

HOME AS A 'PLACE':
THE MAKING OF DOMESTIC SPACE AT YEŞİLTEPE BLOCKS,
ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

SEPTEMBER 2008

Approval of the thesis:

**HOME AS A 'PLACE': THE MAKING OF DOMESTIC SPACE
AT YEŞİLTEPE BLOCKS, ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

HOME AS A 'PLACE': THE MAKING OF DOMESTIC SPACE AT YEŞİLTEPE BLOCKS, ANKARA

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September 2008, 167 pages

The aim of this thesis is to provide a comprehensive look over the domestic space in the scope of the case study held in Ankara. The key notion of the evaluation is that home is a 'place' and it can not be evaluated comprehensively when abstracted and degraded into classifications of size, location, cost, or generalized user profile, without considering its place-specific qualities and the experience of its users. Starting from this point, the thesis provides a detailed observation and documentation of the physical qualities of home, followed by the appreciation of its users depicting their own experiences and interventions on the place. The 'reciprocal' character of the relationship between the household and the home, the concepts of place-identity and sense of belonging are traced and discussed.

The research is conducted in a privileged example of modern residential architecture in Ankara; Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks in Emek District

and its method constitutes of three parallel stages which are the archival study made on written and visual documents, in-depth interviews done with the households, and on-site observation and visual documentation study of the research field.

Keywords: Home, place-making, domestic space, Yeşiltepe Blocks, Ankara

ÖZ

BİR 'YER' OLARAK EV: ANKARA YEŞİLTEPE BLOKLARI'NDA KONUT MEKANININ OLUŞUMU

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Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Ali Cengizkan

Eylül 2008, 167 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı, Ankara'da yürütülen bir alan çalışması kapsamında konut mekânına kapsamlı bir bakış sunmaktır. Bu değerlendirmenin ana fikri evin bir 'yer' olmasıdır ve bu yer büyüklük, konum, maliyet ve genellenmiş kullanıcı profili sınıflandırmalarına indirgendiği ve soyutlandığı, yere özgü nitelikleri ile kullanıcılarının deneyimleri dikkate alınmadığı durumda kapsamlı bir şekilde değerlendirilemez. Bu noktadan yola çıkarak, tez evin fiziksel niteliklerinin detaylı bir gözlem ve belgelemesini ve devamında, kullanıcıların yere dair deneyim ve müdahalelerini ortaya koyan değerlendirmelerini sunmaktadır. Ev halkının ev ile olan ilişkisinin 'karşılıklı' karakteri, yer kimliği ve aidiyet kavramları araştırılmış ve tartışılmıştır.

Araştırma Ankara'daki modern konut mimarlığının seçkin örneklerinden biri olan Yeşiltepe ve Yıldıztepe Blokları'nda yürütülmüştür ve metodu yazılı ve görsel dökümanlar üzerine arşiv çalışması, ev halkı ile yapılan

derinlikli söyleşiler ve alanda yapılan gözlem ve görsel belgeleme olmak üzere üç paralel aşamadan oluşmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ev, yer yapma, konut mekanı, Yeşiltepe Blokları, Ankara

To my dear family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan for his guidance and intellectual support throughout my M.Arch experience. I am also grateful to my instructors, especially to Research Assistant Didem Kılıçkiran who gave me the initial inspiration and motivation to define my subject.

I would like to express my gratitude to the administrators and especially to the inhabitants of Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks who welcomed me at their homes and made it possible for me to gain so much knowledge and experience in process of the field research. I shall also thank to Prof. Dr. Ömür Bakırer and Prof. Dr. Ayşıl Yavuz who helped me reach certain interviewees in the course of the study.

Finally I would like to thank my dear family, my dear friends, and whoever embraced me with endless love, patience and support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Academic Motivations and Aim of the Thesis

In the general field of 'home' as a theme, which accommodates one of the broadest literature in human history, there are innumerable sources and formations to dwell on and to conduct to for a researcher in the field of architecture as well as many other disciplines. Although addressing this same general theme of 'home', this thesis justifiably focuses and dwells on certain dimensions and approaches in developing an understanding of home as field of study at large and consequently delineates certain limitations in handling research and study in this field for a particular case in Turkey.

First of all, the thesis does not aim to propose a new theoretical framework of the main concepts concerned; 'home', 'place' or 'place-making', or to elaborate comprehensive cross-cultural and inter-disciplinary discussions and conceptions developed in relation to them. The thesis aims to coin certain definitions and understandings within the selected basic academic literature and field research, and focus mainly on a case study that would be analysed and evaluated in that theoretical framework constructed as a base to serve for understanding the case in detail.

Of first priority, it shall be stated that, the diverse understandings of the term 'home' is out of the concern of this study. Although having various definitions in different cultures and places in the world -even in different psychological moods and physical conditions of a single human being- 'home' in this thesis will be perceived as the focus of human activity, a center of meaning for people, the main stage of their life processes of birth, growth, production of self and things, as well as consumption. Unlike the term 'house', 'home' here implies a meaning of being "the one and only" and the unique object of the peaceful and secure feeling of "being at home". Constituting such a critical locus in human life, it reflects one's self; his/her past and present as well as his/her aspirations and conceptions of the world.

This thesis aims to explore home in the framework of 'place-making'. Introduction of the concept of 'place' into the discussion, brings forward the social assets of the space and provides a special emphasis on the people living in that space; in this case the households. The experience and interposition of the households in the place have been a strong contribution in studying the subject, that will be elaborated within the case study presented in the following chapters.

The reason of focusing on the concept of place is based on the author's academic experience and enthusiasm acquired from two studio courses conducted by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan and Research Assistant Didem Kılıçkiran at the Department of Architecture, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, in the previous years of her M.Arch education. The first one has been *Arch 714 – Housing Research and Design*

Studio II, held in Spring'06. This studio has produced a group research on *Temelli (Samutlu) Numune Köyü* in Polatlı, Ankara, and analysed the village in its historical context of population exchange together with the physical constitution of the environment as well as the participation of the exchangees and their descendants still living there.¹ The second course, *Arch 713 - Housing Research and Design Studio I*, was held in the following semester, and this time a more comprehensive research was conducted in the urban context. *Ulus İşhanı ve Çarşısı* was the field of research and this time the main argument of the study has been the complex's being a 'place' in Ankara.²

These two academic experiences had a major impact on the enthusiasm of defining the scope of the thesis. As a further extension of the previous works in *rural residential* context and *urban commercial* context which were mentioned above, this thesis aims to dwell on parallel themes in an *urban residential* context which was not personally experienced in detail by the author before.

¹ Beside the archival and architectural documentation of the village and the unit houses, the research was based mainly on the oral history study that was conducted with the villagers. Although the concept of 'place' was not the pre-established conceptual framework of analysis, the outcomes of the in-depth interviews provided a broad field of discussion in terms of the exchangees' experiences on place, the place attachment that they have grown over years, their senses of identity and belonging, and their interventions to the place regarding their changing needs and expectations.

² The idea is supported by a number of quantitative analyses like pedestrian counts and circulation routes which depict the usage patterns of the urban space provided by the layout and functional proposals of the complex. On the other hand, a number of oral research studies have been made among the users of the place; passer-bys, customers, handsellers and the tradesmen in stores. The results obtained after a four-month-research process have shown that the complex is much more than a fifty year-old architectural object to be demolished or be 'dressed nicely' to fit into the new urban dreams of the planning agents, but it is a 'place' that has been the host of fifty years of experience in urban memory, a place to be identified with, for countless people and a strong contributor to the urban life in Ankara.

Another motivation in developing such enthusiasm in studying on the urban residential environment is the author's professional experience as an architect in the field, where housing production in metropolitan cities constitutes a major sector in contemporary construction market. One of the strongest reasons in writing this thesis have been the urge to understand the 'existent' before attempting to propose and produce the 'successor' in the developing and regenerating urban fabric.

To summarize; this thesis aims to grasp the notion of home as an integral entity comprising of physical and social assets which are the critical means of the process of place-making. The thesis focuses on Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks in Ankara, which are notable in terms of their potential of presenting such process comprehensively because of their forty-years-of strong presence in the urban residential environment in Ankara.

1.2. Promises of the Thesis and Its Research Method

The thesis suggests that there is a tendency of housing research in Turkey, to focus on certain utilitarian attributes of home as parametrics tools of analysis. These parameters are more or less limited to definitions of size, location or generalized user profiles, while place-specific notions of certain housing environments that turn them into 'homes' of certain people, are overlooked.

This thesis tries to focus on this lack designated and it studies on a housing environment through in-depth analyses method from different physical and social dimensions and tries to delineate the role of the place-

specificness issue in the process of home-making. It assumed that this kind of approach will provide much more than the data produced about that environment but propose certain dimensions in understanding housing design and related social formations developed in the domestic environment.

1.3. Introduction of the Thesis Structure

In the second chapter, *Housing and 'Place-Making': Methodology of the Thesis*, the academic context and the approach of the thesis will be explored. The key concepts and understandings regarding domestic space will be mentioned in relation with each other. While a detailed scan of field research on domestic space will be exemplified within their scope and content, the emphasis will be given to the local ones in Turkey. The major aspects and tendencies of these researches will be analysed, interpreted and critisized while the approach of the thesis will be stated as an interrelated but a governing layer above all, that departs from the definition which puts basically that "home is a place and it should not be degraded to a mere object of utility." This statement will be justified and implemented with the methodology of the thesis.

The third chapter, *The Production of the 'Place'* aims to represent the place in its architectural and urban context within a deliberate position of *objective outsideness*³. It will start with an overview of 20th Century modern housing production in Ankara and will present the case of the thesis; Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks. The significance and correspondence of the site, to the

³ Edward Relph (1976; pp.51-52), David Seamon (1996).

aim of the study will be given together with a general information of its architects. After the general context and the introduction of the site, the analysis will be structured in two phases; first, '*Location, Planimetry and Tectonics*' will give a detailed a description of the case in three descending scales and '*Planimetric and Tectonic Analysis*' will examine the remarkable notions filtered through the previous description, in the same scales respectively.

In the fourth chapter, the focus will be on the interviewed households and their experience and attributions on the place. The approach to the subject in this chapter may correspond to *empathetic insideness* ⁴, where the author tried to explore the experiential mechanisms involving the households in the place. Selected quotations of the households will be assembled in such a way that they constitute a meaningful whole together under certain themes and topics which come into prominence in the process of 'place-making'. The chapter will also involve the appropriations of the households and their oral descriptions of the appropriation experience will be supplemented by visual documentation of their apartments and the diagrammatic representations.

Finally the fifth chapter will discuss the conclusions of the thesis; its findings and evaluations as thought-provoking inputs for further research and production of urban residential environments.

⁴ Edward Relph (1976; p.54), David Seamon (1996).

CHAPTER 2

HOUSING AND 'PLACE-MAKING': METHODOLOGY OF THE THESIS

2.1 Discussions and Concepts on Domestic Interiors and Related Field Research

Academic context of the study will be presented as an integrated overview of the key concepts of the thesis together with the certain unfolded expansions of the forementioned concepts. The existing field research that envisions various dimensions of the 'reciprocal' relationship of the domestic interiors and its users, will be discussed with regard to their scopes and general results.

Being one of the oldest practice of human beings, dwelling together with its procreated concepts deserve observation and careful analysis as being among the primary subjects of inter-disciplinary research. So far these have been matter of discussion in various disciplines other than architecture, from philosophy to anthropology, from environmental psychology to sociology, which all defined and emphasized different dimensions of the concepts and generated collaborative conceptual expansions beside themselves.

Frequently quoted in dwelling studies, German philosopher Martin Heidegger, in his famous essay "Building Dwelling Thinking", discusses

the philosophical and etymological dimension of dwelling and building (*bauen*) and states: "Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build".⁵ Regarding Heidegger, David Seamon asserts that this argument is not sufficient in terms of specificity, and needs further design connotations.⁶ Based on his philosophical overview, Seamon suggests that the architecture which can contribute to the human being in the world, helps to dwell.⁷

British anthropologist Daniel Miller proposes a conceptual expansion in this field proposing the term 'accommodation', to define the relationship of the dweller to the dwelling. Apart from being a "place to live", accommodation "involves a process of accomodating in the sense of appropriation of home by its inhabitants or indeed of the inhabitants by the home".⁸ What is striking in this definition is its 'reciprocal character'⁹ which involves the spirit or will of the inhabitant as a motivation of accommodating in the "process of home".¹⁰

Donna Birdwell-Pheasant and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga's argument about houses runs parallel with Miller's notion of 'reciprocity':

Through their capacity both to signify appropriate behaviours and to accommodate them, house forms and their resident social groups are mutually constituting.¹¹

⁵ Martin Heidegger (1971; p.160).

⁶ David Seamon (2000).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Daniel Miller (2002; p.115).

⁹ Among the first attempts to conceptualise the term, Asatekin (1994) handles the 'reciprocal' relationship between the dwelling unit and the corresponding social unit, family, in the context of traditional residential architecture in Anatolia, through restoration / conservation theories.

¹⁰ Daniel Miller (2002; p.115).

¹¹ Donna Birdwell-Pheasant, Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (1999; pp.3-4).

These authors also mention the recent analytical tendency of defining these residents as 'household' instead of family or another kin group – which is an approach also shared in this study-, although in their view, they are inseparable:

At it's best, 'household' describes an economically and socially important unit that – to the extent that its members are associated with (if not consistently co-resident within) a specific dwelling – can be successfully and usefully bounded in space and (somewhat less successfully) in time as well.¹²

Through broad academic literature on domestic interior and its 'reciprocal' relationship with its users; mainly four inter-related aspects according to their point of view towards approaching and analysing the subject, can be classified; *i.* Residential satisfaction, *ii.* Appropriation, *iii.* Material culture, *iv.* time and space zoning¹³ of the domestic space. Conceptually cross-referencing each other, these four aspects provide a wide range of outcomes having diverse emphasis with respect to dwelling's content and context.

Residential satisfaction is a key factor maintaining the livability of the built environment since a building is sustainable as long as it meets the physical and social requirements of its users. The level of this satisfaction may result in abandonment and destruction, or on the contrary, a strong commitment and preservation. Based on this assumption, many scholars use this notion as a parametric tool in envisioning the physical and social qualities of domestic space, for example its design characteristics and their reflections on the process of accommodation.

¹² Donna Birdwell-Pheasant, Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (1999; p.2).

¹³ Terms 'time zoning' and 'space zoning' that will be used throughout the text are borrowed from Moira Munro, Ruth Madigan (1999; p.113).

Among the earliest studies in Turkish literature, Ayla Atasoy in her PhD dissertation, searched for new qualitative standards of housing design towards the changing needs of the household by means of evaluating the existing residential environment. With the help of a case study held in Osmaniye, İstanbul, the author defines the changing household requirements together with the deterioration of the built environment. In the conclusion of the dissertation, the author represents three concepts combining the housing design and the user requirements: 'choice', 'flexibility' and 'congruity'. She takes the third one as the basis of her argument and supposes that new design solutions should be formulated in congruence with the requirements of the users. For the author, this could only be done by the help of an interdisciplinary research on the existing residential environments. The objectives of such research, thus, should be; the definition of the user profile, the definition of the house, determination of the physical alterations made in the house and their motivations, the presentation of the usage patterns of the interior spaces, documentation of the behaviours and thoughts of the household about his/her house, and the commentary of all these elements accordingly.¹⁴

A similar research was held in Ankara, in 1996, by Vacit and Olcay İmamoğlu. A two-phased comprehensive analysis of certain mass housing projects in the city was conducted through observation and documentation of the buildings as well as statistically analysed questionnaire forms which were filled by each household. As the method and the scope of the research suggests, the results are quantitative and lacks peculiarity to the place. What is proposed by the authors as a

¹⁴ Ayla Atasoy (1973).

conclusion, coincides with the first notion proposed by Atasoy before; the necessity of producing quality housing projects providing different “choices” to different people and family types. The notion of flexibility or adaptability of the domestic space is not emphasized.¹⁵

Nur Esin Altaş and Ahsen Özsoy, in their research held in Ataköy, İstanbul, define user satisfaction as the function of three variables; “user characteristics, physical attributes of a space and beliefs and perception of the user about the experienced space.” This basis draws a similarity with the ones mentioned so far, but the distinction is expressed in the conceptual framework and the conclusive comments. ‘Flexibility’ and ‘adaptability’ of the plan organization of the domestic space are the key concepts governing the analysis and in conclusion, they illustrate that the flexibility of plan layout contributes to the user satisfaction and user satisfaction is a parameter of housing quality.¹⁶

A more recent research, which was held in low-cost housing examples in Maltepe-Esenkent, İstanbul, focuses on the forementioned concept of ‘housing quality’, and defines it as “fitness for use”. As a parameter of housing quality, user satisfaction is, once again, analysed by means of the physical attributions of the dwelling space and the subjective evaluations of the households via the interviews conducted. The authors here emphasize the importance of the design process in mass construction of housing:

Housing settlements with very stereotyped plans that are designed for a large number of families without considering their opinion in

¹⁵ Olcay İmamoğlu, Vacit İmamoğlu (1996).

¹⁶ Nur Esin Altaş, Ahsen Özsoy (1998).

the design process are far from meeting user's changing needs in different stages of their dynamic life cycles.¹⁷

In conclusion, the important indicators of housing quality are summarized:

Variety and the richness of the activities that take place in the dwelling unit are the qualitative indicators of the plan layout. Space use and furniture arrangements, related with the dwelling layout, are considered as two interrelated indicators of housing quality.¹⁸

Another study held in Ankara, repeats the common understanding of housing production, that it should be responsive to the everchanging needs of its occupants, and it should propose flexible design solutions instead of (3+1) or (4+1) room-type allocations of domestic space.¹⁹

The local field studies mentioned so far draw the attention to the concept of flexibility as being an important parameter in evaluating the design quality of the domestic space and providing user satisfaction. Actually, the term has a wide range of applications in architectural discourse and practice globally; from traditional Japanese houses to the "support & infill idea" of SAR projects or very recent contemporary urban residences.²⁰

Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, the authors of a recent book on the subject, *Flexible Housing*, define the term comprehensively together with its ways of determination and they draw the distinction between the two confusing concepts of 'flexibility' and 'adaptability':

Flexible housing can be defined as housing that is designed for choice at the design stage, both in terms of social use and

¹⁷ Ahsen Özsoy, Gülçin Pulat Gökmen (2005; p.18).

¹⁸ Ibid., p.26.

¹⁹ Zeynep Onur [et al.] (2001).

²⁰ N. John Habraken (2008).

construction, or designed for change over its lifetime. [...] flexibility is an important consideration in the design of housing if it is to be socially, economically and environmentally viable. The degree of flexibility is determined in two ways. First the in-built opportunity for adaptability, defined as 'capable of different social uses', and second the opportunity for flexibility, defined as 'capable of different physical arrangements'.²¹

In this case we understand that, adaptability of the domestic space refers to the variety of social re-construction of the existing physical space, while flexibility of the house is the convenience of the built space to possible physical alterations.

What is the reason that people seek for adaptable and flexible domestic environments? Logically speaking, if someone needs to re-structure his/her living environment socially or physically, there must be some sort of inconvenience of that environment that does not meet the requirements of its user. Hence, in order to ensure his/her satisfaction with the domestic space, the user, in this case the household, performs a set of activities to eliminate these inconveniences by the help of the potential of the environment. Hence, while we are defining flexibility and adaptability as the potential of this circumstance, we should also define means of using this potential of making physical and social alterations; that is, appropriation.

Frequently mentioned in recent literature of dwelling studies, the concept of appropriation is elaborately handled by anthropologist Daniel Miller. In his research in London, UK, he discusses the concepts of 'appropriation'

²¹ Tatjana Schneider, Jeremy Till (2005; p.157). The definitions of adaptability and flexibility are referenced to Steven Groák (1992) *The Idea of Building: Thought and Action in the Design and Production of Buildings*. London: E & FN Spon, p.15.

and 'alienation' through the tenants' ways of decorating and altering their kitchens on a London Council Estate. The alienation described here refers to "the state of commodification of home through mass construction", and means of confronting this state in order to provide an inalienable environment lead us to the process of 'appropriation':

Self-built housing, despite its political appeal, is never likely to be more than a minority possibility, unless we want to renew the entire housing stock at very short intervals. A theory of housing therefore has to be largely a theory of consumption. The distributive mechanisms –that is, the market and the state- are clearly problematic candidates as the direct source of social identification or affective community. This means that whether as council tenants or owner occupiers, households are likely to receive their built environment as the product of a system which would not be regarded as an investment of their social being. If they are to develop their self-conception as households and neighbourhoods it must be through some form of appropriation, though their possibilities of accomplishing this task may well be coloured by their consumption status.²²

The approach of Miller towards the significance of appropriation process on the Council Estate is remarkable in its contribution to our thesis:

The intention of my study was to examine how essentially identical facilities provided by the council have been differentially employed in the long term. The tenants started with the same blank 'canvas' and the data consist of their self-design over the years. One possible focus could have been on the symbolism of the decorations and the principles of 'order' established, but in this article the emphasis will be rather on the degree to which a particular household, faced with the provision of a range of furnishings selected by the council, appears to have engaged in some form of 'appropriation' through transformation and the factors which seemed to have facilitated or constrained such alterations.²³

²² Daniel Miller (1988; p.354).

²³ Ibid., p.356.

Domestic appropriations have been the focal theme of many research around the world. Sebastian Ureta, regarding his research of material transformation and the decoration of low cost housing estates in Santiago, Chile, states that buying a new home is “only the start of a process of home-making that entails much more than the mere legal ownership of a property”²⁴ and refers Miller’s understanding of “appropriation” as a balancing process between the individuality of the household and the imposing character of modern architecture introduced to low-income families by the policy makers and developers of the state.²⁵

Eric Hirsch, in his detailed field study in London, UK, also refers to Miller’s appropriation concept in understanding the complicated process of home-making, however he is critical about Miller’s appropriation model which is based on consumption, to confront the case of alienation:

Making something one’s own (at home) may not entail the overcoming of alienation in that context or with the objects therein. Rather it may involve alienation in other, partially connected contexts, but displaced to the home context and its specific object domain.²⁶

On the other hand, the consumption emphasis of Miller is appreciated by Elizabeth Darling, as the survival notion of the concept, even if some sort of user responsive housing environment is ever created and the necessity of any kind of user intervention is disappeared:

The involvement of tenants in the new design or redesign of social housing that is happening today may see an end to the practice of appropriation, as it should acknowledge the day-to-day uses of space. Alternatively, if we accept Miller’s concept that a theory of

²⁴ Sebastian Ureta (2007; p.312).

²⁵ Ibid., p.311.

²⁶ Eric Hirsch (1998; pp.177-178).

housing is always a theory of consumption, it may be that whatever form housing takes, be it tenant-oriented, tenant-designed, or architect-led, it will always be appropriated by its occupants in ways unforeseen at the time of production.²⁷

Among the academic research on the degrees of appropriation, we can perceive, on the one hand, extreme physical interventions including exterior additions to certain parts of multi-storey residential buildings,²⁸ and on the other, non-constructional re-arrangements of the domestic layout through furniture choice and utilizations or any decorative desire of the households.²⁹ The latter, referring to the artefacts rather than the architectural space, brings the issue of material culture, as the third aspect of dwelling study approaches.

Material culture is an important research field in archaeology as well as cultural anthropology. Among the leading scholars of this field, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, in their book, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self*, focus on household objects and their role in expressing as well as shaping one's self:

Although one has little control over the things encountered outside the home, household objects are chosen and could be freely discarded if they produced too much conflict within the self. Thus household objects constitute an ecology of signs that reflects as well as *shapes* the pattern of the owner's self. It might be noted in this context that the term "ecology" literally means the study of households.³⁰

²⁷ Elizabeth Darling (2000; p.175).

²⁸ Two Latin American examples of this sort can be seen in Luiz Amorim, Claudia Loureiro (2001) and Sebastian Ureta (2007).

²⁹ Nicolette Makovicky (2007), Hilje van der Horst and Jantine Messing (2006), Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton (1981).

³⁰ Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton (1981; p.17).

The emphasis made on the conscious choice of the user to eliminate confliction, renders the relationship of this “ecology” with the concept of appropriation mentioned before. In a field research conducted by Nicolette Makovicky in Slovakia, the author explores “how practices of collection, storage and display of particular genres of domestic objects create spaces of intimacy in the home that work to perpetuate a sense of a family history” in its context, based on the anthropological framework mentioned so far.³¹ The famous sentence of Walter Benjamin; “to live is to leave traces”, becomes a motivation in Makovicky’s research and she argues that lives can be unraveled, then, by investigating the traces left to the space.³²

The fourth aspect of domestic space studies is related to *time* and *space zoning*³³ of the domestic space. One of the most academically cultivated notions of the domestic space is the existence of a tangible but flexible boundary of private and public zones. Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zuniga define this boundary as:

All physically bounded domestic spaces are private to the extent that they allow household members to control access to themselves, perhaps to conceal or hide behavior from the view of others or manage the knowledge of others have about them; public spaces, in contrast, are those located beyond the boundries of home where residents have little or no control.³⁴

³¹ Nicolette Makovicky (2007; p.287).

³² Ibid., p.290.

³³ Moira Munro, Ruth Madigan (1999; p.113).

³⁴ Donna Birdwell-Pheasant, Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (1999; p.4).

Within the home, an explicit secondary zoning regarding privacy is remarked by numerous scholars around the world.³⁵ Although the corresponding spaces may occasionally differentiate from each other in definition, size or function, the common understanding is that, there is a more preserved zone in the house where the households satisfy their confidential needs and maintain their privacy as individuals or as an integrated group, while there is another one where outsiders are allowed to infiltrate, and also the representation of the household takes place. Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zuniga refer to these distinction as 'front stage' and 'back stage'³⁶, while Richard Blanton names them as 'canonical' and 'indexical' elements respectively.³⁷ Sociologist Sencer Ayata, in his analysis of the Turkish case, names this division as 'inner home' (*iç ev*) and 'outer home' (*dış ev*)³⁸ and although the general tendency of this division is based on the living room vs bedrooms, Ayata makes a further expansion of the case, proposing the distinction of living room (*salon*) and sitting room (*oturma odası*) as representatives of the public and private spheres at home. In his model, *salon* is remarked as the outer home which is exempted from the use of the households and reserved to visitors, to be seen clean and neat any time. The rest of the house, generalized as 'rooms' constitutes the 'inner home', where the largest of the rooms, *oturma odası* is reserved for the daily intimate activities of the family.³⁹ This prototypical understanding of Turkish domestic space is supported by a number of

³⁵ Sencer Ayata (1988), Ferhunde Özbay (1999), Maria Vittoria Giuliani (1987), Kemal Yıldırım, Aysu Başkaya (2006), Uğur Tanyeli (2001), Mariann Märtsin, Toomas Niit (2005).

³⁶ Donna Birdwell-Pheasant, Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (1999; p.4).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Sencer Ayata (1988).

³⁹ Ibid.

further local research.⁴⁰ But an important point to be remarked here is that, the exclusion of *salon* from daily intimate practices, has been losing its prototypical power defining Turkish home. Ferhunde Özbay explains this with the more informal structure of upper-middle class today,⁴¹ while Özsoy and Gökmen supports this recent sight by the result of their field research:

To allocate a room for visitors is one of the customs of traditional Turkish families that is gradually disappearing in the urban lifestyle. This entails keeping one of the rooms in the dwelling clean and orderly. Studies conducted with the various income groups have shown the changing habits of the families in the urban areas and found a growing tendency to lose the traditional way of life in the urbanization process.⁴²

2.2 Home as a 'Place'

The concept of home has been defined in a diverse set of ways in different disciplines. While the broad examination of the concept with its extensional connotations is not in the scope of this study, we have to define the basic framework that we will establish upon our evaluation of domestic space.

Being the private sphere of the human being, a home is much more than its material entity. It is the stage where human cultural and social life takes place,⁴³ which, unlike the physical structure implication of the term "house", defines "a place of origin and retreat."⁴⁴ Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zuniga argues that 'home' is "a concept of place rather than

⁴⁰ Kemal Yıldırım, Aysu Başkaya (2006), Zeynep Onur [et al.] (2001).

⁴¹ Ferhunde Özbay (1999; p.565).

⁴² Ahsen Özsoy, Gülçin Pulat Gökmen (2005; p.23).

⁴³ Donna Birdwell-Pheasant, Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (1999; p.1).

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.6.

space, implying emotional attachment and meaning beyond the constraints of the physicality of any particular dwelling house.”⁴⁵ Similarly, Roderick J. Lawrence marks the distinction of house and the home as “the spatial units in the built environment” and “the most cherished place for many people”.⁴⁶ The meaning of the cumulative experience of human being in the space that he/she dwells, inevitably defines that environment, home, as a *place*. In Edward Relph’s definition:

Home is the foundation of our identity as individuals and as members of a community, the dwelling-place of being. Home is not just the house you happen to live in, it is not something that can be anywhere, that can be exchanged, but an irreplaceable centre of significance. This may seem very philosophical and obscure, but in fact it can be a common, everyday element of experience.⁴⁷

Chinese-American geographer Yi-Fu Tuan defines place as “center of meaning” to individuals or groups,⁴⁸ and the forementioned emphasis of experience of home can be observed in his parallel definition of place:

To live in a place is to experience it, to be aware of it in the bones as well as with the head. Place, at all scales from the armchair to the nation, is a construct of experience; it is sustained not only by timber, concrete, and highways, but also by the quality of human awareness.⁴⁹

On the other hand, Dutch environmental psychologist Paul J.J. Pennartz argues with reference to Norberg-Schulz that, a place is a “total phenomenon” which is impossible to resolve into its elements without conceding from its quality.⁵⁰ Thus we came to a point that, any discussion to be made about home, which is a place, could not elaborate its meaning

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Roderick J. Lawrence (1987; p.165).

⁴⁷ Edward Relph (1976; p.39).

⁴⁸ Yi-Fu Tuan (1975; p.153).

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.165.

⁵⁰ Paul J.J. Pennartz (1999; p.96).

as a whole when it tends to degrade it to any level of its perceptable elements.

When we examine the academic research made on domestic space, especially in the Turkish case, we sense a general tendency of abstracting the notion of home and handling the 'degraded' house as the quantitative object of research. The problem here is that, what is tried to be analysed is reduced merely to the physical environment of the domestic space. When the field of a "user satisfaction" research is defined as (3+1) room-apartments in Emek or 120 m² units in low-cost housing blocks in Sincan, we only sense an abstracted representation of the domestic space, which is indeed the home of that someone who filled in the research questionnaire. In this case, the distinctness of the experience of "that" individual in "that" home can not be represented in its causality in the statistical results of the research. It is critical to remark the importance of the data overlooked because of this abstraction of 'home' into a 'house', that a certain person's individual experience with that certain living room might have been able to provide a new medium of discussing the domestic space in the framework of the concept, place. On the other hand, this emphasis should not mean that the forementioned fields of local research are not valid and important, but that delimiting all 'housing research' to those areas may mean a divergence in the field of 'housing research'.

This critic of this general tendency of evaluating the domestic space without considering its place quality, brings us to the core of our study's approach to the subject. The evaluation proposed in this thesis is basedd on the four focal aspects of the previous research of the domestic space,

but with an addition of a major fifth dimension, which governs them all as a dominant conceptual layer; the conception of home's being a place. What is proposed by this view is that one does not overlook the place-specific notions of the home and acknowledge them into the cumulative understanding of the research field. Then the four research aspects; user satisfaction, appropriation, material culture and time and space zoning of the space, are analysed through the general framework of place, and the place-specific notions of the physical and social environment and the experiential dimensions of the life existing in that place could be covered by means of the attributions of the interviewees, beside the documentation regarding the conceptions and construction details of the dwelling and the multifaceted observations of the author.

This analysis of place will be conducted in two interrelated stages. First one refers to the material production of the 'place', as a defined and distinct environment with inner and outer boundaries. It includes the motivations of the investors and the context of the settlement as well as its detailed tectonical description and analysis remarking its distinctiveness in many dimensions. The second stage of the analysis will refer to the interpretation of the owners of the place, focusing on their privileged experience, attributions and conceptions they use when producing their house-type into a 'place' via physical alterations, use of furniture, their reflections on the place, their intentions and expectations.

2.3 Methodology

The case study of the thesis was held in three parallel stages. First one is the research held on the written and visual documents produced about the

site. These documents included a PhD and a master thesis, the cooperative's published work reports, an article written by the architects Bediz and Kamçıl, and two articles published in Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch Bulletin. Visual media including photographs and architectural drawings apart from the ones existing on these documents are supplemented afterwards from two tenants, one from Yeşiltepe and the other from the Yıldıztepe Blocks.

The second stage of the study was meeting with the inhabitants in order to conduct in-depth interviews. This stage, however, required a special preparation in order to get the necessary permission from the administration of the settlement to avoid any kind of disturbance of the inhabitants or obstruction against the research. Two applications, each addressing the administration, have been prepared and signed by the department chairperson and the thesis supervisor, which asserted the aim, scope and the method of the study and requested the support of the concerned, such as giving necessary information and introducing the researcher to the inhabitants who might be interested to participate. Sample photocopies from the previous research have also been attached to the applications, in order to signify the privilege of the development as a field of study in architectural history of Ankara. Multiple copies of this paperwork have been binded and kept in hand to deliver to the ones who are interested, whenever encountered during the research. This attitude helped to establish a basis for to communicate with the administration and the inhabitants and also to ensure the reliability of the 'intruder' wandering along a residential environment. Nevertheless, even this acquaintanceship could not be able to provide a direct interaction with the

inhabitants. Randomly ringing the bells in the blocks was not welcomed and strictly forbidden. Moreover, in the short interview with the administrator of Yeşiltepe development held in 27.04.2008, it is reported that, delivering any kind of paperwork to the doors can not get decent feedback even if it is an important administrative notice. The remaining solution to grasp a survey sample in the field was to ask for personal contacts to be canalized, starting right from the administrators who live in these blocks for over forty years. Snowball sampling, thus, characterizes the survey technique of the field study, which is a method that is used to investigate hidden populations that a surveyor could not be able to access easily.⁵¹

Thirteen respondents in twelve apartments have been conducted during the course of research, that is between 23rd April 2008 and 27th June 2008. Eight of twelve interviews took place in Yeşiltepe and the remaining four in Yıldıztepe Cooperative. (See **Table 2.1 - 2.2** for gender and occupation distributions) Semi-structured, in-depth interviews are preferred and additional notions brought up by the interviewees are welcomed. Interviews took place in their own apartments, except in one occasion where the apartment was not suitable to host a visitor because a health problem of one of its inhabitants. This one was made in the administration apartment in the first block. Interview questions were substantially derived from a previous field study held in *Temelli Numune Köyü* in Polatlı, Ankara.⁵²

⁵¹ Matthew J. Salganik, Douglas D. Heckathorn (2004; p.196).

⁵² This study was conducted as a research group for the fulfillment of the forementioned master course; *Arch 714 Housing Research and Design Studio* in Spring'06 semester.

The identities of the interviewees are coded as H(n)-(a), and their apartment as A(n), such that H is the abbreviation of 'household', A is the abbreviation of 'apartment', (a) is the age of the interviewee and (n) is the number designated to that household and his/her apartment in the course of analysis. In this case, H1-92 refers to the household aged 92 living in A1, that is the apartment no.1. Additional informative demographical or locational definitions will be given in the course of the text, when necessary. Block numbers in the text refer to the real numbering of the blocks in the site and they will be cited as B1, B2, etc. B1, B2, B3, B4, B7 and B8 are Yeşiltepe Blocks, while B5 and B6 are Yıldıztepe Blocks. (**Figure 2.1**)

The interviews lasted from 20 to 125 minutes according to the interviewees' willingness to participate, number of participators and their knowledge and experience on the place. 78 pages of transcribed interview material have been analyzed and secondary texts have been produced according to the searched themes.

The third stage of the study was conducted parallel to the second one. On-site observations have been processed through visual media; photographs are taken through the site and in the apartments during each visit and drawing inconsistencies have been corrected accordingly. With the help of photographic documentation of each room and the notes taken during the visit, the furnishing layouts and the material and constructional transformations of each apartment are applied to the typical floor plan drawings. (See **Appendix B**) Personal observations are supported by on-foot talks with administrators, some residents and janitors, and several

counts have been made to document momentary recordings of inner gallery space utilizations.

Table 2.1 Gender distribution of the case sample

	H1	H2	H3	H4	H5	H6	H7(1)	H7(2)	YILDIZTEPE				H12
									H8	H9	H10	H11	
FEMALE													
MALE													

Table 2.2 Occupation distribution of the case sample. 'H' means 'household'. Two of three employed cases refer to academicians at the ages of 69 and 63. respectively.

	H1	H2	H3	H4	H5	H6	H7(1)	H7(2)	YILDIZTEPE				H12
									H8	H9	H10	H11	
RETIRED													
HOUSEWIFE													
EMPLOYED													

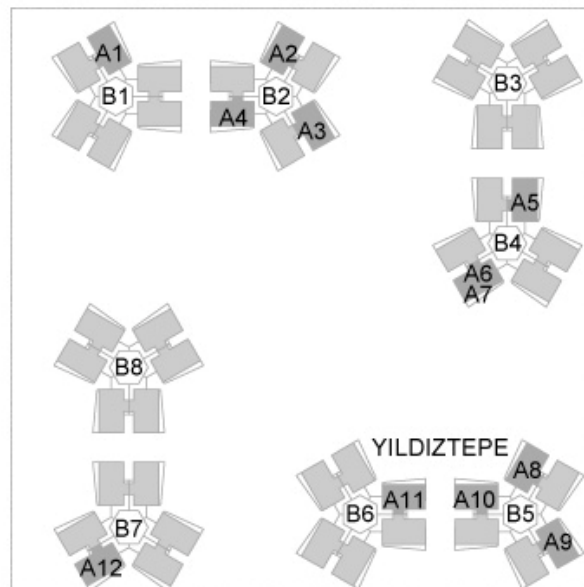


Figure 2.1 Distribution of the case sample on the site

Finally; the basic reasons that restrict the scope of the research can be listed as follows:

- There is a deeply felt 'introvert' atmosphere of the environment which expressed itself in the attitudes and expressions of the people; the doorkeepers, administrators and certain inhabitants encountered in the course of research. Although not surprising in an urban residential environment of middle-high socio-economic status, which is surrounded strongly by a discourse of urban fear, the environment behaviorally manifested itself as more gated than the suburban 'physically' gated communities.
- There were growing complaints of the residents from pollsters over years, and a general tendency of considering a market survey and an academic research equally disturbing in the daily routine of the residents.
- A concern of certain administrators, of some sort of malice regarding either the researcher or the target user group of the data to be produced, was encountered. Demographical or statistical information regarding the whole of the development, and the project drawings of the site or the blocks were not provided.
- Directly reaching the residents via ringing the bells or delivering informative papers asking for participation were not welcomed, and accordingly the only solution of proceeding was the personal agencies such that the reached ones advise available others, starting from administrators and certain personal contacts of the author.

- As an outcome of such sampling method, the cases obtained in the research tend to grow a similarity among each other in terms of their outcomes, that they share common activity circles linking them together. This sort of sampling, inevitably, would not lead to a generalization regarding the whole of the development, for example, the total case of contacts are dominated by retired households that have relatively more time and understanding to participate in a research than younger working couples. Hence, expanding the case in the same method did not appear to provide distinct information of distinct user profiles which were not encountered by means of the activity circles followed.
- The method of survey became effective in the quantity. In-depth interviews were conducted in their own places, instead of structured questionnaires that might have been delivered in large amounts without having a personal encounter in another research case. It was also necessary to document the interiors via photographing and sketching. This kind of 'invasion' of the private space of home by an 'intruder' is not, justifiably, accepted by all.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRODUCTION OF THE 'PLACE'

3.1 Context

3.1.1 Overview of the 20th Century Modern Housing Production in Ankara

Housing production in the early Republican years was conceived as producing “modern” houses to respond to the housing demand which arouse in the inter-war period.⁵³ While the leading agents in İstanbul represented a general process of importing residential typologies and foreign life styles and then internalizing them, the new capital Ankara manifested itself as the new and pioneer project of the Republic in urban and architectural terms.⁵⁴

Among the most critical phenomena of the century, İnci Aslanoğlu refers to the dramatic effect of the World War II in the housing production in Ankara. She mentions the period of IInd National Architecture (*II. Milli Mimarlık Akımı*) as a reflection of the political discourse of the War years to art and architecture in Ankara⁵⁵ and marks the end of the War as a start to return to the ‘modern’ and defines 1950s as a period that IInd International Architecture (*II. Uluslararası Akım*) dominated the field of architectural

⁵³ Ali Cengizkan (2004; p.29).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ İnci Aslanoğlu (1994; p.227).

production especially in public buildings.⁵⁶ On the other side, the residential architecture of this period is also dominated by urgent housing demand, but different and more from the demand of the newly established capital of the inter-war period mentioned; the main reason of the rise of the population of the city in 1950s is the growing industrialization of agricultural production and the movement of the spare labour to the city center.⁵⁷

In the period of 1942-1962, that Cengizkan (2000) has primarily focused in his PhD dissertation, four groups of housing production agents are identified with reference to İlhan Tekeli; *housing cooperatives, individual developers, mass housing companies and squatter developers*.⁵⁸ In this classification, housing cooperatives seem to dominate the field of housing production of the era to meet the growing demand,⁵⁹ while the earliest attempt in Turkey dates back to 1934.

Bahçeli Evler Yapı Kooperatifi, which was recommended in the Jansen Plan, was founded by high rank public officials in 1934, and proposed low-rise housing units having gardens. The social status of the member profile helped to establish the reliability on the cooperative and also to solve possible financial and bureaucratic problems, hence led to the success of the cooperative.⁶⁰ While it was originally a Western based concept that

⁵⁶ İnci Aslanoğlu (1994; p.236-237).

⁵⁷ İnci Aslanoğlu (1994; p.240).

⁵⁸ Ali Cengizkan (2000; p.76). Because of the fact that the case study proposed in the thesis is an example of housing cooperatives, the other three items mentioned in the classification are out of the concern of the thesis and will not be handled in this text.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ A.Şule Özükren (1996; pp.356-357). A very similar attempt is repeated at the same dates in *Güven Evler Yapı Kooperatifi*. Ref. Ali Cengizkan (2004; p.29).

aimed to gather the limited financial sources of the working class and provide housing for them, the reflection of this organization in Turkish case was, on the contrary, among the high rank officials who aim to produce luxury housing of high quality.⁶¹ After the success of *Bahçeli Evler Yapı Kooperatifi*, cooperative organizations have spread over Ankara and then Turkey, while the housing typology of single housing on each plot, remained similar until 1950s because the smallest unit for individual possession corresponded to a single plot at that time. Dividing the ownership on a single plot was not possible until two main regulations passed into law. The Title Deed Law (*Tapu Kanunu*) in 1954 and Flat Ownership Law (*Kat Mülkiyet Kanunu*) in 1966, marked a new era in the formation of the housing production, that is the rise of the apartment block typology.⁶² The rapid increase of the utilization of this new typology increased in quantity and spread all over the country in a short period of time. In the following decades, it also helped the rise of a new construction market and became the generator of new formations like broad mass housing projects reviving new urban expansions to the city.⁶³

As late extension of the evolution of the housing production, we shall mention gated enclaves which are distinguished as a dominating factor that started to shape the urban fabric of the cities in the last two decades, globally.

Although extensive arguments have been made about the segregative impact of those environments in the social structure of the society, the

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., pp.358-359.

⁶³ Ali Cengizkan (2004; p.32).

prestige and security commitment of its developers is becoming more and more cogent in the contemporary housing market.

Against this speculative discourse is being held to promote gated enclaves on the outskirts of the city, a critical point here is that, whether the equivalent housing environments in the city centers can ever re-structure or re-create itself in order to maintain its livability and hence, its material existence.

Yeşiltepe, in that sense, is observed to have a potential of enclaving itself by physical and social means, as it is already a 'community' designed in the general discourse of the housing cooperatives, which did not only serve to satisfy the demand of housing units, but to provide a modern housing environment in the midst of the century, in Ankara.

3.1.2 Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks: Introduction of the Case

The case study of the thesis is held in Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks in Emek District. The reason of choosing this specific area is based on a number of its contextually distinctive characteristics. Being the first high-rise residential blocks in Ankara, the buildings together with their composition on the site plan, present a remarkable image in the urban memory of the neighborhood. Being the subject of two academic researches,⁶⁴ the development also figures in visual and written media,⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ali Cengizkan (2000), Gülşah Karataş Alimoğulları (2005).

⁶⁵ Nuray Bayraktar (2007), Ahmet Sezen Özsayın (2008).

including a popular comedy movie shot in Ankara in 1974.⁶⁶ (Figure 3.1 - 3.2)

Apart from being a remarkable figure in the societal memory, the development is also observed to maintain its residential sustainability in terms of its physical maintenance, social integrity and administrative mechanisms. An impression of the existence of a dominant amount of the first households or their lineage who replaced them, became a supportive factor of choosing this area to search for the process of accommodating in the framework of the concept; place-making.



Figure 3.1 Visual of the movie



Figure 3.2 Screenshot from the movie

⁶⁶ Köyden İndim Şehire (1974), directed by Ertem Eğilmez, starring the popular actors and actresses of the period; Kemal Sunal, Zeki Alasya, Metin Akpınar, Halit Akçatepe, Mine Mutlu, Perran Kutman, Meral Zeren, Tekin Akmansoy and Leman Çıdamlı. The house of the “rich jeweller” Ali Rıza (Tekin Akmansoy) is an apartment in Yeşiltepe Blocks. The living room, bathroom and a bedroom can be identified in certain sequences of the movie.

The architects of the development are (M.Arch) Demirtaş Kamçıl (?-1981) and (M.Arch) Rahmi Bediz (1914-...). Archival documentation of their professional practice is relatively narrow in scope, although being the authors of notable commercial and residential projects of the second half of the century in Ankara.⁶⁷ Rahmi Bediz is the youngest son of Bahaettin Rahmi Bediz (1875-1951) who is a pioneer figure of Turkish photography. After his graduation from the Academy in 1941, he worked in the construction of *Beyazıt Fen Fakültesi* under the supervision of Prof. Emin Onat and Sedat Hakkı Eldem for seven years and in the construction of the Atatürk Mausoleum, until 1952.⁶⁸ Personal information about Demirtaş Kamçıl is rather limited. Both of them are graduates of *İstanbul Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* and they continued their partnership and friendship for over forty years. After the loss of his partner in 1981, Rahmi Bediz chose to retire after completing the ongoing projects and then he moved to İstanbul. They are referred as being calm, sincere, modest,

⁶⁷ A list of projects of the couple's professional collaboration is declared in Ahmet Sezen Özsayın (2008; p.41):

"Rumeli Han (Ankara-Ziya Gökalp Caddesi), Kalabalık Han (Ankara-Selânik Caddesi), Kuşulu Çarşı ve İşhanı (Ankara-Kavaklıdere), Moda Çarşı ve İşhanı (Ankara-İzmir Caddesi), Onur Çarşı ve İşhanı (Ankara-Demirtepe), Soysal Çarşı ve İşhanı (Ankara-Kızılay), And Apartmanı Çarşısı ve İşhanı (Ankara-Yenişehir), Yeni Konak Mağazaları Binası (Ankara-Bakanlıklar), İsrail Evleri (Ankara-Emek Mahallesi), Yeşiltepe (ve Yıldıztepe) Kooperatifi Blokları (1950 yılı itibarıyla Ankara'nın ilk çok katlı yapıları) (Ankara-Emek Mahallesi), MTA Enstitüsü (Kuruluşundan, 1980 yılına kadarki, Planitoryum-Müze dahil, bütün yapılarının ve vaziyet planının tüm projelendirme hizmetleri ile idari kontrollük işleri olarak) (Ankara-Balgat), TPAO Genel Müdürlük Binası (Ankara-Milli Müdafaa Caddesi), TRT Genel Müdürlük Binası (Ankara-Su Deposu), Arı Sineması-Tiyatrosu ve Apartmanı (Ankara-Bahçelievler), Ors Rulman Fabrikası (Ankara-Eskişehir Yolu 65. km)."

Two other projects are cited in Cengizkan (2000); the concept / implementation plans of *Otuz Evler* (Maliye Vekâleti Otuz Evler Yapı Kooperatifi) dating 1954 belong to Bediz and Kamçıl (p.166), while the plans of *Emek* (Emeksan Memurları Ev Yapı Kooperatifi) dating 1952 belong to Kamçıl only (p.152).

⁶⁸ Seyit Ali Ak (2004; p.118).

respectful and instructive personalities by Ahmet S. Özsayın, a former employee of their office.⁶⁹

3.2 Location, Planimetry and Tectonics

In this section, buildings will be represented in their urban and architectural context, in descending scales. Firstly the location of the site will be discussed in the urban context together with the nearby transportation facilities. Consequently, site plan configuration together with the building patterns and their relations with each other and their neighbourhood, the land division, the configuration of the blocks and their components, and finally, the focal element of research, the major apartment unit will be described.

3.2.1 Site Scale

3.2.1.1 Location and Approach

Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks are located on an appr. 200m x 200m lot in Emek district, Ankara. It lays on the eastern side of the Konya Road, across Ankara Intercity Bus Terminal (AŞTİ). The site is surrounded by 8th Road (*Bişkek Caddesi*) and 10th Road (*Kırım Caddesi*) on eastern and western borders, and 79th Street and 81st Street on northern and southern borders, respectively. (**Figure 3.3**)

⁶⁹ Ahmet Sezen Özsayın (2008; p.41) and the personal interview conducted on 16.07.2008.



Figure 3.3 Location of the development

The location of the site offers privileges in terms of transportation facilities; in both city and intercity scale. Being in a less-than-ten-minute walk-up distance to the intercity bus terminal of the city, the site is also embraced by the innercity rail commuting system (Ankaray) route laying along its western border and connecting AŞTİ to Kızılay and Dikimevi. The two consecutive stations of this subway route, Emek and AŞTİ stations, are in the walk-up distance of the site, hence creating an ease of approaching especially the centrum; Kızılay. The Samsun - Konya highway, besides, carries the load of the north- south transportation of the city, moreover, by its link to Eskişehir Road, it gives the possibility of reaching various districts of the city by means of public transportation and personal vehicles. At the date of construction, the Samsun - Konya highway was recently constructed and the site was almost at the outskirts of the city boundaries., similar to the Emlakbank housing around

Yenimahalle district. High-rise housing legitimized itself once more, as the markers of the city skirts. (Figure 3.4)



Figure 3.4 Photographic view of the settlement's early years, published in 1969.

3.2.1.2 Site Layout and Accessibility

The concept and implementation plans are prepared by (M. Arch) Rahmi Bediz and (M. Arch) Demirtaş Kamçıl, in charge of *Mahdut Mesuliyetli Yeşiltepe Yapı Kooperatifi* in 1955.⁷⁰ Eight three-partite-blocks have been grouped in doubles symmetrically, located at the four corners of the site. At the design phase, the front facades of the blocks were thought to be drawn away 20 meters from three sides of the lot in order to leave

⁷⁰ Ali Cengizkan (2000; p.212).

sufficient parking areas for the inhabitants⁷¹, while the distance left to the western border is appr. %50 longer. On the other hand; the land expropriation carried out by the municipality in order to enlarge 81. Street caused the abrogation of the 5th and 6th Blocks' parking areas and the public green in their front⁷², thus resulting in the current uneven distances of the four block couples to the four sides of the lot.

The placement of the buildings along the sides of the site resulted in a public open area in-between, which enabled the implementation of recreational facilities of the inhabitants of the cooperative. While the earlier site plans intended to provide various types of communal amenities like a casino, a club, a swimming pool⁷³, and a number of sport fields, they were not realized due to the economic inconvenience of the cooperative sources. **(Figure 3.5)**

In the existing situtaion, the lot has a total of seven entrances on four sides; four of them provide the main access to the block couples on the four sides of the lot and among the remaining three, two of them are directed towards the inner green area of Yeşiltepe Blocks from north and south and the last one leads to the parking lots behind Yıldıztepe Blocks. All of the parking areas are preserved by physical barriers to hinder outsiders' use, but the pedestrian access to the garden is not obstructed by any means. Daytime in this garden was observed to be calm and fairly appealing for

⁷¹ Rahmi Bediz, Demirtaş Kamçıl (1969; p.5).

⁷² Ali Cengizkan (2000; p.220).

⁷³ In 1958, the proposal of constructing a swimming pool in the middle of the site had been used as one of the convincing factors against the Board, to remove the S-shaped road passing through the lot, that was previously imposed on the site plan. The removal of the internal road was confirmed, while the construction of the swimming pool had not seem to come into question seriously there after. Ref.; Ali Cengizkan (2000; pp. 212-220).

daily walks and children's play. This appeal and its accessibility tends to effect the neighborhood so that the occupants of this open space does not only consist of the occupants of the blocks.

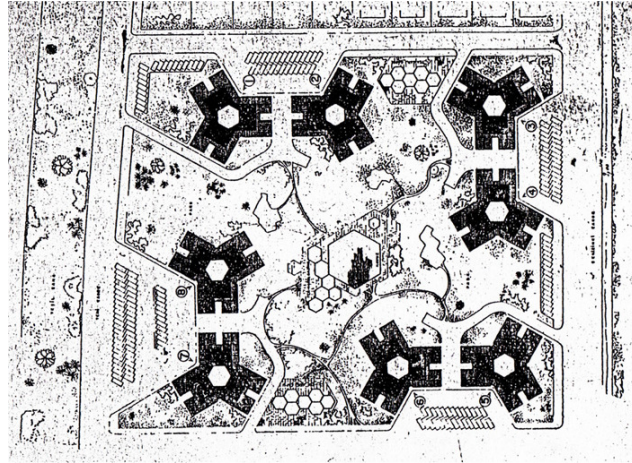


Figure 3.5 Site plan drawing published in 1969. Extra parking lots on the east side and north-west corner are not utilized. Pedestrian entrances towards the garden and landscape arrangements are not coherent with the current situation.

3.2.1.3 Division of the Site; Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe

The striking development resulting the existing situation of the site is that; although the whole of the development on the lot was supposedly labeled as Yeşiltepe Blocks by virtue of the identical architectural entities of the eight blocks, two of them, the 5th and 6th Blocks are exclusive in terms of their management, social and financial issues concerned. These ones are called Yıldıztepe Blocks. This constitutional separation dates back to 1967, when *Yeşiltepe Kooperatifi* faced financial problems to complete the construction of the development. After the first four blocks were finished and the apartments conceded to their tenants, the cooperative

administration has decided to sell $\frac{1}{4}$ of the land including these two blocks, to *Yıldıztepe Kooperatifi* and complete the construction of the 7th and 8th blocks by the fund acquired from this disposal. The territories of these two cooperatives were marked with wire fencing, thus no physical access among them is possible. Because of the adjacency of the 5th and 6th blocks to the street and their lack of parking area in the front, as mentioned before, *Yıldıztepe Kooperatifi* uses its rear garden for the parking area and the playground. Consequently, we can assert that the garden in the middle of the lot is used only by the remaining six blocks that belong to *Yeşiltepe Kooperatifi*. (Figure 3.6)

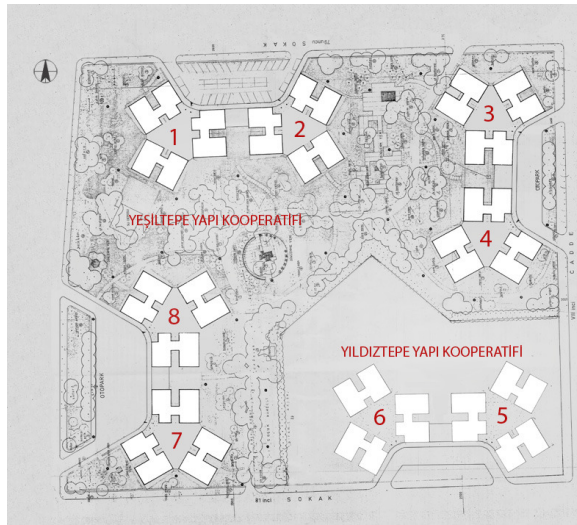


Figure 3.6 Site plan



Figure 3.7 View from the garden

3.2.2 Building Scale

The three-partite blocks are 10 storeys high from the ground level. Each storey comprises of six apartments whose entrance doors are facing the

circulation balconies surrounding a hexagonal gallery space in the center. This gallery space is not enclosed by a roof above, therefore it is subjected to the atmospheric conditions like rain or snow, where the circulation balconies around the gallery space are relatively protected by the slabs above each.

On the storeys below the ground level, there are smaller apartment units and technical rooms. Besides the fifty-eight apartments above the ground level having the typical plan, two apartments adjacent to the main entrances have smaller living rooms to provide the width desired for the entrance doors of the main entrance and the security cabin in-between. **(Figure 3.8)** Among a total of four plan types in the whole block, the focus of the study has been the major typical flats, fifty-eight units on each block, to observe and compare the alterations. **(Figure 3.9)**

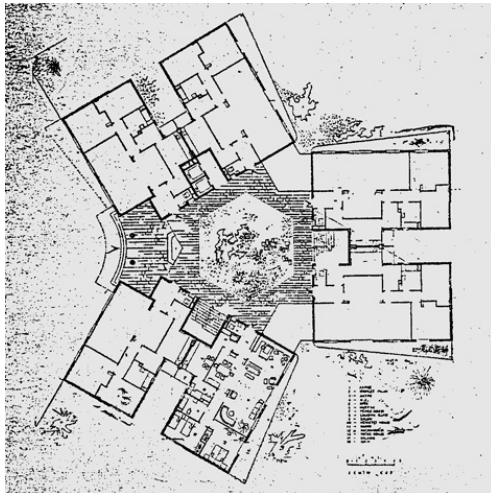


Figure 3.8 Ground floor plan

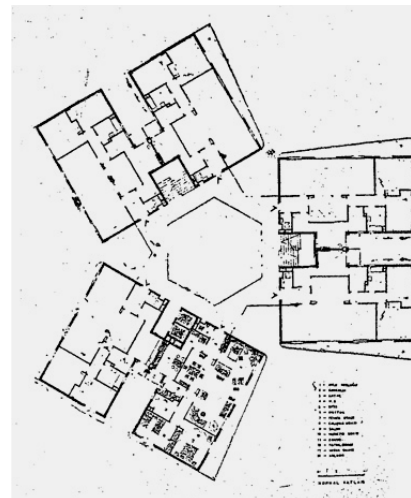


Figure 3.9 Typical floor plan

The forms of the blocks and the way they are located on the site offers a variety of approach to the blocks from different sides. This variation enables to zone the occupant profile; the main block entrances lead to the major typical flats while the rear entrances offer independent access to the smaller apartments on the garden level. These apartments are occasionally excused to be used for other than residential purposes, such as the formerly existent PTT Office⁷⁴ or the still present hairdressing saloon on the basement of 3rd block.



Figure 3.10 View from the interior



Figure 3.11 View from the interior

Roof terrace is designed with a setback storey, to be used as play-rooms for the common benefit of the inhabitants, however this intention of the designers had not been fulfilled by the administrative mechanisms of the cooperative since the early years of their construction. The adversity of control and ambiguity of authority on a common space on the roof level, together with the maintenance expenses and the problem of noise control,

⁷⁴ Mahdut Mes'uliyetli Yeşiltepe Yapı Kooperatifi 1966 yılı Çalışma Raporu. (1967; p.6).

mentioned in the interviews, resulted in today's occupation of these rooms; that is being rental depots for the tenants. (Figure 3.12)

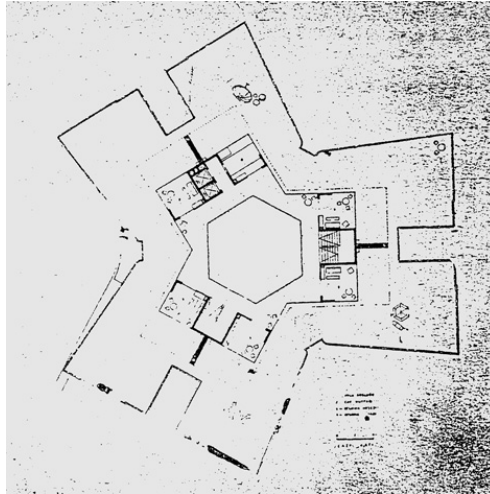


Figure 3.12 Terrace floor plan

The vertical circulation is accommodated by two staircases and twin elevators on each block. Garbage chutes are utilized next to the elevators but they are out of use for over than ten years because of hygenic concerns.

The construction system of the buildings is reinforced concrete skeleton with brick infill. Double windows and central heating systems are utilized. The construction and finishing materials, except the imported ceramic tiles which were highly appraised by the interviewees, were acquired by the Cooperative from territorial manufacturers.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Ali Cengizkan (2000; p.216).

3.2.3 Apartment Unit Scale

Every two attached apartment units on a floor are executed in a symmetrical fashion adjacent on a single wall. This couple with the circulation core between, composes one partite of the three, on each block. A typical apartment unit comprises of two bedrooms, a T-shaped living room, a bathroom, a WC and a kitchen. Two spaces adjacent to the kitchen on each side can be considered as transitional zones that constitute an alternative circulation route together with the kitchen space between the entrance and the bedroom zone. (Figure 3.13 - 3.14)

The construction area share of each apartment is ~175 m² while ~133 m² of that is spared for the flat and the rest for the balconies and share of the circulation balconies around the gallery space including the elevators and the staircases.⁷⁶ (Table 3.1)

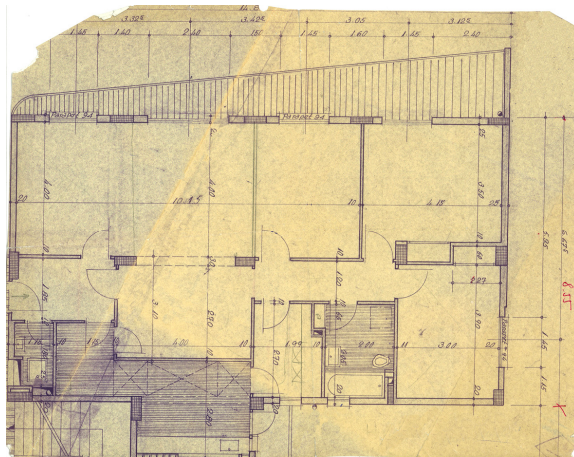


Table 3.1 Unit areas of a typical apartment

1	ENTRANCE HALL	5,60 m ²
2	LIVING ROOM	52,29 m ²
3	HALL	4,92 m ²
4	MASTER BEDROOM	15,88 m ²
5	BEDROOM	12,38 m ²
6	BATHROOM	5,43 m ²
7	STORAGE	5,15 m ²
8	KITCHEN	9,87 m ²
9	OFFICE / DEPOT	3,59 m ²
10	WC	2,07 m ²

NET APARTMENT AREA : 117,18 m²

11	BALCONY	~18 m ²
12	SERVICE BALCONY	~2 m ²

BALCONIES : ~20 m²

GROSS APARTMENT AREA : ~133 m²

BALCONIES : ~20 m²

COMMON AREA SHARE : ~22 m²

BUILDING AREA SHARE : ~175 m²

3.2.4 Architectural Diversities in the Making of the Blocks

The disposal of the two blocks to *Yıldıztepe Yapı Kooperatifi* happened after a certain phase of construction, in 1967. The rough work of the two blocks that were sold, was finished. A certain amount of interior appliances remaining from the Yeşiltepe Blocks were also available to be implemented while some other finishing materials and appliances were acquired by the new cooperative. Apart from these minor differences concerning the material types and qualities, and some details concerning mechanical and electrical installations, the major notion differentiating the apartment units of Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks is a single but important intervention to the interior layout.

The original design of the T-shaped living room provides two additional doors on two wings to enable a potential division regarding the needs of the households. In the first four blocks completed by *Yeşiltepe Yapı Kooperatifi*, the apartments were delivered to their tenants with their original T-shaped living rooms, while after the delivery, some of the tenants decided to divide one wing of the T-shaped space by a non-constructional separator; i.e., a bookcase unit or a plasterboard, to provide an additional bedroom or an office. However, the administration of *Yıldıztepe Yapı Kooperatifi* decided to construct this separator as a permanent brick wall, and deliver them to their tenants as 3-bedroom-apartments in the first hand.



Figure 3.15 View of the interior gallery space and the decorative pool of 5th Block, Yıldıztepe Blocks

Block halls of the two cooperatives also differ in terms of material and design implementations. While the entrance halls of *Yeşiltepe Blocks* were

designed with patterned mosaic surfaces with floor drains in the middle, there are differentiative decorative pools in Yıldıztepe Blocks which also serve for the function of drainage. It is observed by the author that, there is a recognizable difference in the two cooperative's concerns of maintaining the original details and materials of the buildings' common spaces; *Yıldıztepe Yapı Kooperatifi* can be cited as more attentive in this respect. **(Figure 3.15)**

3.3 Planimetric and Tectonic Analysis

The architectural design of Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks is noteworthy in many terms. Before inserting the human variable into the problem, which will be the case in the next chapter, the striking notions about the architectural production of the buildings which filter through the tectonic descriptions and professional remarks made above, have to be framed. This analysis is structured in three subheadings designating three scales of the project; starting from the site scale and gradually focusing on the unit scale of the research; the apartment.

3.3.1 Site Scale

The site plan configuration can be abstracted in terms of concentric square-like zones. The outmost band zone serve for the inner square of building zones, with parking lots and entrance areas. Inside this strong physical and visual territory of buildings there is the garden, a recreational space that was formerly proposed to be assisted with functions like

swimming pool and a casino, but realized in an arrangement of green landscape, walking paths and playgrounds.

3.3.1.1 Built-up Ratio and Green Area

Built – up ratio of the site is (2) and as the development is comprised of high-rise blocks, the trace of built area on an approximately 40.000m² lot is remarkably low in comparison to the urban housing fabric in the neighbourhood in Emek District now. **(Figure 3.16)** In 1955, the city plan author Nihat Yücel had also complimented this specific notion of the site plan as “will increase the urban aesthetic quality and add to total green area”.⁷⁷

3.3.1.2 Design Intentionality to Maintain Privacy and Spaciousness

Although we are not knowledgeable about the employers’ requirements and expectations manifested to Bediz and Kamçıl in the designing process of the site, we understand from architects’ article published in *Arkitekt* that visual spaciousness and privacy among apartments across the blocks are intended.⁷⁸ None of the apartments in the site see eachother directly across the garden because of the location of the blocks along the sides of the lot, angles of the block partites and the distance between them. While the

⁷⁷ Ali Cengizkan (2000; pp.212,213).

⁷⁸ “Üçlü yıldız şeklindeki bloklar ikişer ikişer örgütlenecek arsa orta kısmında büyük bir yeşil saha bırakacak bir doku halinde arsa kenarlarına serpilmiş olup rüyet ferahlığı ve birbirini görmeyen daireler elde edilmesi sağlanmıştır.” Rahmi Bediz, Demirtaş Kamçıl (1969; p.5).

balconies lying along the longitudinal facades of the apartments act as buffer zones softening the direct transition of the private space of the dwelling to the public space outside, the green landscape grown up to the altitude of 6th floor level in the garden also effects the visual relationship of the apartments across the site. (**Figure 3.17**)



Figure 3.16 Approx. 1 km² vicinity in Emek District. The diagram clearly delineates the unique presence of Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe in their green-emphasized outdoor environments.

3.3.2 Building Scale

The descriptive formal elements of the blocks, the ‘three arms’, constituting of two apartment units each and a circulation core, are settled in 120° radial angle leaving a triangular space in between. The block halls

are encapsulated further inside this triangle so that the individuality of the arms is emphasized and visual contact of the block halls to the exterior space could be possible through glass facades left between the arms.



Figure 3.17 View towards north-west from 4th floor level of 5th Block

The balconies along the whole length of the apartments are designed in an angular fashion, widening from the center to the ends of the arms, hence crossing along the apartment units facing one another is hindered by the narrow ends. Another function of the presence of these balconies is to act like a buffer among the overlooking rooms of the two apartment units facing each other. This functional secondary angle produced by the balconies constitutes one of the characteristic features of the facades. The overall strong form of the building is balanced with bare exterior surfaces and this evasion of superficial decoration helps to strengthen the “modern” image of the design.

The inner gallery space shall be remarked as one of the most striking and distinct design features of the buildings, that suggests an interior peripheral facade exposed to outdoor atmospheric conditions. By this approach, the entrances of the apartment units gain a sheltered exterior facade characteristic; moreover, a place configuration that re-treats the concepts of hall, neighbourhood, public space and territory, is being succinctly suggested.

The tectonical analysis in the building scale aims to revive a number of dimensions framed around this characteristic feature of the architectural configuration of the blocks; the gallery space. Physical, sensorial, psychological and territorial aspects will be discussed in relation under three topics.

3.3.2.1 Daylight, Natural Ventilation and Circulation Routes

The form and the configuration of the block halls offer sensorial and physical potentialities, in terms of light, fresh air and movement.

The open gallery space provides daylight in the block halls through the day. The luminousness of the spacious entrance court and the balconies on the upper levels effects the visitor substantially. Because of the diverse directions of the apartments, certain ones gain direct sunlight in various hours of the day and their balconies become undesirable to have fresh air because of the lack of shade. In these cases, the block halls become the shaded alternative especially for the elderly, who have difficulty to go elsewhere. **(Figure 3.18)**

The air quality of the gallery space is also effective to ventilate the apartments. The section of the blocks helps to operate natural ventilation principles; apart from the widely used “global cross ventilation” method which uses the wind to ventilate the space through the openings on opposite sides, “global stack ventilation” principle also operates through the gallery void inducing the airflow upwards and then outside.⁷⁹ **(Figure 3.19 – 3.20)** It is commonly mentioned by the interviewees that they prefer to open their entrance doors to ventilate their apartment and remove contaminants or unwanted food odors, in a rather short time. This, at the same time, prevents the visitor to perceive a permanent “apartment block hall odor”, as called by the interviewees, that is produced by dozens of cooking job taking place in the blocks, especially at meal times.



Figure 3.18 A momentary example of the sunlight condition at the block halls

⁷⁹ Steven J. Emmerich, et al. (2001; p.4).

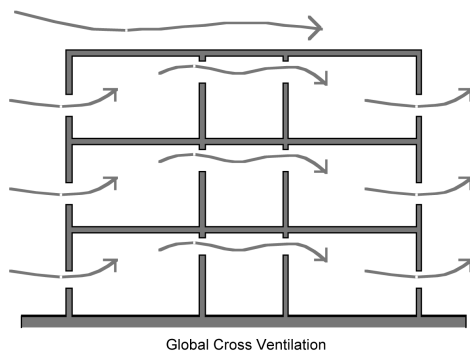


Figure 3.19 Global cross ventilation

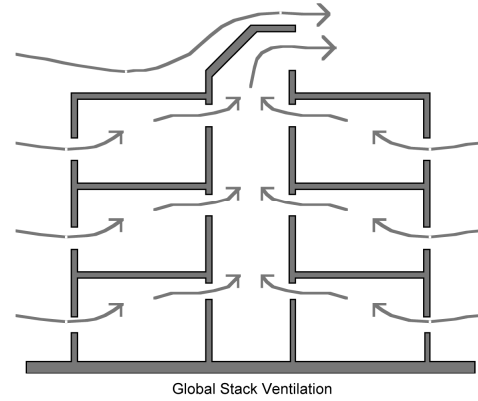


Figure 3.20 Global stack ventilation

The round form of the halls offer approximately 44 meters of circulation route around the gallery space. This area is observed to be useful for the elderly to have daily walking exercise and for the little children to play and ride their bicycles without going outside the building.

3.3.2.2 Being an Intruder; Semi-private Space and the Power of Observing

Uğur Tanyeli states that domestic space is structured by the society's notion of privacy and comfort. Daily practices are performed in these specific spaces as these spaces suggest, hence, one can read the limits of society's discomfort or violation of privacy from the practice of the housing production performed.⁸⁰ Although this interpretation has been stated considering the interior network of the domestic space, it can be thought-provoking in order to understand the dwelling's relationship with its nearby environment in the urban context, because the boundaries

⁸⁰ Uğur Tanyeli (2001; p.291).

of public and private in the residential territory can also be re-interpreted and re-defined by means of architecture.

“Gated communities”, a focal term that has been a matter of interdisciplinary discuss especially since 1990s, can be evaluated in this framework. Tansı Şenyapılı argues that, although various emphasis could be made on life-style or prestige concepts, gated communities are based on the concern of security.⁸¹ Namely, as one speaks of privacy and comfort as structuring notions of dwelling production, crime, a dramatized condition of any attack against them, is to be defended -in this case by physical barriers like gates- and thus, fear of crime shall be evaluated as an agent in this structuring process.

While gated communities tend to develop towards suburban districts of the cities, the residential environments remained in the city center inevitably has to search for ways of appropriating its methods of providing the untroubled and secure environment desired by its inhabitants, in order to maintain its permanence.

Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks, as exemplary cases of this inner-city residential environments, are applying administrative and technological methods to provide security of the blocks only, while the borders of the site give access to the interior on certain sides without any means of visitor verification. The administrative method mentioned above, is the employment of doorkeepers and night watchmen in and around the blocks while the technological one is the installation of entryphone

⁸¹ Tansı Şenyapılı (2003; p.58).

systems on the block entrances, so that the verification of the intruder by the host of its destination could be provided. This protection provided on the block entrances, revives particular interrelated conceptual expansions which will be discussed in further detail below.

Firstly, we shall focus on the re-definition of attributes of the space left behind the doors; the block halls. It is inevitable that, imploing a filter, of which's permeability is a determinant, between two successive spaces contributes to the differentiation of the content of them, supposed that there is a flow in between. In this case, we can assert that providing a security mechanism on the physical gates of the blocks will alter the attributes of "in" and "out", re-define them in terms of content and quality. The permeability of the gates can be thought as in reverse relation with the privacy of the interior, such that a buffer zone of a "semi-private" space between the "private" (dwelling unit) and the public (exterior space) could be portrayed.

This physical condition also effects the user's understanding of the space. The foreknowledge or the assumption of the "decontaminated content", that is an environment free of outsiders, leaves a mark in the user's imagery and as a result of this, an accidental confrontation against him/her could be substantially stimulant in this semi-privatized space compared with a fully accessible public space. This stimulancy is a key notion that the outsider somehow starts to be constructed mentally as an intruder, mutually in this confrontation.

At this point, an important remark shall be made that, this participation of user observation constitutes the third dimension of maintaining the self-security, after the administrative and technological mechanisms mentioned before. A number of attributes in this manner have been expressed during the interviews, moreover the personal experience of the author during the visits regarding the research, contributed to observe and manifest this behavioral pattern more clearly.

...You can see twelve apartments together when a door is opened. Can you imagine, people can watch for each other from the opposite when a door is opened from one side. It catches your eyes. For instance, because we are veterans [here], especially my husband, retired, at home, sits in front of the door in the summertime, notices an outsider coming in, stands up and asks: 'who are you looking for?'... We have a sense of protection, when we see an unfamiliar face...⁸²

Following the expression of the tenants, as personally being an "intruder" in this semi-private space of the blocks, we can argue that this observability notion effects the observed strongly, in every step taken inside. A requirement of being clear and reliable governs the behaviour of the intruder strongly to avoid any problem regarding the concern of the security of the apartments. Although we can assume that this notion can as well be existent in any enclosed environment, the geometry and configuration of our concerned block halls suggest architectural contribution to this visual and sensual mechanism. This dimension of the subject draws a parallel with Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*, which illustrates the power of observing.

⁸² "Şimdi bir kapı açıldığında on iki dairenin birden kapısını görebiliyorsun. E düşünebiliyor musun bir taraftan kapı açıldı, karşı hizadan insanlar birbirlerini kollayabiliyor. Gözün çarpıyor. Yani mesela bizler eski olduğumuz için, bilhassa mesela benim eşim, emekli, evde, kapının önünde yazın oturur mesela, yabancı birinin geldiğini farkeder ve kalkar, 'kimi arıyorsunuz?' der. Sahiplenme duygumuz vardır, yabancı bir yüz gördüğümüzde..." H10-55, personal interview on 26.04.08, translated by the author.

“The apparatus”, as Jacques-Alain Miller calls Panopticon, is an architectural design proposal:

The apparatus is a building. It is circular. There are cells around the circumference, on each floor. In the center, a tower. Between the center and the circumference is a neutral, intermediate zone. Each cell has a window to the outside, so constructed that air and light can enter, but the view outside is blocked; each cell also has a grilled door that opens toward the inside so that air and light can circulate to the central core. The cells can be viewed from the rooms in the central tower, but a system of shutters prevents those rooms or their inhabitants from being seen from the cells. The building is surrounded by an annular wall. Between this wall and the building there is a walkway for sentries. There is only one entrance or exit to the building or through the outer wall. The building is completely closed.⁸³

Panopticon was a principle building design; an optical apparatus of surveillance which provides the ultimate observability of the individuals in the units but conceals the existence of the observer in the tower by optical means. Although generally identified with prisons, it can also be adapted to other types of buildings necessitating a certain degree of surveillance; hospitals, schools, workhouses or factories.⁸⁴ **(Figure 3.21)**

Michel Foucault, in his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (*Surveiller et Punir*), handles this design elaborately and discusses “disciplinary mechanisms”⁸⁵ within the framework of Panopticon’s design principles. Although the perspective of his work is not in the scope of this study, some specific notions about his resolutions would be illustrative in understanding the panoptic quality that we aim to assert about the block halls.

⁸³ Jacques-Alain Miller, Richard Miller (1987; p.3).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Michel Foucault (1979; p.197).

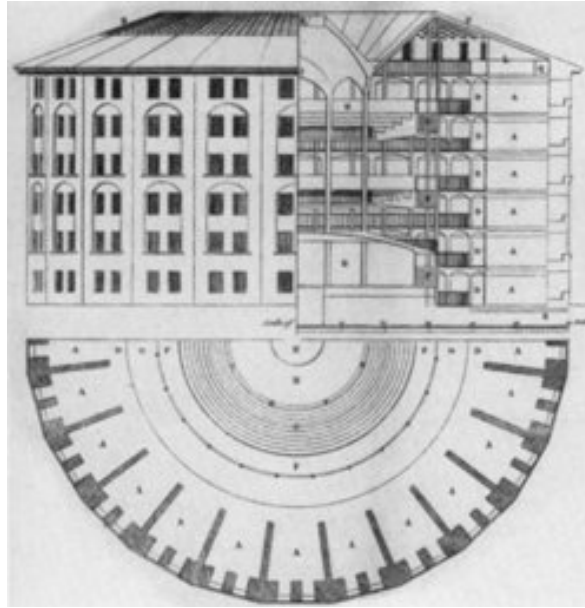


Figure 3.21 Section, elevation and half-plan of Panopticon

Foucault argues that each individual who falls into the trap of visibility is the object of information.⁸⁶ He relates the permanent visibility to the control of power and defines the Panopticon's major effect, as follows:

...induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers.⁸⁷

Foucault clarifies this statement with the two main attributes of power according to Bentham:

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.200.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.201.

Visible: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon. Unverifiable: the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at at any one moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so.⁸⁸

Then, due to the unverifiability of the power but the permanent awareness of its existence, the Panopticon might be operated by any person any time without losing its impact on the individual:

It is an important mechanism, for it automatizes and disindividualizes power. Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up.⁸⁹

The power in the case of the thesis, could correspond to the corporate body of the inhabitants in anonymity who have the right to protect their privacy in the residential environment concerned; the blocks halls. The resemblance of the round geometry helps us to establish an analogy of visibility. We mentioned that, in Panopticon, none of the inmates in the cells can get out of the visible zone of the observer who was assumed to be in the central tower. While in our case, the mechanism operates in opposite direction. There is no central observation tower that represents the power, but here the power is a collective body distributed around the hexagonal geometry, in every six apartments, through every door's peephole viewers. A decent assumption of 120 angle of visual cone of every peephole viewer, gives no chance to find a blind spot in the halls, even the landings of the staircases, where no one can see what you are doing. **(Figure 3.22)** The intruder's awareness of a possible observer and the unverifiability of him/her is accommodated successfully, while the

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.201.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.202.

unpredictability of a physical appearance of power does not damage, on the contrary contributes to its effect.

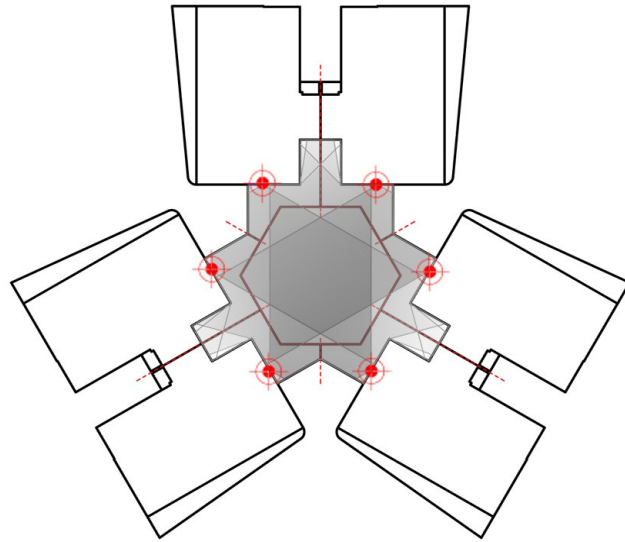


Figure 3.22 Illustration of visual cones of door peephole viewers at the blocks.

There is no doubt that this panoptic quality serves for the benefit of the users, and it may well be assumed that it helps to absorb possible security weaknesses.

This issue is strongly related to “Defensible Space Theory” coined by architect and city planner Oscar Newman, in his pioneering book *Defensible Space*, published in 1972, and in his numerous publishings for over twenty five years since then. He states that Defensible Space (DS) is based on “self help” and invokes “resident involvement to reduce crime and remove the presence of criminals”:

All Defensible Space programs have a common purpose: They restructure the physical layout of communities to allow residents to control the areas around their homes. This includes the streets and

grounds outside their buildings and the lobbies and corridors within them. The programs help people preserve those areas in which they can realize their commonly held values and lifestyles.⁹⁰

In this framework, the block hall in the case of the thesis can be defined as a DS as it involves a functioning mechanism of self-control of the residents to identify and eliminate possible threats. Moreover, a recent research has shown that there is a link between DS and the territorial appropriation of residents, which will be examined in the following section:

The major goal of this study was to examine whether the extent to which residents defend and in other ways appropriate near-home space was related to outcomes predicted by DS theory. Consistent with hypotheses, public housing residents who defended near-home space through territorial appropriation experienced the neighborhood as a safer place and as a more cohesive community than did residents who did not appropriate space in this way.⁹¹

3.3.2.3 Claim of the Environment; Personalization of Door - Fronts

In their article related to the Dutch window decorations, Hilje van der Horst and Jantine Messing defines the streetside of the house as a boundary and states that:

The front of the house functions as a border between the public and the private sphere. Different people have different customs in dealing with this area. Whereas some use it as a “front-stage,” on which they present themselves to the outside world, others block their windows with curtains or devote little attention to creating an attractive image. The practices of older Dutch inhabitants, rich decoration, and open curtains, are guided by social norms on tidiness and gender roles. The confrontation with other customs, often link to other ethnic groups, is considered an intrusion in a space they consider to be theirs. Partly as a consequence of this, they are also retreating into their private sphere, reflected in changed practices at the fronts of their houses.⁹²

⁹⁰ Oscar Newman (1996; p.9)

⁹¹ Liesette Brunson [et al.] (2001; p.641).

⁹² Hilje van der Horst, Jantine Messing (2006; pp.21-22).

There are parallel and unparallel dimensions of their definition and our case of block halls. Firstly, we shall state that the visual depth suggested by open or closed condition of the windows facing exterior space are not the case in entrance doors of apartment units facing block halls. But still, the customs and decoration practices held by the inhabitants in Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe suggest and support this idea of providing a “front-stage” as mentioned above. The difference here is that, the borderline drawn in Dutch case is that between public and private, thus no articulation performed by the inhabitant overflows physically to the exterior space. The relationship is constituted on being visually attractive, inviting and decorative. While in our case, the private sphere is still hidden behind solid doors but regarding our definition of the block halls as semi-private spaces, some of the inhabitants are observed that they do not hesitate to claim the environment physically in certain circumstances, like placing flowerpots or making small sitting arrangements of a table and a couple of chairs. In some cases this invaded area of user occupation can almost correspond to ~175 m² of building area share of each apartment unit on the floor plan.

An important point here has to be made that, the effect of this claim, on the place articulation of the halls may differentiate and increase in variety, in different blocks according to developed common space understandings, social interactions among the neighbours, occupant profiles or any unverifiable factor that might have been effective in the process of accommodating. A personal observation of the author is that, making a generalization about the occupancy of the halls of eight blocks would not be possible because of the diversities perceived but two momentary

documentation made in 5th and 6th Blocks can be suggestive in sensing the existence of certain unverified dynamics.

This documentation is simply based on the counts of the occupancy of door fronts on 26.04.2008 and it traces the existence of flowerpots and sitting arrangements. In 5th Block, out of sixty apartments above ground level, seventeen of them (%28.3) seemed to locate tables and chairs in front of their doors and 35 door fronts with flowerpots (%58.3) were counted. While in 6th block, only two households (%3.3) seemed to have tables and chairs and twenty six (%43.3) flowerpots.⁹³ (**Figure 3.23 – 3.24**)



Figure 3.23 – 3.24 Examples of block hall occupancies of the inhabitants.

3.3.3 Apartment Unit Scale

The major type unit apartment layout of Yeşiltepe Blocks defines twelve interrelated and decomposable volumes. In the original sketch drawing of

⁹³ This “hidden” trial is not utilized in eight blocks to avoid apprehension of possibly encountered inhabitants.

the architects Bediz and Kamçıl (**Figure 3.25**), these volumes correspond to; 1. Entrance Hall (*Antre Holü*), 2-a. Study and Reception room (*Çalışma ve Kabul Odası*), 2-b. Living Room (*Salon*), 2-c. Living Room (*Oturma Odası*), 2-d. Dining Room (*Yemek Salonu*), 3. Corridor (*Koridor*), 4. Master Bedroom (*Ebeveyn Yatak Odası*), 5. Bedroom (*Çocuk Yatak Odası*), 6. Bathroom (*Banyo*), 7. Storage (*Depo*), 8. Kitchen (*Mutfak*), 9. Office/Depot (*Ofis*), 10. Lavatory, WC (*WC*), 11. Balcony, 12. Service Balcony (*Servis Balkonu*).⁹⁴ (**Figure 3.26**)

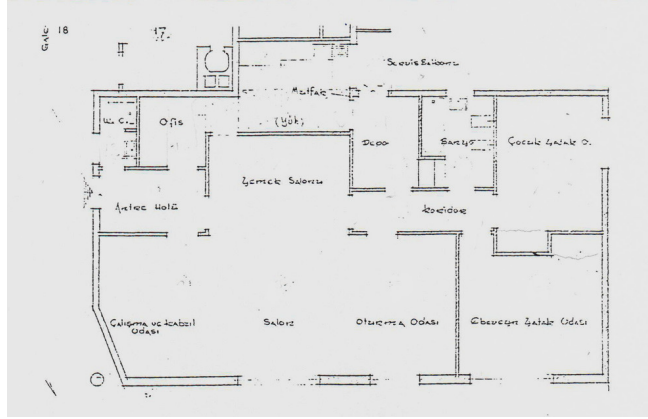


Figure 3.25 Sketch drawing of Bediz and Kamçıl

In this general layout and room definitions proposed by the architects, the wet spaces (6,8,10), the circulation areas (1,3), the balcony (11) and the two bedrooms (4,5) are observed to show consistency with the proposed functions in terms of their general occupancies. From this point of view, we can say that these spaces provide static functions that are more or less defined by means of their *i*) spatial configuration; size, shape, location and

⁹⁴ Ali Cengizkan (2000; pp.215-217).

accessibility of the space, *ii*) material and mechanical installations; floor and wall finishings, plumbing, etc.

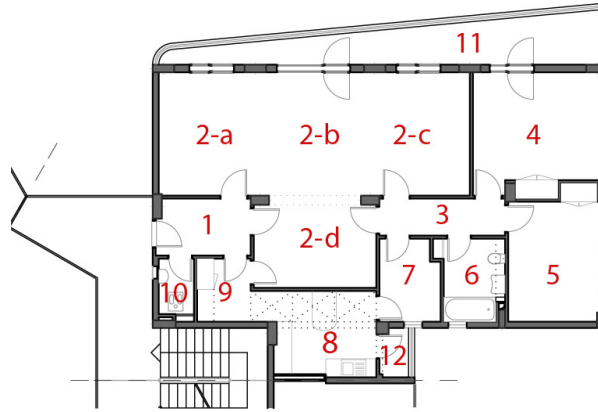


Figure 3.26 Key plan of the unit apartment

The remaining spaces, numbered as 2(a-b-c-d), 7, 9 and 12, demonstrate variations in terms of functional attributes and accessibility, and present diversity with each other and the proposals of the architects. The Space no.2, *salon*, includes four differentiable zones (a-b-c-d) that is clued in the design by the utilization of extra doors on two sides. Space no.7 is a small room with a small bottom-hung window, and it is a part of the alternative circulation route introduced through kitchen space. Space no.9, cited as *ofis* in the architects' sketch drawing, may refer to 'office' in English, as well as 'storage' or 'depot', which used to be a meaning attributed to *ofis* in 1950's Turkish. The current usage of the space is observed that it corresponds to the second attribution mentioned; it is generally used as an extension of the kitchen for storage and for placing the refrigerator. Space no.12 is originally the service balcony but it shall also be conceived as an

extension of the kitchen space because of its convenience to be added to the interior space via the closure of a single and narrow facade.

Here, the character of the plan layout will be discussed in terms of its 'flexibility', owing to its sensible configuration that enables user interpretation, in a mass construction of 464 (58x8) major-type apartments. It shall be recalled here that this variability is intended by the architects to a certain extent.⁹⁵ This envisioning as a contribution of the designers is also appreciated by the inhabitants today, regarding their process of accommodation in the dwellings for more than forty years.⁹⁶

The 'flexibility' and 'adaptability' of domestic space is a matter of discussion in academic medium, as mentioned in the previous section. Friederike Schneider mentions this contradiction of the changing family needs to the mass construction of housing and addresses the flexibility of the floor plan layout as the solution:

The constantly changing family situation (size, composition) and the increasing differentiation of housing needs are contradicted by the need for rationalization and standardization in the mass construction of the housing. The favored solution should be conversion within the existing floor plan rather than a move to another apartment.⁹⁷

In our case, the flexibility and adaptability of the layout manifests itself not only in terms of functional attributions of the volumes but also in the

⁹⁵ "Daire planı tek tip olarak yapıldığından, plan tertibinde her aileye uygun hale gelebilecek imkan aranmış ve salon planı T harfi şeklinde yapılarak 3'e bölünebilmesi için tertibat alınmış, böylece mevcut iki adet yatak odasından fazla yatak odası isteyen ailelerin ihtiyacına cevap verilmiştir." Rahmi Bediz, Demirtaş Kamçıl (1969; pp.6-7).

⁹⁶ "Çok iyi düşünülmüş, kim yaptıysa ellerine sağlık." H11-56, personal interview on 26.04.2008.

⁹⁷ Friederike Schneider (1994; p.XII).

accessibility of them and the potential circulation network created between.

The accessibility of the volumes from more than one direction contributes to the adaptability of articulating the occupied and passed-through space, simply through opening and closing certain doors. This approach tends to create alternative circulation routes in the apartment, regarding various choices of the household like his/her lifestyle, concern of privacy or decorative habits.

The strongest support for this circulation network comes from the successive location of the spaces numbered 7,8 and 9, which constitutes one of the most distinctive notion of the layout that effects the daily routine of the households and accordingly is strongly remarked by them. Almost all of the interviewees praised this opportunity of using this alternative route between the entrance hall and the bedroom zone, without transpassing through living room. These patterns of alternative movement helps to create function, time or privacy based zoning of the domestic space occasionally without ever making a physical intervention other than closing certain doors. The fluidity of space is supported by technical media besides the architectural layout; double switches are installed on the route of movement through each volume.

As the topological diagrams of the unit plans illustrate, spatial configuration of the apartments provide multiple nodes in circulation, and multiple thresholds and buffer zones in space qualities. The topological diagram of Yeşiltepe in case (I) show the full network provided by the

original plan, while the case in (II) the results of the constructional intervention to the relationships of the spaces in Yıldıztepe can be followed. Case (III) shows the topological diagrams of two contemporary examples in Ankara; (A) 4+1 typical plan from TOKİ Turkuaz Vadisi Konutları and (B) 3+1 typical flat from Park Vadi Evleri, which, beside the diversity of their costs and objectives, similarly imploy a stereotypical contemporary plan layout, proposing a single direction of movement and double noded circulation spine together with attached one-sided rooms of equivalent space qualities. (**Figure 3.27**)

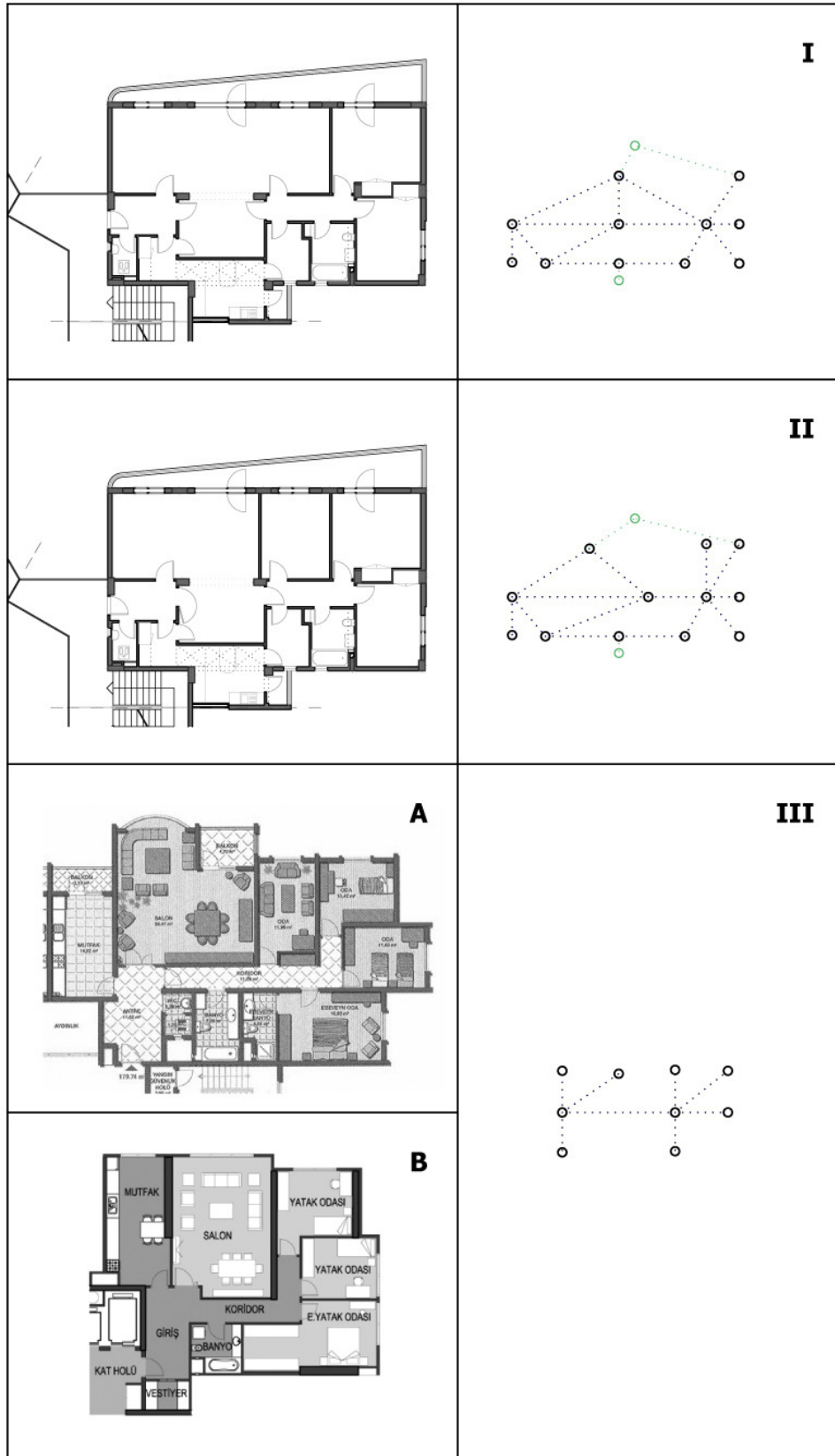


Figure 3.27 Chart illustrating the topological diagrams of Yeşiltepe Blocks (I), Yıldıztepe Blocks (II), and two contemporary examples (III).

CHAPTER 4

THE OWNERS OF THE 'PLACE'

This chapter aims to depict the 'place' notion of Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe Blocks), as reflected from the own words of its users, in this case, the owners themselves. This depiction includes place-specific memories and narratives of the interviewees as well as the forementioned research themes as a basis of our evaluation of the domestic space; but this time, in relation to the conceptual fact that home is a place and it shall also be discussed with its place-specific notions.

As mentioned in the methodology section before, the identities of the interviewees are coded as H(n)-(a), and their apartment as A(n), such that H is the abbreviation of "household", A is the abbreviation of "apartment", (a) is the age of the interviewee and (n) is the number designated to that household and his/her apartment, while B1, B2, etc. refer to the numbering of the blocks.

The chapter is structured through certain themes derived from the quotations from the interviews, which are all transcribed and translated into English by the author. The interview questions can be seen in Appendix A, the plan layouts of the concerned twelve apartments can be observed in detail in Appendix B, and in Appendix C, the original transcriptions of the quoted interviews can be followed in the same

order used in the text. The horizontal and vertical distribution of the case sample in the settlement and the directions of the apartments are shown in **Figure 4.1**. As observed from the illustration, four cases, A8, A9, A10 and A11 are selected from Yıldıztepe Blocks (B5 and B6) and the rest of eight from Yeşiltepe Blocks. The altitudes of the selected apartments show a variety among 4th and 9th floor levels, and more diversity is observed in the directionalities of the lengthy facade.

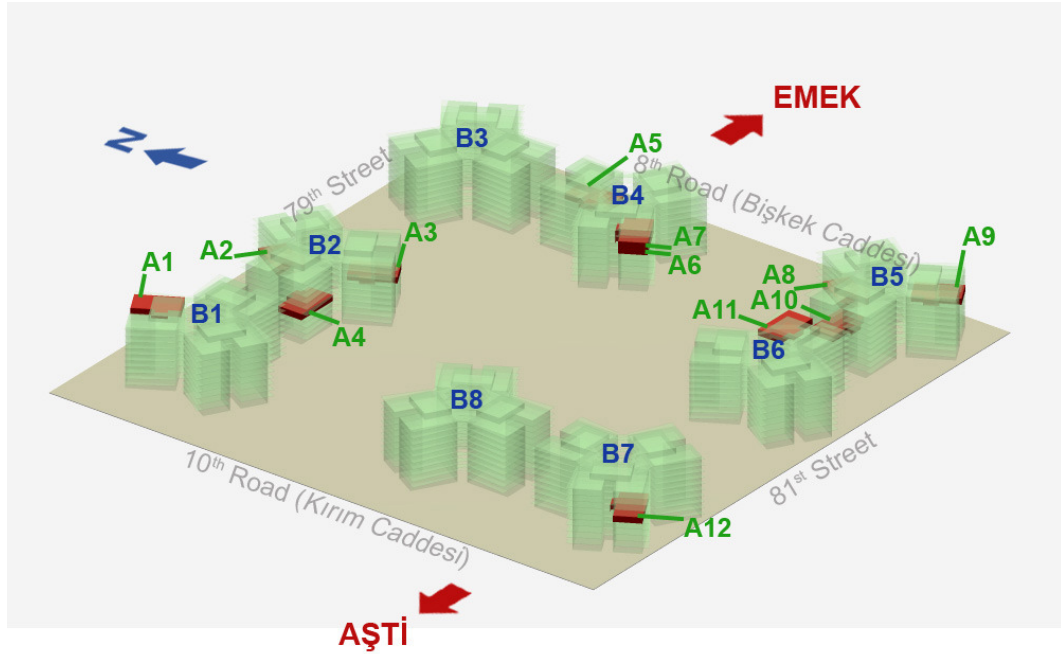


Figure 4.1 3-D illustration of the distribution of the apartments in the settlement

None of the outcomes of the cited interviews claim to propose a generalization regarding the whole of the settlement, while the thesis asserts that they propose thought-provoking projections both in the context of the case and the academic literature on housing research. It

shall also be stated that the thesis deliberately avoids to propose general sociological inferences from the selected quotations, but aims to introduce the existence of certain circumstances and relationships at least in the scale of the selected case sample.

4.1 Physical Space and Location; Being There or Somewhere Else

The evaluation of the households had a major emphasis on the physical attributes of the space. Similar to the analysis provided in the previous chapter, the evaluation criteria of the households were ranged between the urban scale and the apartment unit scale. The commentaries frequently involved a comparison of their place to another district or another residential type somewhere else, even if it was not deliberately questioned in that way.

Among a number of parallel interpretations to the location of the site in the city, H10-55 makes a comprehensive summary of the privileged position of their house in meeting their needs:

See, we reached a certain age, and the health issues are more important than ever. You can go to the Gazi [Hospital] in three minutes from here. You can go to, for instance, the Bayindir [Hospital] in five minutes. I mean, the health institutions are very crucial. Small health centers are around every corner. Along this 100 meters' distance, there are eight bank branches. These are very important things for people. We have a currency exchange office, a jewelry, we have many groceries...[...] You don't need to go far, whatever your needs are at home, in fact let me put it this way, everything from carpets to home appliances –except furniture- you can find along this 100 meters' distance. [...] *AŞTİ!* You go to the subway in five minutes. Right in front of your door, the Ulus shuttle, Dışkapı shuttle, they go to Örnek, if you walk up to the Konya highway, there are [buses] you can take all the way to Etlik, Çankaya... Even to the Eskişehir highway... I mean, this is a place

that is one stop away from anywhere. Also, you have a peace of mind inside the house, for example, people generally don't use thick curtains around here because the distances are large, maybe they will use them in the bedroom only, where it may be necessary. You don't worry much here, I mean, these things are important.

H2-65 remarks the ease of transportation with comparison to Bilkent and Konutkent:

If you live in Bilkent, Konutkent, and you get sick, you will probably die until they can take you to the nearest hospital. The shopping places are limited, they are just being built. Right here, everything is at walking distance. Even if we didn't have the subway, we could walk to Ulus and Kızılay.

H6-71 makes a comparison in urban scale, paying attention to the topographical situation of Emek District in Ankara:

I bought an apartment for my daughter from here. She didn't live in here, she was in Esat and moved to Beysupark. For a larger area and unpolluted air, etc. Maybe it is better for unpolluted air. Because of the topographical location of Ankara, it is a little depressed here. Not much, as much as Gazi District for example, but a little depressed. But especially for the people of my age, it is on a wonderful location by means of transportation. Today, it is being sold for 230.000 liras here, if someone comes and offers a house from [Beysupark] for 200.000, I would say no. The reason is, Ankaray is next to me. Taxi drives down to Kızılay for 5 liras, while for 25-30 liras from there. All of these are advantages, I mean, the transport. As we have started to use natural gas, the depression of the land is not a big deal anymore.

H1-92 emphasizes the presence of *AŞTİ* and *Ankaray* when the location is questioned:

The location is great now. We didn't use to have all these features. First and foremost is *AŞTİ*. Having *Ankaray* is great in terms of transportation. *AŞTİ* is a short walk away, you can not only reach everywhere in Turkey, but Europe also, all the bus stops are right there. In terms of transportation in Turkey, I mean, any neighborhood in Ankara, Kızılay, Ulus, wherever you want... It's only six minutes from here to Kızılay by *Ankaray*.

H7-73 also praises *AŞTİ* and *Ankaray*, but his emphasis slightly shifts to the experience of socialization:

The presence of *AŞTİ* has really worked for us. For example, even though I have a car, I don't drive because I work in Kızılay. I have my office there, and there is a parking problem. I take the subway instead. It is both good for exercise, and for seeing some people on the way. You socialize with different people.

The common garden at the centre of the site provides a secure environment for recess and children's play. H4-69 states that Yeşiltepe is known as a nice place to raise children because of its calmness and its garden, and is still preferred among young families. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the site provides a distinctive character in terms of its green area ratio on the lot and this issue is emphasized by H8-46, mentioning her children's process of growing up, with comparison to the ones in the neighbourhood of Emek District:

The comfort of this garden... in other apartments, for example, my mother's apartment on the 8th, those kids have not had the chance for one day [to play in a garden]... because it's right by the road. We are very lucky. Our kids grew up very comfortably. Both my son and my daughter, now that the school is out, they won't come home until midnight. But where [will they play]? Right on our watch. We constantly hear their voices at the backyard. We know that they're with their friends. We have a peace of mind like that. You can't find this peace of mind everywhere, and I think this is an important thing.

In some of the cases, interviewees do not always use the same processing in commentating the place; the gradually descending scales that is used in the analysis phase before, in the thesis. Certain ones are observed lose its significance in certain cases while another one may become a major notion of the perception of the place in another case. Sometimes certain scales coincide with each other when some notions are picked in correspondence with certain themes while certain others may almost be neglected in the

same process. For instance; in the words of H11-56, the urban scale and building scale starts to blend into each other on the common basis of “comfort”:

People who stay here and get used to the comfort can't go anywhere else. I, for one, really wanted to go to Çayyolu when it was first built, but [my husband] said that “the ceilings are low, they are closing in on me and I won't move that far away,” etc. Back then, our son used to come home late, I mean, he got worried that he would have trouble making it home every night. Later, the height of the ceilings got my attention too. They are pretty high here, 2.70m., the curtain maker told us so. Now go and compare the ones in Konutkent, they are so low...

H6-71 takes the floor heights issue further and relates it to the difficulty of maintenance of extensive heights (gallery spaces) in recently-built apartments, by drawing sections of exemplary gallery spaces he have seen:

For example, there is the *96'lar* near the *Kolej*. One of our friends used to live there, but I didn't like it because the height of the apartment was –since they had an interesting architecture- 3,5-4 m. Now, whatever you say, cleaning this place –say you only repaint once in 3-5 years– is almost impossible. It gets dusty, and you have a real problem. The maintenance is a challenge, the windows are also high. I would never buy such a place. I saw a similar thing in some houses at Karakusunlar. There is also the *Dostlar Sitesi* at the entrance of Balgat. That one is copied from ours, very badly though. I generally see this place as a blessing from God, and I'm very content.

H8-46 mentions the apartment's functionality and expresses her satisfaction:

The house is functional, especially if you decorate it according your needs, it is very functional. I mean, we are very pleased with our house, the way it is, its functionality. Of course, it needs some repairs, it deteriorates with time, every apartment needs this.

Regarding the interview question asking whether there is a desire to move out to somewhere else, for instance to a detached house, or not,

interviewees remark different dimensions of the issue depending on their tastes, needs, satisfaction of their existing environment, the social networks that they are connected in the place, and so on. For example, H3-65 states that:

Detached house, yes, sometimes I think about it to have pets, but detached houses in Ankara... I don't think that the climate of Central Anatolian Region is appropriate for such houses. They look so artificial in this land. Thus I don't think of it that much. Maybe a new settlement, because it is getting older. Otherwise I love Yeşiltepe, I like it.

H5-90 mentions the ease of approach;

I've never thought of leaving here. I think there can not be a place more comfortable than here. Not even that Çankaya, Nenehatun, etc, the uphill. If I go there, which of my friends can come there? They can come here from everywhere.

and the precious memories that she has in that place, with her husband who passed away:

For example I sit here; sometimes I just think that my husband will come out of that room. I live here with my memories. Let me show you [my photos]...

H8-46 expresses their emotional aspect of their place attachment:

We are really not considering it. At least for now we're not. We love it, we love our neighborhood. Especially our kids, for example my daughter, love the place. In short we are very pleased with both our neighborhood and our apartment. If we can make some repairs to the apartment, we will never consider moving anywhere else.

While H9-32 emphasizes their concern of security:

Security, most important of all, security. When my husband is abroad, or just late for business, this is a place that I can safely live as a young person without any worries. Security... I mean, of course I would like to have my own house but I don't think there are any secure housing communities in Ankara right now. [...] See, in these neighborhoods we call downtown Ankara, it is impossible to live in a detached house. This place is both in downtown, and only a backyard away from being a detached house. When you shut your

door, and go outside [to the balcony], you don't have any close contact with anyone. Noise is very uncommon. I don't know, maybe if there is a construction nearby, you might hear something. Otherwise, as you see, it's pretty quite around here. I mean, we feel like we are living in a detached house.

H12-63 states that the apartment itself is like a 'detached' house because of the architectural layout and H10-55 tends to evaluate her apartment among its alikes and claims that it should not be compared with 'villa type':

You know what, I can't make a comparison, this place feels special to me. And I never think any further, in any respect. But of course, we are talking about apartment blocks, if you go to a villa type, let's say, it has a different usage. You can't compare your house with that kind of a house.

The balconies and the door-fronts come into prominence as significant places of domestic experience and they are mentioned extensively in certain interviews depending on their patterns of use. Among these two, the usage of balcony is extensively effected by the directionality and the altitude of the apartment because the angle and intensity of sunlight in certain times of the day and the wind condition are major parameters of comfort in using the balcony.

A11 is facing north and is on 9th floor. Because of the strong wind, H11-56 has decided to fix a glass screen on the parapets at the larger corner of the balcony and she is quite satisfied with her life out there since then:

Oh, it is so beautiful... It is such a delight, especially since we have fixed [the glass screen]. You can grow flowers, you can spend the whole day here. I even paint here sometimes. [...] During summer, we spend our lives here, until late at night. We bring the TV set out here. We have lamps, power outlets.

H12-63 discusses her experience in the balcony together with the door-fronts:

The balconies are arranged in such a way that from wherever you look, you can not see the inside of the apartment across to you. So it is very well implemented in terms of privacy, you are not very close to anybody. [Block halls] either, it is like a street when you get out. I mean it is nice the way it is open like that. Some find it weird or strange but I like it very much. It is really beautiful when it rains or snows. There is nothing bothering me there.

The analogy between block halls and street is also expressed by H8-46:

We can't find this comfort in anywhere, really. This door front of ours for example, is a huge blessing. Our children can ride their bikes without going out, it is just like a street, I mean, my mother-in-law for example, our elderly, they walk here for exercise, it is very nice. You don't need to go outside, you just open your door, without locking it, and you can walk over there. Your children can ride their bikes, they can play there. These are very nice things, I mean. You can't find it anywhere. I haven't seen that in any apartment block.

A young mother, H9-32 focuses on a different aspect regarding the door-front; its advantages in raising a child, and similar with the previous commentaries of H12-63 and H8-46, she associates the block halls with urban spaces:

I use especially the door-fronts because of [my son]. For example he doesn't want to eat inside, and the balcony –because it is high here– is windy, it faces the main road, then we use the door-front, I mean we use it a lot. [...] We ride bicycles, we have a table there, we put our meal on it. We water our flowers, and plant new ones into the pots. We use the door-fronts that way.[...] It is like a small quarter, every floor is a small quarter on its own. [...] We can't go out to the balcony in the winter but we go out to the door-front to watch the snow. It is hard to take my son out in snow, or when it is raining for example, we dress him and take him out to an enclosed space to watch it.

H7-65 also expresses the pleasant experience she has when looking out of the door as “I love it, I can watch it snow from my door as if it snows to my garden.”

One of the most common commentaries on the block halls is about its air quality and odor-free atmosphere. Parallel to the analysis held in the previous chapter, H7-73 mentions this issue with comparison to another residence he experienced in Ankara:

In TUSO blocks for example, you get into the elevator and you are directed to the apartments by a narrow corridor. Inevitably some sort of odors reach to the common places. We had a friend living there, we used to feel that whenever we went to visit him.

From these brief quotations derived from the interviews, it is possible to state that the location and the physical space of the houses have an important role in households’s experiences on domestic environment. First of all, the development’s being on a central location in the city in terms of commercial facilities, health emergencies and transportation opportunities are expressed among the key advantages of living in that place, especially for the aging population of limited mobility, who may have difficulty in satisfying these needs away from the neighbourhood.

Secondly, the site layout and the emphasis of green area in the site are correlated with the positive attributions of the households; the rear garden is seen as a secure environment for children’s play, and accordingly the development is seen as a good place to raise children in that sense.

Thirdly, different approaches in comparing their apartments and blocks with other house types, are observed. A very common fancy of living in a

“detached house” does not find a strong representative in the case sample, with different reasons. While certain ones do not find the context of Ankara appropriate for such houses, certain ones claimed that they are already living in “detached apartments” because they do not have a physical contact more than the shared kitchen wall, with the apartment next door. In terms of the blocks, Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks are seen distinctive sensually in terms of their in-door experiences. Odor-free atmosphere, circulation route around the gallery space and the availability of experiencing rain, snow or sunlight “indoors”, which are all outcomes of the specific architectural configuration of the block halls, are counted as positive attributions of the place and they manifest themselves in the expressions of daily experiences of the households in the place.

It is interesting that people living in the blocks associate themselves not only to the private unit that primarily belong to themselves, their apartments, but also to the notions regarding the extension of that private space, the domestic environment. The nearby environment, rear garden and block halls are integrated to the domestic experience to a great extent and a considerable value is attributed to them in terms of the livability of the place.

4.2 Living Room and Informalization; Implementations of Space and Time Zoning

Time / space zoning issue regarding the private and public domains at home was handled in Chapter 2. The discussion was focused on Ayata’s ‘inner home’ (*iç ev*) and ‘outer home’ (*dış ev*) distinction which proposed a

prototypical Turkish domestic space where the 'living room' (*salon*) was exempted from daily use of the households. Whereas, it is stated that, there are recent approaches on this issue, which claim that this prototypical structure is losing its power especially in urban upper-middle class societies.

In the case of Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks, out of twelve apartments of the research sample, only two of them accommodated a defined sitting room (*oturma odası*), one of which reflected Ayata's traditional point of view, while the other one showed a dual usage with the living room (*salon*). In the remaining ten apartments, the major living space of the households is the living room whether or not there is an extra room which would have been used in that purpose.

H6-71, the only respondent that corresponds to Ayata's understanding of Turkish households, claims that in an "average Turkish family" one room is spared for the function of sitting room and living room is perceived as a guest room. He says that they use the living room only for thirty days a year and claims that the ones living their daily lives in the living room has a "different kind" of social status. On the other hand, the dual use mentioned above is seen in A9, and H9-32 explains its reason as such:

There is TV everywhere.[My husband] prefers to sit in the living room but I prefer the sitting room because playing with [my son] is more comfortable there. There is no coffee table in the middle, no chairs or tables, just a couple of couches. It is safer there for me.

H12-63 explains her counter view when the place of the daily activities in the apartment is asked:

Always here, in the living room. Something like a sitting room is awkward to me. I mean, our living space is always here, and we, the whole family, love the kitchen very much too. Our friends are also used to this situation; we sit in the kitchen very often. [...] We as 5-6 people, still sit there very comfortably. That table is for 4 people, it stays there, the original table of ours. We didn't change it since we love it too much. We are very used to the conversations there, the children sit in the kitchen when their friends come. Our life goes on there just the way it was. The living room and the kitchen... If we are crowded, of course we eat in the living room, but if the guests are close to us or if we are only 4-5 people, we prefer to eat in the kitchen.

The explanation of H11-56 refers to the house that she grew up, and it helps to clarify Özbay's statement of 'informalization'⁹⁸ mentioned before:

Comfort is very important for me. When I was a child, the living room of the house was isolated. My mother didn't let us go in there. There was sitting room, I mean we couldn't even go in and sit on the couches [in the living room]. Besides, my mother was so cleanly. I sometimes think that maybe mine is a reaction to her, and also people are more relax now. Now we don't have a sitting room, my dear, we never did. The kids have always studied here, ate here, this is the case unless they go to their own rooms.[...] I mean that our whole life was here. But still, there are people who have sitting rooms, my mother for example. My mother has her own TV there, she watches dramas, my father watches outside, I mean the living room... the elderly have sitting rooms, we don't.

The process of 'informalization' is observed not only in the use of living room, but in the concern of "always keeping the house clean and orderly for the guests." As H10-55 states:

If someone is coming to me, s/he should come for me, not for my furniture, or the design of my house. They should come only for me. Now, for example, the house is dirty, the windows are dirty, they should be cleaned, my lamps should be cleaned, my walls should be cleaned. But if someone is not coming to me just because my house or lamps are dirty, I'd rather s/he didn't come anyway. I have no tolerance with this. They should come for I am who I am.

⁹⁸ Ferhunde Özbay (1999; p.565).

Apart from the discussion of *space zoning* regarding *salon* and *oturma odası*, there is another strong attribution of the plan layout of the apartments that reflects to the constitution of the flexible boundary of public and private zones in the domestic space. This feature is the 'back route' of interior circulation that links the entrance hall to the bedroom zone through the kitchen. This feature is important in certain ways. First; as analyzed in the previous chapter, it provides a continuity in circulation, a flow of movement and a flow of space in the apartment. Secondly, as frequently praised by the interviewees, it provides the opportunity of the household to pass right to the bedroom zone from the entrance, without dropping into the living room which might be hosting guests at that particular time. This feature is critical in terms of its contribution to the constitution of public and private zones in the domestic space.

There is a common understanding that living room has a public character welcoming the visitors and it is differentiated from the rest of the private zone of the house. But in the common example of the interviewees, a sequence is pictured where the guests sit in the living room while another household – generally the male or the kid- enters the apartment and passes from the back route to the bedroom zone without entering the zone of the guests. In this case, although being the 'native' of the house, the newcomer is left outside of the privatized zone of the guests, for example, the women who came to the reception day of the female household. In that case, the living room which was assumed to be public, acquires a private character at least for a certain time period of the reception. This is an example of *time zoning* in the domestic space, and its formation is

contributed by the distinct physical layout of the place, introduced by the architectural design.

4.3 Appropriation of the Domestic Space

In this section, appropriations of the households will be presented under two topics; first, the physical alterations to the apartment unit will be analyzed in classifications and then the spatial use actualized on the physical layout via the use of furniture or attributed functions, will be focused. Moreover, quotations will be given with respect to certain examples of appropriations depicting their distinct causality, the motivations and results of the alterations together with the visual documentation related to these commentaries.

4.3.1 Physical Alterations

4.3.1.1 Floor Finishing Alterations (Renewal, Change, Overlap)

There are certain inconsistencies in the original floor finishings in different blocks. For example, although it is known from the blueprint of the plan drawing and certain examples visited, that kitchen space has mosaic flooring, in A1, the floor finishing is vinyl asbestos tile (*marley*), and it is claimed to be original by its owner who is among the founder members of the Cooperative. Certain other inconsistencies are observed regarding the floor finishings of the entrance hall and the night hall. This situation can be explained by the long and gradual process of construction phase and

the method of supplementing additional materials whenever needed in the building site.

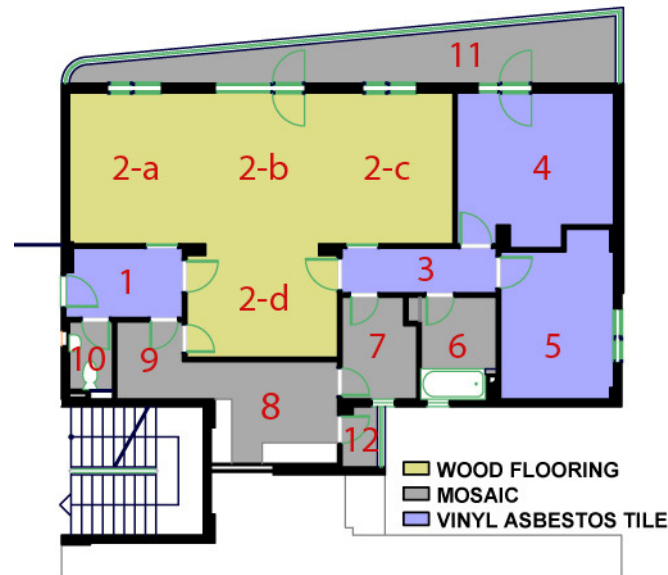


Figure 4.2 Original floor finishings of typical apartment unit

Nevertheless, it is possible to make a generalization that; T-shaped living room has wood flooring, two bedrooms and halls have vinyl asbestos tile, and the rest of the spaces are finished with mosaic. (**Figure 4.2**) The diagram of the alterations documented in the case sample can be followed in **Figure 4.3**.

The diagram shows that the most consistent use among the original materials is seen in the living room, while most of the households preferred to alter the 'out-fashioned' materials of contemporary market; mosaic and vinyl asbestos tile with carpet, laminate and ceramic tile. The alterations occur mainly in three methods; changing the material type via

removing the original, renewal of the existing material with same type, and applying a new material on top of the original material.

4.3.1.2 Door and Window Case Alterations (Renewal, Change)

The major alteration that can be perceived from the exterior is the renewal and change of the original wooden double case windows and doors in the facades. Two reasons are observed for this type: First, the mechanism of the cases loose their function through the years and cause heat loss, and second, the maintenance of double cases become a problem for the households. The replacing material is most generally a single case PVC, but its implementation also varies in two fashions; applying the similar case divisions and bottom-hung units like the original design as a renewal, or discarding the unique design and employing different case divisions and opening types, as a change.

4.3.1.3 Sanitary Ware Alterations (Renewal, Change)

In the sample of twelve apartments, it is documented that; except A1, A5 and A8, sanitary ware of the kitchens and bathrooms in nine apartments are renewed. Changes occur in the replacement of bathtubs with shower trays in A2, A4, A6 and A9, and the replacement of *alaturka* with *alafranga* type of the WC's in A1, A4, A5, A6, A7 and A10. Among the rest, in A3, A9 and A11 *alaturka* type is renewed with the same type.

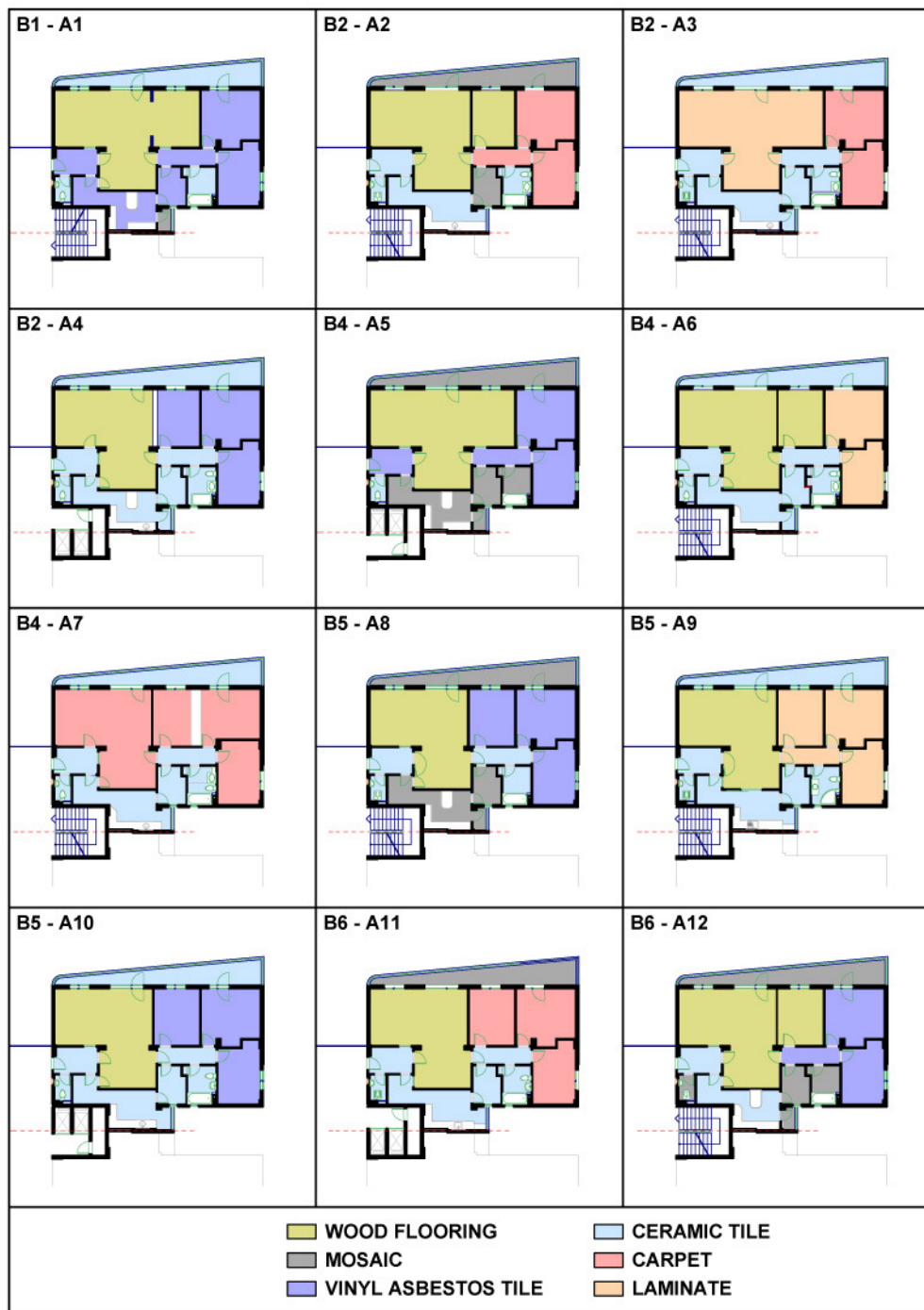


Figure 4.3 The existing floor finishings of the case sample

4.3.1.4 Storage Unit Alterations (Change, Renewal, Addition, Removal)

In the original layout, there are built-in storage units in kitchen and bathroom spaces together with space no.9 (*ofis*; see **Figure 4.2**). But one of the most interesting features of the architectural design is the storage space of appr. 3.5 m³ volume, on top of a section of the kitchen space, that is reached from the living room side, from the upper part of the wall between. (**Figure 4.4**)

The utilization of storage units in the apartments show a variety, almost in all of the samples, different combinations of methods (change, renewal, addition, removal) are used in different spaces of the apartments. (**Figure 4.5 – 4.6**) What is important at this point is that, the architectural layout of the apartment provides good opportunities to different implementations of storage units and a considerable potential of storage volume is provided in that sense.

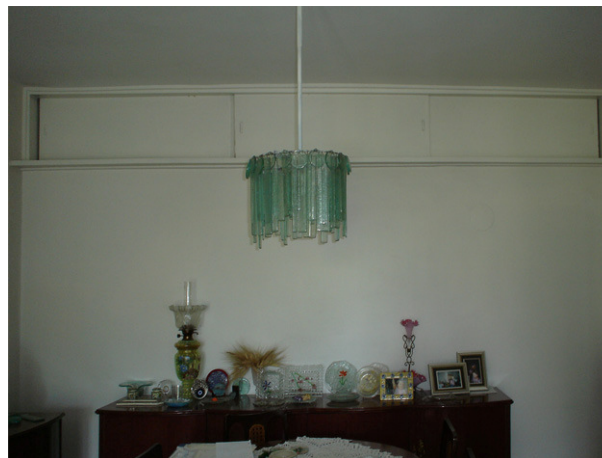


Figure 4.4 Sliding doors of the top-storage space, view from the living room of A4



Figure 4.5 View of the additional storage units in the bedroom of A7



Figure 4.6 View of the original and additional storage units in the kitchen of A4

4.3.1.5 Alterations Effecting the Boundaries and Sizes of the Spaces

These type of alterations that changes the sizes of the rooms and the net area of the apartment include room divisions and unifications, replacement of walls and addition of the service balcony to the kitchen (with or without removing the door between). In this case, A7 will be presented as an exemplary of all of these types of alterations (**Figure 4.7**), and the altered list of net areas can be followed in **Table 4.1**.

Table 4.1 Unit areas of A7

		A7	ORIGINAL
1	ENTRANCE HALL	5,60 m ²	5,60 m ²
2	LIVING ROOM	38,89 m ²	52,29 m ²
2-c	BEDROOM	11,20 m ²	
3	HALL	4,92 m ²	4,92 m ²
4	MASTER BEDROOM	17,45 m ²	15,88 m ²
5	BEDROOM	13,26 m ²	12,38 m ²
6	BATHROOM	5,43 m ²	5,43 m ²
7	STORAGE	5,15 m ²	5,15 m ²
8	KITCHEN	9,87 + ~2 m ²	9,87 m ²
9	OFFICE / DEPOT	3,59 m ²	3,59 m ²
10	WC	2,07 m ²	2,07 m ²
NET APARTMENT AREA :		~119 m²	117,18 m²

It is possible to say that the architectural layout of the apartment provides little opportunity to increase the net area of the apartment. The reason is the form of the main balcony and its relationship to the interior space. Because of the fact that it lies along the whole facade in front of two (in certain cases three) successive spaces, it does not provide the opportunity to be enclosed and added to the interior properly.

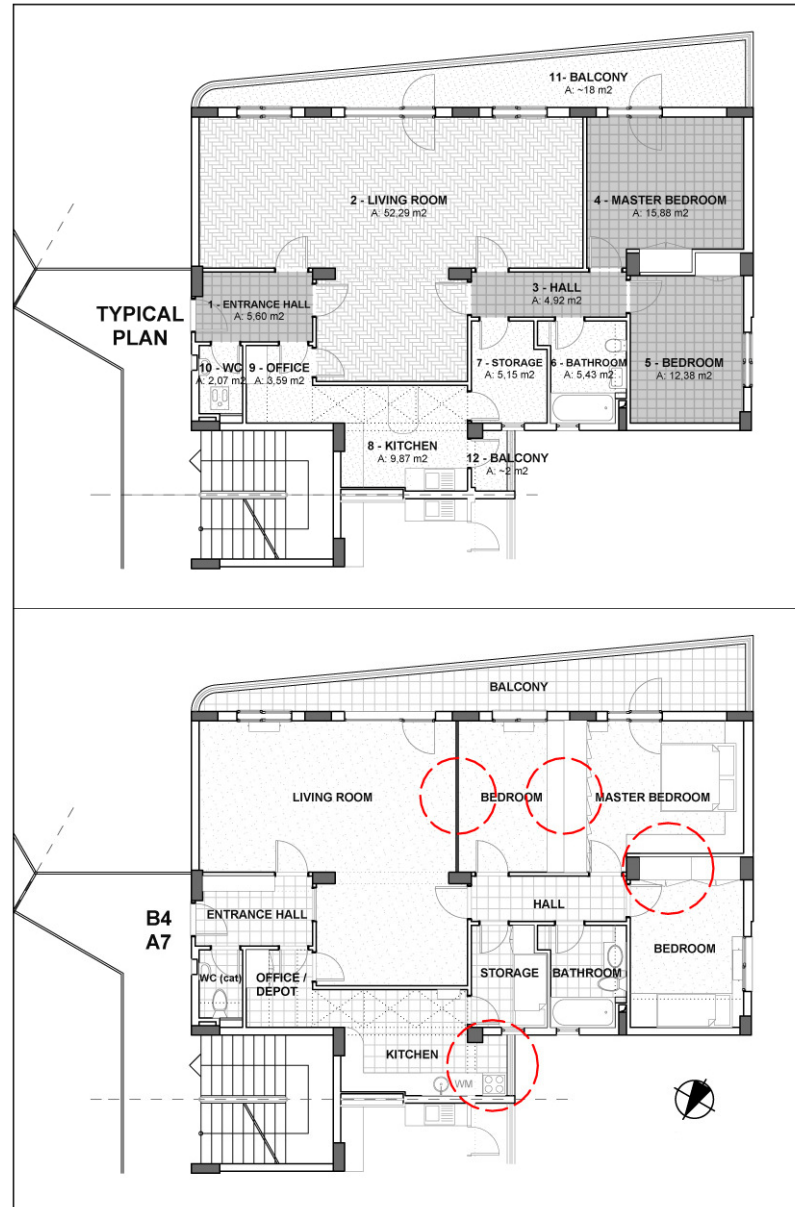


Figure 4.7 Comparison of the plan layouts of the typical unit and A7, scale 1:200

4.3.1.6 Alterations Effecting the Circulation Network and the Relationships of the Spaces

This type of alteration includes the usage / removal of certain doors. Although not removed, in some cases, they are kept closed and blocked by the use of furniture. While it is not a permanent physical alteration type, in certain cases like A4, it is observed that they are used in that manner for over forty years and they play an important role in the relationships of the spaces and the circulation routes in the interior space. (Figure 4.8 - 4.9)



Figure 4.8 An example of door usage in the living room of A7



Figure 4.9 An example of door usage in the living room of A9

The alterations effecting the circulation network and the relationships of the spaces in the sample of the case can be followed in **Figure 4.10**, and they can be compared to the previous analysis of the originals made in the Chapter 3. (**Figure 3.27**)

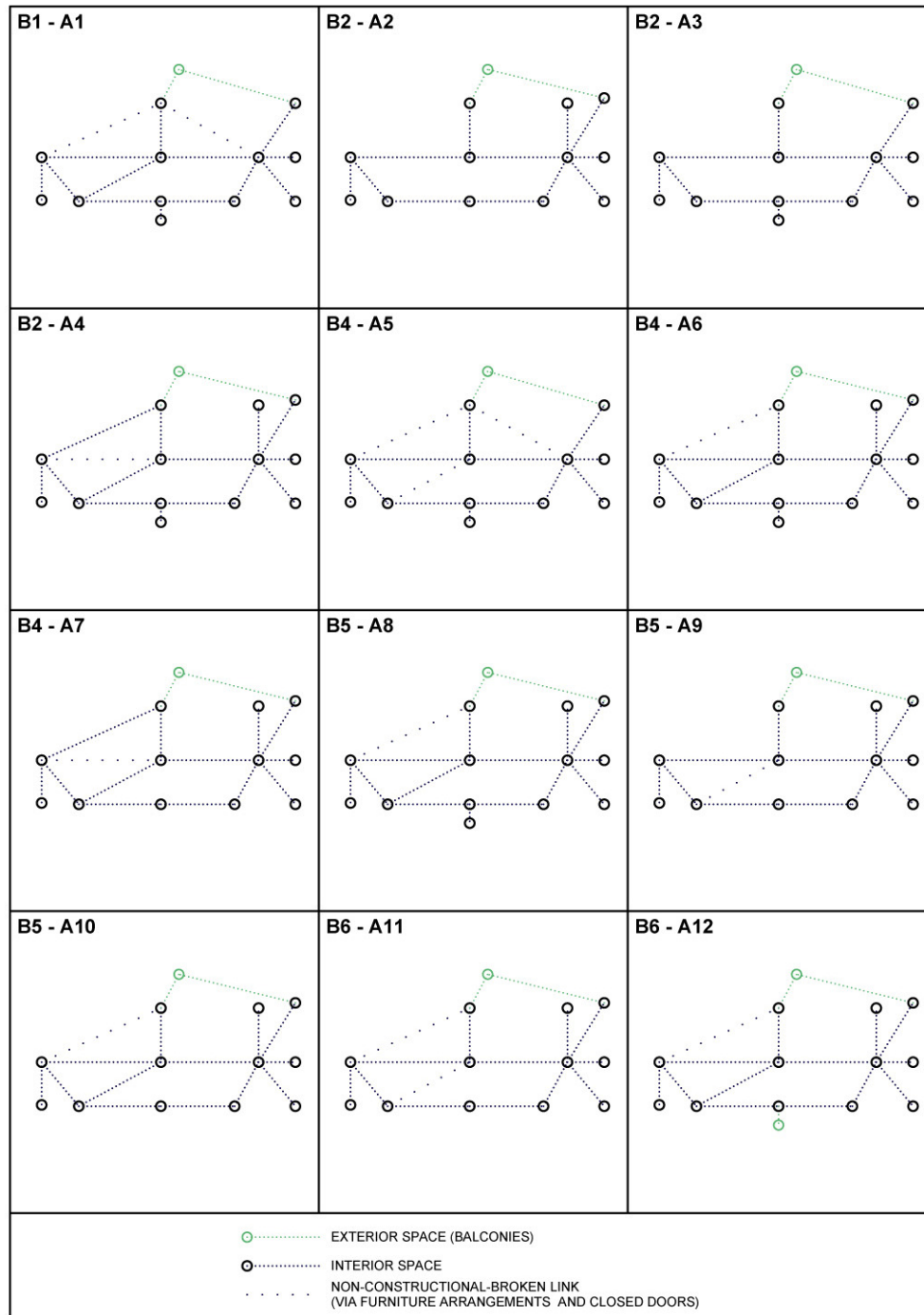


Figure 4.10 Topological diagrams of the case sample

4.3.2 Spatial Use

On the physical layout produced by the alterations mentioned so far, the patterns of spatial use provides another phase of the appropriations of the households. (**Figure 4.11**)

In this section, a special emphasis will be given to the appropriation of the living room (no. 2-a,b,c,d) and the small room adjacent to the kitchen (no.7), because of the varieties of functions attributed and appropriations proposed.

Space no.7 provides a wider range of use in comparison with space no.9, because its being larger, having a better light quality and a direct access to the bedroom zone; it is observed to be used as the 3rd bedroom (for the maid, the smallest child, or the guest), an office or a storage room with or without the washing machine. This space was observed to be one of the most altered space in the flat in terms of the functions attributed upon by the inhabitants in the process of accommodating. (**Table 4.2**)

Table 4.2 The current and former functions attributed to space no.7 in the case sample

	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	A11	A12
BEDROOM												
STORAGE												
MAID ROOM												
LAUNDRY												

CURRENT FUNCTION(S)

FORMER FUNCTION(S)

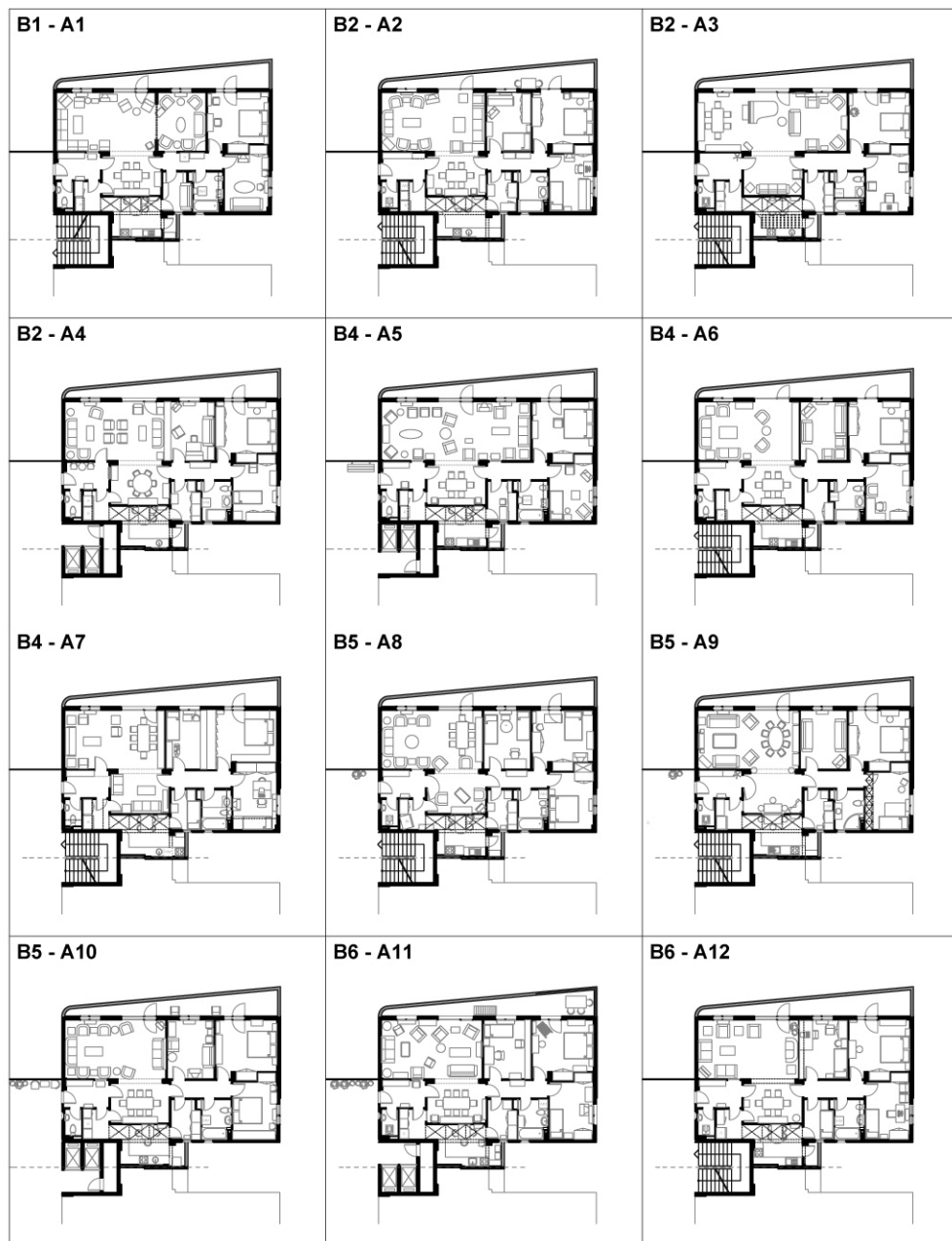


Figure 4.11 Spatial appropriations of the case sample

The living room has access from five doors inside, three of them are on the axial route of the apartment and the remaining two are towards the two wings of the “T”, that primarily aim to provide the flexibility of dividing extra rooms on two sides, whenever needed. A common approach observed is the division of the wing nearby the other bedrooms. Even if it is not divided by any means, the shape and the size of the space enables to differentiate four zones, which were previously defined as 2(a-b-c-d). These zones were observed to be marked in terms of furnishing layouts and activities attributed to them. (Table 4.3)

Table 4.3 Activities documented in the T-shaped living room. See **Figure 4.2** for the numbering of the divisions and **Appendix B** for detailed plans.

		2-a	2-b	2-c	2-d
A1		WATCHING TV	HOBBY & INTEREST	SITTING	DINING
A2		SITTING	WATCHING TV	BEDROOM	DINING
A3		DINING	HOBBY & INTEREST	SITTING	WATCHING TV
A4		SITTING	SITTING	STUDY ROOM	DINING
A5		SITTING	WATCHING TV	SITTING	DINING
A6		SITTING	SITTING	SITTING ROOM	DINING
A7		SITTING	DINING	BEDROOM	WATCHING TV
YILDIZTEPE	A8	SITTING	DINING	BEDROOM	WATCHING TV
	A9	WATCHING TV	DINING	SITTING ROOM	MINI BAR
	A10	SITTING	WATCHING TV	BEDROOM	DINING
	A11	SITTING	WATCHING TV	BEDROOM	DINING
A12		WATCHING TV	SITTING	STUDY ROOM	DINING

H5-90 tells the story of their living room; the reasons of keeping it in the original shape, and her hesitations on its future usage:

My husband didn't let to divide this [living room]. That time, my husband was a general director; our status was very good. The people we meet are Tevfik İleri, ministries, ambassadors and such...The gentlemen would sit over there, and the ladies over here. He said that he didn't want the walls closing in on him. But now, if I have a maid, a separate room will be needed. I don't know what to do, to divide or what...

H1-92 explains their implementation of living room by the population of their apartment:

Most of them divided this part, the bedroom... They are crowded, they need bedroom, but my son had this kind of a wish, he said, I am not going to live here in the future anyway, I'll go away, get married, etc, you two will stay here. So, he said, do not damage the beauty and the magnificence of this house. We thought that the kid was right. I listen to youngs' advice a lot. [...] At that time, the deceased Suna Korat, [...] -Suna is a State Artist, she passed away, she was my niece [...], she was an opera singer, she sent the set [catalogue] of the opera, for a look...They brought it, we said we liked this, he made this one, that [set designer] of the opera. We said that this part can be divided like that to be like a guest room. (**Figure 4.12**)



Figure 4.12 View of the living room of A1

Although not personally encountered in the case samples, there are two alteration examples commonly given by the interviewees, regarding some of their neighbours. One of them is clued in the design; that is the division of the other “wing” of the T-shaped living room, that is by the entrance hall, and the other one is a more contemporary approach to open the kitchen space to the living room by tearing down the wall between. A similar implementation is, however, encountered in A9, where an inner window is opened on that wall, so that visual contact between the kitchen and the living room is established via a counter of “mini-bar”. However, H9-32, the youngest respondent of the research, mentions the lack of area to furnish that zone accordingly (**Figure 4.13**):

Especially to that part, you see, I thought placing more casual couches in order to have a miniature bar mood, but [the area] was not enough, there was going to be a couch over there and a couch over here, everywhere would be full of furniture. Of course the living room is not enough in area I mean, if it was a little bit larger in area, we would be very comfortable.

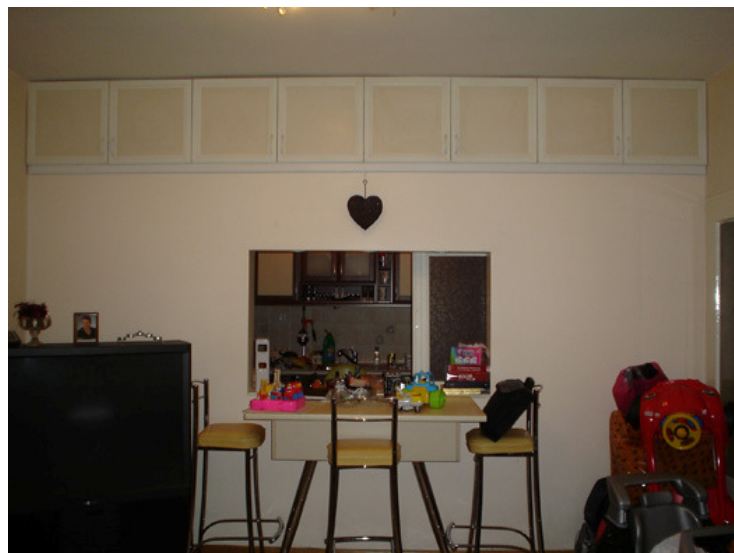


Figure 4.13 View of the ‘mini-bar’ of the living room of A9



Figure 4.14 View from the living room of A2



Figure 4.15 View from the living room of A7



Figure 4.16 View from the living room of A5



Figure 4.17 View from the living room of A9



Figure 4.18 View of the original bathroom in A5



Figure 4.19 View of the original bathroom in A1



Figure 4.20 View of the bathroom of A3



Figure 4.21 View of the bathroom of A7



Figure 4.22 View of the original kitchen in A8



Figure 4.23 View of the original kitchen in A1



Figure 4.24 View of the kitchen of A3



Figure 4.25 View of the kitchen of A2



Figure 4.26 View of space no.7 in A7



Figure 4.27 View of space no.7 in A10



Figure 4.28 View of display objects in A11



Figure 4.29 View of display objects in A3



Figure 4.30 View of the original detail of window cases



Figure 4.31 View of the original detail of kitchen table and its lighting

4.4 Activity Space of the Residents and Its Effect on Making the Place

The reason that some interviewees call the resident profile of Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe as 'elite' and complain about the recent decline of 'quality' is the involvement of high-rank officials, bureaucrats, generals, members of the parliament and ministers in the formation of the cooperatives.⁹⁹ Being the first high-rise residential blocks and proposing a number of 'modern' features of its time, like central heating, elevators or other technical and mechanical fittings, the settlement became a center of attraction for the upper class society in Ankara. On the other hand the settlement itself can be understood almost as a result of such high level of agency, which is inevitably far from being surprising for such investment and vision in 1950s Ankara.

The reflection of this kind of agency to the production of such environment was exemplified in earlier examples; *Bahçeli Evler Yapı Kooperatifi* and *Güven Evler Yapı Kooperatifi*, where the members of the cooperative made use of their socio-economic status in resolving the financial and bureaucratic conflicts on the production of the environments.¹⁰⁰ Whereas that potential of influence of the participators may reflect itself in various ways, some of which will be exemplified in our case.

⁹⁹ "Madde 55: Kurucu ve müteşebbis ortaklar şunlardır: İzmir mebusu: Mehmet Aldemir, Kütahya mebusu: İhsan Şerif Özgen, Ankara mebusu: Aliye Timuçin, Balıkesir mebusu: Mekki Sait Esen, İzmir mebusu: Mehmet Ali Sebük, Tüccar: Gürbüz Hanef, Divanı Muhasebat Reisi: Muhittin Gürün, İş Bankası Merkez 2. Md: Azmi Zallak, DTCF Doç: Vecihe Kılıçoğlu, Tüccar: Muharrem Patoğlu" Mahdut Mes'uliyetli Yeşiltepe Yapı Kooperatifi Ortak Senedi (1959; p.22).

¹⁰⁰ A.Şule Özüekren (1996; pp.356-357).

We will discuss this situation with the help of Doreen Massey's conception of 'activity space' which is in her words; "the spatial networks of links and activities, of spatial connections and of locations, within which a particular agent operates."¹⁰¹ She associates this concept with a large scope of agencies; multinational companies, small firms or even individuals (**Figure 4.32**) :

Each of us, as individuals, also has our own activity space. You could think of your own and then compare it with that of other people. The basic shape is probably a set of fairly local paths and places as normal daily life is lived between home, school, work, church and club, with occasional trips further afield to a neighbouring town, or to a hospital maybe. This pattern may in turn be punctuated by forays much further afield - to friends or relatives for a visit, for weekend excursions, or to follow your team to an away match. Maybe once a year there is a dramatic break-out for the annual holiday. The detail is not important; what matters is the basic range and shape. For not only does the idea of activity spaces give access to thinking about the spatial organization of society, it also points to a little recognized aspect of social inequality.¹⁰²

Based on this definition, we can assume that upper class society which is also observed here as the agent in the formation of Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks, shall have a larger spatial reach compared with the rest of the society, in terms of the activity spaces of the individuals concerned. What we will mention here are the examples of the reflections of such activity spaces on the making of the place through forms of experience and knowledge.

H1-92, a founder member of Yeşiltepe Cooperative, mentions a series of important issues related to his and other members of the Cooperative's activity spaces:

¹⁰¹ Doreen Massey (1995; p.54).

¹⁰² Doreen Massey (1995; p.55).

We have taken over the construction [of these blocks] from the foundations. We had influence then, now we have not, we obtained a loan of 11-12 million liras from Emlak Kredi Bankası. This had never happened before. How can this amount of money be obtained, they said... and we started building...

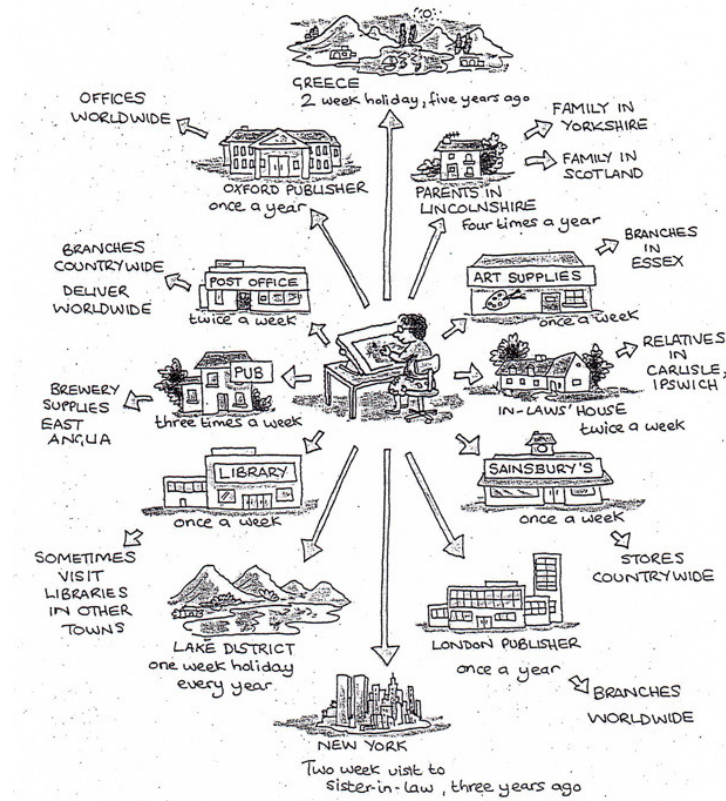


Figure 4.32 Illustration of a cartoonist's immediate activity space

Another issue bought by him is the transition to the flat ownership immediately in 1966 when the related law has become valid:

I am the one who prepared the management plan here. The first transition to flat ownership happened here. We did it, and the management plan that I have prepared became a peer for all the rest. Everyone imitated that. [...] The law was established in 1965 and became valid in 1966, and we here in 1966... I prepared the management plan immediately. Because I had an exceptional [interest] on the Flat Ownership Law. [...] a very precious professor

[in İstanbul] supervised a PhD thesis on Flat Ownership Law and he sent it to me, saying, my dear son (...). I am not from İstanbul, I'm from Ankara but he had heard things [about me], and sent it to me by name and I took it. Sixteen years before the law became valid in here, I had already studied and analyzed Flat Ownership Law in world countries. My knowledge was compatible with that. And we prepared this management plan of ours.

H1-92 also tells the story of the artesian wells which have been a major advantage of the settlement for years. His previous duty in founding of the nitrogen factories in Kütahya had initiated his interest on underground water. Because of the necessity of pure water in the production process in the factory, they had brought a geologist, Lauper, from Germany, to find a solution. After the related field work, they found water in Bosna-i Cedit village and brought it to the factory by means of ducts. This experience of his is reflected to the making of Yeşiltepe:

As we had drilled eighteen artesian wells and obtained water there, it occurred in my mind in here. Water of this area used to be distributed from the wells of State Railways, before that dam-Kurtboğazı right? [...] Thinking of this, as we had worked with Lauper before, I said there must be water down here. [...] I called, they came, checked and said, you are right, let's give it a shot. And we drilled, water came out.

Apart from those positive reflections of the activity spaces of the residents, some attempts do not seem to fit into the context. As H11-56 mentions the security systems applied on the block entrances:

Of course lots of things can be done, if there's money everything can be done but... Once we have put passwords, for example, I had seen that password thing abroad, but it was not favoured here I mean it didn't fit. People were shouting [downstairs] to the kid from kebab restaurant 'Dial 1234 and come in!' You see it did not fit here. [...] Now everyone has their keys. At first I thought that the key thing would not fit either but they got used to it.

From these examples it can be asserted that the activity spaces of the residents in a housing environment are effective in the formation and duration of the environment in physical and social dimensions. The case of Yeşiltepe, a development where the initiative member profile was considerably high in socio-economic status, is a good example of tracing the effects of that sort.

4.5 Memories and Experience on the Place; Attachment and Continuity

One of the foresights relating to the selection of the case area was that there is an aging 'native' population in Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks, who may have grown a strong sense of place attachment through more than forty years and may have accumulated profound experience on the place in this process. One of many examples of such aging population can be seen in the story of H10-55:

We [as a couple] have been living here from 1987 actually. [...] Since my mother-in-law was living here and my husband had a store in 72nd Street, we could never draw apart from here [...] He is in here since the age of twelve, all his childhood was here, and all his youth were here. He was away only for six years. The rest thirty-four years of forty is in here.

Relph accounts time as an 'important and unavoidable' dimension of the place and with reference to William Hampton, he states that one's attachment to his/her 'home area' grows stronger when the amount of time spent there increases, so that the strongest place attachment might be observed when one lives in his/her own birth place.¹⁰³ Apart from this

¹⁰³ Edward Relph (1976; p.31). Reference is given to Hampton, W.(1970) *Community and Democracy*, London: Oxford University Press, p.112.

dimension of time, Relph links this attachment issue to the notion of 'rootedness':

In both our communal and our personal experience of places there is often a close attachment, a familiarity that is part of knowing and being known here, in this particular place. It is this attachment that constitutes our roots in this places; and the familiarity that this involves not just a detailed knowledge, but a sense of deep care and concern for that place.

To be attached to places and have profound ties with them is an important human need.¹⁰⁴



Figure 4.33 – 4.34 Photographs of H10 in 1960s and 70s in front of Yıldıztepe Blocks

In that sense, the experiences conveyed by these 'native' interviewees can well be expected to inform us directly or indirectly about their place attachment and rootedness. Moreover the profound experience of them is also informative as it is an accumulation of moments from the past, depicting the continuity of the self in the place as well as the transformation of that place in time. An overall summary of the transformation of the neighborhood is depicted in the words of H11-56; coloured with the personal memories in that old times:

Since *AŞTİ* was built, it got really crowded. Irrelevant people came here, rents got higher. You know, being close to *AŞTİ*, apartments

¹⁰⁴ Edward Relph (1976; pp.37-38).

became valuable. Also, Court of Auditors moved here, most of the Ministries are here, food courts at the 8th Road have become extraordinarily widespread. It is like a kebab avenue now. There are lots of people in the ministries, anyone doesn't like the meal, comes to the street. That kind of changes happened. While my kids were going to school, Hamdullah Suphi, when I went out, or when I went to my mother-in-law, there were no buildings around, I recall that we waved hands till they got into the school. But now, everywhere is full of buildings, it developed a lot, it grew. [...] There were only 1 or 2 cars in this park, and we played there, volleyball matches were played here. Now, nothing... At least, some playground areas are given to kids.

Another depiction of memories of H11-56 on the place reveals the story of the pretended hobby rooms at terrace floors and their becoming of rental depots:

Here's what I know, I know that I used to have sunbaths with my bikini up there when I first moved in here. We used to have birthday parties there, but over the years, it started leaking downstairs and we applied both waterproofing and heat insulation in 1995-1996, to all the terraces, I mean to our two terraces and we paid a lot of money. [...] So, we don't let anybody to go up there now. Even those people, nobody has the key, if they want to put something in there; they go up with the doorkeepers. I mean they use them as depots.

The long term experiences do not only convey the critical moments of happenings in the process of making the place, but also the daily routine housing them:

In order to have a difference from Yeşiltepe, I remember, in the [entrance courts] of the blocks, a pool was constructed, theirs is plain, actually I love it plain either. We let the water to run in the summer, flowers around, you know, when you go in it is different. [...] We put our flowers [nearby our doors], more in the summer, people sit at the door fronts because when the houses are too hot in the summer, when the balcony is too hot, it is cool there, there is an air circulation. From morning till night, just like a balcony... The neighbours come and they knit there, eat there, play backgammon, occasionally I mean. Especially in the 5th block, it is very common, and also here, but since my mothers live [in 5th Block]... (H11-56)

The experiences of place manifest itself in the forementioned process of long-term accommodation as well as in the very first moments of moving in;

I had a house in Bahçelievler, it should be seen... Everybody calls it as a small villa. That was such a nice detached house. Then the ones next to mine got higher. So we bought here, sold that one. [and also] I was uncomfortable there, and had a bad sciatic. So the doctor told me that I should live in a house with central heating. So we bought this one, the one with central heating. At first I got very comfortable, it was very good but how can I say, think about a picture without a frame. I never could get used to it. You know, [the old one] was a detached house, apricots in the garden... enormous pines; I can never describe it to you. Aaahhh, blue pines... it was a villa you know, a villa... (H5-90)

...and in the hesitations of moving out, as they are parts of larger contexts of human life:

Actually that's why I don't want to sell, this is home. The children were born and they grew up in this house. We have lots of memories here. I mean there is no such thing anymore, but here there is. Their room stays the same; no change is done in their room. They come often, when they do, everyone stays in their own room. A new house will be unfamiliar; it will be a house they never lived in. So, I don't know what to do with this house. But if I was so rich, I would keep it, like a guest house, anyone comes to Ankara stays in there but I don't know what will happen. (H12-63)

It is obvious that the words of the households delineate much more than nostalgic memories; they depict certain aspects of the place in its continuity in time, the transformations it has faced through years and their effects in the households' experiences. The knowledge of the place, for example the environment's getting crowded over the years, is supported by the accumulation of personal experience over years, i.e. having seen the years before *AŞTİ* or the ministries came to the nearby environment. In this sense, the long-term accommodation helps to "know" the place in

different dimensions; the process of communal appropriations, the causalities of existing practices and the daily routines flourishing them, as well as “to be known” by that specific place as being a part of its community.

This identity is an important notion in understanding place-attachment, which supports the psychological aspects of “being at home”, by a strong perception of “being in the neighbourhood”; in a place that a network of physical and social relationships have been woven through the years, beyond the limits of the personal unit of home.

4.6 Social Relationships; Neighbourliness and Dynamics of Sociability

There are a number of tangible and intangible variables in a built environment that lead to the construction of social relationships among its residents. The outcomes of the interviews proposed various dimensions of the socialization process that has been experienced in the place. One of the major emphasis made by H11-56 is that there is a dominance of 2nd generation ‘natives’ living in the blocks, that are the sons or daughters of the first residents that passed away. This, on one hand gives clues about the familial connotations of the place attachment issue, and on the other hand proposes new means of socialization in the place. The husbands of H8-46 and H10-55 are childhood friends, as their families were neighbours. When they got married, their wives became close friends while their children were born in the same year and they grew up together. As H10-55 states:

Can you imagine, 3 generations, we are almost beyond relatives, beyond sisters...

When the will of living in a detached house somewhere else is questioned, H10-55 emphasized the importance of the neighbourliness as a reason of their commitment to their place and accordingly to their place attachment:

I would never think about it in Ankara. I am thinking of it in a shoreline out of Ankara. But I would never give up from this house. Why? First of all, neighbourliness is very important. Whenever I get sick... For example I had a vertigo crisis a few years ago. I got out from the shower, had a terrible dizziness, I went to my bedroom, looked over there and my neighbour was shaking the sheets, and I saw her. I called her, and I said; H8-46, I am so awful... [...] She has one of my keys, always, just in case. In the meantime I called my sister. I told her to come over. She was in Yenimahalle, while my neighbour was with me just within a minute. These are very important for human life.

This praised acquaintanceship through the years manifests itself in a number of examples. As H11-56 put it:

People became like relatives, since they've been living here for forty years...For example people in some floors in the 5th Block are so close that whenever something happens to anyone, like illness or so, they bake soups, cook meal, whenever someone passed away...I mean they share everything. For example, if a guest is coming, my mother is old you know, the neighbours organize everything, they cook something for her. The neighbourliness is intense. This is because they live there for a very long time. The newcomers accommodate very well. I mean the relationships are very good...[...] I have a friend in Zirvekent houses, she doesn't know who her neighbour next door is. She's been living there for 6 years; she doesn't know anything you know? It was different in here, the doors were open in the first times, we close them just now. Here's one more thing, I don't want to be arrogant, but there was no such theft with breaking a door up to now.

Although his examples about the neighbourliness of the old residents coincide with the ones before, H2-65, on the contrary claims that the new

generation have not accommodated themselves into the rituals of old neighbourliness issues. He relates this and most of the problems he observes in the settlement, to the lack of 'collective consciousness' of Turkish society.

A marginal case of the neighbourliness issue is observed in A10, where a friend of former university-student-neighbours is accommodated in one of the rooms which was originally the bedroom of the couple's own son who is currently studying in İstanbul. The couple call him as their 'godchild' (*manevi oğul*) and take care of him like they are his own parents.

Apart from the intense relationships mentioned so far, there are other issues raised about socialization of the households among each other. The "good manners" represented on instant occasions of confrontation, rituals performed on *Bayram* days and the uneven concentration of the intensity of these manners among different blocks became points of discussion. A1-92, a lawyer among the founder members of Yeşiltepe Cooperative, mentions the large amount of American tenants that used to stay in the blocks in the past and complains about the declined 'quality' of resident profile, when neighbourliness issues are questioned:

All my complaint is, as I said, I am sorry but, quality has declined. The quality has declined. The natives of this place, I mean the ones who built here were really selected, I mean they were not taking everyone in. First of all, most of them were members of parliament, at that times, members of *Demokrat Parti*. But I have nothing to do with *Demokrat Parti*, I should say it in advance...

H7-65 recalls the forgotten "good manners" and mentions the distinction of recent times:

Actually there is such a change in the society. For example, you get into the elevator, they don't even say 'good morning'. This manner is

something that we are not used to. However in the past, everyone would see each other, even if you don't know every sixty of the apartments but you know fifteen, twenty of them. Now everyone has withdrawn into their own shell.

In the case of H12-63, this change in the social profile led to the decision of leaving the settlement and moving to Çankaya:

Some blocks are luckier. This one of ours changed hands a lot, almost none of my old neighbours are here anymore, just a few very old ones. Things like kindness disappeared. There were such things about sociability, people were very kind, we used to have nice chats in front of the doors even if we could not come and go to each other. I mean there is not such thing anymore, you come across with someone and s/he doesn't even know how to greet you. It started to be like that, I don't like this part anymore.

While in another block, supporting the observation of the diverse levels of intensity of social relationships among the blocks, H11-56 mentions a common place and ritual of socialization among the households:

As far as I understood, we are talking about sociology as well as architecture; this 2nd generation business, friendship and wide social environment... In the Bairam days, for example, we have an administration room, people exchange greetings in there on the 2nd day. Everyone goes to each other, you know, but it is different, a total meeting happens there.

This case is the first time that a usage of a common place is sensed; an administration room that gathers the residents to socialize with each other, apart from the halls and circulation means like elevators or staircases. On the other hand, we know that there are certain places to serve this purpose of socialization of the residents in the blocks; the terrace rooms, which were never realized in the way that they had been proposed by the architects. The interviewees had various perspectives among this subject which all dwell on different aspects of the 'publicity' of the place. H11-56, one of the administrators of Yıldıztepe Blocks, hints her moral concerns

about the adversity of control on a 'public space' upstairs as well as the protection of privacy of the households:

For example, a lady lives downstairs, she wants to print photos, and she tells us that she wants a room to print photos, etc. But she will print things, a lot of people will come and go, [...] maybe they will take pictures, you know, we couldn't risk it. We don't want a lot of people to come and go up there, and it is not nice that the foreigners to come and go there. And if there is a noise the upstairs, you can hear it from downstairs. They may want to go to the terrace, I mean we don't want inappropriate situations. You wouldn't know what is going on up there.

On the other hand, H7-73, a retired engineer, mentions his need of a place to socialize with the neighbours and seeks that opportunity of using the public potential of terrace rooms:

Even if I have nothing to do, just not to stay closed at the home, I go to the office at 9 o'clock and come at 4 o'clock. Actually the office people handle everything, but I just go there not to stay closed at the home. But if there were such an opportunity, we would go up there, chat with the neighbours. Now I can only talk to a couple of neighbours when we come across at the door. The primal problem of this place is the relationships anyway.

H2-65, as mentioned before, relates this issue of not being able to use public spaces even if the resident profile is so high, to a much wider context of Turkish society and remarks that the design was ahead of its time anyway:

But you could not tell or impose this to the Turkish people in the 1960s. The collective consciousness and senses are still not common, eventhough this was a very elite society. [...] This is a major lack of ours. Tell me, have you ever seen such an architecture including such social facilities in any site? You can't even see in the 80s-90s buildings, only maybe in the new generation of 2000s buildings.

On the other hand, this ambiguity of using a communal space in a housing environment is not a unique problem regarding Yeşiltepe and

Yıldıztepe Blocks. Hellmuth Sting mentions this issue as a common failure in practice, and in his article in *Floor Plan Atlas: Housing (Grundrißatlas: Wohnungsbau)* he enounces accessibility as the recipe of providing interaction:

The attempt to promote communication between neighbors by means of communal rooms - such as club rooms, television rooms, play rooms for the children, and the like -have likewise proved unsuccessful in actual practice. Such efforts generally fail as a result of conflicts over responsibility and supervision, with the result that the rooms remain unused. If housing is to truly promote communication among its residents, then the absolutely necessary measure appears to be creation of access space and its provision with qualities which render it truly "liveable". By virtue of the regular necessity of using access space, it also appears that pedestrian accessways to an apartment, and such ways among the various apartments, provide the most favorable conditions for creation of contact areas, for their acceptance by apartment-building residents, and consequently for the desired processes of interaction outside the individual apartments.¹⁰⁵

Consequently, it shall be stated that the understandings of the social relationships differ in the narrow scope of the case sample, although a common tendency of the 'native' households is observed to praise the relationships in the past, when people were of "higher quality" than the ones in current situation. This commentary coincides with the change in the socio-economic status of the residents through years, such that new points of attraction have risen in the city for the housing demand of high rank officials, members of the parliament or the army, who were among the primary resident profile in the early decades of the development. This situation reflects itself in the weak social contacts observed between the 'natives' and relatively newcomers, and the common criticisms towards

¹⁰⁵ Hellmuth Sting (1994; p.XVI).

the newcomers as not quite being people of good manners, as their premises were.

On the other hand, the households who have strong neighbourliness relationships emphasize the importance of living in the place where they have social contacts among each other, because of the fact that they are backing each other whenever needed in daily routines or in case of emergencies regarding health issues.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Brief of the Thesis

The thesis aimed to depict home in the process of place-making. In the first chapter, the academic motivations and the aim of the thesis were given. In the second chapter, the related academic literature was scanned through key concepts, understandings and field research. The approach of the thesis was explained on the basis and commentary of the previous local field research; that home is a 'place' and it should not be abstracted into classifications of size, shape and location and degraded into a mere object of utility, to provide a comprehensive understanding of the place.

In this perspective; home, as a place, is examined through two interrelated approaches on the case study conducted in Yeşiltepe and Yıldıztepe Blocks. Firstly, in the third chapter, in consecutive sections, the location, planimetry and tectonics of the blocks were described and then analysed regarding their notable attributes contributing the distinctiveness of the 'place'. This chapter is governed by a point of view of an architect and a researcher, examining the subject by observation and analysis of the physical environment and architectural and written documents about the site. This chapter can be cited as a representation of the physical means and framework of the place-making process actualized, starting from the

constitution of the Cooperative in 1950s, to the architectural novelties proposed by the architects.

Secondly, in the fourth chapter, human factor has penetrated into the analysis of the place. The households' personal stories, experiences and commentaries were exemplified under certain topics of themes in order to depict their sense of place. These themes included significance of physical environment and location, tangible and intangible boundaries of public and private spaces at home, effects of activity spaces of the households on the place, the domestic appropriations observed and documented in the apartments, place attachment and continuity in the place, and finally, neighbourliness and dynamics of sociability.

5.2 Scope and Framework of the Thesis

The research on domestic space in Turkey has a general tendency of handling its subject as a physical entity, mostly as a 'house' but not a 'home'. In other words, neglecting its major notion of being the 'one and only', studies on home generally tend to degrade it into its pragmatic classifications of room numbers and sizes, total area or location. Although we, by no means, mean that these research are idle or elusory, but in our study we stress that they lack the notion of home's being a 'place' and because of that, they overlook the unique attributions that come along with it. For instance, a quantitative analysis of a user satisfaction research held on living rooms of (3+1) apartments in Emek District would propose a generalized result of the satisfaction of an anonymous household on an anonymous living room, in that generalized research field. But it would

not cover the unraveled dynamics lying under a certain household's satisfaction on a certain living room. The second case requires a place-specific attitude that could have been thought-provoking in envisioning beyond the habitual understanding of the production and understanding of residential environments. The thesis aimed to explore this place-specificness issue in the case study provided.

However it shall be remarked here that, the absence or lack of such place-specific features and qualities of design -that we have emphasized in our case- does not necessarily mean that a sense of place would not occur at all in that environment. In other words, a house unit that could simply and adequately be defined in classifications of size, total area and location, still has the potential of being a place, the home of the household, although it does not provide distinct and qualitative architectural notions. It should not be forgotten that, as we have discussed before with reference to Miller, Hirsch and Darling, home is always the focus of a consumption-driven appropriation mechanism and eventhough the consumed goods are not unique in representing the self, the way they are brought together and the meanings attributed to them may as well reflect the self to a certain extent, and thus can act as means of personalization. Then, this kind of approach which is simply based on consumption might serve to privatize the space and turn it into a place that is meaningful to self. In this sense, the study of 'home as a place' that has been exemplified with a strong architectural attribution in the case of this thesis, can as well focus on another housing environment with a major attribution on the material culture, in order to decipher diverse practices of place-making in diverse contexts.

Whereas, what is investigated in this research is, how the process of place-making interacts with and fits in such a distinct architectural and urban environment, unlike other means of social constructions in any unsophisticated physical environment which do not have a critical 'touch' to the life and perception of its dwellers. In other words, the case focused in the field research, Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks, provided not only a mere consumption-driven place-making practice within the boundaries of the provided physical space, but a complex set of relationships that have grown in years between that specific physical space and the household. Thus, sense of place is constructed more strongly than before because it fits into a certain context of physical and social networks beyond the boundaries of domestic interior and it is more than a personalized and meaningful "folly" that could be removed and re-located on a different coordinate in the space, without losing a certain degree from its place quality.

5.3 Findings of the Thesis

As can be followed from the quoted interviews, a strong sense of place attachment is observed especially among the first and second generations living in the blocks, while in the successive generations we can observe that, as their activity spaces now are getting more diverse than before, their field of interests and expectations on domestic environment also alter dramatically, and they may or may not have the same sense of place attachment as their antecedents. After all, it is not surprising as Massey suggests; diverse groups have diverse attributions on place and place

identity and they differ in their ways of “participating in, using and contributing to the place”.¹⁰⁶

On the other hand, the strong sense of place attachment of households is observed to result in the claim and protection of the environment. The main reason of a forty-year-old urban residential environment to maintain its physical and social existence in the city without a deterioration of its quality, can be related to its being claimed strongly by its residents, and moreover its being a good host to them.

The issue of its being a good host, brings us to a point that the appreciation of the architectural space should not be missed out. At this point, certain issues brought up in the case study shall be remarked regarding Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks, to elaborate the contribution of the architectural space to the process of place-making and the development of place attachment:

5.3.1 Significance of the Location

- *Ease of Accessibility and Transportation:* The site's being on a central location in the city is an important notion in the resident's satisfaction on the ease of mobility. Although marking the outskirts of the city in the 1950s' Ankara, Emek District today is surrounded and supported by important developments of transportation facilities in the nearby environment (AŞTİ, Ankaray, Konya Road and Eskişehir Road), and the inhabitants of Yeşiltepe and

¹⁰⁶ Doreen Massey (1995; p.61).

Yıldıztepe Blocks benefit from the accessibility provided by these facilities to a great extent, such that certain interviewees stressed that they prefer to use public transportation facilities instead of their personal vehicles.

- *Commercial and Utility Facilities Available:* As a result of the diffuse of the city towards the west and the development of Emek District, the neighbourhood of Yeşiltepe has turned into a center of commercial and utility facilities from a settlement established on the outskirts of the city. The interviewees frequently emphasized that they could do almost all of their daily shopping in the neighbourhood of walk-up distance, moreover, the accessibility of health institutions and other facilities like banks or exchange offices are highlighted.

5.3.2 Design Merits of the Development

- *Utilization of Outdoor Space:* One of the most striking features of the design of the development is the green emphasized figure-ground relationship established on the site. While the architects Bediz and Kamçıl, in their article in *Arkitekt*, express the intentionality to maintain spaciousness in the positioning of the blocks along the sides of the lot, another merit to be derived from this approach is the large green 'ground' defined between the surrounding 'figure' of blocks. This merit also addresses the distinct position of the development in the neighbourhood of Emek, where this semi-public green area almost corresponds to the scale of public green

demanded in the nearby environment, while in practice it has already taken part in this task, owing to its permeable boundaries.

(Figure 5.1)



Figure 5.1 The vicinity of Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks in Emek District (approx. 1 km²)

- *Door-fronts as Extensions of the Living Space:* One of the major findings of the research on the field that, the inhabitants are also appropriating their nearby environments, for example their door-fronts, to a certain extent. This finding indicates that they do not limit their living space to the private unit of their apartments, and in different ways, they claim the environment and somehow associate themselves also to the outer boundaries of home. The indicators of such claim that are exemplified in the thesis are; placing of seating groups, flowerpots or decorative elements in the door-fronts, chatting, eating, walking for exercise, children's playing and riding bicycles, having fresh air, watching rain or snow, etc. An important remark shall be made that, the

architectural space provides the strongest contribution to this practice of 'place-making', and its benefit is affirmed repeatedly by the households with a common analogy established between the block halls and the traditional or nostalgic understanding of a "neighbourhood" (*mahalle*).

- *Divisible T-Shaped Living Room*: İnci Aslanoğlu states that luxury housing in 1950s' Ankara is initiated and shaped by the demands of the large number of Americans living in the city at that time.¹⁰⁷ A typical interior spatial unit that has started to rise in this period of Western impact is the *salon salle á manger*, where the function of dining enters to the living space demanding a defined 'room' for itself, together with its specific furniture. This new formation in the living space is commonly concretized with an L-shape, where a wing of the "L" is occasionally divided as a room, with a light-weight separator like a wooden screen. The case in the living room of Yeşiltepe reminds this issue of *salon salle á manger* but differs in its larger range of implementations, that is to say, its chance of flexibility. T-shape is introduced by the architects, where four zones of equivalent room sizes can be differentiated geometrically, and it is clued to be divided to separate rooms as such, owing to the extra doors positioned on the two wings of the "T". This differentiation of zones and clues of division are reflected to the spatial use of the households to a considerable extent, and this flexibility is evaluated

¹⁰⁷ "Ankara'da lüks konut üretimi, sayıları oldukça kabarık olan Amerikalıların isteklerine dönük tasarımlarla başlamıştır. Karniyarık planlı, ya da küçük odalı konutların yerini, gözde semtlerden Çankaya, Kavaklıdere ve Ayrancı'da şöminesi ve Amerikan barı olan, parke döşeli ve seviye farklı L salonuyla geniş daireli apartmanlar ve villalar almıştır." Ref. İnci Aslanoğlu (1994; p.240).

as a design merit that it enables the interpretation of the households to satisfy their changing spatial needs. Here, the architects' intentional approach provides a very sensible architectural balance between the accustomed 'concrete' apartment plan layout that does not permit an interference of the household by any means and the open, 'modern' plan layout of utmost flexibility that the households in this context most probably would not embrace habitually. On the other hand, even if the initial designs were 'concreted' in a user-participated fashion in the first phase, they would not be compatible with the changing needs of the households because they would suggest the 'frozen' needs of that certain time. Then, the approach of the designers can be seen as the most feasible in its context, where approximately five hundred typical apartment units were to be constructed in 1950s' Ankara.

- *Alternative Circulation Route from Kitchen:* The flexibility of the apartment unit does not only depend on the divisibility of the living room mentioned above, but also to the alternative routes that can be derived from the circulation network provided by the architectural layout. The major and distinctive feature of this network is the "alternative" or "back" route from the kitchen; which is basically formed by three successive spaces aside the longitudinal axis of the apartment, and links the entrance hall to the bedroom zone without passing through and being seen from the living room. Being a strong contributor to the privacy based *time* and *space zoning* of the domestic interior, this quality also serves for the fluidity of the interior space. An interesting detail at this point is

that, this flow of movement is supported by technical media also, such that electrical switches are located at two ends of these transitional spaces so that the movement is not interrupted by their usage.

- *Long and Continuous Balcony:* The longitudinal balcony, which is among the descriptive elements of the apartments and the facades of the blocks, contributes the architectural space and the lives of the households to a considerable extent. It is visually and physically accessible from the living room and the master bedroom spaces behind, and accordingly it provides an external route to be jointed to the interior circulation network. Moreover, as the space is conformable to accommodate leisure functions, it can be seen as an extension of the domestic space to the exterior, and also as a buffer zone of semi-private space between the apartments across the site. Another aspect of the form and implementation of the balcony is that, it does not enable the household to enclose it to enlarge the interior space, so that it acts as self-protection mechanism of the blocks that inhibits the deterioration of the original image of the buildings.
- *Quality of the Materials and Architectural Details:* The quality of the building materials are commonly praised by the households interviewed in the case study, in terms of their firmness, durability and aesthetics. They are frequently compared with the low quality equivalents in the contemporary market and remarked as distinctive features of the place, expressed with the attribution of

“brought from abroad (Italy, Spain, etc.)”; the stereotyped representative of the discourse emphasizing “good quality”. The architectural details, on the other hand, are quite clean and simple. Although they imply the delicate touch of a designer, they do not glamorize a certain taste that would interfere the calm atmosphere of the environment. (Figure 5.2)



Figure 5.2 Detail of staircase railings

- *Storage Capacity:* Apart from the rental storage rooms on the terrace floors, the apartment units also accommodate a considerable volume for storage. Built-in twin wardrobes between the two bedrooms, appr. 3.5 m³ storage space over the kitchen which is accessed from the living room, the built in closets in the bathroom, the kitchen and space no.9 (*ofis*) are among the provided storage

spaces, while space no.7 (the small room) is shown that it is also widely used for storage purpose.

5.4 Final Words

All of the attributes mentioned so far shall be evaluated as the contributors to the process of place making and to the development of place attachment of the households, as they are place-specific qualities of the 'home' that take part in the daily rituals, practices and memories of the households. The study indicated that the process of place-making is a process of physical and social construct of the being, and of the community that he/she belongs to. Being host to such process for over forty years, Yeşiltepe (and Yıldıztepe) Blocks have clued means of place-making processes and the contribution of the architectural space to that process, in the context of 'home'.

To sum up; the thesis provided an analysis of an urban residential environment in its processes and practices of place-making, through the experience and reasoning of its residents and the documentation of a detailed architectural observation and research. I think that, this kind of comprehensive approaches can be helpful in unraveling the hidden dynamics of accommodating processes and in growing an understanding of the diverse dimensions and potentialities of the physical environments that we, designers, strive to create.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions

Tarih / Saat:

Blok / Daire:

Görüşülen kişinin:

İsim ve soyadı:

Yaşı:

Cinsiyeti: K / E

Doğum yeri:

Medeni durumu: Bekar / Evli / Dul

Eğitim durumu:

Çalışma durumu (çalışıyorsa mesleği):

A. Görüşülen kişi ve hane halkı ile ilgili genel sorular:

1. Bu evde kimlerle yaşıyorsunuz? (toplam kaç kişi, ve aralarındaki bağ) Geçmişten bugüne ev nüfusu nasıl değişti?
2. Çocuklar varsa – çocuklarınız kaç yaşındalar? Okula gidiyorlar mı / çalışıyorlar mı?
3. Evinizin geçimini kim sağlıyor?
4. Ailenin / hanenin ekonomik durumunu kısaca tanımlamanızı istesek...

B. Yeşiltepe hikayesi:

1. Ne zamandan beri Yeşiltepe Blokları'nda yaşıyorsunuz?
2. Kooperatif hakkında neler biliyorsunuz?
3. Siz Yeşiltepe'ye geldiğinizden beri sitede gözlediğiniz bir değişim var mı? (tarihlerini de sorgulayarak– fiziksel ve sosyal değişimler –) Tüm bu değişim sizin yaşamınızı doğrudan etkiledi mi?
4. Sitede yakınlarınız, akrabalarınız var mı? (Yakınlık dereceleri nedir? Ne kadar sıklıkla görüşülüyor?)

5. Yeşiltepe Blokları'ndan ayrılmayı düşünüyor musunuz / istiyor musunuz?

-İstemiyorsa – neden?

Sadece duygusal bir bağ mı (orada büyümüş olmak, kendini oraya ait hissetmek gibi), yoksa yaşam koşulları ve sosyal ilişkiler onu gerçekten tatmin ediyor mu?

-İstiyorsa – neden?

Ayrılma kararı alınmış mı, yoksa sadece bir tasarı mı?

Ayrılma kararı alındıysa – Gideceği yer neresi? Seçiminde etkili olan nedenler ne?

Sadece bir tasarı ise – nasıl bir yerde yaşamak istiyor? (Yeşiltepe'deki yaşamın ona veremediği şeyler ne?)

Hayalindeki ev müstakil mi, apartman dairesi mi? Kaç odalı?

Dekorasyonu nasıl? Ne tür eşyalar hayal ediyor?

Taşınırsanız bu evi ne yapacaksınız? (Kiraya mı vermeyi mi yoksa satın değerlendirmeyi mi düşünüyor?)

C. Ev ve evde yaşam:

1. –Eski kullanıcılar için- Geçmişti hatırladığınızda bu evle ilgili aklınıza neler geliyor? Mekanlar nasıl kullanılırdı? Eşyalar nasıl yerleştirilirdi? Bugün neler değişti?

-Herkes için- Her bir mekan nasıl ve ne için kullanılıyor? Kim nerede yatıyor, misafirler nerede ağırlanıyor, yemek nerede yeniyor, balkonlar nasıl kullanılıyor, gündelik hayat en çok hangi mekanda geçiyor – mevsim değişimlerini kullanımı nasıl etkiliyor?)

2. Mekansal sorunlar var mı?

(Mekan büyüklükleri aile için yeterli mi? Ek olarak ihtiyaç duydukları mekanlar var mı? Çocukların hepsine ayrı yatak odası verilebilmiş mi – vermek isterler mi? Misafir geldiğinde sorun oluyor mu? Çocukların yeterli ve uygun çalışma ve oyun alanları var mı? Dekorasyonla / eşyaların yerleşim düzeniyle ilgili sorunlar yaşıyorlar mı? Mahremiyetle ilgili problemler var mı? Kışın evi nasıl ısıtıyorlar / ısıtma problemi var mı?)

3. Aileniz tarafından evde fiziksel değişiklikler veya eklemeler yapıldı mı, yapılması planlanıyor mu? (her değişikliğin veya eklemenin nedenini sorarak).

Banyo, mutfak, fayanslar, vs. yenilendiyse nasıl ve ne zaman? Yenilenirken nelere dikkat edilmiş? Özgün düzeni, şekli veya fonksiyonları korunmuş mu? Eski haline dair fotoğraf var mı? Kapı pencere doğramaları değiştirildi mi, özgün bölünmeler, vasistaslar dikkate alındı mı?

4. Bu evin bakımı nasıl – zor mu? Ne kadar zamanda bir genel bakım (badana-boya dahil) yapıyorsunuz? Malzemeler dayanıklı mı? Duvarlar, kapılar, çatıda sorunlar var mı? Evin temizliği zor mu? (her gün temizlik yapmak gerekiyor mu? Gündelik temizlik ne kadar vaktinizi alıyor?)

5. Dekorasyonunuz hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Şu andaki eşyalarınızdan, ve yerleşim biçimlerinden memnun musunuz? Almak istediğiniz ama alamadığınız eşyalar var mı?
(burada özellikle evin mekansal yetersizliklerine yapılan atıflar üzerinde yoğunlaşılacak)

6. Evin sokakla ve komşu dairelerle ilişkisinden memnun musunuz? Gürültü veya mahremiyetle ilgili sorunlar yaşıyor musunuz?

7. Bize sıradan bir gününüzü anlatır mısınız?

Yataktan kalkıp gece yattığı saate kadar neler yapıyor? Bu zamanın ne kadarını evde, ne kadarını işte geçiriyor, site dışına ne kadar sıklıkla ve ne nedenle çıkıyor?

8. Komşuluk ilişkileriniz nasıl? Komşularınızla birbirinizi sık sık ziyaret eder misiniz? Bu ziyaretler genelde evlerde mi gerçekleşir? Site içinde herkesin bir araya geldiği bir yer var mı? Varsa siz sık gider misiniz?

9. –site içinde sosyal ilişkilerin hangi ölçekte kurgulandığını sorgulamak için- Hangi komşularınızla sosyal ilişkileriniz var? kattaki / aynı bloktaki / farklı bloktaki insanları tanıyor, onlarla düzenli olarak görüşüyor musunuz?

10. Yeşiltepe Blokları'nı gördüğünüz / yaşadığınız / ziyaret ettiğiniz diğer apartmanlarla kıyaslayabilir misiniz? Farklı bulduğunuz, beğendiğiniz veya eksik bulduğunuz şeyler neler?

11. Kat holleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Galeriler boşluklarının apartman için bir artı değer yarattığını düşünüyor musunuz?

12. Çatıdaki terasları nasıl kullanıyorsunuz?

13. Sitedeki otopark kullanıcıların ihtiyacını karşılıyor mu?

14. Sitenin kentteki konumu hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sosyal donatılarla ilişkileri nasıl? (çevredeki alışveriş, yeme-içme, ulaşım imkanlarının hangilerini tercih ediyorlar?)

15. -Eski sakinler için- AŞTİ'nin kurulması ve metro hattının gelmesi siteyi nasıl etkiledi? (ulaşım, ses ve görüntü kirliliği, insan trafiği, site sınırları – tel örgüler, ...)

APPENDIX B

Plan Drawings of the Case Sample

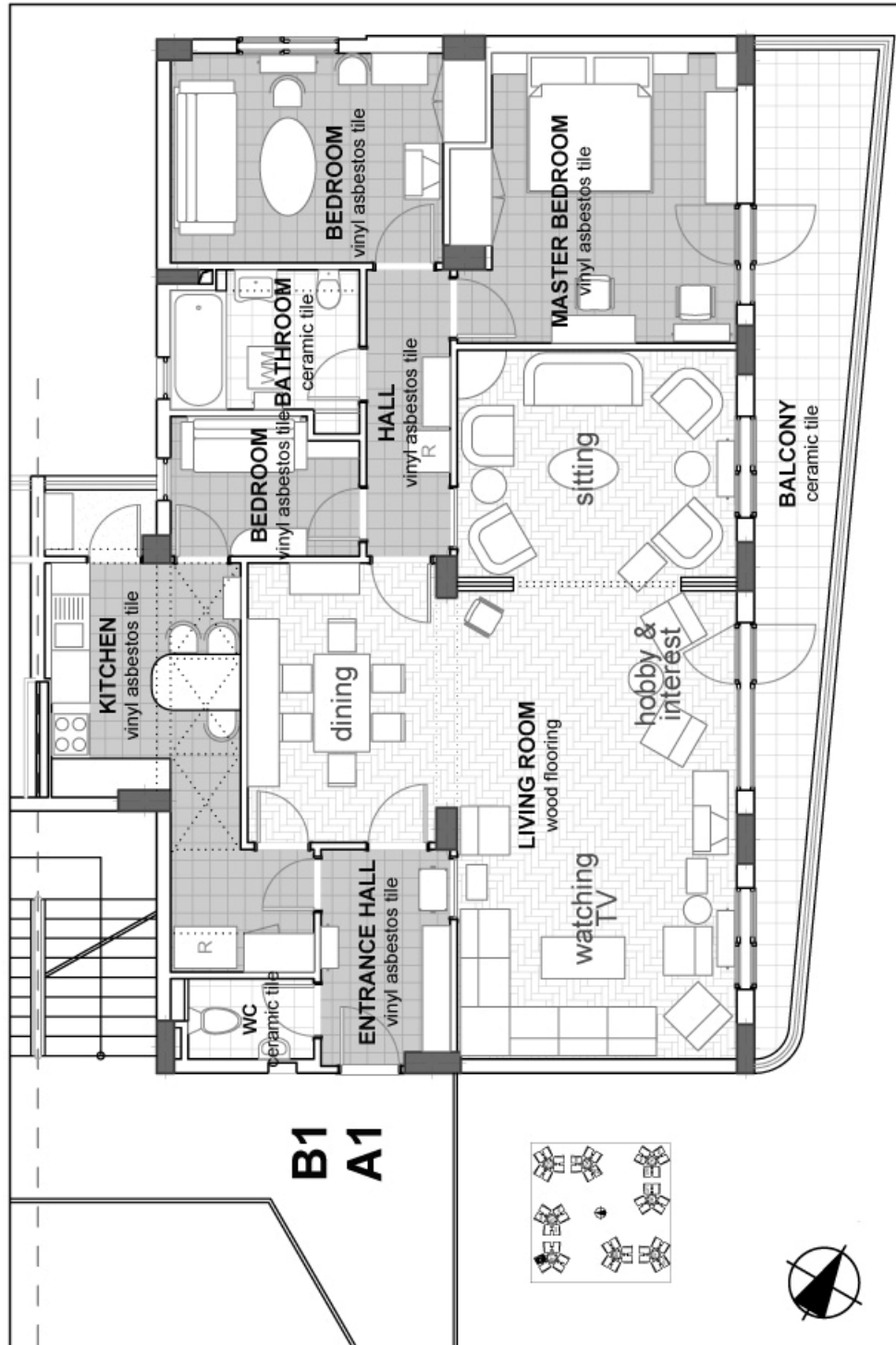


Figure B.1 Plan of A1, scale 1:100

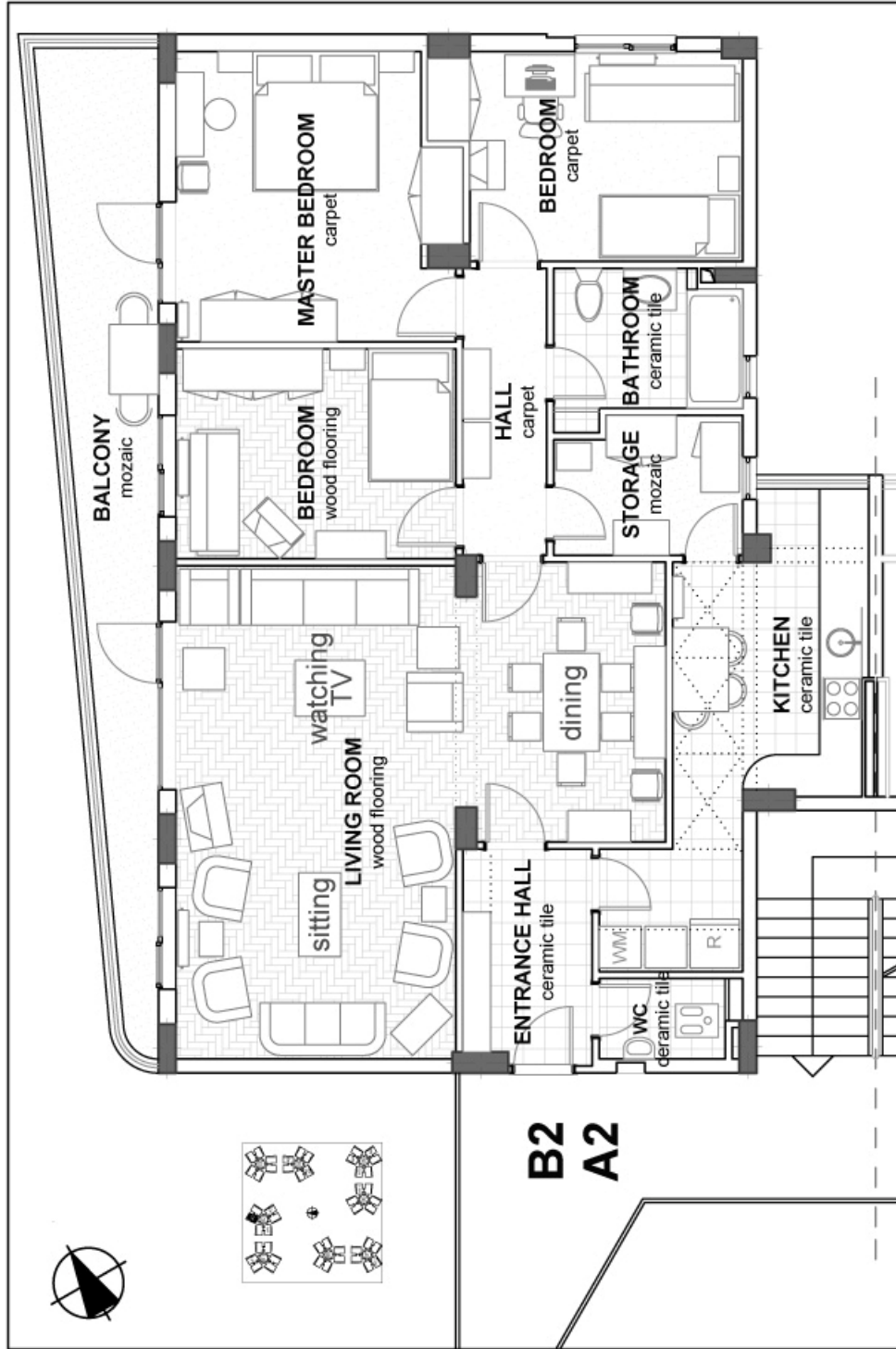


Figure B.2 Plan of A2, scale 1:100

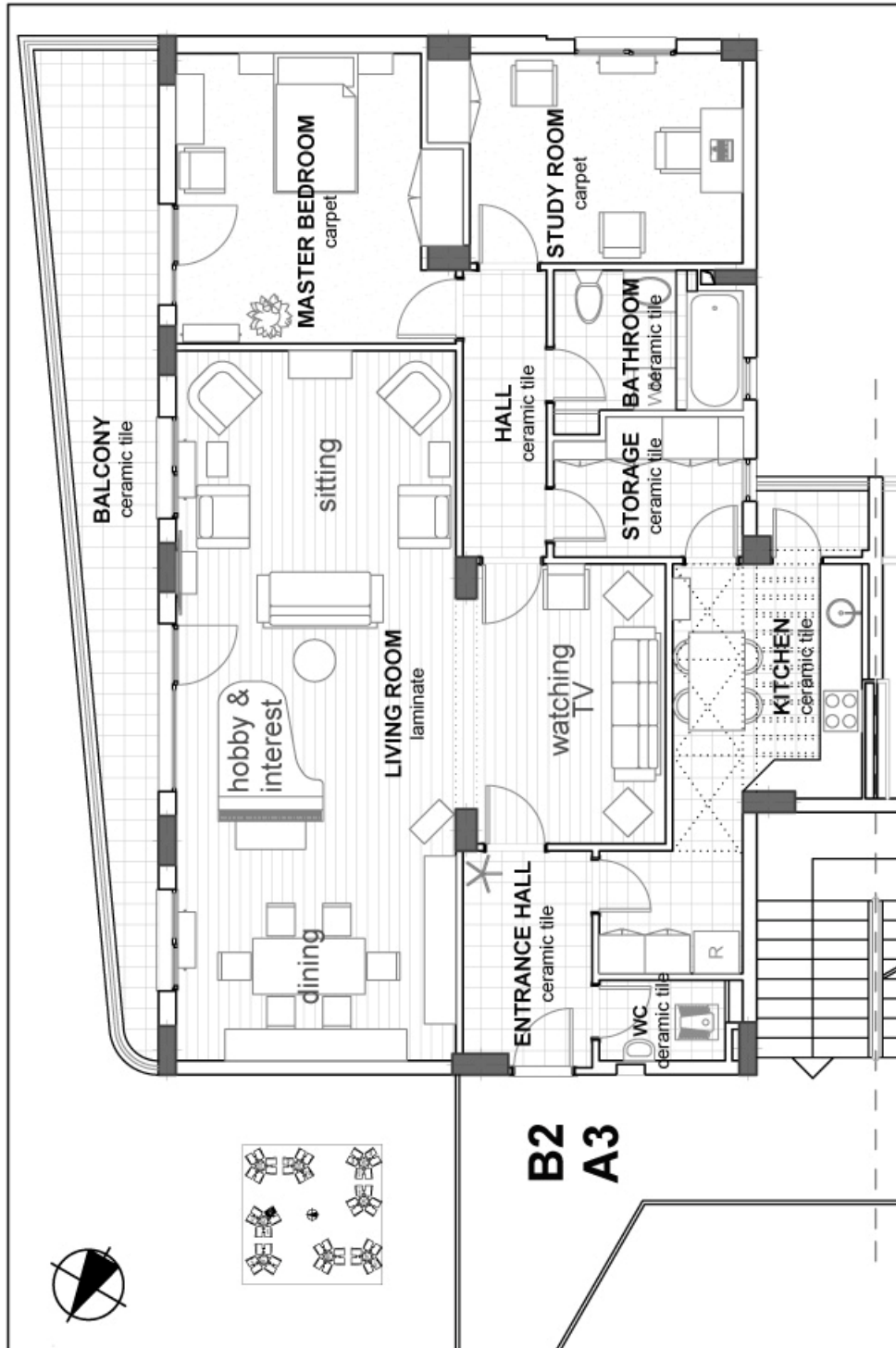


Figure B.3 Plan of A3, scale 1:100

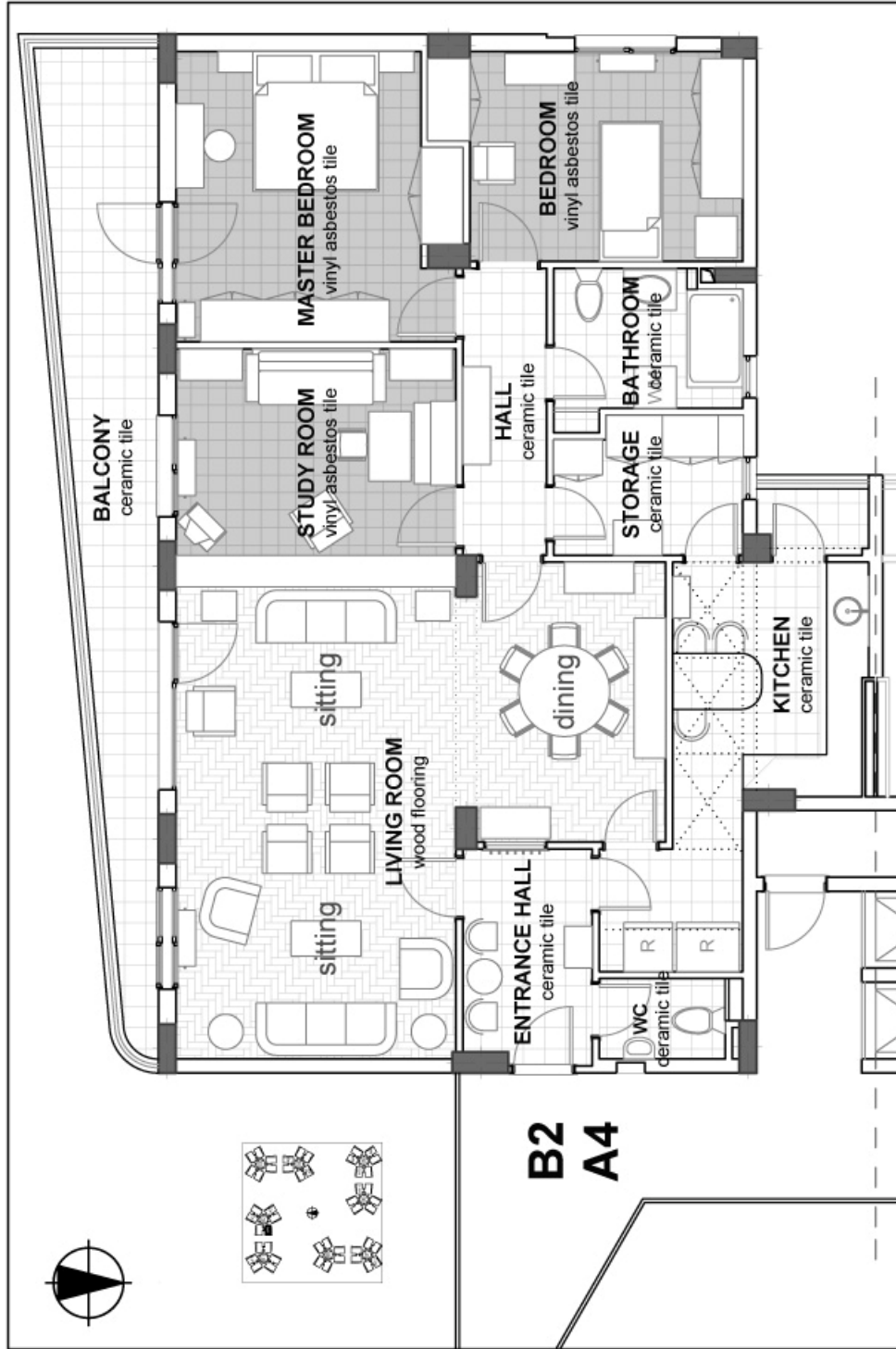


Figure B.4 Plan of A4, scale 1:100

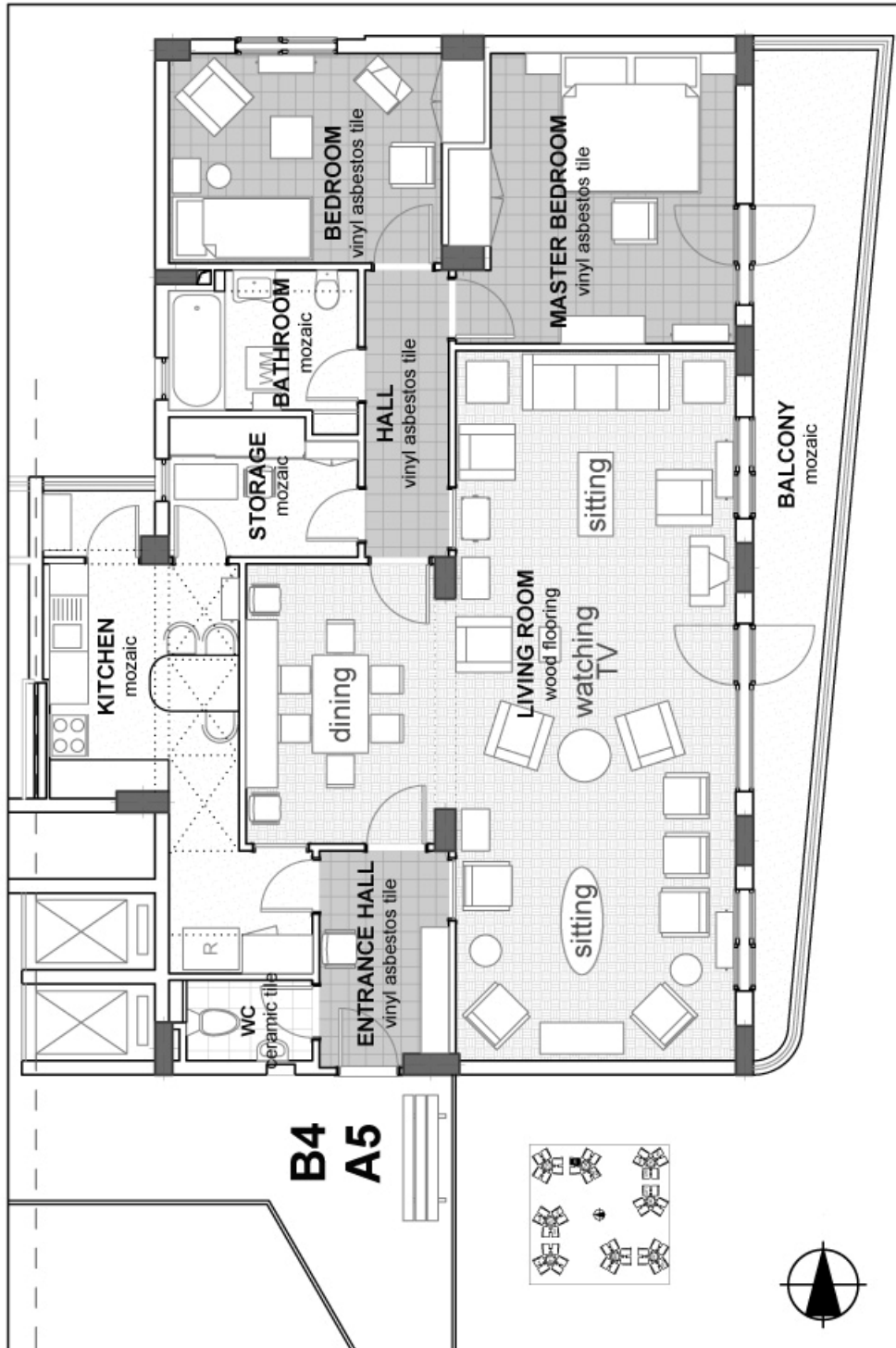
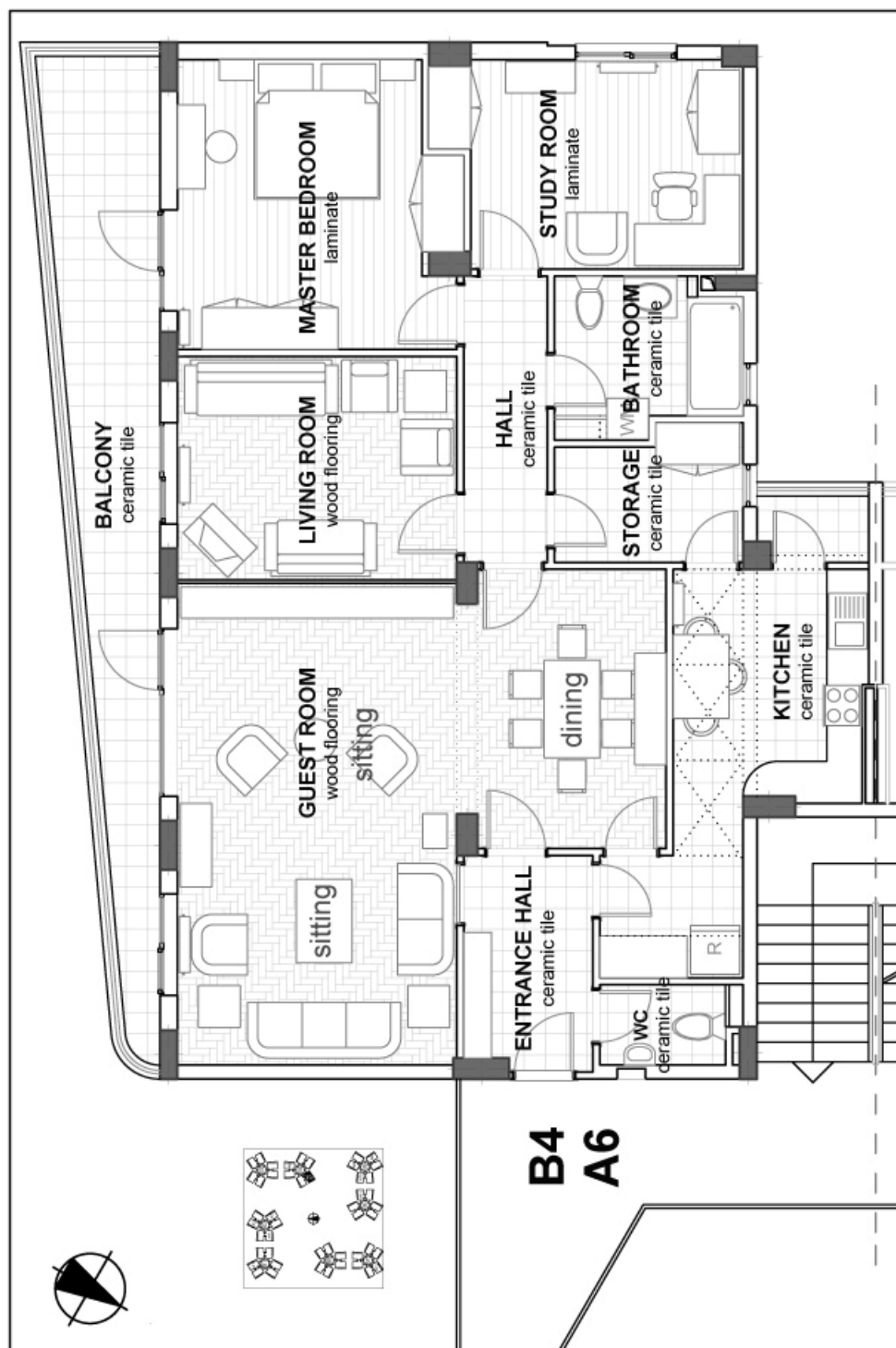


Figure B.5 Plan of A5, scale 1:100



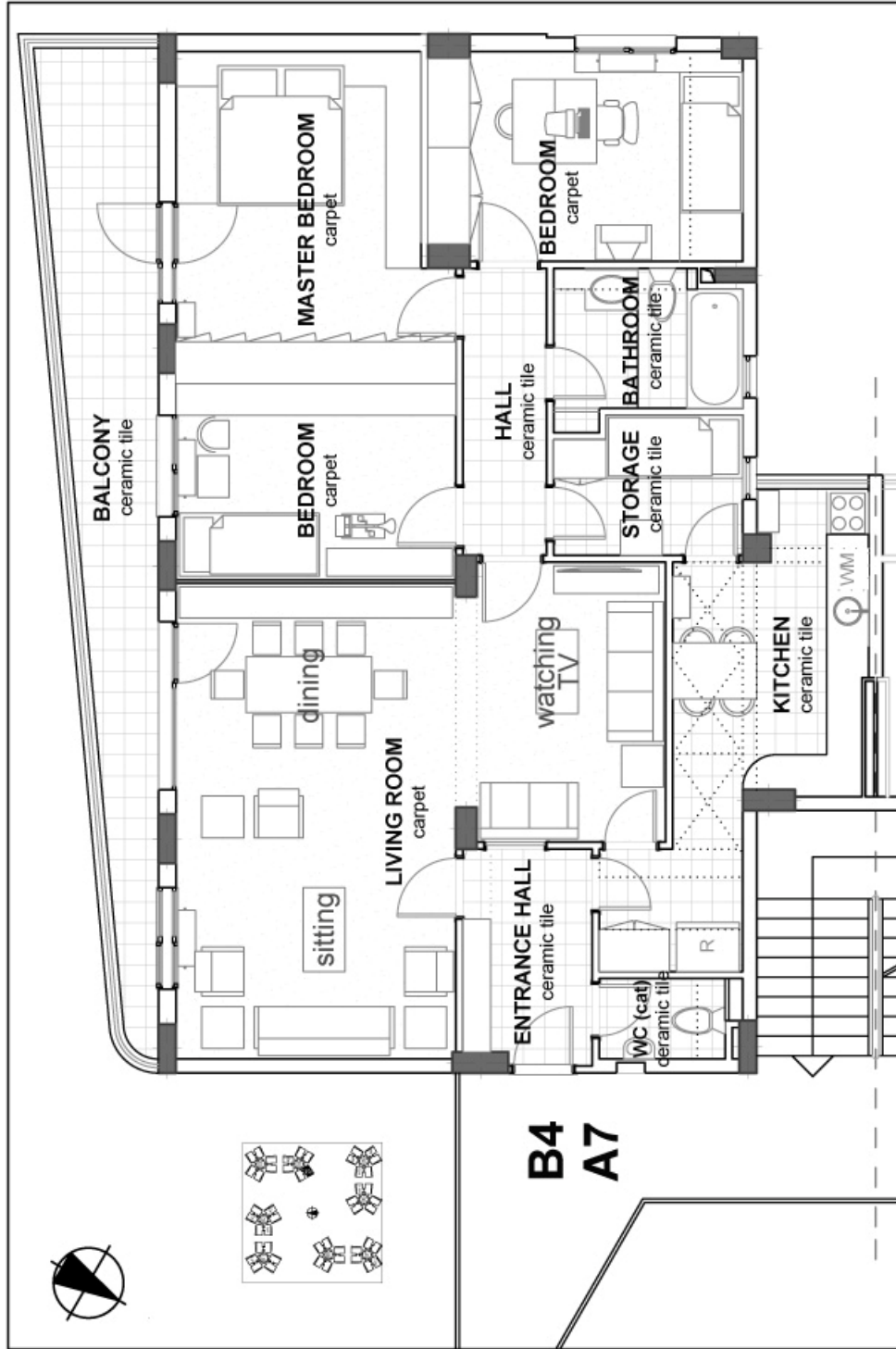


Figure B.7 Plan of A7, scale 1:100

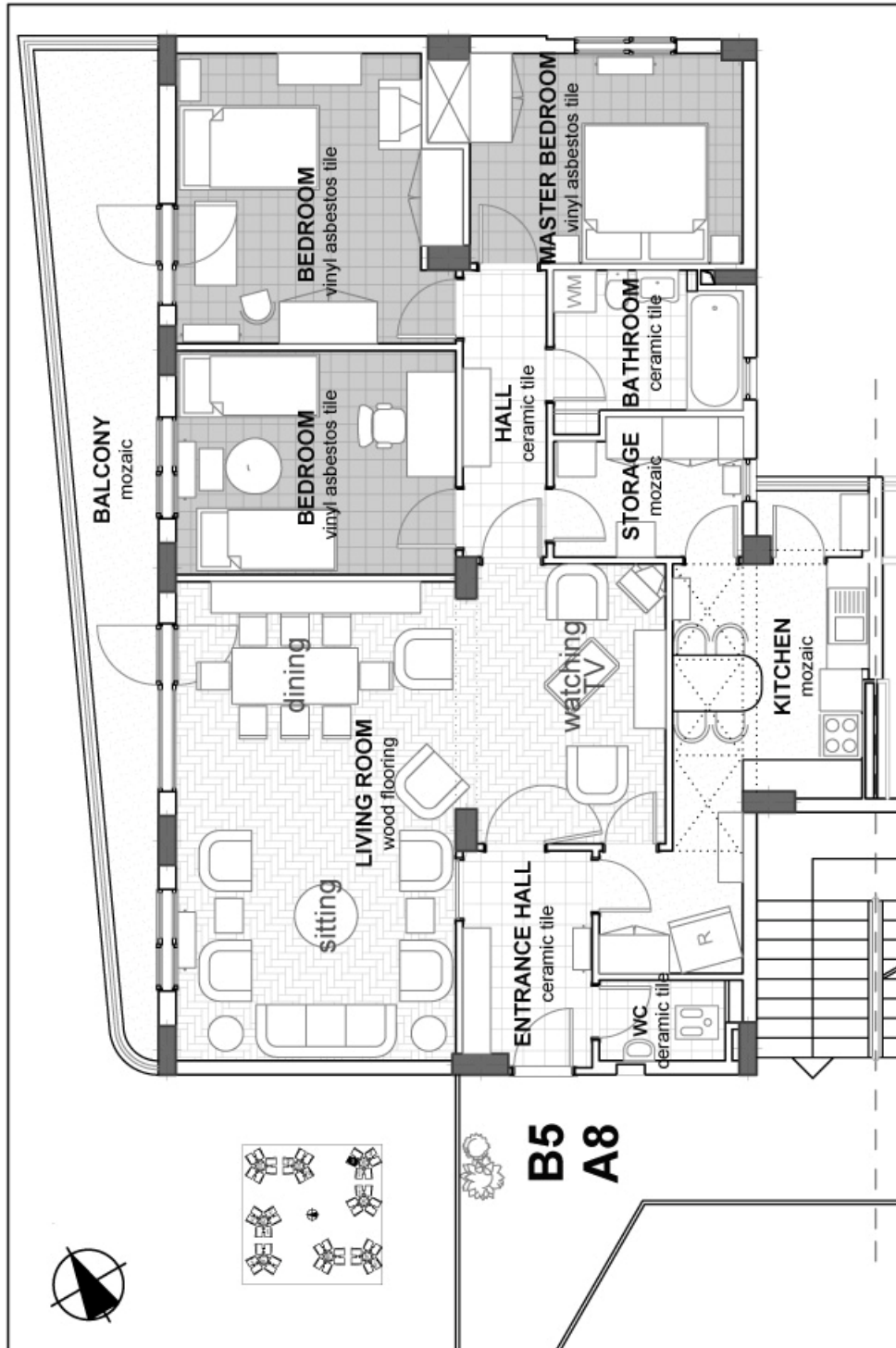


Figure B.8 Plan of A8, scale 1:100

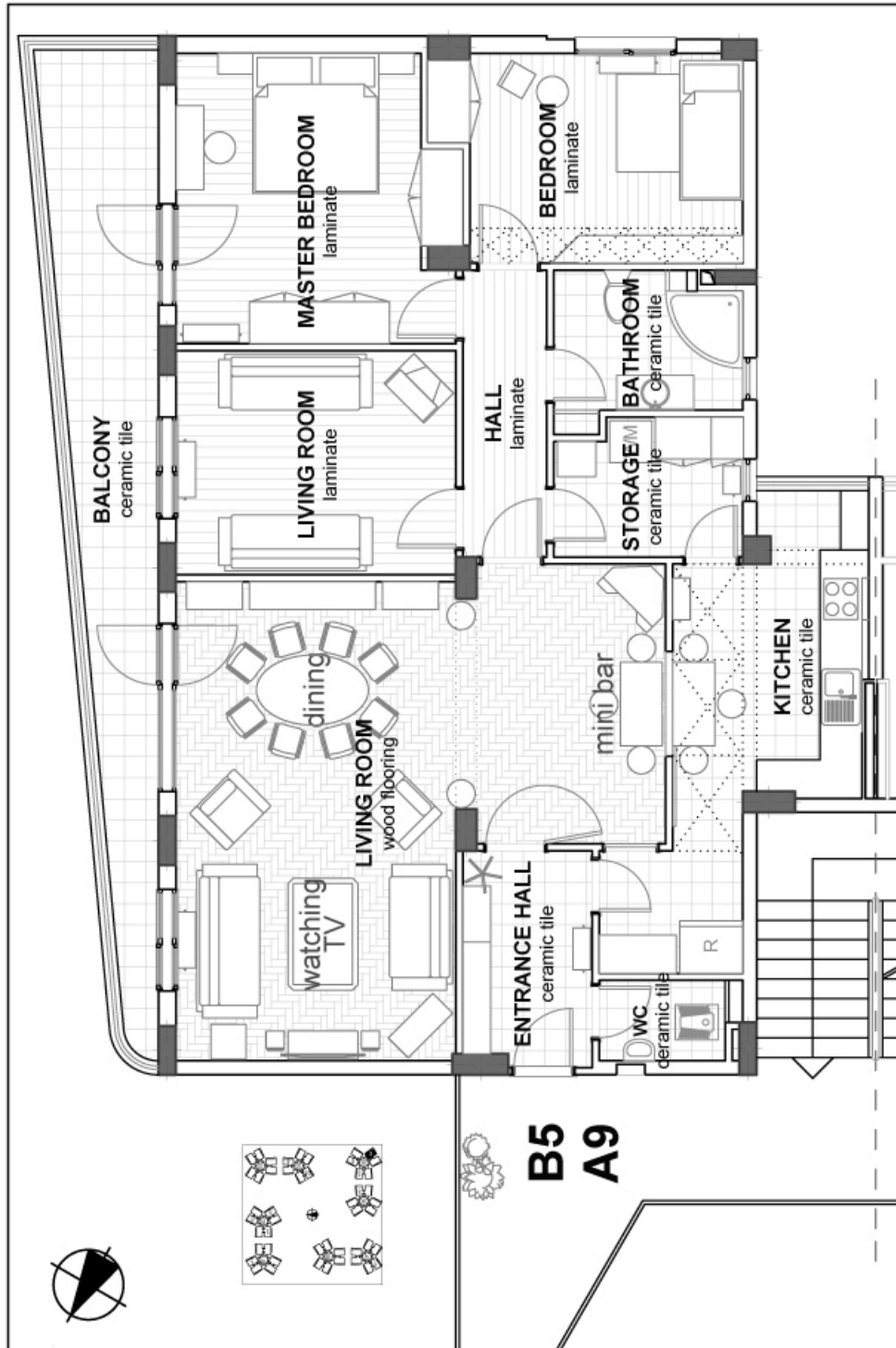


Figure B.9 Plan of A9, scale 1:100

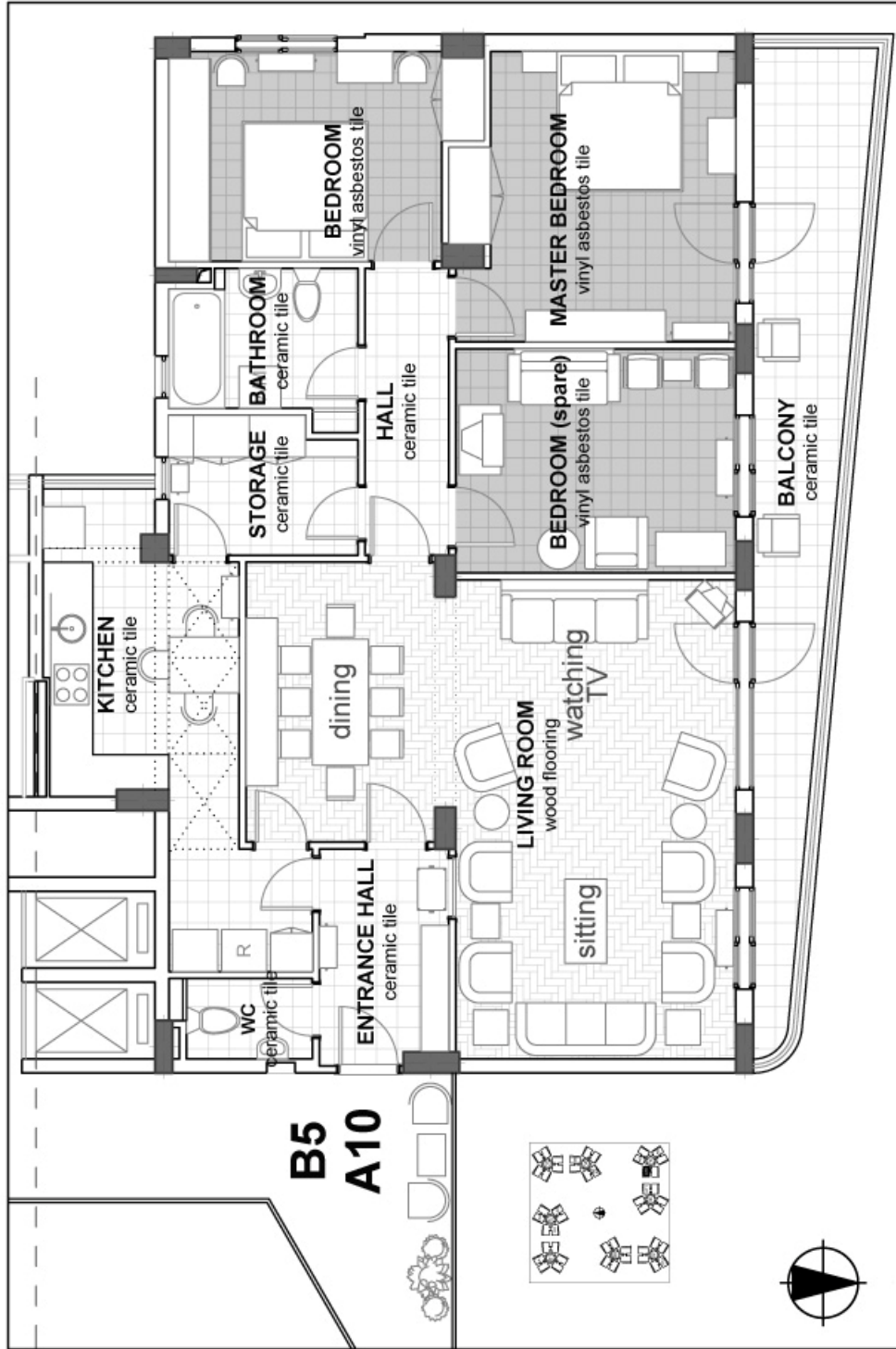


Figure B.10 Plan of A10, scale 1:100

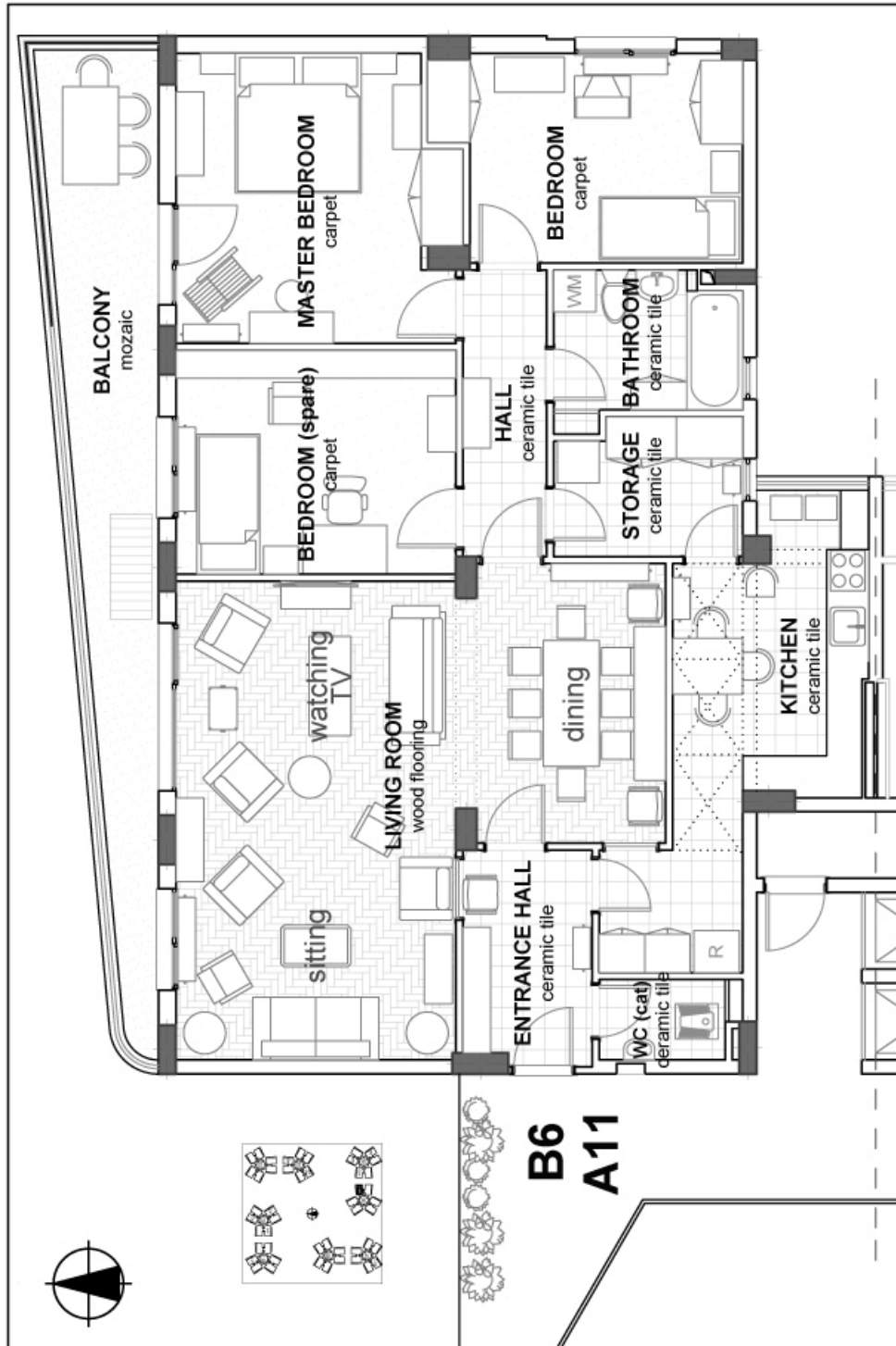


Figure B.11 Plan of A11, scale 1:100

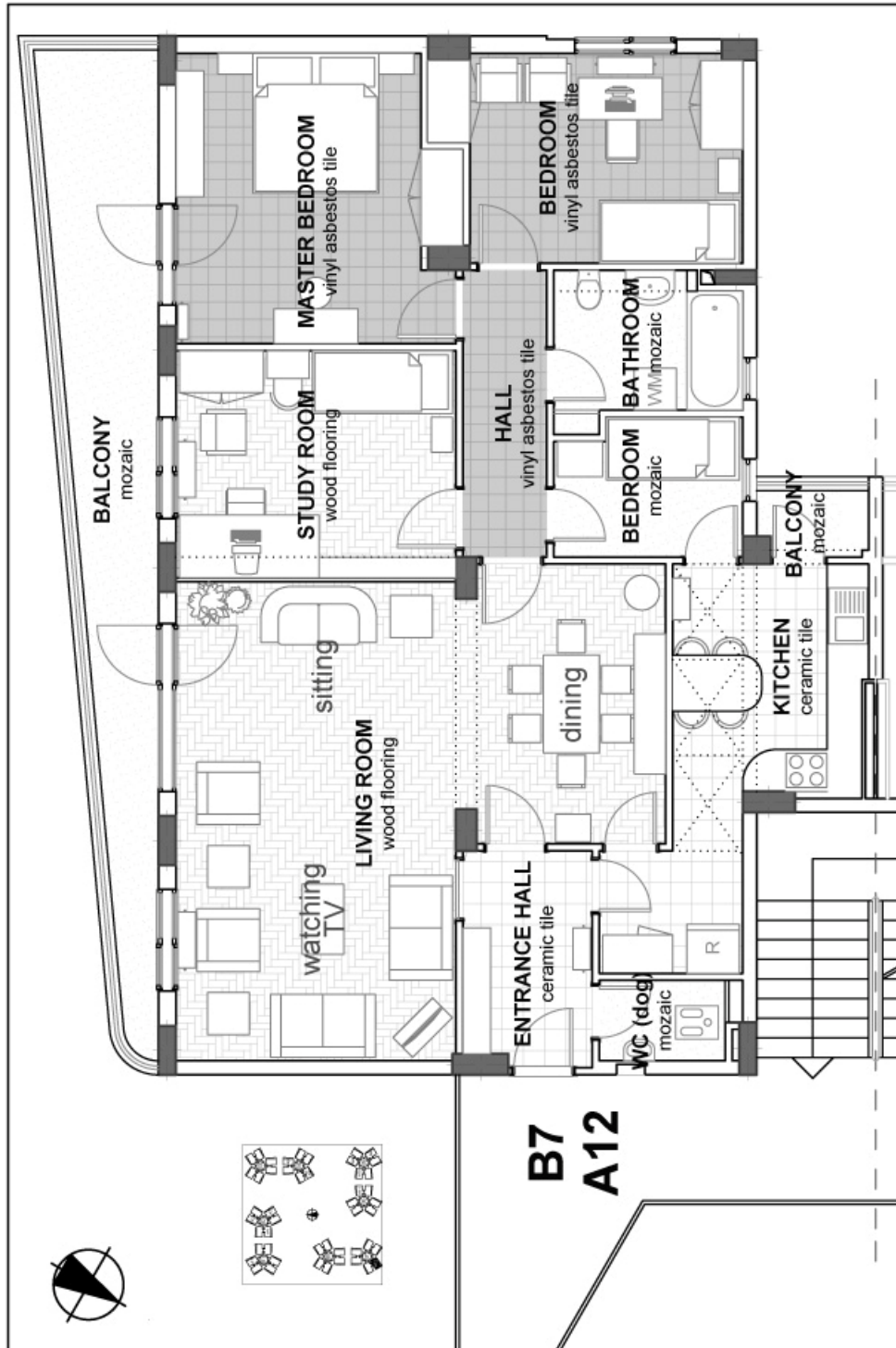


Figure B.12 Plan of A12, scale 1:100

APPENDIX C

Originals of the Quotations Used in Chapter 4

(in the order of the text)

4.1 Physical Space and Location; Being There or Somewhere Else

H10-55

Şimdi belirli bir yaşa geldik, sağlık olayları çok önemli. Üç dakikada Gazi'ye gidebiliyorsun. Diyelim ki beş dakikada Bayındır'a gidebiliyorsun. Yani sağlık kuruluşları çok önemli. Poliklinikler deseniz hemen adımbaş... Sekiz tane şu 100 m. içinde banka şubesi var. Bunlar insanlar için çok önemli. Döviz büromuz var, kuyumcumuz var, gıda yönünden marketlerimiz dolu, büyük marketler bunlar, [...] Uzağa gitmene gerek yok, bir evin ne ihtiyacı varsa, hatta ve hatta şöyle söyleyeyim halısından tut beyaz eşyasına kadar – bir mobilya hariç- şu 100 m. içinde tanzim edebilirsin.[...] AŞTİ ! Şurada metroya 5 dakikada gidiyorsun. Kapının önünden Ulus dolmuşu, Dışkapı dolmuşu, Örnek'e gidiyor, şu Konya yoluna çıktığın takdirde Etlik'e kadar tek vasıtayla, Çankaya'ya kadar tek vasıtayla gidebildiğin.. Eskişehir yoluna bile... yani her yere tek vasıtayla gidebileceğimiz bir yer. Bir de rahatlıkla oturuyorsun, mesela bizim genelde buralarda oturanlar kalın perde kullanmazlar çünkü mesafeler çok, bir yatak odasında kullanırsın o da hani öyle gerektiği için. Rahat oturursun, sessiz sakın, yani bunlar çok önemli.

H2-65

Bilkent, Konutkent tarafına gittiğinde, bir hastalansan hastaneye yetişene kadar yolda ölürsün yani en basitinden. Bir alışveriş yapmaya kalksan hani kısıtlı, yeni yeni açılmaya başladı. Burada yürüyerek gitsen her türlü şey mevcut yani. Şurada metro olmasa dahi, Ulus'a, Kızılay'a yürüyerek gidilir.

H6-71:

Ben kızıma burada bir daire aldım. Burada oturmadı, Esat'ta oturuyor idi lojmanda, Beysupark'a taşındılar. Daha büyük bir alan ve temiz hava vesaire. Belki temiz hava bakımından orası daha iyi olabilir. Bilhassa Ankara'nın topografik durumu itibarıyla kotu buranın biraz daha düşük. Çok değil mesela Gazi Mahallesi kadar olmasa bile, biraz daha düşük. Ama özellikle ben yaşta olanlar için, 50sini geçmiş olanlar için, ulaşım yönünden burası son derece mükemmel bir yer durumunda. Bana bugün, burası 230 bin liraya satılıyor, oradan 200'e bir daire vereceğim deseler, hayır derim. Sebebi, Ankaray burada

ayağımın altında. Taksi buradan 5 liraya Kızılay'a iniyor, oradan 25- 30 liraya iniyor. Bütün bunlar bir avantaj, yani ulaşım faktörü. Zaten doğalgaza geçtiğimiz için o çukur olmasının da bir önemi kalmadı.

H1-92:

Şimdiki konumu çok şahane bir şey. Eskiden bu olanaklar yoktu. Birinci olanak AŞTİ. Bu Ankaray'ın oluşu ulaşım bakımından şahane bir şey. AŞTİ şurada ayağımızın altında, değil Türkiye'nin Avrupa'nın neresine gitmek istiyorsanız, bütün otobüs durakları bütün o şeyler hepsi orada. Yani Türkiye bakımından ulaşım, burada Ankara'da istediğiniz semte, Kızılay, Ulus nereye istiyorsanız... buradan Kızılay'a altı dakikadır Ankaray ile gidiş tam altı dakika sürer.

H7-73:

AŞTİ'nin varlığı özellikle bizler için çok iyi oldu. Ben mesela arabam olduğu halde araba kullanmıyorum çünkü gittiğim yer Kızılay, büromun olduğu yer ve orda da park sorunu var. Metroyu kullanıyorum hem biraz yürüyüş oluyor, hem biraz insanların içine girmiş oluyorsunuz. Değişik kişilerin içine girmiş oluyorsunuz.

H8-46:

Şu bahçemizin rahatlığını... başka apartmanlarda mesela, benim annemler 8.cadde'nin üstünde, o çocuklar bir gün daha inip de.., çünkü cadde önü. Bizim çok büyük bir rahatlığımız var. Çocuklarımız çok rahat büyüdüler. Evet şimdi kızım da oğlum da, şimdi okul tatil olunca gece 12den önce eve gelmeyecek. Ama nerde, gözümüzün önünde yine. Devamlı biz bahçede seslerini duyuyoruz, orada olduklarını biliyoruz bütün buradaki arkadaşlarıyla. Yani böyle bir rahatlık var. Bunlar da hiçbir yerde olmayan rahatlıklar, çok mühim şeyler bence.

H11-56:

Bu evlerde oturup rahatına alışan yani pek başka yerlere gidemez. Ben mesela çok istedim Çayyolu'na –ilk daha yapıldığında- o taraflara gitmek, fakat tutturdu [eşim] 'basık oralar, basık, tavanlar üstüme üstüme geliyor, ben o kadar uzun yola gitmem', o zaman oğlan da hani, geceleri geç geliyorlar, biz burda şimdi o kadar telaşlanıyoruz, gece oralarda yollarda gelemeyiz diye. Sonra basıklık olayı benim dikkatimi çekti, burası mesela tavan yüksektir, 2.70 m'dir burası, perdeciden biliyorum. Şimdi gidin bakın o Konutkent'teki evlerde şu kadarcık yani... O kadar az oluyor ki...

H6-71:

Mesela 96'lar var Kolej'in orada. Bir yakınımız oturuyordu, ben beğenmedim, çünkü kat yüksekliği –enterasan bir mimari yapmışlar- 3.5-4 metre falan. Şimdi ne olursa olsun bunun temizlenmesi -hadi boyası 3-5 senede bir olsun- mümkün değil, toz olur bir şey olur, hadi alın bakalım. Bakımı zor pencereleri de ona göre yüksek, yani öyle bir ev almam. Bunun benzerine bir de Karakusunlar'da müstakil evlerde rastladım. Bir de Dostlar Sitesi vardır Balgat'ın girişinde. O

bizden kopyadır ama kötü bir kopyadır. Ben burayı genelde Allah'ın bir lütfu olarak gördüm bana, ben çok memnunum.

H8-46:

Yani kullanışlı evler, eğer içini de istediğiniz gibi, kendi istediğiniz gibi yaparsanız çok kullanışlı... yani çok memnunuz evimizden, şeklinden, kullanışlılığından. Tabii bakım istiyor, o da zamanla eskiyor, her ev ister yani.

H3-65:

Müstakil evi kedi köpek beslemek için zaman zaman düşünüyor isem de, valla Ankara'daki müstakil evler.. Ankara'nın, İç Anadolu'nun doğasını ben pek uygun görmüyorum o evlere. Yani çok yapay kalıyor bu coğrafyada o tip evler. Onun için onu pek düşünmüyorum, belki daha yeni bir siteye geçmek. Yavaş yavaş eskiyor diye, yoksa seviyorum ben Yeşiltepe'yi, beğeniyorum.

H5-90:

Ayrılmayı hiç düşünmedim. Buradan daha rahat bir yer yoktur diye düşünüyorum. Mesela Çankaya'da o Nenehatun'lar bilmemneler yokuş... oraya gitsem hangi dostum gelecek oraya... her yerden geliyorlar.

[...]

Mesela burada oturuyorum, şu odadan bizim bey gelecek gibi oluyor. Öyle hatıralarımla yaşıyorum. Bak sana göstereyim...

H8-46

Valla düşünmüyoruz. Şimdilik yani öyle bir şey düşünmüyoruz. Çok seviyoruz, semtimizi çok seviyoruz. Evimizin yerini falan, hele çocuklar, kızım mesela çok seviyor burayı. Yani çok memnunuz hem semtimizden hem evimizden. Bir de şöyle bir bakım olursa evimizde, asla yani düşünmeyiz hiçbir yeri.

H9-32:

Güvenlik, her şeyden önce güvenlik. Çünkü eşim yurtdışına gittiğinde ya da işi nedeniyle oldu ya geç geldi, benim rahatlıkla kapımı kilitleyip genç bir insan olarak korkmadan oturabildiğim bir yer. Güvenlik... yani müstakil bir evim olsun tabi ki de ben çok isterim ama güvenliği açısından yani güvenliği olan iyi bir villa sitesi, ben Ankara'da olmadığını düşünüyorum.[...] Şimdi mesela Ankara'nın artık bu merkez dediğimiz yerlerinde müstakil evde oturmak mümkün değil. O nedenle burası hem merkezi ama aynı zamanda müstakilden bir tek bahçemiz eksik. Onun haricinde kapıyı kapattığınızda [balkona] çıktığınızda hiç kimsenin hiç kimseyle bağlantısı yok, gürültüsü çok nadirdir. Ne bileyim bir inşaat varsa gürültü duyabilirsiniz. Onun dışında çok böyle gördüğünüz gibi sessizdir. Yani müstakil evde oturuyormuş gibi hissediyoruz kendimizi.

H10-55:

Valla bir şey söyleyeyim mi, kıyaslama yapamıyorum, burası bana özel geliyor. Böyle de noktayı koyuyorum; her yönüyle yani. Ha tabii, mesela şeyi varsaymıyorum, apartman için konuşuyoruz. Ama özel bir şeye gittin diyelim, villa tipi, onların tabii değişik kullanım şeyleri vardır. Onlarla da kıyaslamazsın evini.

H11-56:

Ayy o kadar güzeldir ki... çok keyiflidir, hele burası kapandıktan sonra. Çiçekler yaparsın, bütün günün burada geçebilir. Ben burada resim bile yapıyorum yani. [...] Yazın ömrümüz burada geçiyor, gece yarısına kadar. Televizyonu da çıkarırız. Lambalarımız vardır, prizlerimiz vardır.

H12-63:

Balkonlar öyle ayarlanmış ki, balkonun neresinden bakarsan bak, karşıkı dairenin içini göremezsın. Dolayısıyla gizlilik bakımından çok iyi ayarlanmış, burun buruna değilsin hiçkimseyle. [kat holü] de öyle, çıkınca sanki sokağa çıkmışsın gibi. Hoş yani orasının öyle açık olması. Bazılarına tuhaf geliyor yadırgıyor ama ben çok severim. Kar yağdığında yağmur yağdığında çok güzel. Orada beni rahatsız eden bir şey yok.

H8-46:

Hiçbir yerde bulamıyoruz bu rahatlığı gerçekten. Bizim bu kapımızın önü bile o kadar büyük bir nimet ki. Bizim çocuklarımız bisiklete biniyor yani hiç dışarı çıkmadan, aynı sokak gibi, yani şöyle, kayınvalidem mesela, yaşlılarımız yürüyüş yapıyorlar, bu çok güzel bir şey. Hiç dışarı çıkmadan, kapını açıyorsun, kilitmeden açık, sen orada yürüyüşünü yapıyorsun. Çocukların orada bir bisiklete binebiliyor, oynayabiliyor. Bunlar çok güzel şeyler yani. Hiçbir yerde bulamıyorsun. Hiçbir apartmanda ben yani göremedim böyle.

H9-32:

Özellikle kapının önünü çok kullanıyorum, [oğlumdan] dolayı. Mesela içerde olduğunda yemek yemek istemiyor. Balkon da –burası yüksek olduğu için– rüzgarlı oluyor, açık burası ana caddeye bakıyor çünkü, o nedenle kapının önünü kullanıyoruz, çok kullanıyoruz yani. [...] Bisiklete biniyoruz, orada masamız var, yemeğini oraya masaya koyuyoruz. Ondan sonra çiçeklerimizi suluyoruz. Yeni çiçek ekıyoruz mesela saksılarımıza. O şekilde yani, kapının önünü o şekilde kullanıyoruz. [...] Mahalle gibi, yani küçük bir mahalle. Her bir kat kendi çapında küçük bir mahalle. [...] Mesela balkona çıkamıyoruz kışın ama kar izlemek için kapının önüne çıkıyoruz. Mesela oğlum için, karda dışarı çıkartmak zor, yağmuru izletmek için mesela pencereden izlemek yerine, giydirip de kapalı alanda dışarıyı seyrettiriyorsunuz mesela.

H7-65:

Ben seviyorum, kar yağınca mesela kapıdan seyredebilirim sanki bahçeme yağıyormuş gibi.

H7-73

Mesela TUSO blokları, TUSO bloklarında apartmanın asansörüne iniyorsunuz ve dar bir koridordan dairelere taksim oluyorsunuz. İster istemez o dairelerden bit takım kokular ortak mahale geliyor. Orda oturan arkadaşımız vardı, onu ziyarete gittiğimizde bunu biz hissediyorduk.

4.2 Living Room and Informalization; Implementations of Space and Time Zoning**H9-32:**

Her odada TV var. [Eşim] burada oturmayı tercih ediyor, ben oturma odasında olmayı tercih ediyorum çünkü [oğlumla] oyun oynamak orada daha rahat. Ortada sehpa yok, sandalyeler masalar yok, iki tane sadece koltuk, orası daha güvenli benim için.

H12-63:

Hep burada, salonda. Oturma odası gibi bir şey bana çok ters gelir. Yani yaşama alanımız hep burası, bir de mutfak çok severiz biz ailecek. Arkadaşlarımız çok alışktır, mutfakta çok otururuz. [...] biz 5-6 kişi çok rahat hala otururuz. Normalde 4 kişilik o masa, durur o orijinal masamız. Onu çok sevdiğimiz için değiştirmedik. Oradaki sohbetlere çok alışkınsınız biz, çocuklar da arkadaşları geldiğinde mutfakta otururlar. Hala oradaki yaşamımız devam ediyor. Salon ve mutfak... Kalabalıksak tabi ki salonda yiyoruz fakat yakın birileriye veya 4-5 kişiye mutfakta yemeyi tercih ederiz.

H11-56:

Benim için rahatlık çok önemli. Benim çocukluğumda bizim evimizde salon ayrıydı. Annem bizi salona sokmazdı. Oturma odaları vardı, yani böyle girip de koltukların üzerine bile oturamazdık. Bir de benim annem çok titizdi. Belki ona mı tepki diyorum, bir de insanlar şimdi rahat. Şimdi bizim oturma odamız falan yok hayatım, hiçbir zaman da olmadı. Her zaman çocuklar burada yediler içtiler, derslerini burada yaptılar, herkes kendi odasına gitmediği zamanlarda böyle. [...] Hep burada geçti yani ömrümüz. Yine de oturma odası yapan, anneler var mesela. Annemin orada televizyonu var dizi seyrediyor, babam dışarıda salonda seyrediyor yani... Yaşlılarda oturma odası olayı var, bizde yok.

H10-55:

Bana gelecek olan benim şahsıma gelsin, benim evimin mobilyasına, evimin dizaynına gelmesin. Bana gelsin. Benim mesela şu anda evim kirli, camlarım kirli, bunlar temizlenecek, avizelerim silinecek, duvarlarım silinecek. Ama eğer

bana biri, ay onun evi kirli avizesi kirli diye gelmiyorsa zaten hiç gelmesin. Onda hiç şeyim yoktur yani. Yani ben olduğum için gelmeli.

4.3 Appropriation of the Domestic Space

H5-90:

[Salonu] kocam böldürmedi. O zaman kocam umum müdür, vaziyetimiz iyi. Görüştüğümüz insanlar Tefik İleri'ler, hep böyle bakanlar, elçiler... Erkekler o tarafta oturur, kadınlar bu tarafta oturur. Bütün salon, duvarlar üstüme yürümesin dedi. Ama şimdi ben bir kadın alırsam ona ayrı bir oda istiyor. Böyle bölmek mi lazım, ne yapmak lazım...

H1-92:

Fakat birçokları burayı böldü, yatak odası... kalabalıkları var, yatak odasına ihtiyacı var, fakat oğlumun böyle bir isteği oldu, dedi, ya ben size nasılsa yar değilim, ben çekip gideceğim evleneceğim falan, siz kalacaksınız ikiniz. Bu itibarla şu evin, dedi, güzelliğini, haşmetini bozmayın, dedi. Baktık ki çocuk haklı. Ben küçüklerin sözünü çok dinlerim[...] O zaman rahmetli Suna Korat, operada baş şey, devlet sanatçısıdır Suna, rahmetli oldu benim yeğenimdir. [...] Operadaydı, operanın dekor şeyini yolladı, şöyle bir.. Getirdiler katalogda, bunu beğeniyoruz dedik, bunu da o yaptı, opera şeysi yaptı. Dedik burası şöyle bölünür, misafir odası şeklinde olur diye böyle bir şey düşündük.

H9-32:

Şu alana özellikle, daha küçük minyatür belki bar havası vermek için daha spor koltuklar koymayı düşünmüştüm ben buraya, ama yeterli olmadı, o zaman hem orası koltuk olacaktı hem burası koltuk olacaktı, böyle her taraf yığın yığın eşya olacaktı. Tabi ki de salon yetersiz yani, m2 olarak biraz daha geniş olsa çok daha rahat ederdik.

4.4 Activity Space of the Residents and Its Effect on Making the Place

H1-92:

Temelden biz başladık buranın inşaatına... o zaman sözümüz geçiyordu şimdi geçmiyor artık. Emlak Kredi Bankası'ndan 11-12 milyon lira kredi aldık. Hiç vaki değil. Bu para nasıl alınır, falan diye böyle şey yaptılar. Ve buraları inşa etmeye başladık...

H1-92:

Buradaki yönetim planını hazırlayan benim. İlk kat mülkiyetine geçiş bizde. Biz yaptık ve benim hazırlamış olduğum yönetim planı, bütüün emsal oldu. Herkes ondan örnek aldılar, yaptılar. [...] 1965'te kanun çıktı, 1966'da yürürlüğe girdi. Burayı da biz 1966'da, hemen yönetim planını ben hazırladım. Çünkü benim kat

mülkiyeti hukuku üzerinde istisnai bir şeyim var. Rahmetli E?? Bey İstanbul'da , ord. prof. yani hocaların hocası, çok kıymetli bir profesör, kat mülkiyeti hukuku üzerine bir doktora tezi hazırlatmış, o doktora tezi kitabını bana yolladı, evladım (...)’na diye. Ben hâlbuki İstanbul’dan değilim Ankara’danım ama bazı şeyler duymuş. Baktım bana ismen gönderdi, geldi, aldım. Ve daha bizde kat mülkiyeti hukuku çıkmadan 16 sene evvel, daha yok, 16 sene evvel ben dünya devletlerinde kat mülkiyeti hukukunu etüd etmiş incelemiş bir kişiydim. Bilgim buna göre idi. Tuttuk buranın yönetim planını hazırladık.

H11-92

Şimdi orada 18 tane kuyu açtırıp da suyu şey yapınca artezyeni, burada da aklıma geldi. Buranın suyu daha evvel devlet demiryollarının kuyularından verilirdi, bu barajdan gelmeden evvel. Kurtboğazı di mi? [...] Ben bunu düşünerek, Lauper ile de çalıştığımız için, bizim bu arazide mutlaka su var dedim. [...] Telefon ettim, geldiler baktılar, abi, dediler, doğru söylüyorsun burada bir şansımızı deneyelim. Ve açtık, su çıktı.

H11-56:

Tabi çok şey yapılabilir para olsa her şey yapılabilir ama... bir ara biz şifre koyduk mesela, şifre işini görmüştüm yurtdışında mesela, fakat sökmedi burada yani olmadı. Herkes birbirine, işte kebabçının çocuğuna ‘1234’e bas gir içeri’ diye bağırıyordu falan, olmadı yani. [...] Şimdi herkes anahtarıyla. Anahtarı da ben sökmez zannediyordum ama iyi alışıldı yani.

4.5 Memories and Experience on the Place; Attachment and Continuity

H10-55:

1987’den beri bilfiil buradayız. Ama tabi kayınvalidemler burada oturduğu için hiç buradan kopmadık çünkü eşimin de burada 72. Sokak’ta dükkânı vardı. [...] Eşim on iki yaşından beri burada, küçük çocukluğu burada geçmiş, bütün gençliği burada geçmiş. Bir buradan kopması altı sene yani o kadar. Geri kalan düşün kırk senede otuz dört senesi bilfiil burada.

H11-56:

AŞTİ geldiğinden beri çok kalabalıklaştı. Alakasız insanlar geliyor, kiralara arttı. E AŞTİ’ye yakın olmak yani, evler değerlendirildi. E bakanlıkların, Sayıştay’ın buraya gelmesi, bakanlıkların çoğu burada, müthiş bir şekilde bu 8. Cadde’de yemek yerleri çok açıldı. Kebabçılar caddesi gibi şimdi burası. Bütün bakanlıklarda insanlar, yemek beğenmeyen dışarı çıkıp yiyor falan... O tür değişiklikler oldu. Ben, çocuklar okula giderken, Hamdullah Suphi’ye, dışarı çıktığımda yani ya da kayınvalidemdeyken, hiçbir bina yoktu, kapıdan içeri girene kadar el salladığımı bilirim yani. Ama şimdi binalar yapıldı arkaya, çok gelişti burası, ilerledi yani. [...] Bu otoparkta eskiden bir iki tane araba vardı ve biz oyun oynardık, voleybol maçları yapılırdı. Şimdi hiç... Çocuklara biraz oyun alanı ayrıldı yine de.

H11-56:

Ben işte onu biliyorum. Ben buraya ilk taşındığımda orada bikiniyle güneşlendiğini biliyorum. Yaş günü partileri falan yapardık, fakat yıllar geçtikçe aşağısı akmaya başladı ve biz onu 1995-1996 yıllarında hem ısı hem su yalıtımı yaptırarak. Bütün teraslar yani bizim iki teras, ve büyük paralar vermiştik. [...] Dolayısıyla şimdi oraya kimsenin çıkmasına izin vermiyoruz. Bu insanlar bile, anahtar yok kimsede, bir şey koyacakları zaman dışarıdaki odalara kapıcılarla birlikte çıkıp koyuyorlar, herkes orayı depo olarak kullanıyor yani.

H11-56:

Bizim Yeşiltepe'den bir farkımız olsun diye blokların ortasına, o zamanlar hatırlıyorum, bir havuz yapıldı, onların dümdüzdür, aslında ben düz de severim. Yazın suyu çalıştırırız, etrafında çiçekler miçekler, yani orası girince böyle farklıdır. [...] Bu kapılarımızın kenarında şey vardır, çiçeklerimizi koyarız, yazın daha çok olur, insanlar otururlar kapılarında, çünkü evler çok sıcak olunca yazın, balkonlar çok sıcak olunca orası serin oluyor bir hava sirkülasyonu oluyor. Sabahtan akşama kadar, balkon gibi... Komşular gelir orada yünlerini örerler, yemek yerler, tavla oynarlar, yani aralarda... Özellikle 5. Blok'ta çok daha fazladır bu, burada da oluyor, ama benim annemler de orada oturduğu için...

H5-90:

Bahçelievler'de bir evim vardı, görülecek.. herkes küçük villa diyor. O kadar güzel müstakil evdi. Sağımdaki solumdaki kat çıktılar. Biz de burayı aldık, orayı sattık. [Ayrıca] orada hem rahatsız oldum, hem de ağır bir siyatik geçirdim. Doktor "sobalı değil, kaloriferli evde oturacaksın" dedi. Onun için burayı aldık, kaloriferli. Evvela rahat ettim, çok iyi ama yani bir resim düşün çerçevesiz. Alışamadım bir türlü. Oranın müstakil hali... Bahçesinde kayısılar olurdu böyle... koca çamlar, anlatamam sana. Aaah, mavi çamlar... Villaydı villa...

H12-63:

Satmak istemememin nedeni o, burası yuva. Çocuklar bu evde doğdular büyüdüler. Bir sürü anılarımız var. yani o tür şeyler kalmadı artık ama burası sanki böyle.. Odaları da aynen duruyor, bir değişiklik yapılmadı. Çok sık gelirler, geldiklerinde de herkes kendi odasında yatar. Yani yeni taşınacağım bir ev yabancı olacak tabi, onların yaşamadığı bir ev olacak. Onun için burayı ne yaparız bilemiyorum. Tabii çok zengin olursam, burayı böyle tutarım misafirhane gibi. Ankara'ya gelen kalır ama bilmiyorum ne olacak.

4.6 Social Relationships; Neighbourliness and Dynamics of Sociability**H10-55:**

Düşünebiliyor musun 3 kuşak neredeyse, artık akrabadan, bir kardeşten ileri olduk.

H10-55:

Ankara’da onu hiçbir zaman düşünmem. Ama Ankara dışında bir sahil kenarında onu düşünüyorum. Ama Ankara içinde asla buradan vazgeçmem. O da neden? Bir kere, komşuluk çok önemli. Bir rahatsızlandığım zaman ben mesela, kaç sene önce bir vertigo nöbeti geçirdim. Banyodan çıktım, korkunç bir baş dönmesi, yatak odama gittim, oradan bakınca komşum şurada yatak çarşafını silkeliyordu, onu gördüm. Telefon açtım, H8-46 ben çok kötüyüm dedim [...] Benim mesela bir anahtarım o komşumdadır, sürekli, ne olur ne olmaz diye... O arada kardeşime haber verdim. Kardeşime dedim ki, nolur gelin. O Yenimahalle’de, bu komşum benim bir dakikada evimdeydi. Bunlar bir kere insan yaşamı için çok önemli.

H11-56:

Artık akraba vaziyetine geldi insanlar, kırk senedir yaşayınca... Mesela 5. Blok’ta bazı katlar o kadar birbirlerine yakındırlar ki, insanlar birine bir şey, hasta olduğu zaman birbirlerine çorba götürürler, yemek götürürler, biri öldüğünde... yani herşeyi paylaşırlar. Misafir gelecek mesela, benim annem yaşlı, hemen bir organizasyon yaparlar, komşular bir şey yapar getirirler. Komşuluk ilişkileri çok fazla. O da eskiden beri oturulduğu için. Sonradan gelenler de uyum sağlıyor. Yani ilişkiler çok iyi, anlatabiliyor muyum? [...] Yani benim mesela bir arkadaşım var Zirvekent konutlarında, karşı komşusunun kim olduğunu bilmiyor. 6 senedir oturuyor, hiçbir şey bilmiyor anlatabiliyor muyum? Burada öyle değil, kapılar açıktı ilk zamanlar, şimdi kapatıyoruz yani. Bir de onu söyleyeceğim, büyük de söylemeyeyim, hiç daha kapı kırılıp da kırk senedir bir hırsızlık vakası olmadı.

H1-92:

Bütün benim şikâyetim, dediğim gibi, çok özür dilerim yani kalite düştü. Kalite düştü. Buranın yerlileri yani ilk yaptırımlar ortaklar, hakikaten, seçme almıyordu yani herkesi almıyorlardı. Bir defa çoğu milletvekiliydi, o zaman Demokrat Parti milletvekili. Ama benim Demokrat Parti ile alakam yok, onu peşin söyleyeyim...

H7-65:

Toplumda öyle bir değişim oldu aslında. Mesela asansöre biniyorsunuz “günaydın” bile demiyorlar. Bu bizim alışık olmadığımız bir tarz. Hâlbuki eskiden herkes birbirini gözetler yani altmış dairede her blok belki altmışıyla da tanışmıyorsunuz ama tanıdığınız on beş, yirmi aile oluyordu. Herkes şimdi içine çekildi.

H12-63:

Bazı bloklar daha şanslı. Bizim burası çok el değiştirdi, eski komşularımdan hemen hemen kimse yok şu anda, belki bir-iki kişi var çok yaşlanmış vaziyette. Nezaket gibi şeyler yok oldu. Sosyalleşme bakımından o tür şeyler vardı, insanlar çok kibardı, çok hoş sohbetler ederdik kapının önünde, hani gidip gelmesek bile. O tür şeyler yok yani şimdi, bazen insanlarla karşılaşıyorsun,

selam bile vermesini bilmiyor. Öyle olmaya başladı yani, o kısmını sevmiyorum artık.

H11-56:

Tabi mimarinin dışında biz biraz sosyoloji de konuşuyoruz anladığım kadarıyla. bu 2. kuşaklara geçmesi, arkadaşlık ve sosyal çevrenin çok geniş olması... mesela bayramlarda falan, yönetim odamız var, orada toplanıp bayramlaşılır bayramın 2. günü. Yani öyle şeyler vardır, herkes birbirine gider gelir, o ayrı mesele de, bir toptan öyle bir şey yapılır.

H11-56

Mesela aşağıda bir hanım var, fotoğraf basmak istiyor ve hep bize de söylüyor, ben bir oda istiyorum fotoğraf basacağım, falan diye, fakat fotoğraf basacak, insanlar gelip gidecek, [...] belki resim çekecekler anlatabiliyor muyum, onu pek göze alamadık. Fazla insan gelip gitsin istemiyoruz yani, bir sürü yabancının gelip gitmesi iyi bir olay değil. Sonra yukarıda tıkırtı olsa aşağıya ses geliyor. Ordan hadi gelmişken terasa çıkalım diyecekler, yani nahoş olaylar olsun da istemiyoruz. Bilemezsin yani yukarıda ne olup bittiğini yani, o yüzden.

H7-73:

Hiç işim olmamasına rağmen ben, sırf evde kapalı kalmamak için, sabah 9'da büroya gidiyorum akşam 4'te geliyorum. Çocuklar işleri hallediyorlar ama eve kapalı kalmamak için gidiyorum büroya. Ama böyle bir imkân olsaydı çıkardık oraya, ordaki komşularla sohbet ederdik. Şimdi olsa olsa kapıda karşılaşıncı bir iki komşumuzla sohbet edebiliyorum. Buranın eksikliklerinin başlıcası ilişkiler zaten.

H2-65:

Ama Türk toplumuna o tarihlerde, 60lı tarihlerde bunu empoze edemezsin, anlatamazsın. Zaten bizde kolektif şuur, bilinç hala oturmadı. Bu çok elit tabaka olmasına rağmen... [...] O büyük eksikliğimiz bizim. Yani şimdiye kadar hiçbir sitede böyle sosyal aktiviteleri olan mimariye rastladın mı? 80li-90lı yapılarda bile göremezsin, ancak şimdi 2000li yıllarda yeni yeni yapılan yapılmalarda belki...