarına program yapmaya başlayınca kendi başıma gidip mangal yapmak çok keyif vermiyor. Kışın da İstanbul gibi yerlere gidip geziyoruz. Bir iki kere kayak yapmaya gidiyoruz. Bazen denk

getiriyoruz Bansko, Viyana gibi birkaç yere gitmeye çalışıyor. Bursa'da kalırsak genelde kapalı alanlara alışverişe gidiyoruz.

Eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Diğer bu tarz sitelerde, yapıların planlarından dolayı kimse kimseyi görmez. Ama Saygınkent'in girişi ve apartmanın yapısıyla herkes herkesten haberdar. Buranın kültürel düzeyi de yüksek. O yüzden diğer sitelerde duyduğumuz günlük kiralama gibi işler burada olmaz.

2- E. G. ile söyleşi, Kadın, Metalurji Malzeme Mühendisi, Satın Alma Uzmanı – Korupark, 23.10.2019

Kendinizi kısaca tanıtabilir misiniz?

36 yaşındayım, bekârım. Kedimle yaşıyorum. İstanbulluyum.

Eğitim durumunuz (lisans, yüksek lisans vb.) ve mesleğiniz nedir? Çalışıyorsanız şu an nerede çalışıyorsunuz ve işyerindeki pozisyonunuz nedir (mühendis, uzman, müdür vb.)?

Üniversite mezunuyum. YTÜ Metalurji Malzeme Mühendisliği'nden mezunum. Aynı zamanda Anadolu Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi mezunuyum ve Anadolu Üniversitesi Halka İlişkiler ve Reklamcılık öğrencisiyim.

11 senedir Oyak Renault Satın Alma Departmanında yurt içi ve yurtdışı Satın Alma sorumlusuyum.

Yükseköğreniminizi nerede tamamladınız ve neden Bursa'yı tercih ettiniz?

İstanbul'da okudum. Üniversitenin son senesinde Erasmus programıyla Fransa'ya Toulon şehrine gittim. O sebeple okul 6 ay uzadı, o arada Oyak Renault iş teklifinde bulundu. Bursa'ya gelip gördüm, Toulon'a benzettim. O şekilde beğenerek buraya yerleşmeye karar verdim.

Şu an yaşadığınız evde kaç kişi düzenli olarak yaşıyor?

Tek başıma yaşıyorum.

Aylık toplam geliriniz hangi aralıkta (TL)?

7.000-10.000

Ev ve iş yeriniz arası mesafe nedir ve ulaşımı nasıl sağlıyorsunuz (servis, özel araç, toplu taşıma, bisiklet vs.)? Ev ve iş yeriniz arasındaki mesafeden ve ulaşım biçiminizde memnun musunuz?

Özel aracımla gidip geliyorum. Evim ve işim arası 1,2 km. Başta yürüyordum ama bilgisayarımı da yanımda taşımam gerektiği için zor oluyor. O yüzden arabayla gidiyorum, arada sırada bisikletle de gittiğim oluyor. Ulaşım biçimimden çok memnunum, zaten o yüzden burada yaşıyorum.

Yaşadığınız konutta mülk sahibi misiniz kiracı mısınız?

Kiracıyım.

Kiranızın aylık gelirinize oranı nedir?

İlk işe girdiğimde üçte biriydi. Şu anda beşte biri kadar.

Kaç yıldır burada oturuyorsunuz?

11,5 yıl oldu.

Neden bu siteyi tercih ettiniz?

Bursa'ya geldiğim zaman bu kentle ilgili pek bir bilgim yoktu. 24 yaşındaydım. Ailem güvenlikli bir site olmasını önerdi. İstanbul'da ailemle yaşadığım ev de güvenlikli bir sitedeydi. O zamanlar arabam da yoktu, Bursa'da bu kadar çok güvenlikli site de yoktu. O yüzden burayı tercih ettim.

Projeden nasıl haberdar oldunuz?

Tamamen tesadüf eseri. Oyak Renault'nun önünden geçerken buradaki bloklar dikkatimi çekti. Satış ofisiyle görüştük. İki tane ev gösterdiler. Depreme dayanıklı olduğunu da söylediler. İşten dolayı acil ev bulmam gerekiyordu. O şekilde burada karar kıldık.

Proje tanıtımlarını görmüş müydünüz? Burayı tercih etmenizde etkili olmuş muydu? Bu tanıtımlarda sizi en çok cezbeden özellik neydi?

Yok, herhangi bir tanıtım görmemiştim.

Daha önce nerede yaşıyordunuz? Daha önce yaşadığınız yerle şimdi yaşadığınız yeri karşılattırabilir misiniz?

İstanbul'da Ataköy'de yaşıyordum. Oradaki sitemiz daha eski olduğu için biraz daha doğal yeşilliğin içindeydi. Burası daha kapalı bir site. Oradaki blokların yerleşimleri daha geniş, daha yazlık yerini anımsatıyor. Aslında orası benim daha çok hoşuma gidiyor.

Yaşadığınız konut tipi nedir (stüdyo daire, teraslı vb.)? Kaç oda, banyo, mutfak var? Sizin için yeterli mi? Neden bu konut tipini tercih ettiniz? Mevcut odalarınızı nasıl kullanıyorsunuz?

1+1 daire. Açık mutfak ve bence geniş bir salon, küçük olmayan bir banyo ve rahat sığabildiğim genişlikte bir yatak odası var. Tek yaşayacağım için bu konut tipini tercih ettim.

Konutunuzda açık alan var mı (balkon, bahçe, teras vb)? Bunları ne sıklıkla kullanıyorsunuz? Sizce konutta açık alan olması önemli midir?

Hayır, balkon yok. Olsaydı iyi olurdu. Balkon olmadığı için çamaşır kurutmak mesele oluyor.

Konutunuzdan memnun musunuz? Elinizde olsa ne nasıl değiştirmek isterdiniz (büyüklük, oda sayısı, konum vs.)?

Küçük de olsa bir balkon ve bisikletimi koyabileceğim ufak da olsa bir yer isterdim. Çünkü bu sitenin çocukları aşağıya bisiklet bıraktığınız zaman alıp geziyorlar. Ondan sonra bisikletinizi diğer blokların altında aramak zorunda kalıyorsunuz. Kapımın önünde de engel olur diye bırakmak istemiyorum, o yüzden bisikletim mecburen salonda duruyor. Mutfağımın açık olması sosyalleşme bakımından bir artı ama ağır yemek yapacaksam pencere sayısı da az olduğu için havalandırma problemi oluyor. Bir de normalde bu projede 1+1 daire yokmuş, bu daireler 4+1 daireler bölünüp 2+1 ve 1+1 daireler oluşturulmuş. Aslında projede konutlar arası ortak duvar düşünülmemiş, ama bu değişiklik yapıldığı için benim yan daireyle ortak bir duvarım var. Bu duvar sonradan eklendiği için sanırım yatak odasıyla yan daire arasında ses yalıtım problem var.

Ev işlerini nasıl hallediyorsunuz? Örneğin temizlik için yardım alıyor musunuz? Tamir gerektiren arızalarda ne yapıyorsunuz?

Önceden düzenli yardımcı alıyordum. Ama sonra hafta sonu kendim yapmaya başladım. Bir şeyler arızalanırsa sitenin teknisyeni var ama ben hiç memnun değilim. Çünkü her ne kadar öyle olmadığını söyleseler de parayla çalışıyorlar. Mesela rezervuar bozuluyor, geliyor bakıyor plastiği eskimiş 80 TL bu parça diyor, internetten baktığınızda bu parçanın 25 TL olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Muhtemelen kendi uğraşmak istemeyen insanlar bu parayı veriyorlar. Biraz sözde bir hizmet var, her yaptıkları işten ekstra para almaya çalışıyorlar.

Otopark olması sizin için belirleyici bir kriter miydi?

Evet, özellikle kapalı otopark olmasını istemiştim.

Açık otopark mı kapalı otopark mı tercih ediyorsunuz? Otopark alanınız yeterli mi?

Burada sadece kapalı otopark var, sitenin bahçesinde araç gezmesi yasak. Sadece kış aylarında belirli saatlerde okul servisleri girip çıkabiliyor. Otoparkın kapalı olması iyi bir şey, yaz kış güvenle aracı bırakabilmek önemli. Otopark alanı oturanlar için yeterli gibi, ama misafirler için yeterli olmayabiliyor. Bazı dairelerde onlara ayrılan yerden fazla araba oluyor. Onlar da misafir yerlerine park ediyor, bu durumda bazen misafir araçlar yer bulamayıp park halindeki araçların önüne park edebiliyor.

Market ve diğer alışverişlerinizi nereden yapıyorsunuz?

Genelde internetten yapıyorum, Cumartesi sipariş veriyorum Pazar sabah geliyor. Onun dışında ufak tefek bir şeyler için Korupark'taki marketi kullanıyorum. Bizim sitemizde telefonla servis hizmeti yok. Avm'ye geçiş var oradaki marketten alışveriş yapıp market arabasıyla evinize kadar gelebiliyorsunuz. Arada pazara da gidiyorum, bu semtteki değil başka semtteki bir pazara aracımla gidiyorum çünkü oradaki pazarı seviyorum.

Buraya taşınmadan önceki alışveriş alışkanlıklarınız nasıldı? Sizce bu alışkanlıklarınız bu siteye taşındığınızda değişti mi?

Siteyle alakalı değil ama işe girince değişti. Ama sitenin AVMyle beraber olması benim için avantaj oldu. İlk geldiğimde fazla insan da tanımıyordum. Canım sıkıldıkça AVM'ye gidiyordum. Aslında bence böyle AVM yanı siteler riskli, çünkü insanı alışverişe yönlendiriyor. Ama iyi bir şey, çünkü şehir dışından ailem geldiğinde ben işteyken canları sıkıldığında gidip gezebiliyorlar.

Ne sıklıkla ve neler için AVM'yi kullanıyorsunuz?

İlk yıllar hemen her gün gider Kafeye oturup kahve içerdim, artık yapmıyorum evi tercih ediyorum. Şu an en çok kuru temizleme ve oto yıkamayı kullanıyorum. Yaklaşık haftada bir kullanıyorum. Eskiden daha sık giderdim ama artık pek gitmiyorum. Ama AVM'nin olması çok iyi bir şey, en ufak bir ihtiyacımda hemen gidip halledebiliyorum. Hatta bazen pijamayla gece seansına sinemaya gittiğim bile oluyor.

Sitenizi güvenli buluyor musunuz? Güvenlik bu siteyi seçmede sizin için belirleyici bir faktör müydü?

Şu an güvenlikten memnunum ama önceden değildim. İlk geldiğim zaman daha sık eleman değişiyordu, iki üç sefer gördüklerini bir daha kimlik kontrol etmeden almaya başlıyorlardı. Sonradan bir düzenleme getirdiler sanırım. Şu anda çok uzun zamandır çalışan güvenlik görevlileri var, o da bir güven veriyor. Biri gelince de artık mutlaka arıyorlar, eve gelmeden toparlanma firsatı buluyorsun mesela bu da iyi bir şey.

Bahçenizin dışa kapalı olması sizce olumlu bir özellik mi?

Benim için bu bir avantaj. Bu sitelerde komşuluk yok ama bu alanlarda komşuluk oluyor, orada oturup muhabbet ediyorsun. Arada sosyal aktivite yapılıyor. 23 Nisanda mesela çocuklara yönelik aktiviteler oluyor. Zaten site çok büyük, dışarıdan da insan gelse olmazdı. Bir de mahalle olarak da çok uygun değil dışarıdan insan gelmesi için.

Misafir zaten illa ki geliyor. Hatta bazı site sakinlerine göre misafir de gelmemeli havuza filan. Ben öyle düşünmüyorum. Sonuçta paylaşmak için o imkâna sahipsin.

Bahçeyi ne sıklıkta, hangi aktiviteler için kullanıyorsunuz?

Pazar sabahları evde hazırlamaya üşenip bazen bahçedeki kafeye kahvaltı yapmaya gidiyorum. Biri beni arabayla bir yere götürüp getirdiyse eve girmeden şöyle bir bahçede oturup vakit geçireyim diyorum. Hava güzel olduğunda bir kadeh şarabımı alıp bahçeye inmeyi seviyorum. Bahçemiz büyük ve güzel, piknik örtümüzü serip vakit geçirebiliyoruz. Hatta çaktırmadan rakımızı da içiyoruz. Çaktırmadan çünkü site sakinlerinin sosyal medyada bir grupları vardı, en sonunda sinirlenip çıktım. Bazı komşular sürekli gözetleyip fotoğraf çekip hafiyelik yapıyordu. Belli de olmaz kimin ne yapacağı.

Bahçenizden memnun musunuz? Değilseniz nasıl olmasını isterdiniz? Örneğin daha büyük, daha güvenlikli, daha yeşil gibi.

Memnunum bence yeterli. Çocuklar büyüklükten dolayı kümelenmiyor bence güzel. Yürüyüş yapanlar da arka taraftaki parkurda oluyor. Araba da girmediği için araç trafiği ya da parkı yer kaplamamış oluyor.

Sitenizdeki spor imkânları neler? Hangisini ne sıklıkta kullanırsınız? Bu imkânlar sizce veterli mi?

Ben ilk geldiğimde aşağıda aidata dâhil kullanabileceğimiz bir spor salonu olacağı söylendi. Sonra sitedeki bazı yaşça büyük insanlar "ben kullanmayacağım, aidatını ödemek istemiyorum" demişler. O yüzden ayrı bir işletmeye verildi. Sitenin otoparkının olduğu yerde bir spor salonu var ama sürekli işletmesi değişiyor, sürekli batıyor, içindeki ekipmanlar da yenilenmiyor. Ama herhangi bir saatte spor yapıp duşu evde alabilmek güzel bir imkân. Ben de 1,5 yıl ara vermiştim yeniden kaydoldum, devam edeceğim. Kortlar var ama ben tenis, basketbol oynamadığım için ben kullanmıyorum. Bazen koşu ve yürüyüş yapıyorum. Bir de çocukların futbol sahası var ama onu da kullanmıyorum. Bence bu imkânlar yeterli, kortlar rezervasyon usulü

çalışıyor, belki herkese yeterli gelmiyordur ama sonuçta bu kadar kalabalık bir sitede yaşayan bir insan da her istediğimde tenis oynayacağım düşüncesinde olmamalı.

Sitenizdeki açık havuzu kullanıyor musunuz? Ne sıklıkta kullanıyorsunuz? Bakımı düzenli yapılıyor mu ya da büyüklük olarak kullanıcılar için yeterli mi?

Havuzu seviyorum ama çok çoluk çocuk olduğu için temizliğinden emin olamıyorum. Bu özellik daha çok çocuklu ailelere hitap ediyor bence. Havuzu sadece yazın sosyalleşmek için, arkadaşlar gelince şöyle bir ıslanıp çıkayım diye kullanıyorum.

Komşularınızı tanır mısınız? Birlikte vakit geçirir misiniz? Tanıdığınız komşunuz varsa daha önceden tanıştığınız insanlar mı yoksa taşındıktan sonra mı tanıştınız (nasıl tanıştınız)? Komşularınızı tanımak sizce önemli mi?

Evet. Genelde yan komşularımla tanışıyorum. Buraya geldikten sonra tanıştım. Spor salonuna gelen site sakinleriyle tanışıklığımız oldu. Bir de iş yerine yakın olduğumuz için işten tanıdığım birkaç kişi var. Komşuları tanımak önemli. Bir kere sosyal medya grubumuzda "aşure haftasındayız kimse aşure getirmedi" diye yazdım, hemen bir sürü aşure geldi. Daire numaramı güvenlikten öğrenmişler, öyle incelik yaptılar. Her şeyi karşıdan beklememek lazım. Dostluk kurmak isterseniz komşular fena değil. Burası kalabalık bir site ve yaşayanlar da belli bir seviyenin üzerinde insanlar. Bütün kadınlar da çalışmadığı için böyle şeylere meraklılar.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu vaktinizi genelde nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Yaşadığınız muhitte vakit geçirir misiniz? Neler yaparsınız?

Hafta içi, işten 6.30 gibi çıkıp eve geliyorum, evdeki işlerimi hallediyorum. AKUT'a girdim onun eğitimlerine gidiyorum. Genelde arkadaşlarım evime oturmaya geliyorlar. Genelde evde oluyorum yani. Hafta sonları kampa giderim. Bursa'daysam tiyatroya giderim, arkadaşlarıma giderim. Bazen ailemi ziyarete İstanbul'a gidiyorum. Yani aslında burada her imkâna yakın olayım diye düşünürken özel hayatımda çok üşengeç değilimdir. Dışarıda vakit geçirmeyi seviyorum. Eğer hiçbir yere gitmezsem arkadaşlarım gelir bahçede vakit geçiririz.

3- G.E. ile söyleşi, Kadın, Emekli – Bursa Modern, 1.11.2019

Kendinizi kısaca tanıtabilir misiniz?

Yaşım 61, evliyim. Bir evli biri bekâr iki çocuğum var.

Eğitim durumunuz (lisans, yüksek lisans vb.) ve mesleğiniz nedir? Çalışıyorsanız şu an nerede çalışıyorsunuz ve işyerindeki pozisyonunuz nedir (mühendis, uzman, müdür vb.)?

Lise mezunuyum, kendi işimizden emekliyim. Kömür ticaretiyle uğraşıyoruz, yurtdışından kömür getirip Gemlik'teki şantiyeden Türkiye'ye dağıtımını yapıyoruz.

Şu an yaşadığınız evde kaç kişi düzenli olarak yaşıyor?

Eşimle ben, iki kişi. Arada bekâr oğlum da gelip bizle kalıyor.

Evinizde yaşayanlardan siz dâhil kaç kişi düzenli gelir sahibi, meslekleri ve işteki pozisyonları nedir?

Eşim de kendi işimizi yapıyor, hem emekli bir yandan da çalışmaya devam ediyor.

Aylık toplam geliriniz hangi aralıkta (TL)?

Şu anda kriz var, her şey rölantide. Ticaretle uğraştığımız için net bir şey söyleyemiyorum. Alacaklarımız da var borçlarımız da. Kriz etkiledi.

Ev ve iş yeriniz arası mesafe nedir ve ulaşımı nasıl sağlıyorsunuz (servis, özel araç, toplu taşıma, bisiklet vs.)? Ev ve iş yeriniz arasındaki mesafeden ve ulaşım biçiminizde memnun musunuz?

Eşim işe gidip geliyor. Kendi arabasıyla gidip geliyor. Otobüsler rahat, dört tane otobüs var Heykele kadar. Onları kullanarak merkeze gidip alışveriş yapıyorum, geziyorum. Kent meydanına dolmuşlar var. Ulaşım iyi, toplu taşımayı kullanırım. Ama daha uzak bir yer olduğu zaman da kendi aracımla gidiyorum.

Yaşadığınız konutta mülk sahibi misiniz kiracı mı?

Mülk sahibiyiz.

Krediyle mi aldınız peşin mi? Kredi taksitinizin aylık gelirinize oranı nedir?

Krediyle aldık. Kredimiz bitti sanırım. Ama benim eşim aklına estikçe ev alırdı. Gitmiş bizim 14. katı da almış. Bizim haberimiz yoktu. Çocuklar gelsin diye almış ama oğlum istemedi sonra. Geçen sene onu sattık. Tam oranı bilmiyorum, ben ilgilenmiyordum bu konularla.

Kaç yıldır burada oturuyorsunuz?

Yedi yıl oldu. İlk biz geldik sayılır. O zaman sıfırdı.

Neden bu siteyi tercih ettiniz?

Yasemin Park'ta oturuyordum. Orada da evim büyük ve güzeldi. Gelmeyi düşünmüyordum. Daire geniş, güzel ve göl manzaralı olduğu için geldim. Daha önce beğenmezdik buraları Cavit Çağlar ilk yaptığında, Setbaşı'nda oturuyorduk şehrin tam göbeği. Sonra oradan, şehrin gürültüsünden kaçalım dedik ve hiç istemediğimiz yere geldik. Ama içini hiç görmemiştim Yasemin Park'ın ben. Gittim, içini çok beğendim. Hem sitenin içini hem de daireleri çok beğenmiştim. O zaman karşılıklı iki daire alarak oraya yerleştik. Birinde biz birinde çocuklar yaşıyordu, bekârdı ikisi de o zaman. Sonra eşim bu oturduğumuz daireyi almış evlenecek olan çocuğum için. Çocuğum gelmek istemedi, hala Yasemin Park'ta ve mutlu orada. Sonra onun yerine biz geldik. Düşünmemiştik ama geldikten sonra beğendim.

Projeden nasıl haberdar oldunuz?

Proje biz Yasemin Park'ta otururken yapılmaya başlandı, o şekilde haberimiz oldu. Eşimin aklı buradaydı. Ve çok sağlam yapıldı, gördük. Fore kazıkları sabahlara kadar çaktılar. Binanın yarısı kadar kazıklar var. Bu sağlamlık da bizi etkilemişti. Mesela şimdi karşıya Bakyapı'nın yeni projesi yapıldı orası bu kadar sağlam değil bence.

Proje tanıtımlarını görmüş müydünüz? Burayı tercih etmenizde etkili olmuş muydu? Bu tanıtımlarda sizi en çok cezbeden özellik neydi?

Evet, eşim katalogları getiriyordu eve. Kataloglarda gördüğüm göl nasıl olacak diye merak ediyordum. O zaman yapım aşamasındaydı, membranları döşeniyordu. Hatta satış görevlisine, burayı havuz gibi mavi yapsalar kocaman fiskiyelerle süs yapsalar dedim ama yok böyle doğal, göl görünümünde olacak demişti. Böyle daha iyi oldu, kayıklarla filan da geziliyor, çok güzel. Burada üç tane büyük villa var, onlardan birini satış ofisi olarak kullanıyorlardı. Yeni satıldı o da 2.500.000 TL'ye. Ama ben mesela kesinlikle o kadar parayı verip orada oturmam. Daire daha rahat. Konumu daha güzel niye o kadar para vereyim ki ona? Başta her şey çok güzeldi. Burayı satarken dediler ki Trilye'de bir sosyal tesisiniz var, havuzlu denizli. Onları hop kaydırıverdiler başka yere. Satmışlar başkalarına. Hiç kullanamadık bile. Herkesin şikâyeti o. Servisi olacak denmişti bir de şehir içine. Öyle bir şey de olmadı.

Daha önce nerede yaşıyordunuz? Daha önce yaşadığınız yerle şimdi yaşadığınız yeri karşılattırabilir misiniz?

Daha önce Yasemin Park'ta ondan önce de 2007 yılına kadar Setbaşı'nda yaşadık. Setbaşı'nda araba park yeri sorundu ve gürültülü bir yerdi. Asansör de yoktu. Benim rahatsızlıklarım var çok zorlanıyordum merdivenleri çıkmakta. Bir gün ayağımı incittim ağlaya ağlaya çıktım dört katı. Burası çok nezih, Yasemin Park'tan da Korupark'tan da Saygınkent'ten de çok çok daha nezih bir yer. Kalite güzel. Bir tek yönetimden şikâyetçiyim. Verdiğimiz paranın karşılığını alamıyoruz. Çok aksaklıklar var. Temizliğini beğenmiyorum mesela, çok lakaytler görevliler, güvenlik filan. Şikâyet ettim Sinpaş'a, İstanbul'a, değiştirdiler.

Yaşadığınız konut tipi nedir (stüdyo daire, teraslı vb.)? Kaç oda, banyo, mutfak var? Sizin için yeterli mi? Neden bu konut tipini tercih ettiniz? Mevcut odalarınızı nasıl kullanıyorsunuz? Örneğin ayrı bir giyinme odanız, oturma odanız ve/veya misafir odanız var mı?

Marine Blok'larda oturuyoruz. En büyük dairelerden, 4,5+1 olanlardan. Buçuk dediği de bir tane böyle buçuk oda var, hizmetli odası diye yapmışlar, yani hangi hizmetli gelir orada yatar? Cam yok doğru düzgün. Ben oraya dolap yaptırdım. İvir zıvır odası

olarak kullanıyorum. Bir tane salonumuz var, bir yatak odası, bir oturma odası, mutfağımız var. Ne kadar büyük olursa o kadar yayılıyoruz ya biz de o şekilde kullanıyoruz her yeri.

Konutunuzda açık alan var mı (balkon, bahçe, teras vb)? Bunları ne sıklıkla kullanıyorsunuz? Sizce konutta açık alan olması önemli midir?

Bir tane balkonumuz var. Bize yetiyor. Balkon olması önemli, hatta bana kalsa camla kapatırım da eşim istemiyor, hava gelecekmiş öyle diyor. Ama pisliğini çekiyoruz. Bakıyorum komşular kahvaltı ederken yağmur yağıyor biz içeri kaçarken onlar oturmaya devam ediyor.

Konutunuzdan memnun musunuz? Elinizde olsa ne nasıl değiştirmek isterdiniz (büyüklük, oda sayısı, konum vs.)?

Memnun olmadığım bir tek yeri var. Koskoca evde banyoları çok küçük tutmuşlar. Biz aldığımız zaman buranın sadece daire kapısı ve kombisi vardı. Başka hiçbir şeyi yoktu, biz kendimiz yaptırdık bütün masraflar bize aitti. Onun için banyoyu biraz boyutuna göre yaptırabildik. Yukarıda hazır alan bir komşumuz var "kollarımı açıp yıkanamıyorum bile banyoda" diyor.

Ev işlerini nasıl hallediyorsunuz? Örneğin temizlik için yardım alıyor musunuz? Tamir gerektiren arızalarda ne yapıyorsunuz?

Her gün gelen bir yardımcım vardı, ama kriz etkiledi şu anda haftada üç gün çağırıyorum. Tamir işleri için yönetimin elemanları var ama bir gün küçük televizyonun bir odadan diğerine nakledilmesi gerekiyordu. Gelip her şeyi karıştırıp gittiler. Rezil ettiler. Şimdi ben para verip dışarıdan birini getireceğim öyle halledeceğim. Elemanlar kalitesiz, göstermelik olarak varlar. Bütün sitelerde bu durum böyle. Yönetim de bu elemanları ucuza çalıştırmak istiyorlar, yönetimdeki ağzından kaçırdı "abla bulamıyoruz, kimse aidat vermiyor" diye. Öyle olunca kalitesiz elemanlar oluyor. İlk geldiğimizde öyle değildi yönetim, sonradan bozuldu. Aidatlar

da çok. Burada oturabilmen için küçük bir dairen olacak 700-1000 TL arası bir kira gelirin olacak, aidatını ödeyeceksin o şekilde burada rahat oturabilirsin.

Otopark olması sizin için belirleyici bir kriter miydi?

Zaten otopark ve asansör için buraya geldik biz Setbaşı'ndan. Dediler ki baştan, daire başına bir otopark yeriniz olacak. Neyse bize verdiler eşim biraz baskın çıktı ikna etti de ondan sonra gelen dairelere kapalı otopark yerlerini ekstra paraya sattılar.

Açık otopark mı kapalı otopark mı tercih ediyorsunuz? Otopark alanınız yeterli mi?

Ben kapalı otoparkı sevmiyorum. Araba hemen bina girişinin karşısında duruyor. Alt kata girmeyi sevmiyorum. Araba batıyor ama olsun, ben açık havayı seviyorum. Otopark alanı yeterli. Misafir gelse de illa bir yer buluyor ilerlerde de olsa.

Market ve diğer alışverişlerinizi nereden yapıyorsunuz?

Burada Migros var. Alışveriş çok rahat, bir telefon her şey geliyor. Eskiden sadece Migros vardı, şimdi karşıya da yeni açıldı (sitenin dışına). Benim sevmediğim üç market geldi. O yüzden özellikle Migros'a gidip Migros markalı ürünler almayı tercih ediyorum. Kent merkezine gidip de alışveriş yapıyorum.

Sitenin içinde alışveriş imkânı olması iyi bir özellik mi? Diğer alışveriş imkânlarınız neler? Bunları kullanıyor musunuz?

Tabi tabi olumlu bir özellik. Terzimiz var. Zeytinci var, istediğiniz yufkayı peyniri her şeyi bulabiliyorsunuz. Bir tane kafe var. Bunları kullanıyorum.

Buraya taşınmadan önceki alışveriş alışkanlıklarınız nasıldı? Sizce bu alışkanlıklarınız bu siteye taşındığınızda değişti mi?

Setbaşı'nda her şey ayağınızın altında. Çarşının göbeğindesiniz. Her şeyi bulup alabilirdiniz. Ama şimdi burada Demirtaş var, orası da çok gelişti. Atlıyorum arabama gidiyorum, oranın bir 2. Caddesi var, kafeler açıldı bir sürü büyük mağazalar marketler açıldı. A'dan Z'ye ner arıyorsan bulabiliyorsun. Oraya da gidiyorum. Çarşıya

(Heykel) da gidiyorum hala. Mesela bugün gideceğim, kahvaltılıklarımı alacağım. Ama burası da gelişti, kapıdan çıkın her şeyi bulabilirsiniz, telefonla da getiriyorlar. Kasap var fırın var.

Sitenizi güvenli buluyor musunuz? Güvenlik bu siteyi seçmede sizin için belirleyici bir faktör müydü?

Tabi ki. Mesela Setbaşı'ndayken yürüyüş yapacağız, üst katta bankacı bir arkadaşım vardı beraber giderdik. Gece 12'lere kalmazdık. Gider Ulucami'nin oralarda dolaşır gelirdik. Ama burada çık sitenin içinde tek başına canının istediği kadar yürü, korkmuyorsun. Kendimi güvende hissediyorum. Bir telefonda tık geliyorlar kapıya.

Bahçenizin dışa kapalı olması sizce olumlu bir özellik mi?

Valla girememesi olumlu bir özellik de bal gibi de giriyorlar. Geçen gün misafirlerim gelecekti. İki kişi geldi, kapıyı duymamışım cep telefonundan aradılar. Arkadan bir kişi arabayla gelecekti, hiç sormadan açmışlar kapıyı.

Bahçeyi ne sıklıkta, hangi aktiviteler için kullanıyorsunuz?

Gölün kenarında yürüyüş yapıyorum. Akşamları çok hareketli. Arkadaşlar, komşular iniyor bizi de çağırıyorlar. Çaylar yapılıyor muhabbet ediliyor. Piknik alanları var. Herkes gidiyor, herkes mutlu. Oğlum bisiklete biniyor, eşim de yürüyüş yapıyor.

Bahçenizden memnun musunuz? Değilseniz nasıl olmasını isterdiniz? Örneğin daha büyük, daha güvenlikli, daha yeşil gibi.

Memnunum bahçeden. Tek memnun olmadığım şey buradaki kedi köpekler. Kedi besliyorlar bahçede sayıları çok fazla, bir de köpekleri olanlar dışkılarını toplamıyor anlatamıyoruz bir türlü. Şikâyet ettiğiniz zaman da bir numaralı hayvan düşmanı oluyorsunuz.

Torunlarınız var mı? Ortak alanlarda vakit geçirmelerini güvenli buluyor musunuz yoksa sizin gözetiminizde olmasını mı tercih ediyorsunuz?

İki tane torunum var, burada kalmaya bayılıyorlar. Daha küçük oldukları için ben başlarında duruyorum. Ama genelde herkes salıyor çocuğunu.

Sitenizdeki spor imkânları neler? Hangisini ne sıklıkta kullanırsınız? Bu imkânlar sizce yeterli mi?

Yürüyüş alanları var onu kullanıyorum. Havuz var, hamam var. Ama hamamı 4-5 aydır açamadılar. Güzel bir Türk Hamamı var.

Sitenizdeki açık havuzu kullanıyor musunuz? Ne sıklıkta kullanıyorsunuz? Bakımı düzenli yapılıyor mu ya da büyüklük olarak kullanıcılar için yeterli mi?

Oğlum ve eşim kullanıyor. Ben gitmiyorum. Çünkü Kurşunlu'da bir yazlığımız var, orada çok güzel yüzme havuzumuz var. Orada yüzdüm, artık bıktım. Canım istemediği için gitmiyorum. Buradaki küçük havuz büyüklük olarak yeterli ama açık havuz kesinlikle yeterli değil. Kalabalık oluyor. Hijyen konusunda hiç girmediğim için bir şey diyemem.

Komşularınızı tanır mısınız? Birlikte vakit geçirir misiniz? Tanıdığınız komşunuz varsa daha önceden tanıştığınız insanlar mı yoksa taşındıktan sonra mı tanıştınız (nasıl tanıştınız)? Komşularınızı tanımak sizce önemli mi?

Tabi tanırım. Geldikten sonra tanıştık. Ben asansörde ve yolda karşılaştığımda konuşan bir insanım. Millet çekiyor kendini, hatta birine diyecektim "kızım merhaba de bak ısırmayacağım seni" diye. Çok tatlı komşularımız da var, kendini beğenen, hiç selam vermeyen komşular da var. Taşındığım ilk sene pek komşu aramadım, Yasemin Park'taki komşularımla görüşüyordum. Sonra bir gün alt kattaki komşum geldi bir gün, aşure getirmiş. O da girgin. Ben de kahveye davet ettim. Sonra dedik çok tatlı gençler var, yaşıtlarımız var onları toplayalım dedik. O şekilde bir gün başlattık. Komşuluk benim için çok önemli. Mesela karşımda bir aile oturuyordu. Küçük bebekleri vardı kaçıp bana geliyordu kapıdan. Sonra onlar taşındı ne kadar üzüldüm, yavrum benim hala kendi torunları gibi fotoğrafı vardır bende. Şimdi oraya Katarlı bir aile gelmiş. Gittim hemen İngilizce, işte biraz tarzanca, hoşgeldiniz dedim. Açık,

modern insanlar. Kızları İngilizce biliyor, dedim ben İngilizceyi ilerleteceğim sen de Türkçe öğreneceksin anlaşacağız.

Ortak alanlarınızın olması komşuluğun artmasında ya da pekişmesinde etkili mi?

Sosyallik insanın kendi elinde, çıkıp o ortak alanda iki karış suratla oturduğunuz zaman olmaz.

Hafta içi ve hafta sonu vaktinizi genelde nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Yaşadığınız muhitte vakit geçirir misiniz? Neler yaparsınız?

Hiç evde durmayız biz. Hiçbir yer bulamazsak yazlığımıza gideriz. Orada ekili dikili bir alanımız var orayla uğraşırız. Çocukları torunları alır site içindeki çimlik alanda da vakit geçiririz. Ama daha bir kere mangal yakamadık piknik alanında mesela. Biz o işi yazlığımızda yaptığımız için burada öyle bir ihtiyacımız yok.