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A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO URBAN SPACE:
A CASE STUDY OF BOMONTI

SEDA TAVUKCU

115611038

PROF. FERİDE ÇİÇEKOĞLU

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A Phenomenological Approach to Urban Place: A Case Study of Bomonti

Kentsel Mekana Fenomenolojik Bir Yaklaşım: Bomonti Örneği

Seda Tavukcu

115611038

Tez Danışmanı : Feride Çiçekoğlu

(İmza) 

İstanbul Bilgi..... Üniversitesi

Jüri Üyeleri Zeynep Talay Turner

(İmza) 

İstanbul Bilgi..... Üniversitesi

Jüri Üyesi: Funda Uz

(İmza) 

İstanbul Teknik..... Üniversitesi

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ABSTRACT

Leaning upon a phenomenological approach, this study focuses on the relationship between human experience and space through in-place developed stories. It builds on the distinction between the concepts 'place' and 'space', and the importance placed in the literature on senses in perceiving urban environment. With this theoretical background, it aims at providing a comprehensive account of the perception of space. The case study of the thesis is conducted in Istanbul's Bomonti neighborhood where the İncirlidede and Harika Streets cut across the neighborhood into two considerably different socio-economic and cultural residential areas. The analysis section aims at reading the urban transformation and points out to the divide brought about by the transformation between the two sides of the neighborhood. The case study data were collected and analyzed by means of first-hand experience such as observant walking, photographing as well as visual reproduction and comparison techniques such as collage and illustration. While the urban observations mentioned in the study summarily include differentiation of architectural structure, building facades, resulting from socio-economic and cultural divide across the two sides of the neighborhood, the primary significance of this work lies in demonstrating the importance of first-hand experience of city in understanding the dynamics and outcomes of ongoing urban transformation.

Keywords: Place, Space, Phenomenology, Bomonti, Urban Narrative

ÖZET

Fenomenolojik bir yaklaşıma dayanan bu çalışma, yerinde geliştirilen öyküler aracılığıyla insan deneyimi ile mekan arasındaki ilişkiye odaklanmaktadır. ‘Yer’ ve ‘mekan’ kavramları arasındaki farkı ve literatürdeki kentsel çevreyi algılamada duyulara verilen önemi temel alan bu çalışma, mekan algısına dair kapsamlı bir açıklama sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Tezin incelemesi, İncirliede ve Harika Caddeleri’nin mahalleyi keserek iki farklı sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel yerleşim alanına dönüştürdüğü İstanbul’un Bomonti semtinde gerçekleştirildi. Analiz bölümü, kentsel dönüşümü okumayı amaçlamakta ve mahallenin iki tarafı arasındaki dönüşümün yol açtığı bölünmeye işaret etmektedir. İnceleme verileri yürüme ve fotoğraf çekmenin yanı sıra, kolaj ve illüstrasyon teknikleriyle ilk elden edinilen deneyimlerle toplanmış ve analiz edilmiştir. Çalışma, belirtilen mahallenin her iki tarafında gözlemlenmiş sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel bölünme sonucu farklılaşan cepheleri ile süreklileşen kentsel dönüşümün dinamiklerini ve sonuçlarını aktarmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel önemi ilk elden deneyimin önemini göstermekte yatar.

Anahhtar Kelimeler: Yer, Mekan, Fenomenoloji, Bomonti, Şehir Anlatısı

1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will try to explain the relationship between different places and people with a glance from inside of the place. The research positions the individuals to understand the places and as such it tries to explain the relations between individuals and places within the physical and emotional context. By small narratives, it will try to explain the bigger picture. I will use phenomenology as the main tool to explain all these aims.

Streets are the paths through which we get connected to the cities. Henceforth, walking in the streets is important to experience a city. In every step, we get closer to the rhythm of the city, and when being a part of the city's rhythm we let the city be in harmony with us. In the act of walking, the frequency of the cars passing by, the continuity of the exteriors, pavements, trees and some surprising facades define the harmony of the city. Besides, with the flowers lined up in the corner of a balcony or laundry hung for drying, the facades of buildings themselves create a physical symbol space. These surfaces become the stage props of the memories. Similarities of these stages result in evoking the memories and increase the interaction with these stage props. Because we need some infrastructure to transmit the memories. Hence, we prefer some streets to the others to walk in. Fragments of particular places become an indistinguishable piece of our memories. These fragments trigger our senses. Smell of cooking from homes, voices of kids, traffic grumble and scents of different flowers build familiar places with the materials used in facades and figures that are on the exterior of buildings.

Unsystematic and uncontrolled changes with gentrification process interrupt the bound that memories have with places. In always-changing cities with long term gentrification plans like İstanbul, the emotions created by the spaces change rather quickly. Within two months, a new apartment may be built next to yours and you may start to see your new neighbors through your window. Likewise, the construction of the new mass-produced apartments turns the whole city into a

construction site and the cement mixer trucks are now the inextricable part of the İstanbul traffic.

Aforementioned city perception methods can be exemplified by the two streets that I walk on every day in the Şişli neighborhood, namely İncirlidede Street and Harika Street. The importance of these streets which witnessed the different gentrification processes in Turkey over the years lays on being so different while being parallel to each other. There is a stream between these two streets with three bridges on it and they can be regarded as the thresholds of these streets.

The effect of these differences on perception of the places is explained in three different parts: 'Going Up', 'Going Down' and 'Thresholds'. 'Going Up' is the experience of going up on the hill beginning from the road until the end. In this part of the road, there are many *gecekondus* and the new buildings built after the gentrification can be seen behind these *gecekondus*. 'Going Down' reflects the experience of going down the hill on this street. In this part, there are skyscrapers pioneered by Anthill. Lastly, 'Thresholds' are three bridges on the stream between these two streets. These passages are the thresholds that join these two streets and interconnect two different spheres separated by gentrification.

In this study, I will try to explain the walking experience on these streets by photographs, colleges and illustrations. I will illustrate the experience of the streets by Barthes' Punctum concept -by focusing on the most striking things to human eye-. These illustrations will support the visualization process of the written arguments to clarify the narrative and notion to the reader.

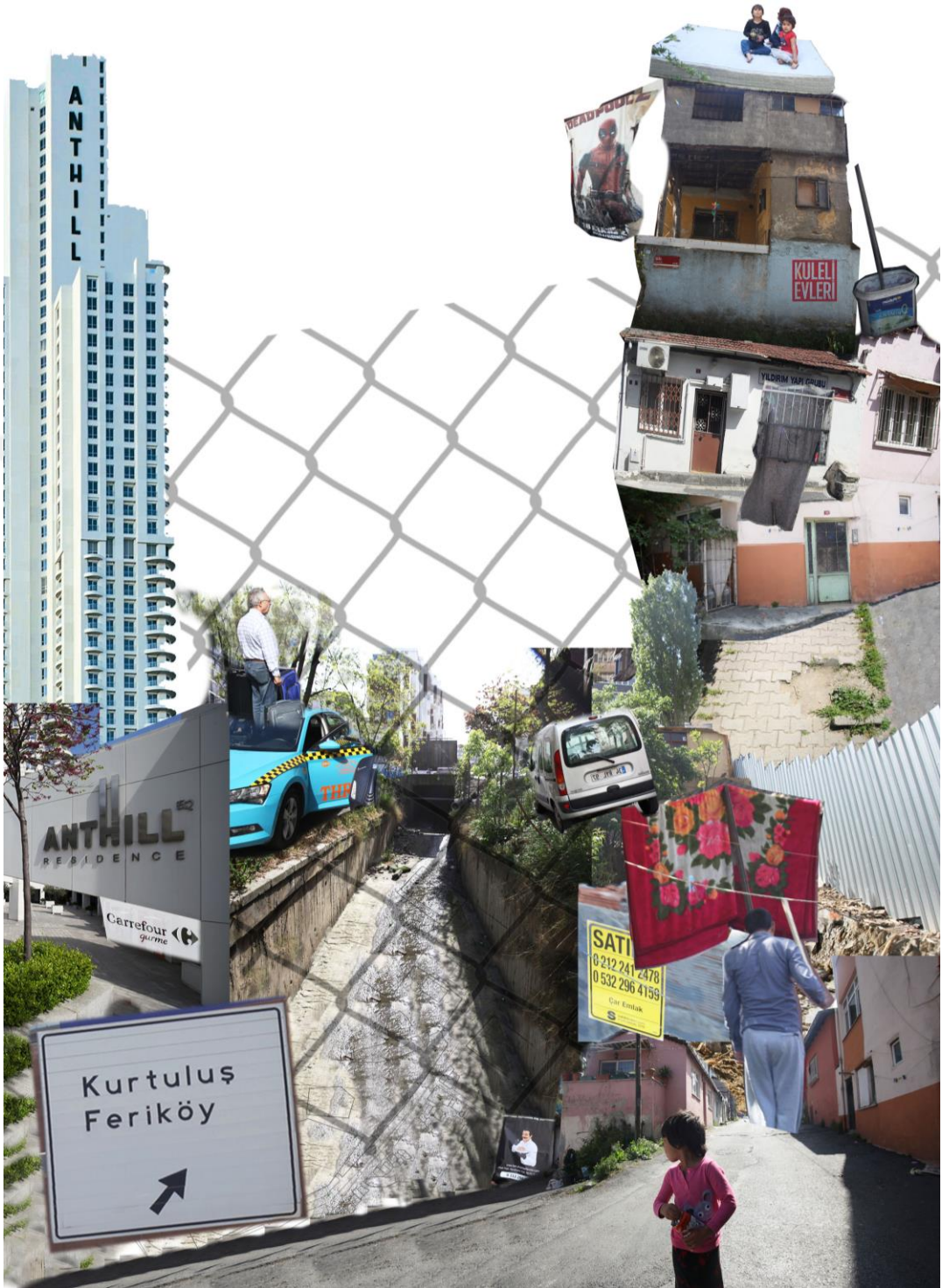


Figure 1.1: Collage for express the duality of the area (Tavukcu, 2019).

2. KEY CONCEPTS

2.1. Literature Review

This study underlines the inseparability of places and people by a phenomenological approach. As Harmanşah (1997) conveys, the situation where urban spaces are being constituted through memories and the stories that people built on places contain a key importance for my research topic. The fundamental theoretical standpoints of this study are Norberg-Schulz's *Genius Loci* (1974), Juhani Pallasmaa's *Eye of the Skin* (2012) and Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (1960).

In the *Genius Loci*, where Norberg-Schulz (1974) transmitted how the digestion of the 'place' was lost under the effect of modernism, he says that structural elements are built upon their own singular existences and the disintegration of the spatial perception caused by the structures of these elements, which are distant from the urban integrity (p. 45).

Bolak Hisarlıgil (2007) says that; '...the borders, which are sharply drawn from the urban scale to the walls that are separating the inside and the outside, are creating ruptures in our relationship with the environment' (p. 2). But the dwellers are updating living quarters in order to surpass these borders. These updates, which are spoiling the fabricated and similar structures of the buildings and effusing what is inside, can be found on the facades of the buildings, roadsides and the plants hanging up on the balconies. Being made by the people in order to personalize their own places and reinforce their belongingness, these changes affect other people by some accidental steps of daily life. As Harmanşah (1997) has stated, the experience of walking rebuilds the place in a personal scale. As we take our first step out of the door, everything we encounter creates memories that we reproduce, within that moment and the city. These narrations that the citizen has built on the place create a memory of that place by coming together layer by layer. As long as this memory supports the places of the city, the places can sustain their existences (Harmanşah, 1997, p. 22).

This production of memory consists of pieces of a story, which the experiencer creates by using all of her senses. According to Pallasmaa, ‘Philosophical analyses of the past few decades have convincingly established the multisensory, embodied and existential nature of architecture experiences’, as he also adds that, ‘...we do not only gaze at buildings, we inhabit them unconsciously through our entire bodily, neural and mental being’ (Havik, 2014, p. 6). Therefore, I will proceed through phenomenology, which is one of the most suitable ways to ensure that all the things that create a place can be read as a whole in the scale of the city.

Bolak Hisarlıgil (2007) explains the importance of the phenomenological approach as the following: ‘Phenomenology was considered for the purpose of recreation of the relationship between human and environment, which was drifted away by the modernism in the architectural and urban areas’ (p. 21). She further adds:

Phenomenology, a narrative of unconsciously created experience fragments, describes the relationship between human and place, as a whole. Environment is an entirety which doesn’t only contain what is seen, but rather an entirety which is also formed by the noises, textures, tastes, odors and memories altogether. This situation of entirety cannot be perceived separately from the location and the person. Accordingly, phenomenology... seeks to understand the location not only by its physical shape, but also by the experiences that are formed by the senses and memories, in order to demonstrate the character of the built environment (Bolak Hisarlıgil, 2007, p. 5-6).

The situation of transmitting the feelings that different places produce from the same spot, can be clearly seen on the research area of this thesis; Bomonti example. Using phenomenology as a primary method will be the most efficient approach throughout this thesis in order to transmit the differences of İncirliçade and Harika Streets. These streets, which are located on the border of Bomonti and Feriköy, divide the area into two different worlds as a result of urban transformation.

2.2. Methodology

I used walking as the most appropriate method to convey the differences in these streets that I have been using for more than two years. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the best way to transfer these differences is to walk, and as Harmanşah (1997) put it, ‘the experience of walking rebuilds its a place in a personal scale’ (p.22). I used photography and narration to explain this experience of a place. In order to trace the images left in mind during my walk, in other words, in order to transfer the experience through storytelling within the city, photography was used as a supporting tool. During the gait experience, with the help of key readings, I aimed to capture the punctums, striking moment fragments. In order to create a holistic perspective for this purpose, the photographs taken were deconstructed. These collages represent that we do not only ‘gaze at’ the physical structures and the people living in them, but also, they made to reflect that how ‘..we inhabit them (buildings) unconsciously through our entire bodily, neural and mental being’ (Pallasmaa, 2014). Mapping was used to perceive the physical structure of the city. I used maps and cartographic collages in order to show traces of the effects of these physical layers on people.

With these visuals and narratives, I aimed to make a phenomenological reading by exploring the ways of looking at the space from a holistic point of view.

3. FRAGMENTS

‘...a meaningful architectural experience is not simply a series of retinal images. The ‘elements’ of architecture are not visual units or Gestalt; they are encounters, confrontations that interact with memory. In such memory, the past is embodied in actions.’

(Pallasmaa, 2012, p. 67)

3.1. The Lemon Cologne in the Plastic Bottle

I eat at a small restaurant, where the walls are covered with the iconic images of İstanbul. Adhesives have surfaced along the joints of the wallpaper beneath the images, adding yet another layer. A man I do not know sits next to me since the place is full; his eyes are glued to the muted summary of the football match on television. The restaurant is cold. There are electric heaters stuck to the corners of the ceiling, but one near me warms the chair in front of me. This is the first time that I decide to eat in this place after I have been passing by for a long while. It is a matter of courage to step into a place for the first time. To me, the courage to open the door requires one to be exposed to that particular place in a way. Is it possible to guess correctly the pricing of a place by its front sign? When I come in, I tell the man who stands before me in his stained cook shirt what I want to eat, and the waiter directs me to an empty table. I sit at a table of four, walking between the fork and knife sounds of people eating. I have to make a choice between turning my face to the wall and looking out of the window. I prefer to look out. The weather is cold. The electric heater on the ceiling warms up the chair in front of me. I am cold. For the next time, I tell myself, that I have to remember to sit in the other chair if the weather is cold. The information about the place, such as where to sit next time if it is cold, is a new discovery transforming into a form and evoking a sense of

belonging to this place. This creates ‘...a place, which according to local circumstances has particular identity’ (Norberg-Shulz, 1979, p. 7).

The door of the restaurant is made of glass. It is large enough to allow you to see the outside. When I look out of the glass door, I see a garbage truck, honking behind a construction truck. The sound of the horn combines with the rumbles that I cannot identify from the building. When I leave the restaurant, I wish the cashier a good day and he offers me some lemon cologne from a plastic bottle. I pour the cologne on my hand, take a few of the cloves from a small bowl next to the cash box, put one in my mouth and the others in my pocket. The condensed smell of the lemon mixes with the clove in my mouth. The garbage truck still stands by the door.

My phone rings. A friend I have not spoken to for a while is calling. He says he is nearby as I am on my way home. I agree to meet him. I turn right instead of left where I have to turn to go home. After passing through the circle of apartment buildings on either side of the street entrance, I feel a bit of deficiency, and I come to realization of the absence of an old building that it used to be there which I had been sighting for years. Colorful vehicles are parked in this empty piece of land that has been transformed into a parking lot. A family passing by me is talking in a language I do not speak. There are Arabic words adhering to the windows of the surrounding shops, which I think are some kind of job ads. There are stickers with political slogans affixed to the electric poles. Two cars have come nose to nose and one accuses the other of being in the wrong direction. These are the residents not noticing that the traffic sign has changed. One is on the right track but I cannot tell which one. There is a banner with Easter celebration texts. I am passing by a group of people carrying olive branches in their hands. I turn from the corner of a hairdresser shop that has a handwritten ad saying ‘fön (blow-drying): 10 lira’.

3.2. The Evil Eye Symbol Made by Mosaics

The sidewalk I walk in is full of cars. Instead of continuing this way, I decide to take a side street that I would not normally prefer, since it takes longer to walk this way. Children are on the streets, in front of the front doors of the mosaic-lined buildings next to each other. One of them looks at me and smiles, and I smile back at her/him. There is an evil eye symbol made by mosaics on facade of the top floor of the apartment building.

Next to that building, there are the figures of Easter bunnies in front of the window of the building with *cumba*¹. The curtains of that flat are similar to what I saw in my grandma's house when I was a child. The color of the curtains is beige and they are covered with lace. I cannot see the end of the curtain, but I imagine it to have tassels. I feel like I could even know how the house smells. There are new apartments with French balconies with aluminum frames. The balconies on each floor of these apartments are decorated with white curtains. The curtains are behind the windows where each floor is almost the same, suggesting that every floor belongs to the same family. At some floors, there are flowers hanging from the pots, some of these flowers are plastic. At another floor, there are stickers which appear to be glued to the glass window. This building has toys lined up on the edge of the window. This room must be a kid's room. Raban (1974) describes the fluidity and unpredictability of the city: 'For better or worse, it (city) invites you to remake it, to consolidate it into a shape you can live in. You, too. Decide who you are, and the city will again assume a fixed form round you' (p. 5). I can guess the age of the buildings from their forms, their balconies and window frames, as well as the material used on their facades. I think about the first day of these old buildings after they were built. The architects, engineers and the workers probably did not think about the changes the building would experience in time. They probably could not have imagined the stickers which are the wraps of chewing gums and the phone

¹ *Cumba* is a window or series of windows forming a bay in a room, bay window.

number of 24-hour locksmiths stuck to the entrance door, air conditioning engines and alarm boxes on the facade, and the satellite antennas on top of the roof.

The ones who live on the ground floor of the buildings, have the iron bars on their windows. The bars are often adorned with flowers. Their experience of looking out of the window differs from the ones without iron bars. Who was the first to think of decorating iron bars with flowers?

Walking around this place is like accompanying a song. It is sensed over time and ‘...structured in time and thus melodic in nature (as if the landmarks would increase in intensity of form until a climax point were reached)’ (Lynch, 1960, p. 107). Whether you like the song or not, you cannot avoid adapting yourself to the rhythm of the city. It fascinates me and I feel the rhythm...like the predictability of the next melody. You keep up the street, the street keeps up with you.

‘Rhythms. Rhythms. They reveal and hide, being much more varied than in music or the so-called civil code of successions, relatively simple texts in relation to the city. Rhythms: music of the City, a picture which listens to itself, image in the present of a discontinuous sum. Rhythms perceived from the invisible window, pierced in the wall of the facade ... but beside the other windows, it too is also within a rhythm which escapes it’ (Lefebvre, 1992, p. 36).

Although I live in this neighborhood, it is a new experience to walk on this road. And I wonder once again, is there any possible way to interpret the city through the images which it displays? Will these images be permanent and available for future readings? How do I know how long the building of the evil eye bead will stand? Will it have the same future as the building which I have just realized is no longer there and turned into a parking lot?

When the evil eye is removed, it will be like a change in traffic signs. I try to imagine the first time when the evil eye was embroidered on the wall. The evil eye is formed as an eye, three circles of intertwined blue, white and black. These basic shapes as a whole become a symbol which is the ‘evil eye’ in this. It reminds

me my evil eye bead, which my mother put on the collar of my new dress I wore at the ‘bayram’² to protect me from evil looks. I am thinking about the people who put this symbol on the facade. Were they protecting the building or the people living in it? This symbol on the building, piercing with its glance, reminds me of Barthes. When I begin to stay out a little from the rhythm of the city, slow down and blink more often, I let the details take hold of my body with all my senses. I try to remember all the details of the place which are turning into photographic visuals. This moment that I am in, turns into a memory of the past second and I try to reshape what is left in my mind. The initial details that comes to my mind are the points that are piercing me, knowingly or unknowingly. Visual fragments with the accompany of the sounds of tallymen and the smell of trash mixed with the smell of jasmine; a woman looking outside (to me) through a wrinkled curtain, a wrinkled hand taking the lid off. Barthes speaks of Punctum as something that solves out from a photo and stabs like a spear, pierces. Punctum is a strike which quietly leaks into the observer and afflicts you when it’s discovered. The look of the old woman pierces me. ‘It is this element which rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me’ (Barthes, 1981, p. 26)

Is it possible to translate the influential symbols that time marked on people in familiar forms? As I look at the buildings with mosaics lining up the street side by side, I think about the potential uses of the material (mosaics). Does this material become popular because of the possibility of personalization? Why are people trying to personalize and add something from themselves? Is the purpose behind this customization to create a place of belonging? Once again, I remember Pallasmaa: ‘Images are converted into endless commodities manufactured to postpone boredom; humans in turn are commodified, consuming themselves nonchalantly without having the courage or even the possibility of confronting their very existential reality. We are made to live in a fabricated dream world’ (Pallasmaa, 2012, p. 35). The personal touches that they create to overcome the

² ‘Bayram’ refers to the Islamic festivals in Turkey. There are two Islamic religious festivals in Turkey: Ramadan Festival and the Festival of Sacrifice.

boredom of mass production are turning into mechanisms that allow people to approve their reality. Buildings become a reflection of the personalities of people who created them. People present themselves and perform themselves in mass-produced imagination.

I turn right from the corner to meet my friend. I turned right and now I am spending the same amount of money on a latte as I did on the meal at the small restaurant.

3.3. The Route Where He Freezes to Death

Almost every year I spend at least a month away from home. When I get back, I am looking at a completely different view. In my old apartment five years ago, after a three-month absence on vacation, I found an apartment building erected in front of my balcony. One of the reasons why I had chosen that apartment was to have an unobstructed view. So, I had to move out.

The shock I have experienced at every step of İstanbul pushes me to think of the city's variability and speed. As a city with a population of more than 15 million people, İstanbul is wildly fast, sometimes, even a night's sleep is enough to witness that its image has changed. Technological changes that gave rise to its speed are increasing day by day. From iron constructions to ready-made wall blocks, from ready-to-use brick blocks to drainpipes, everything is ready to accelerate the constructions. The buildings are no longer constructed for generations but only for decades. Some will be pulled down before the children who grow up in them become adults. No two consecutive generations will have the memories of the same street. The sense of belonging and place is withering away faster and faster.

İstanbul's cellular growing crooked structure is one of the things that constitute the identity of this city. The city, by its very nature, is articulated around a commercial production structure. As İstanbul has witnessed rapid transformations

in its history, the commercial centers have rapidly changed, and the settlements around the disappeared commercial spaces have survived. With the construction of each new important structure, the settlements around the people have intersected. These transformations bring together the back streets and the main streets. This cellular growth and mixed profiles of the city can even be traced in the course of my shuttle journey.

Almost every day, when I return from work, I go uphill by turning from the Feriköy / Kurtuluş sign, which is the route of the shuttle that carries me to my home. İncirlidede Street, which is an upward single-lane road, takes its name from the İncirlidede Shrine lying on the foundations of the land where now Anthill is located. Every time I go up this hill, I am thinking about what my neighbor told me while pointing at the skyscrapers that are visible from my house. Last year in winter on that street, there was a person who died freezing cold near the place where the tomb once was, somewhere under the sign. Right in front of the skyscrapers. After I heard this story, my perception of Feriköy was never the same. I keep wondering: Was I at home when this happened at a spot that can be seen from the balcony of my house? Every time I am going up from İncirlidede Street, the feeling of when I first heard about that person comes back to me: On one side is the skyscrapers, on the other side is the slums, and one man froze to death between them.

I am thinking about the changes of Feriköy, which took its name from the forested area where the creek flows. These changes are like the overlapping layers of time stacked upon each other. This street was once a forested land where a stream flow. Until recently, the creek kept its lively existence, the urban life moved from the center to the backstreets, pushed the creek a little further this natural structure under the soil. This area that appears in the old maps is called Ayazma from the Greek, meaning holy water. Now, this creek is connected to the sewers and is trying to flow through a small opening. This crack divides the main road into two paths that are now known as İncirlidede and Harika Streets.

İncirlidede Street is on the right side of the road while going up. There is a slum settlement starting from the corner. These slum structures are lined up on the

side of Incirlidede Street. Most of these one-storey slum buildings are squatted by immigrants. Whilst going up, the slums gradually turn into new buildings. The area around the slum buildings is surrounded by renovated buildings. There are buildings with five or six floors that were built due to gentrification. Due to ongoing constructions, the pavement is hard to walk on. In front of these buildings, there are many skyscrapers with over sixty floors, which creates the excruciating feeling of small.

Next to Incirlidede Street, there is another Street where the creek separates and splits into two, named Harika Street. One of the highest skyscrapers, which was one of the first of its kind in the area, is called Anthill. On the facade of Anthill there are red LED lights that light up the building moves from up to bottom. And this lighting emphasizes the building's vertical structure.

Another residence that appeals to high income groups is Divan Residence. Its structure is not different from Anthill and also has the same lights, same but blue. Residences have distinctive fences, security and a sterilized lifestyle. They have their own markets, gyms within these fences.

Incirlidede Street and Harika Street are very effective to show the contrast of feelings. Going up left and right sides of the street all the contrasts of life imaginable completely different form the city, which is important for hosting contrasts. This place is shaped on natural structures. In fact, the border was always there. While it was a flowing stream, the two sides of the stream were separated. Due to rapid and irregular urbanization and gentrification, many different lifestyles and income levels are intertwined. The structures that have been articulated on this landscape have hosted people from various cultures and backgrounds throughout history. Every person on this land scratched their own identity into wherever they lived. These scratches create the identity of the place. It is 'pot-pourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings, as well as types of settings' (Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff, 1983, p. 60). Buildings are demolished, new ones are erected. Some buildings continue to stand as they were first built. Some buildings, which are unable to withstand the

antiquing power of time, continue to survive by their owners. Man-made objects that are articulated on the basis of this natural foundation, in a socio-cultural context, perhaps coincidentally combined by history, constitute the differentiation.

3.4. Feeling the Facades of the Buildings

The slums gradually turn into new buildings. The slums, which have remained at the edge of the urban transformation, and the buildings erected by gentrification give us a holistic narration of the road from the beginning to the end of the slope. Buildings with different facades are lined up along the street. In front of these buildings there are trash cans the name of the municipality (Şişli) written on. They are becoming part of the facade due to density. The garbage bags are next to these trash cans that cannot handle the excess waste. Facades covered with different materials: some of them are stone and clay, some are cement, some are mosaics and some are tiles. What is the difference between a wooden tile and a plastic tile that looks like a wood? Wood was a living tree once upon a time; birds nested on its branches. The value transferred on the produced object is measured by hands that transform the tree. Perhaps this is why our commitment and curiosity to old objects is something that exists because it gives people the feeling that they are rooted, native. Maybe because of that, seeing an old door handle creates the curiosity to know other people who have once held this very the handle.

‘The skin reads the texture, weight, density and temperature of matter. The surface of an old object, polished to perfection by the tool of the craftsman and the assiduous hands of its users, seduces the stroking of the hand. It is pleasurable to press a door handle shining from the thousands of hands that have entered the door before us; the clean shimmer of ageless wear has turned into an image of welcome and hospitality. The door handle is the handshake of the building’ (Pallasmaa, 2012, p. 62).

In such places where urban transformation takes place, the dominance of the vision stands out and our other senses are disregarded. Maybe that is why, feeling the facades of these buildings is quite complicated. Each one is a product of a consistent taste of its own time. When we look at the mosaic-covered buildings, we can understand from which period these buildings are. These clues give us some information about the historical formation of the streets we walk in. Facades of the renewed buildings contain decorations that make you feel that you are part of a different world at every step. They are dominated by eclectic fragments, and the majority of buildings are covered with plastic or stone materials that look like wood or stone. These machine-made materials ‘...tend to present their unyielding surfaces to the eye without conveying their material essence or age. The materials aim at ageless perfection’ (Pallasmaa, 2012, p. 34).

This situation is reminiscent of shop windows. The facades are a kind of shop window created by the construction sector, which is the lifeblood of the country's income for the last ten years, for the purchase of new buildings. The facades are the borders separating inside from the outside. And this boundary represents the window of a shop, a city, a neighborhood.

3.5. Back at the Small Restaurant

When I get hungry again, I will go back that little restaurant. If it is cold, I am going to sit at that chair where I can warm up. Perhaps the venue will be open to the discovery of a new and warm chair where I can also see the street. Our connection with or sense of belonging to a place, is part of a rhythm of life that has changed over the time period of the memory.

When you ask people about themselves, they construct their stories based on the places where they are or experience; it starts from what city they are from and continues with an event that left a mark on their lives. Places contain symbols of many different social categories and personal meanings and represent and

maintain identity on different levels and dimensions. These places, which are identified with people's own experiences, change these people just as much as places change them. The identities of people change not only the places in which they want to live, but also where they belong to. People personalize their own homes to reflect who they are.

This kind of everyday experience and the perception of this personal experience result with particular features and attributes which make a space that has a soul. 'The genius loci; the spirit of place which the ancients recognized as that opposite man has come to terms with, to be able to dwell' (Norberg-Shulz, 1979, p. 8). If we advance the spirit of the space, we can think of the symbolic structures and space objects that make up the space. These objects and structures are historical objects as well as objects that can be used to identify the area. The spirit of space is not only the historical values carried by history, but also the representation of various cultures, socio-economic situations and symbols attached to the space. With the addition of symbols of socio-economy, history and so on, place represents and preserves all the identities that constitute it. I observe the sense of belonging created by these additions.

A map of the language and the mind, the map of the place where we live are parallel to each other. Each part of our experience is framed by a certain decision-making mechanism, and with the data we obtain from walking on the street, the representative meanings of the time allow us to interpret the sensed environment. As a result of this entry, I will try to convey the walking experience I get from these two İncirliçade / Harika streets, where I experience every day, where the contrasts are quite visible.

4. PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE CITY AND ITS DIMENSIONS

‘The world is not what I think, but what I live through.’

(Merleau-Ponty, 1945, p. xviii)

The city is a complex phenomenon formed by its everyday users and structured by physical elements. It is not just made up of buildings, pavements, roads, streets and the materials of what meets the eye. In the context of daily life, the city is a connection of people's behavioral association with spaces where they live and with each other through time.

Every city has its own characteristics. A structure that emerges out of the earth's surface is shaped by nature's own design. Elements of the inhabitants' cultural background and the physical characteristics of the empty space upon which the city is built all play a vital role on how the structure comes to be. Therefore, the dwellers mold the city in their images and, the city becomes a part of who the dwellers are. At the same time, the city shapes us in turn. The city is shaped on the topography of the earth's surface. Raban (1974) states that cities are plastic by nature. This plasticity allows the city to be shaped by every instance. ‘...they, in their turn, shape us by the resistance they offer when we try to impose our own personal form on them’ (1974, p. 3). In these words, he explains the interrelationship between the city and its users.

The city in its nature is overpopulated with multicultural urban dwellers. If we look at the beginning of urban history, we will see the basic cause of its formation is the increased number of dwellers around the mercantile areas. This opportunity for employment, brought many people from different cultural backgrounds together and this forged the basics of the notion of urban. Every individual brings their own story and is confronted and captivated by the stories of others involuntarily. These stories can be read through street corners, shapes of buildings and smells of food seeping out from restaurants or the colors of a store-

front sign. Thus, every action occurs in the city challenges the dweller to identify himself, while at the same time he changes, reshapes the city.

Public places are stage sets for all of its inhabitants; all its dwellers, tourists, and wanderers have a role. Social interaction is the foundation of experiencing the city. This collective unity is created by its dwellers. The connection between the inhabitants and everyday usage of the city creates the feeling of belonging. City transforms into a place with the dweller's feelings and perception of the city.

To understand what makes a space a place we must look at patterns of epitomized human relationship with the everyday physical world. For instance, Oxford dictionary defines the place as 'a particular position, point, or area in space; a location' and 'a building or area used for a specified purpose or activity'. However, as Norberg-Schulz (1980) argues what we mean by the place is 'something more abstract than location' (1980, p. 60). And since its validity depends on human experience, so it has also been called as 'Humanized Space' (Tuan, 1977, p. 54).

Then, what makes a space a place, with its spatial structures, topographies, natural and climatic conditions is the holistic relationships we form with the color of the chair we sit, the stoning of the pavement we walk or and the fronts of the buildings we pass by. 'Place refers to a particular space in which one is situated. Things like material substance, shape, texture and color determine an environmental character, which is the essence of the place' (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p. 6). This network of relationships carves out a specific place for itself with every individual based on the semantic connection that is formed with this very space. He further adds: 'A place is, therefore, a qualitative total phenomenon, which we cannot reduce to any of its properties, such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature out of sight' (1979, p. 6). A place is the output of holistic definition of constituted physical and historical layers solidified with the events that proceed on. Similarly, Taylor says: 'Space is everywhere; place is somewhere... Place is space with attitude' (1999, p. 10).

When people define a particular place as place, they have a common understanding of the same place and this is not detached from experiencing this place in a certain and/or similar way. It is a 'structure of feelings'³ that has been nested in stories as physical and sensory layers. As an illustration of this layers, I recall a memory. The relationship formed through swinging in an olive tree during my childhood, turned 'a tree' into 'the olive tree' where I swung in. This tree is an important part of my life, because, I do not only still remember the patterns on its branches, but I also can still feel the happiness of childhood due to the exaltation of swinging. I have not seen the town where the tree stands, for a long time. I heard that the trees are burned in a fire. That broke the connection between me and this place. Because, the significance of this town is engraved to my memory with its olive trees where children can swing. After a while, I talked with some of my childhood friends who were with me back then. They told me that, they lost a part of their childhood. It was 'a place' where olive trees created its 'particular identity' (Norberg-Shulz, 1979, p. 7).

In *Genius Loci*, Norberg-Shulz⁴ examines this relationship between physical environment and its dweller, its witness. The dweller, who contributes in the creation of space through memories ensures the intergenerational transmission of space through the lifelong transmission flux. The witness to this transmission flux is the perception of physical layers, and these layers enable one to experience a sense of belonging and identity. Thus, one attaches oneself and identifies oneself within. He defines this phenomenon as the 'Spirit of Place'. This term comes from Roman, with 'Loci' meaning place, 'Genius' meaning spirit and thus the term implies the authenticity of a place. It comes from the idea that every place is protected by its own guardian spirit.

³ Term is borrowed from Raymond Williams.

⁴ A recent paper combines the possible relationships between natural and human-made places with the list of Norberg-Schulz: 'four thematic levels can be observed: the topography of the earth's surface; the cosmologic light conditions and the sky as natural conditions; buildings; symbolic and existential meanings in the cultural landscape' (Jive'n, Larkham, 2003, p. 5).

His works associate architecture with phenomenology, and they are important for bringing phenomenology to disciplines of landscape and architecture together. Phenomenology ‘emphasizes the attempt to get to the truth of matters, to describe phenomena, in the broadest sense as whatever appears in the manner in which it appears, that is as it manifests itself to consciousness, to the experiencer’ (Moran, 2000, p. 6). Thus, phenomenology shows up that people and surroundings coexist. Rather than regarding nature and its reality as something that mankind cannot affect or something that we have no influence over, it regards it as a notion that is created through the sharing and/or outcome of human relationships as creators. As a relatively new branch of philosophy, phenomenology was introduced in the 20th century. It is not only a tool for interpretation, but it also mentors and constitutes the very core of human-environment relations.

Through a phenomenological approach, we can claim that places and people are indivisible. Places are created as an outcome of humans’ very existence. Place is a layout for people’s daily experience where their preferences are expressed in. At certain times these preferences create familiar environments where makes its dweller an insider; at other times, he feels alienated. The spirit of a place may range in scale, from streets to buildings, facades to materials, cities to countries.

To understand this holistic collective unity, I will investigate the city in two subsections of this section. First subsection is about the perceptual dimension of the city. This part is about how we perceive the city through our senses and the authenticity concept. The key reference here is Juhani Pallasmaa. I will refer to the importance of the senses from his book *Eye of the Skin*. Second subsection is the physical dimension of the city. In this part, I will elaborate the physical aspects of the city with reference to the concepts of Kevin Lynch’s *Image of the City*.

4.1. Perceptual Dimension of the City

To perceive the environment, one sees, hears, touches and smells. The human sensory system gathers all information around a place and interprets it. Then reactions regarding this place take shape. Or Bell summarizes it: ‘We affect the environment and are affected by it. For this interaction to happen, we must perceive—that is, be stimulated by sight, sound, smell or touch that offer clues about the world around us’ (Bell, 1990, p. 22).

Every experience is stimulated through the senses and these senses transfer the information to our brain, then marked as specific codes. Let’s think of your building. It is not only an erected building with its concrete materials, but also the experiences that took place and were perceived through time. In Mircea Eliade's words, ‘the house is not an object, a machine to live in; it is the universe that man constructs for himself’ (Eliade, 1959, p. 56). Let me recall a memory. I jump onto my grandmother’s green couch. I hear the voice of the street-seller selling green plums. (Even the thought of this memory alone makes my mouth water.) There is something boiling on the stove. The room is hot and filled with the smell of the food. All windows are open. What direction was the wind blowing? Even though I visited her house for years, it is not vivid enough for me to imagine exactly what it looked like. The recalling occurs through remembering what was seen, tasted, heard, touched and smelled and assigning meanings on holistic feelings of these senses. Through our sensory stimulated experiences, we can sense the environment. Places are constructed in our reminiscences and feelings through recurring experiences and complex affiliations. As such, experiences of places are memory dependent and structured with time. This memory can be both personal and collective thus, different places are bonded to the individual life of the person. These bonds and experiences express their output on physical sense of a place and totality of them creates the image of the city. So, our perception and/or recollection is not that vision oriented as some have claimed.

As Pallasmaa (2012) says, by underestimating other senses, the designs that appeal primarily to sight, cause us to experience the city in a superficial way that is severed from its depth. When it is a matter of environmental design, the structure of the city, which, as Raban writes, permits all kinds of feedback shaped by our behavior, loses its plasticity in an environment where perception is triggered by one sensation. The images ‘projected on the surface of the retina’ reduce the multi-dimensional structure of the city to a single dimension. Due to this, buildings ‘isolated in the cool and distant realm of vision’ and the architectural elements of the city, unless they stimulate all senses ‘turn into stage sets for the eye, into a scenography devoid of the authenticity of matter and construction’ (Pallasmaa, 2012, p. 33-34). Authenticity is a key factor to talk about here.

Due to the increasing urbanization processes, the city is growing day by day with a fast production requirement. This rapid growth together with the unplanned construction make the spirit of the materials become the objects of mass production. The same patterns and colors that come out of mass production carry the spirit of the past with them and familiar objects are transforming images ‘projected on the surface of the retina’ reduced to a single dimension. (Pallasmaa, 2012, p. 33) This creates the pseudo-historic meaning. With expanded urban renewal projects partly dependent on the mass production processes, the perception of environment is detached from human history. For instance, there are wooden houses built in various cities in Turkey. Every home is authentic because different climates affect every tree and there are various tree species. Every tree has its own characteristics. Some needs sunlight, some grows fast. Due to these different characteristics, every piece of wood is unique just as the home itself. But as I mentioned earlier, as a result of vision-oriented culture, materials lose their authentic meaning. All the dimensions of wood, such as; breathing, growing, smelled, tasted, touched and aging etc. reduced into a single dimension image through the mass production processes.

Dovey (2000) claims ‘authentic meaning cannot be created through the manipulation or purification of form, since authenticity is the very source from which form gains meaning’ (p. 33-34). I will exemplify this, through ‘Fransız balkonu’⁵.



Figure 4.1: French Balcony (Tavukcu, 2019).

Balconies were built as an integral part of Turkey's multi-storey structures. These multi-storey buildings have been built with balconies and have been the structures that brought the concept of ‘apartman’⁶. When we take a look at the traditional Turkish structures, we see that the vast majority of them are houses with gardens. Outside of the house was being used as some sort of a socialization area before urbanization. The initial apartment structures of the country started in late nineteenth century around Galata and Beyoğlu. With the concept of fast urbanization ongoing since the 1950s, the apartment concept has settled into the city. As multi-storey apartments were constructed as a substitution for houses with gardens, balconies became the socialization areas of its residents. Garden plants were planted into vases, and these vases were then hung onto the balcony parapets.

⁵ Fransız Balkonu (French Balcony) is an architectural element, balcony-like structure.

⁶ In Turkey, apartman means a multi-storey building.

However, due to the fact that the value of a house is measured on a square meter basis, the buildings have been built without a balcony now. Balconies in traditional way have disappeared. There might be several reasons for it. Such as; increased traffic noise, air pollution. But these balconies have not disappeared completely, in fact they have been replaced with balcony-like structures that do not have a door or an opening towards them but a window-door structures. Functionally they are not balconies nor windows. They are more like window-doors which you can open, which you can step on the tiny bit in front of it nevertheless, there is no space to do anything. (Figure 2.1.)

Cities, with their own economic, sociological and physical transformations, have their own dynamics. These dynamics produce certain practices on society through habits. The city creates new tools that will reconstruct itself, in order to preserve its continuity with these practices. It is possible to observe the critical points of these changes in some regions of the city. A balcony is one of the thresholds between inside and outside.

In people's everyday language, the word 'balcony' still exists, but functionally all the historical background is altered and now it is only used as a stage prop, image-based and to decorate the facades. Thus, their functional purpose has been replaced with a vision-oriented purpose. In the context of style these balconies are part of a culturally shared image of facade. Meanings of these parts of urban elements 'cannot be recreated easily when they have their functional roots severed technologically' (Dovey, 2000, p. 34). In other words, mass production and technological development make materials lose their authenticity.

Oxford Dictionary defines the authenticity as accurate or reliable. Think of plastic imprinted woods, which look like genuine wood from a distance. Such confrontation with the fake material may make someone feel betrayed, as if the material itself is not reliable. Pallasmaa says that mass production materials 'tend to present their unyielding surfaces to the eye without conveying their material essence or age. Buildings of this technological era usually deliberately aim at ageless perfection, and they do not incorporate the dimension of time, or the

unavoidable and mentally significant processes of aging. This fear of the traces of wear and age is related to our fear of death' (Pallasmaa, 2012, p. 34). Natural materials like wood and stone are the reminiscent artefacts of human existence. They connote the process of early days of the human and death. Because these materials continue to live, they require maintenance because they themselves have a life: they age.

Authentic materials stimulate all our senses. Today we see imitated materials, they are coated with the images of an authentic material, such as wood. But, the images of this materials, in other words, the coatings, give the impression to any material as if they are wood. Due to perceiving the world in a vision-oriented manner, authentic materials are transformed into printed images on a relatively cheap material. Since this image printed on does not stimulate our senses as the wood, we neither understand the characteristic of the material that printed on nor experience the interaction by the image of the authentic material. The material degrades from four dimensions (including temporality) to two dimensions. Therefore, we alienate from the sense of both materials: the material printed on and the image of the authentic material. Thus, not only the material's, but also the user's authentic bond with the material is lost.

4.2. Physical Dimension of the City

The city experience occurs with the perceiving of the elements that create the city. Every experience adds meanings to those elements. Memories and stories are being wound around a spatial narrative and ‘nothing is experienced by itself’ (Lynch, 1960, p. 1). Experiencing and defining the city assists the person in building certain pattern systems through acquaintance objects. These patterns, in Lynch’s words, create a ‘legibility’. Legibility is a notion that allows the city to be read; enables the person who’s exploring the city to discover specific properties of that city and ensures that the city preserves its coherent identity. Lynch explains a legible city ‘would be one whose districts or landmarks or pathways are easily identifiable and are easily grouped into an over-all pattern’ (1960, p. 3).

At every pace, the city presents various details for the one who experiences it. As such in the versicolored walls, flagstones and the idiosyncratic squirming structure of the roads that are remarkable during the movement. As these details aid defining the city, we nearly recognize this situation when giving directions to a taxi driver. The route we have in mind when we are giving directions to our home and the mechanism that the taxi driver plotted in his mind is totally different from each other. As the taxi driver encodes a place he would not know into his mind, he defines his movement through the amenities of the device he is in.

Knowing the place he is in and constructing it as something recollectable is an important as well as a mandatory practice that humans have been doing down the ages. Throughout human history, senses of human beings have evolved to ensure survival. ‘Human mind recognizes sensory information according to what is already known and systemized’ (Bosselmann, 2008, p. 117). This status of recognition can be executed through plenty of methods. The importance of our senses come are of great importance at this point. We perceive the environment through colors, static and dynamic objects, shapes and all the senses that our faculties assist such as touching, smelling and hearing.

When it comes to the animals, they use the similar pathfinding methods. Whereas the spiders navigate through ‘vibrations’⁷, bats with the dried-up eyesight can ‘hear the sound of the prey’⁸ from for meters and meters away. The migratory birds know which route to go through the ‘magnetic fields’⁹.

Mobile animals find their ways by benefitting from their senses to sustain their lives. When it comes to humans, a similar orientation is at play. Humans perceive the objects around their environments through their senses and they create a ‘mental picture’ in order to keep the environment in their minds. ‘This image is the product both of immediate sensations and of the memory of past experience, and it is used to interpret information and to guide action’ (Lynch, 1960, p. 4). It is quite important to perceive the patterns of the environment for orienting accordingly. In Lynch’s term, ‘legible’ environments create security which is one of the primal instincts of human beings.

Introduced into our lives through modern life, with their growing urbanization structure from a certain point, the cities with chaotic structures reveal the various idiosyncratic features of themselves when they are readable and they cause the density of the experience in the places where human life happens.

The idiosyncratic authenticity of a city is bound up to the natural system of its location. The topography of the surface has a role in the determination of the roads and the route of arrangement of the roadside buildings of the city. When we take a look at the natural structure of İstanbul, we see that various urban transformation processes made through the flowing rivers around the various parts of the city, whether they have dried up since the first years of the foundation of the republic, or, were made to flow underneath the city by being tied into the sewage of the city. Lynch (1960), searches for an imageability by investigating the city’s physical qualities through structural elements. He endeavors to transmit the urban images that remains in the mind of the observer through mental mapping. As a result of these studies of his, he examines the elements that are being used in the narration

⁷ Information is taken from the article *Navigation in birds and other animals* by H. Mouritsen (2001).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Information is taken from the article *Sensory bases of navigation* by James L. Gould (1998).

of the city and the elements of the city in five titles; paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.

Paths are dominant elements that assist the experiencer to interpret the environment. The experiencer observes the environment and perceives the city through the outputs of this movement. The places where the motion happens such as streets, crosswalks, railways and drive lanes can be used as examples for these paths. The roads build the basis of mental images in Lynch's experiments and besides of building the complex structure of the city like a web, it also reinforces the perception of the city with other elements with 'critical moments in a journey' (1960, p. 84). This continuous image changes through the speed of the observer. Jan Gehl explains that people encounter the city close up at 5 km/h while walking. (2010, p. 118). People would desire to interpret the starting points of the roads and where they are being directed to. These defined roads would help people clarify their location and interpret the city as a whole and this 'gave the observer a sense of his bearings whenever he crossed them' (Lynch, 1960, p. 54). Roadsides have a rhythm with the colors of trees and patterns in the facades of buildings. This rhythm is unique for each road. This individuality creates the identity of paths and assists the observer to linger this in his memory by translating rhythm elements into acquaintance objects. Being the perpetual user of the visual elements that forms the rhythm 'will reinforce this familiar, continuous image' (Lynch, 1960, p. 96).

Edges are the boundaries that divide 'inside' from 'outside'. As the roads are the places that we move upon, edges are the reference points that the roads are based on. Walls, shores and fences can be used as examples for these edges that draws the outlines of various boundaries. 'Edges are the linear elements not considered as paths: they are usually, but not quite always, the boundaries between two kinds of areas' (Lynch, 1960, p. 62). Drawing vertical boundaries, these structures can be considered as vertical paths. These edges also contain a rhythm within. In the scheme of the facade example, the color and the forms of each facade is a part of this rhythm. The variabilities of heights of juxtaposed buildings (Figure

2.2.) bear different meanings for the observer. According to Jan Gehl, we bow our heads 10 degrees while we are walking (2010, p. 39). Correspondingly, we can be aware of only a little part of buildings during the act of walking. This status of awareness can smother the roads into a darkness which can interrupt the sun away in an unconscious state, when it comes to the matter where vertically growing structures are closer to each other. This situation makes the observer feel a claustrophobic chaos.

Districts are the structures which demonstrate the administrative situation of the city. Each district creates its own identity, with its residents. The experienter would understand the change of district not only by looking at the district name written on dumpsters, but also from the quality of its roads and the existence of the stray animals. ‘The physical characteristics that determine districts are thematic continuities which may consist of an endless variety of components: texture, space, form, detail, symbol, building type, use, activity, inhabitants, degree of maintenance, topography’ (Lynch, 1960, p. 68).

Nodes are the intersection points of paths. Whether to an observer or to a dweller, these nodes are strategic decision points. According to Lynch, ‘nodes are points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter, and which are the intensive foci to and from which he is traveling’ (1960, p. 72). Bus stops can be used as an example for this, not only as significant points of transportation, sometimes physical structures can be used as nodes too. Across İstanbul, meeting in front of ‘Kızılkayalar¹⁰’ can be shown as an example for those who will meet at the entrance of İstiklal district. In İstanbul, there can be some haplic buildings which young people hangout in front of. The transportation stops are strategic points where you are deciding where to go. These are the points where decisions are made about the direction of movement and the distribution of movement is made on these junction points. Because of the importance these decision points represent,

¹⁰ Kızılkayalar is a fast-food restaurant located in the beginning of İstiklal Street, İstanbul.

observers pay more attention to these areas. This is because of simple reasons such as the observer does not want to miss a station he has to get off. ‘Junctions are typically the convergence of paths, events on the journey’ (Lynch, 1960, p. 72). As it is possible to explain this situation in a city-scale through bus stops, parks and squares, we can also explain this through a larger perspective. For example, İstanbul, the city itself is a node because of its physical location in between Europe and Asia. ‘If the node has a local orientation within itself—an up or down, a left or a right, a front or a back—then it can be related to the larger orientation system’ (Lynch, 1960, p. 103) This orientation system contributes the observer’s interpretation of the city structure that surrounds him. It moves towards the desired goal of the observer at each definition of ‘up’ and ‘down’. With the help of this motion awareness, ‘the particularity of the place itself is enhanced by the felt contrast with the total image’ (Lynch, 1960, p. 103). The observer becomes aware of the slopes and the curves of the city that are felt during the movement, and also the direction where it should move towards. Like taking directions to an address from a person we do not know, it helps creating described directions. (as in: turn left, take right from the second junction, third building from the left)

Landmarks are the critical reference points in terms of defining a city. In general, physical structures can be shown as an example to these. A building which is located at a critical point or physically distinguished from the others, an entrance door in a vivid color, even an old plane tree can be an example. These landmarks are local landmarks which can be detectable from close distances. ‘They are frequently used clues of identity and even of structure and seem to be increasingly relied upon as a journey becomes more and more familiar.’ (Lynch, 1960, p. 41-42). Some landmarks can be helpful as they are visible from distant points and different angles (Such as the Anthill in Şişli and Marmara Hotel at the entrance of Taksim). Apart from these, a wall which is a part of the history, or a bench which has been a subject for movies can be considered as landmarks. Landmarks have been experienced or occupied a place in memories and have been created through transmitting to people. Lynch further adds that such a coincidence of association is

necessary in order to make our environment meaningful (1960, p. 101). He states that, these elements are the core of the structured environment and environmental image. In order to create a successful visual output, these elements must be feeding and developing each other in a mutual affinity.

The settlement units that have been taking form around the work life which has increased with modernism are changing over time. The form of the city is evolving in parallel with the increasing population. Cities are being destroyed and rebuilt, like the texts written on palimpsests getting erased and rewritten. Even though the basic plan of the city stays the same, the settlement areas consists of the imbricated layers of different periods. The increasement of technological improvements are forming a basis for the fast production of construction business. The image of the city can undergo a change in a month. With the process of gentrification, residents of the area reach a point where they cannot even recognize their own street anymore. As a result, they are forced to interaction with the place and recreate it from scratch. These changes transforming the identity of the city, which is being passed down from generation to generation, constituted with images and experiences of the city. However, like Lynch (1960) said, ‘the achievement of identity by the singular and continuous quality of the walls, floor, detail, lighting, vegetation, topography, or skyline of the node’ is important (p. 102). But a consistent identity cannot be created since a coherent design sense could not be developed.

The urban embodiment of İstanbul, has been formed through different stages of history, in different shapes. Throughout the world, it has been considered that the most important fact regarding the modernization of the city is the enhancement of the transportation system at any period of time, by the municipal administrations and governments. İstanbul has tried to solve the increasing population's transportation problems by constructing more roads into the city. As this situation determines the rent prices of the city, it shapes the city upon the demands of the ones whose are controlling these rents. Some living layers which are parts of the city have been deleted with the zoning operations and urban transformation, and new buildings named 'new and modern' have been constructed with gentrification movements instead of these living layers.

İstanbul is the most crowded and the most complicated city of Turkey. The urbanization history of İstanbul is closely related with the social, economic and political events the country has undergone. In the direction of post-republic modernization process and the events that happened right after, İstanbul had migrations from rural areas in 1950s. İstanbul seemed an attractive salvation town for those who migrated from the rural to city. Ataöv and Osmay (2007), have divided Turkey's history of urban transformation into three periods as in between 1950-1980s, 1980-2000s and 2000s-today. The first of them (1950-1980s) is the formation of slum districts caused by the migration of vacated villagers because of the mechanization in agriculture (p. 62-64). The second (1980-2000s) is the increasement of the structuring in the city by the effect of globalization, enlargement of the urbanization area and gentrification (p. 64-65). The third and the last is the period that has been ongoing since the 2000s until today, where urban transformation is being defined as a strategy, and the gentrification is being increased and commercialized (p. 68).

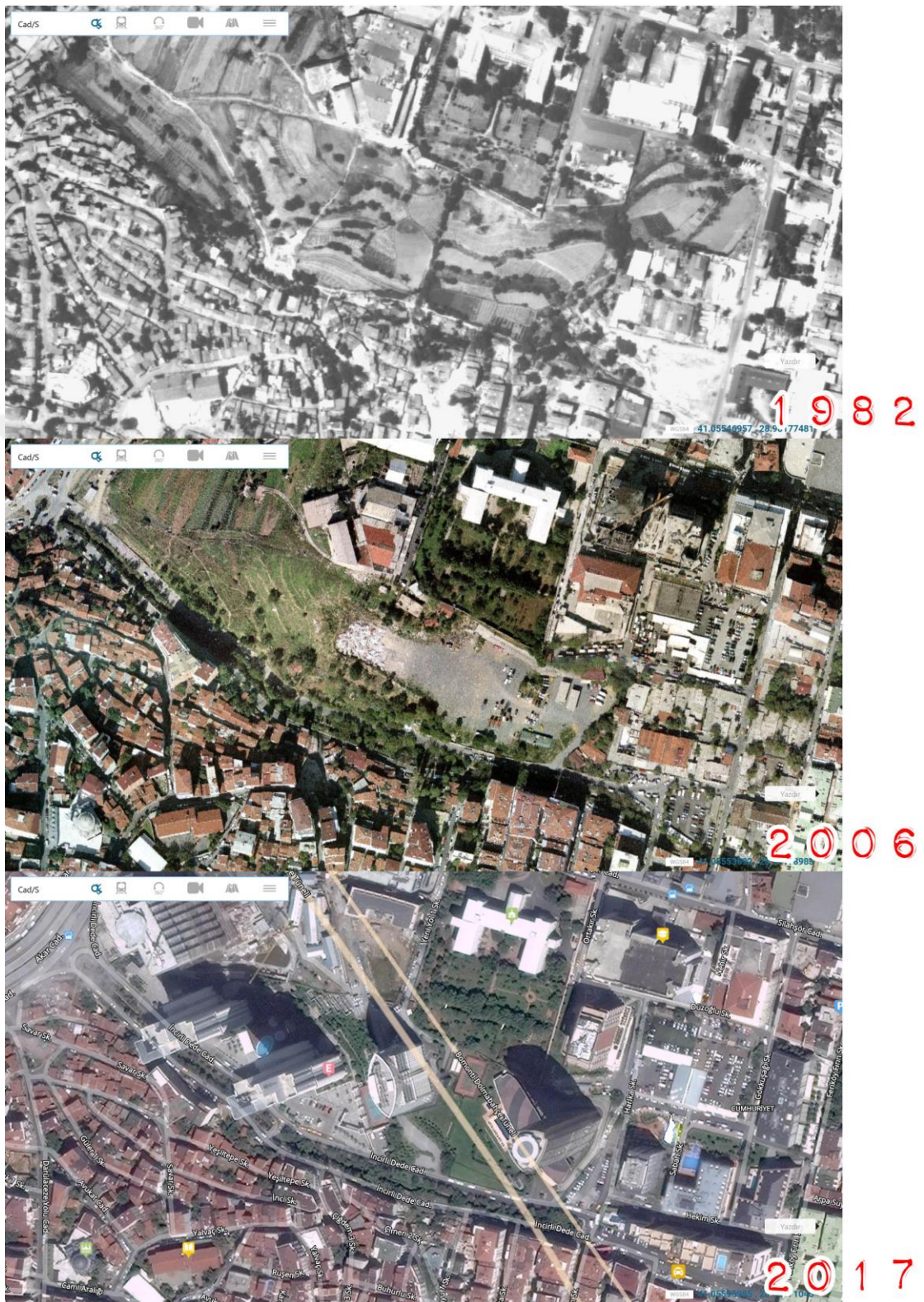


Figure 5.2: Changes of Bomonti through years.

The boundaries of the Bomonti area includes, but is not limited to Şişli neighborhood, between Beşiktaş and Beyoğlu. Once a part of Feriköy, Bomonti took its name from Bomonti Brothers who established a beer factory there in 1892. Bomonti was one of the first industrial areas of İstanbul. Consisting mostly of gardens and orchards, Şişli began to be inhabited by non-Muslims whose houses burnt in the 1870 Beyoğlu fire. The area, which had been opened for settlement with the 1870's, has earned an industrial identity with its industrial structures. 'When it came to the 1950s, current urban equipment lagged behind catching the acceleration of urbanization with intensive migrations, this situation has planted the first seeds of our country's unhealthy urbanization, without a doubt' (Özden, 2006, p. 219-220). Thus, the housing problem occurred. The community that came with migration started to build *gecekondu*. With it, illegal housing begun and problems like deprivation and fustiness started taking place within the city.

With the urban transformation process that was launched in 2010, Bomonti Beer Factory and its inner area were declared as tourism area. Thus, the area has undergone a rapid transformation process (Figure 5.2.). With urban transformation and gentrification, the old industrial neighborhood became a residential area with several office buildings. Building blocks such as Anthill, Divan Residence, Elysium Fantastic and Hilton Bomonti are large-scale housing projects that cause a vertical-axis rise in in the area. With the rise of structures in this region, the emphasis on the edges separating the inside and the outside strengthened. Thus, these projects altered the urban landscape in Bomonti.

The first construction project in the neighborhood was the Elysium Residence. In contrast with the first example, which has horizontal design, newer projects were vertically constructed. Anthill Residence was the first multi-storey building. Besides large-scale housing projects, rather small-scaled structures go through the same urban transformation process at the same time and at a great speed. This situation accelerates the sharp transformation of the city's image.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, for Lynch, it is important to have easily identifiable landmarks and pathways for a legible environment. But, this rapid change of urban texture changes also landmarks and nodes; and even paths disrupt one of the basic instincts of human being- navigation. But, even though Lynch's explanation about understanding the environment through physical elements such as paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks are important, they are not enough. We understand how to navigate through these elements, but we cannot identify the city just upon these physical elements because of fluid and changeable character of the city.



Figure 5.3: A scene from *Beddua* (1989), where the *gecekondu*s of Feriköy can be seen at background.¹¹

¹¹ *Beddua* is a Turkish movie directed by Osman F. Seden and Melih Gülgen.

The popular Turkish transgender singer Bülent Ersoy plays the leading role in the 1989 movie *Beddua* which demonstrates the squatting of Feriköy. Bülent is living in a rural area of a small town. Bülent's father wants to hand over the business to his son. But Bülent tries to learn how to sing behind his father's back. After his father gets to know about the situation, he disinherits Bülent. Hereon, Bülent migrates from the village to İstanbul and starts working in a factory. The friends of Bülent from the factory wander around the slums, trying to help with renting a room where she can live. (Narrative of the movie is important here to express the cultural, economic situation of the dwellers of Bomonti.) With this scene, the effect of migrating from the village to the city in Feriköy and the social and cultural effect of squatting around the commercial centers can be observed.

5.2. How to approach the border of Bomonti/Feriköy?

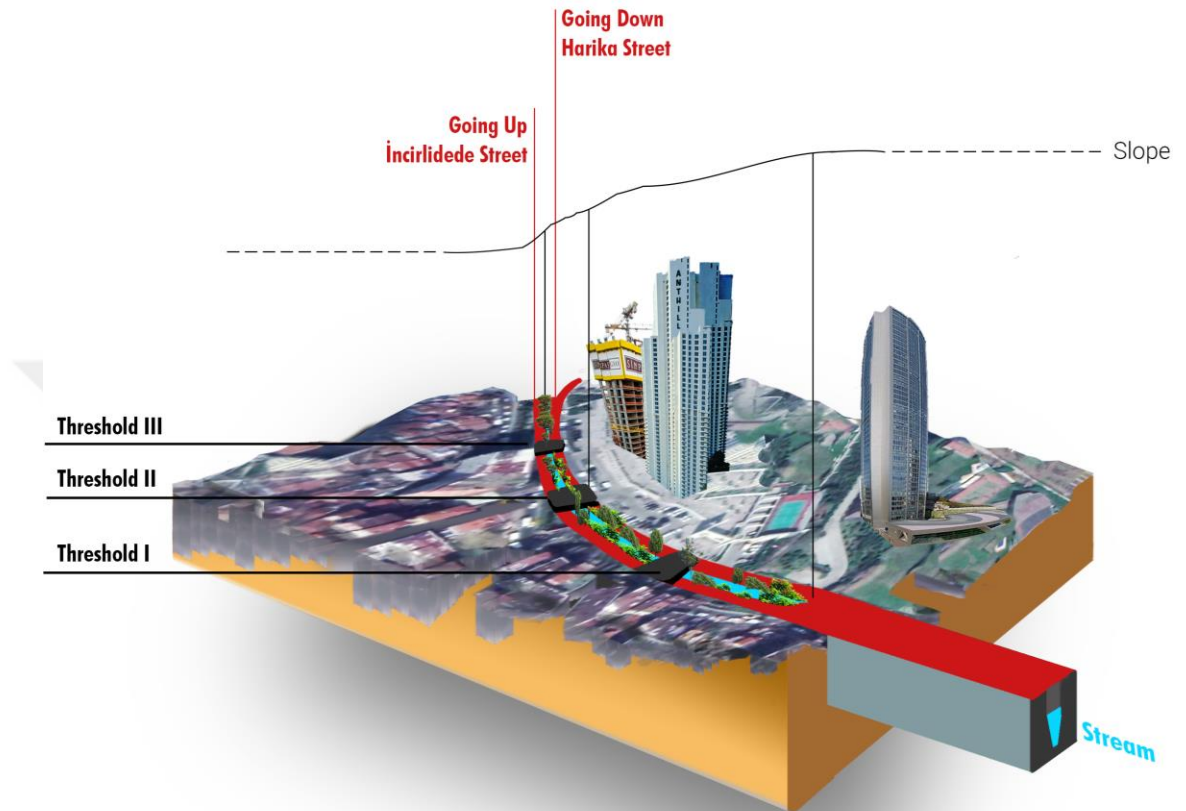


Figure 5.4: Main work area: İncirlidede and Harika Streets / Slope Section (Tavukcu, 2019).

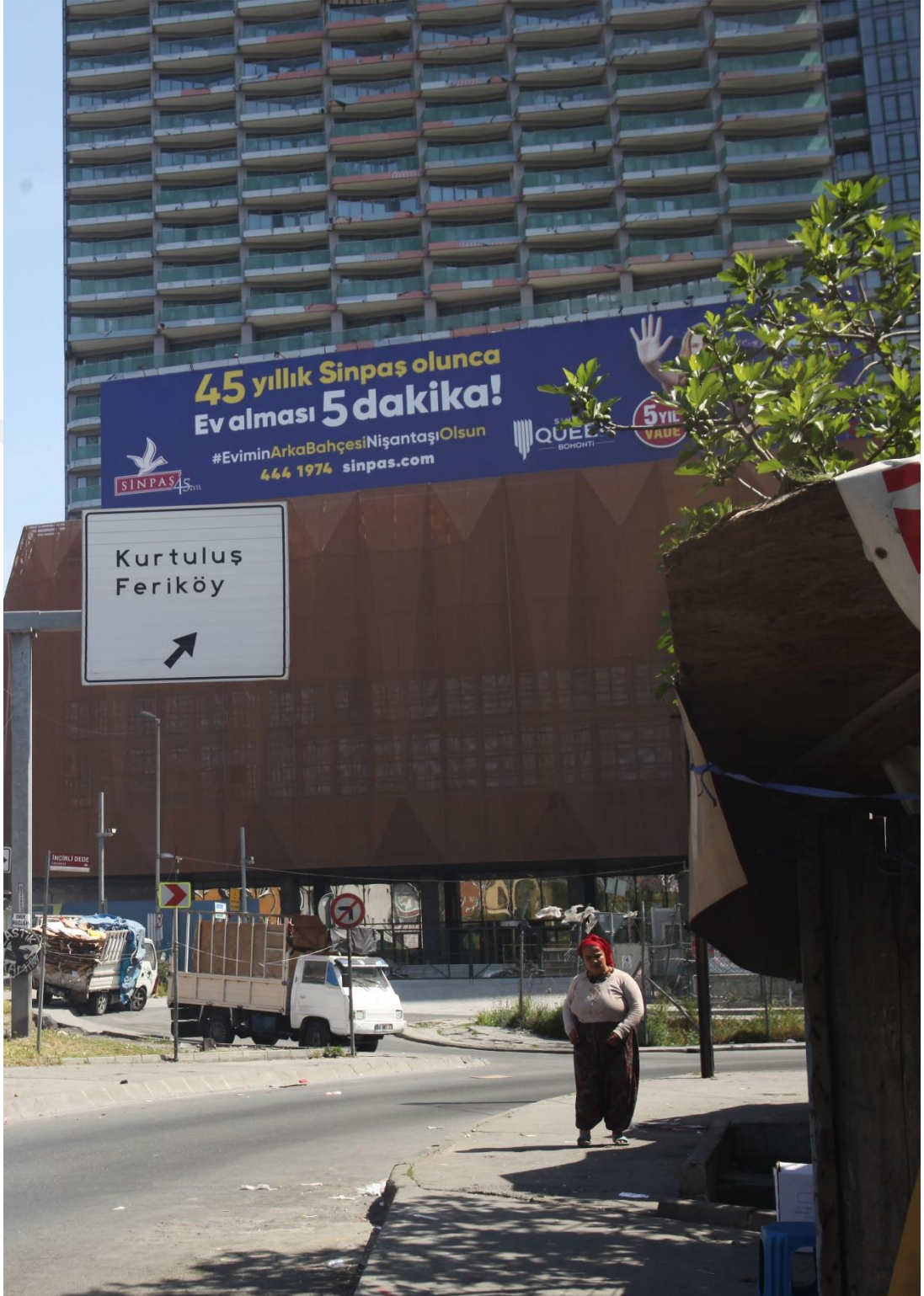


Figure 5.5: The ‘turning point’ (Tavukcu, 2019).

I have been using this road (İncirlidede Street) for almost two years at the same time. The shuttle that I use every day passes by this street at around 17:40. After going through the Kağıthane-Dolmabahçe tunnel, there is a turn, which heads to a slope, leading to Feriköy and Bomonti. After going through the tunnel, the first thing that one notice is a skyscraper with a big billboard attached onto it, named Queen Bomonti. ‘Kraliçe’nin evi görmeye açık.¹²’ written on this billboard. (This billboard changed in study time, new advertisements can be seen in Figure 5.4)



Figure 5.6: The building next to Kuleli Evleri (Tavukcu, 2019).

In one morning, after being late to work, I took a cab and the cab which Harika Street to go down to the tunnel. (Figure 5.3) Harika Street is next to İncirlidede Street and it is also a one-way road that you can use to go down by vehicle.

¹² Translation is ‘The House of the Queen is ready for visit’.

I try to express the feeling of shock, because the everyday experience of going up from İncirlidede Street transformed into a different experience. This experience is like being in another world. It made me feel alienated. I always know that there are residents and high-rises on the other side of the road. (It is impossible not to notice these high-rise buildings).



Figure 5.7: High-rises are visible at my home, Batı Caddesi (Tavukcu, 2019).

Between these roads there is a sewer opening allowing water to run through an old river branch. As observed from Pervititch maps, this opening was a river which was actively flowing back in the 1930s. This river has been transferred into the infrastructure system, probably because of the urban transformation process back in the 1950s. This river, that couldn't be dried up totally in the drying process, will probably be included into the city's infrastructure system entirely. As I have mentioned in the second part, running waters were dried in the urban transformation period, turned into 'path's and formed a basis regarding creation of active roads. (Figure 5.7.)

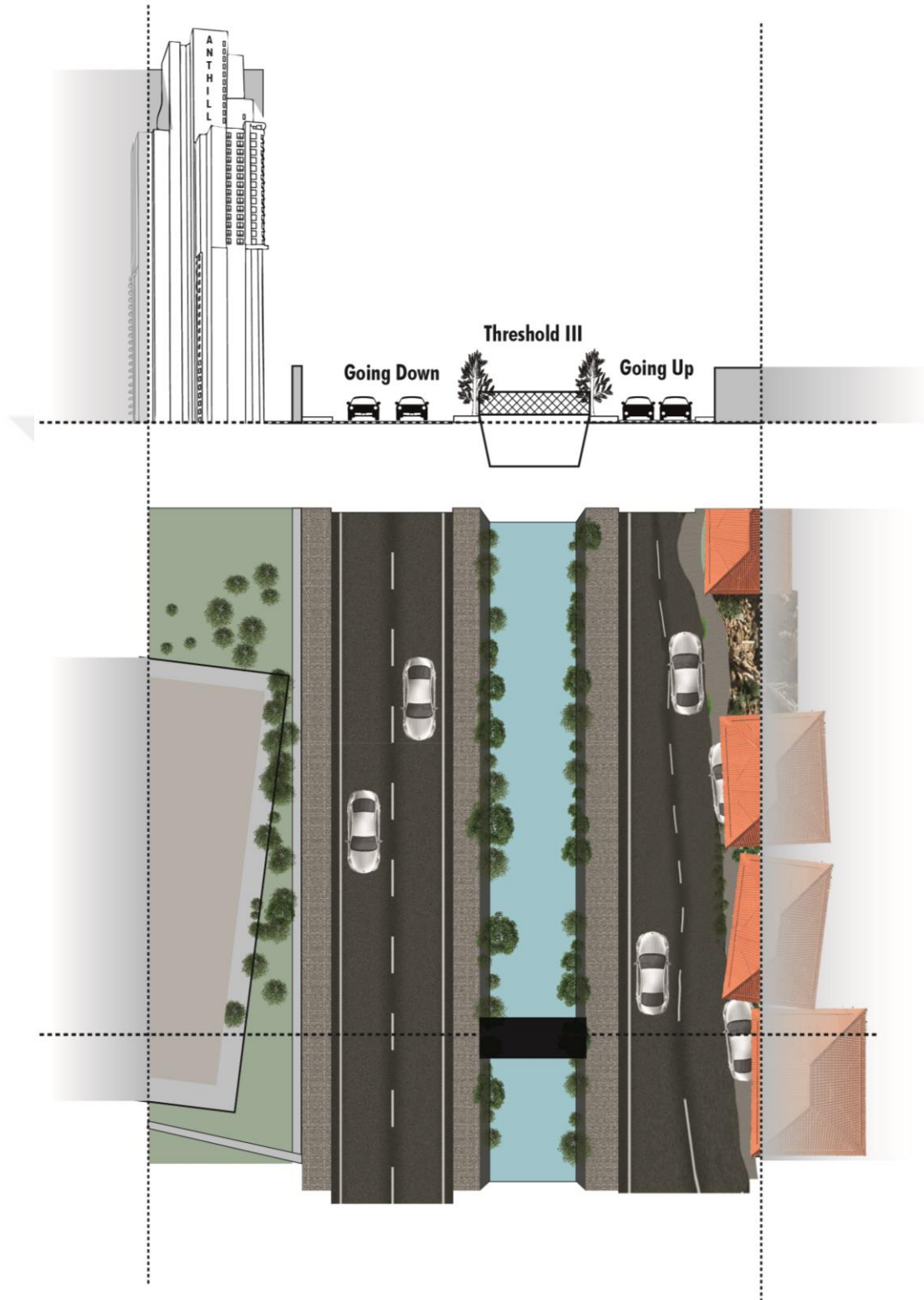


Figure 5.8: A demonstration of İncirliçede and Harika Streets: Plan and Section (Tavukcu, 2019)

İncirliede Street is a one-way road by allowing going up by a vehicle. I always did ‘go up’ with a car on İncirliede Street before this project. The everyday experience of the right side of this road will be defined as ‘going up¹³’ in the following sections. Harika Street is next to İncirliede Street and it is also a one-way road that you can use to go down by vehicle. I just use this road to ‘go down’. The everyday experience of the left side of this road will be defined as ‘going down¹⁴’ in the following sections.

Before the writing of this thesis, I have observed both districts only by a vehicle. By the reason of this project, I wandered around by walking with the purpose of observing the area and photographing. Hence, differences in both movements will be mentioned in the forthcoming sections.



Figure 5.9: İncirliede/Harika Street and İncirliedere (Collage is made by Tavukcu, 2019).

¹³ This term is not related any psychological or emotional aspect. It is a physical abstraction.

¹⁴ This term is not related any psychological or emotional aspect. It is a physical abstraction.

5.2.1. Going up:

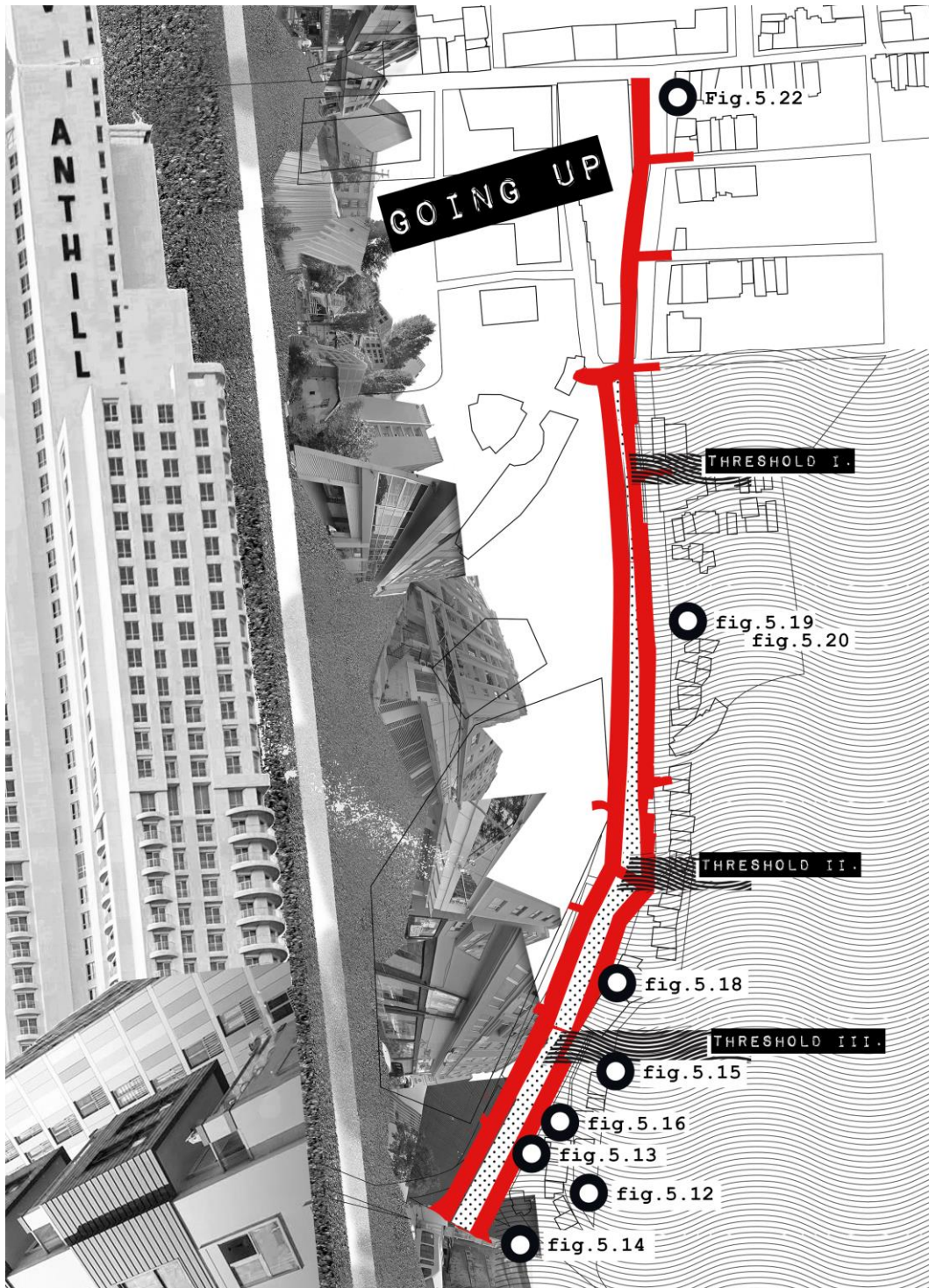


Figure 5.10: Going up schema, right side of the road (Tavukcu, 2019).

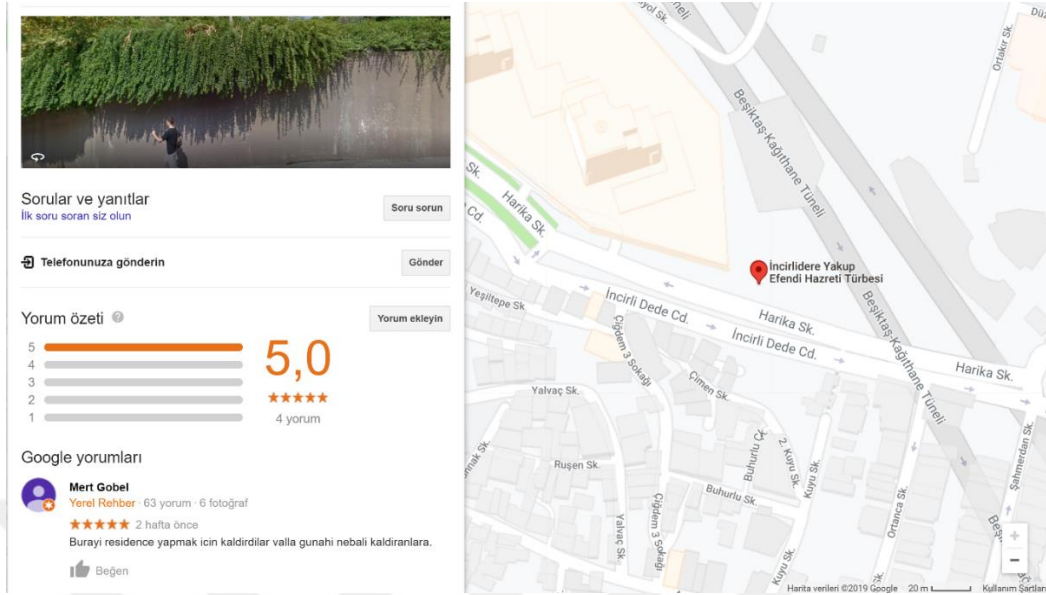


Figure 5.11: Google Maps screenshot showing the pinned İncirli Dere Cd. near Besiktas-Kagithane Turbeli.

The name of İncirli Dere Street comes from İncirli Dere Yakup Efendi Türbesi. (Figure 5.9.) This shrine, which is located by the pin on the Google Maps image above, was destroyed/removed during the construction of Anthill Bomonti. Therein lies the reason why İncirli Dere street was named after İncirli Dere Yakup Efendi Türbesi¹⁵. Once upon a time, İncirli Dere Shrine was located at the side of the stream. With the reformation of this stream into the infrastructure within the urban transformation processes, the name of İncirli Dere was changed to İncirli Dere. With the disappearance of the stream, the name of ‘dere (stream)’ has been erased and transformed into ‘dere (ancestral)’, with the stream image in our collective memory. This can be used as an example on how physical changes may affect our denomination of a place, and how it carries traces which we can find in the language we are using traces of.

¹⁵ ‘Türbe’ is the name given to a building in the form of room which are mostly the graves of important or religious scholars. ‘Türbe’ is also used for monumental historical tombs where mostly famous people are buried. (I could not find any information about Yakup Efendi.)

Before turning, on the right side of the road, there are many new buildings that are visible after their third floors. First two floors of the buildings, are underneath the road. (The road after tunnel that we go on is a high/up road.) These buildings named as Kuleli Evleri were constructed after an urban renovation project. While getting closer to the turn, after Kuleli Evleri, the scene changes dramatically. There is a neighborhood full of gecekondu¹⁶. These gecekondus continue albeit at a diminishing pace all the way to the Feriköy Fırın Street, at the end of İncirlidede District.



Figure 5.12: Children in gecekondu area (Tavukcu, 2019).

While going up, the vast majority of the amount of people I have encountered in the documentation processes were the people who migrated to this area because of the unemployment in their villages. It was transmitted that there is also a considerable gypsy population. Because of the financial difficulties, most of the

¹⁶ I choose to use 'gecekondu' instead of slums. Gecekondu is different from slums in sociological and historical processes of Turkey. The word 'Gecekondu' is created by the combination of the words 'gece' (night) and 'kondu' (settled). That means 'settled at night'. This word represents the buildings which are erected by the rural migration processes.

children make a living by selling napkins or by begging on the street. The children living in the neighborhood are aware of these differences, but they are not old enough to utter why they are different from each other. These children are deprived of basic necessities such as shoes and attire. Therefore, they are trying to solve the problems in the buildings they live, by using elements we consider trash in daily life. The first building at the turn to the right from Feriköy Street sign can be used as an example for this.

This building is one of the buildings that has grabbed my attention when turning around the corner for many years. The garden border of this building that is located in the corner of the artery was closed with left-out woods. These leftover woods can be made from the side of an old bedstead or an old door. These worn-out wood pieces probably will be used as fuel when the winter arrives. There is a barred opening in a front of the building. Its window was broken where there should be a window, and a stretched blanket was placed instead. There are bars with heart-shaped molds, placed to ensure the security of that windowless house.



Figure 5.13: Blanket covered Window (Tavukcu, 2019).

We can see the function of the material and the forms of utilization here. The answer to the question ‘What happens to the posters of the record-breaking movies when their release dates are past?’ can be seen on this building.



Figure 5.14: Deadpool poster used as a surface to create border (Tavukcu, 2019).

The poster of the movie *Deadpool 2*¹⁷, which came out on May 8th, 2018 is being used to strengthen the garden border, probably instead of a rotten piece of wood. I find this situation a little ironic. This addition, maybe which was done unconsciously, is being a cause for readings to be made about the building for those who knows the story of the movie and the character. *Deadpool* is an American superhero movie which belongs to the world of Marvel. One of the reasons that distinguishes this movie from the other superhero movies is that Deadpool is an indestructible character. Having this information about the movie, strengthens the meaning of this poster, which was placed in order to draw the border of the garden. In my sight, the owner of the house draws the border of this house with an ‘indestructible’ element. I evoke the question that I have asked regarding the ‘evil eye’ situation which I have transmitted in the first part of the thesis. ‘Do they put ‘Deadpool’ on the fence to protect the house or the people who live inside it?’ These

¹⁷ Deadpool 2 (2018) is an American superhero movie directed by Tim Miller.

questions can be reviewed upon the narrative of the eye of the beholder. Random additions on the buildings, like this, would cause the observer to read the city. It is not important whether the dweller knows about this movie or not, when he is making this addition. The plasticity of the city derives from such additions.

There is a three-decker building alongside this *gecekondu* I have mentioned. Each floor of this building is different from each other. This is a building, built in different periods, with different materials. Each floor of this house is painted in different colors. Yet, each of the floor looks like it is about to collapse. All seven windows on the front are different from each other. This difference gives the idea that the residents of the house are changing with time, maybe it needs more rooms. Articulated at different times, this building tries to tell that it belongs to different times, different people, but it stands as a whole.



Figure 5.15: The three-storey building (Tavukcu, 2019).

I ascend by walking on the sidewalks. It is hard to walk on the sidewalk, because the sidewalk is not used for the pedestrians to walk by, but as some sort of extension to the house. At some parts, the buildings bordered by the sidewalk are destroyed and waiting to be reconstructed by their owners.



Figure 5.16: The pedestrian road on İncirliçide (Tavukcu, 2019).



Figure 5.17: One of the terrains of urban transformation (Tavukcu, 2019).

Construction areas like this are spoiling the pavement. The pedestrian obliges to walk by the carriageway to move forward. As the corners have no continuity, the continuity of the paths is being disturbed. This situation makes the

act of walking insecure. Is a point that you are obliged to look at the ground not to fall designed? Is it possible that it is designed in a way that blocks looking around? It feels that way even if it is not.

When I am at the middle of the road, I hear the voices of the children and I see three little girls sitting on a mattress at the front of the house. One of their hairs is painted with henna. There is a basket hanging down from upper floor behind them. This basket is a transportation tool which the children are using to transfer what they have bought from the market. It is an element which has become a part of the facade. After a while, their mother comes out to the balcony, asking them to buy bread and one of the girls drifts away to the market.



Figure 5.18: Girls on a mattress (Tavukcu, 2019).

This is one of the most interesting buildings that I have encountered in this district and one of the families can be seen at Figure 5.19.



Figure 5.19: Close encounter of the Göçebe¹⁸-structure (Tavukcu, 2019).

This is a building that I have been trying to look at just to see its details when I pass by coming back from work by a vehicle. But, the speed of the vehicle, as long as it does not get stuck in the traffic, does not allow enough time to perceive the details. One of the basic things that grabs my attention at the point where I pass by in a vehicle was that there are at least five people sitting in front of the door, every day, around 17:40. The house is located parallel to the road above. To go up, there is a path that looks like a ladder that has existed as a result of climbing up from the same place. One almost needs to climb in order to go up. I ask for the consent of people in order to take photographs of the place from the people as I pass by, and they accept it. They transmit that there are approximately 30 people from 5 different families that migrated from Hatay, at different periods. Each room of the structure is attached to each other. Again, new room extensions have been added into the house, subject to the need (subject to the people that migrated or married).

¹⁸ ‘Göçebe’ means nomad in Turkish.

The area in the front of the house, acting as a living room or a balcony, is used as a community area where everyone comes together and has dinner. When I went on the dirt path to them, a woman was plucking the feathers of a rooster that they slaughtered for dinner. The water they were using for the cleaning of the rooster was gliding from that dirt path they are using to go down and go up.



Figure 5.20: Entrance of göçebe-structure (Tavukcu, 2019).

Each side of the structure is different from each other. They are different enough to persuade that thirty different people are living in this structure. There is a black shadow at the wall which is at the corner of the common area. One can guess where the fires were lit and what kinds of movement took place, even though winter is far away. Forms of construction and the traces at the parts of the structure give a base to the observer where the stories will be built. The observer begins to read the area upon these fragments whether he wants or not.

As I continue ascending, the visibility of the structures that have been built along with the urban transformation that I have mentioned is increasing. Buildings have similar forms. The stuccos of the buildings are often wooden textured or made with stone textured tiles. Wooden looking materials were being used in the making of windows as traditional building materials. These windows, that are becoming old and rotten due to climatic conditions in time, were in a need of a perpetual maintenance in order to sustain their existence. Like a living being, it was a must to show the attention they need to each fragment that forms the building, especially to paint and polish the windows every year. The usage of new time and money saving materials for the maintenance of the vertically ascended buildings due to housing needs which increased with the fast urbanization, has begun. One of these materials are the PVC¹⁹ windows that are a kind of successful industrial windows, which replaced the traditional wooden windows. As this material replaces the traditional, it also took the form, texture and the color of the traditional. The windows that look like wood, are presented in the magazines and newspapers as a structural element which enhances the value of the house.



Figure 5.21: Firatpen advertisement taken from firatpen.com.

¹⁹ PVC is a plastic material which is an abbreviation for 'polyvinyl chloride'.

What is the reason that windows are produced in a wooden look? We continue to sustain the image of wood because the windows are made in wood according to our traditional memory. The material being ‘real’ is because the windows is materialized through the acquaintance objects. This situation causes us to build such story upon familiarity and acquaintance. The image, added up into plastic cutting, is an output of the wood that only triggers the eyesight. As the window visual that we have in mind is fictionalized by the wooden windows, we still use wooden-looking materials and transmitting these values into PVC windows. Fabricated production uses this production of values as a material return and turns it into a marketable meta by reducing this perception of authenticity in two dimensions, as a result of this transmission. Advertisements are being a cause for this authenticity’s transformation into something purchasable.

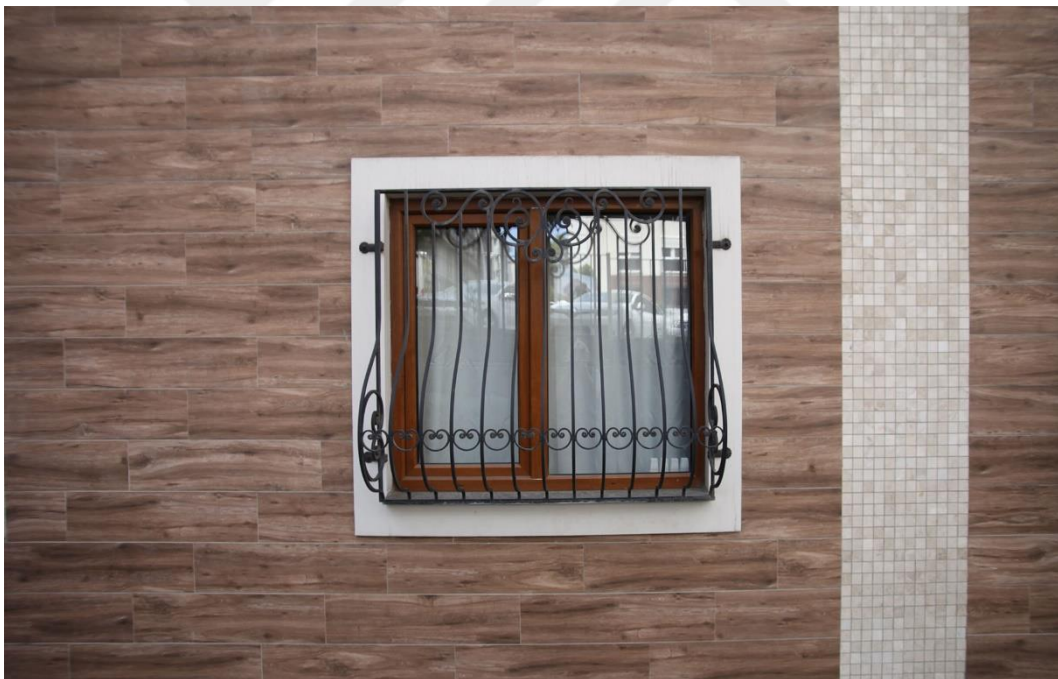


Figure 5.22: Facade of a new building covered with wooden-like tiles (Tavukcu, 2019).

Wood-like tiles are being used in the coating of facades. We can see that plenty different wood-like tiles are being sold for various prices at construction markets now. What is the standard of tangible difference which separates one wooden texture from the other? It is observable that there are materials that look like something else are being used mostly in all the buildings that are constructed under the context of urban transformation. One interesting example is the stones that look like actual stone. What is the difference between the material itself and the material that replicates? The texture of the material when taken from its natural source is different on each layer (by the chemical nature of the source). When the natural material texture is printed on the tile, however, each texture becomes the same as each other. An image that represents the real texture of the material gets copied on a tile through a mass production printing method. In other words, the flawless continuity of the texture gets converted into a defective state just to create, ironically, authenticity. The thing that we call spontaneousness derives from its defectiveness as well as unpredictability in this situation.

What could be the possible consequences of these materials being used in the construction of new buildings, which are a mere copy of the aesthetics of traditional buildings? Nevertheless, these materials create the perception that they are real when you pass by, but you realize that they are fake when you come close by. This encounter reinforces the situation which turns the city into a stage set.

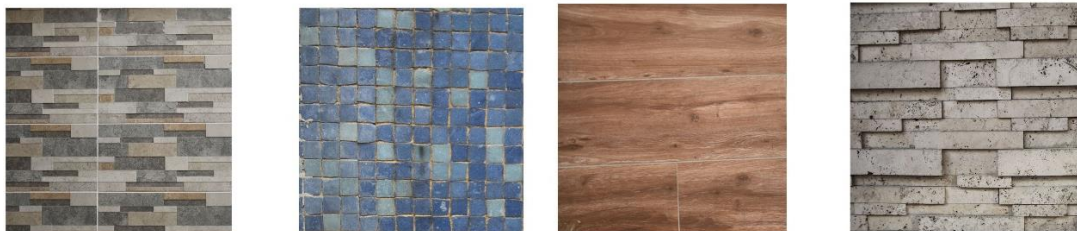


Figure 5.23: Facade Cover Material Samples (Tavukcu, 2019).

5.1.1 Going down:

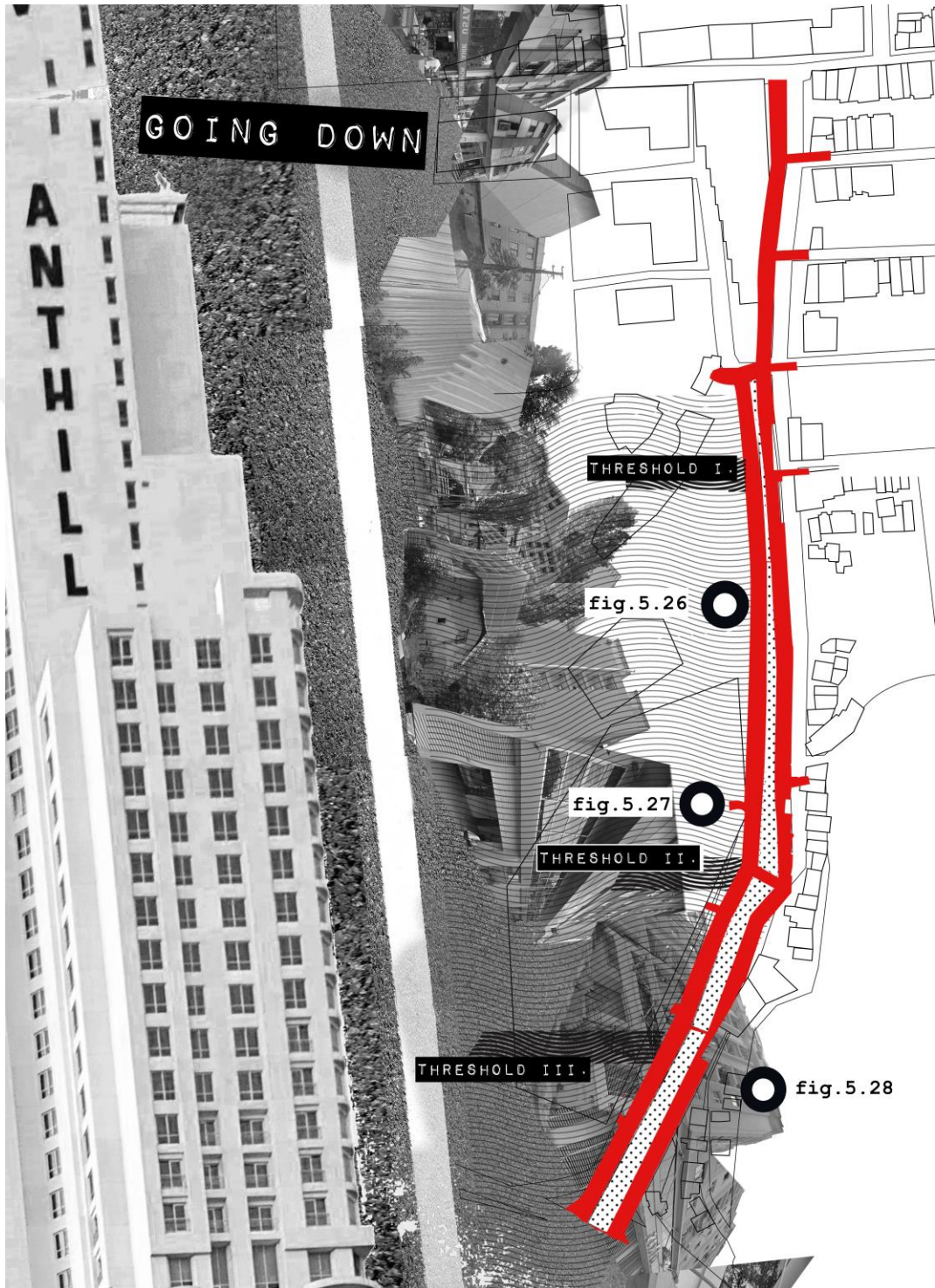


Figure 5.24: Going down schema, left side of the road (Tavukcu, 2019).

As I foretold, I have mostly experienced the right side (İncirlidede) of this road that has a river flowing in the midst of it. Random moments, such as deciding to use the taxi in a morning that I am late for work and the taxi driver's use of this particular road, have probably created an important area of my life. The shock I felt by the courtesy of this encounter has strengthened the effect of contrasts. The ideocratic sides of both of these areas have become more significant. When going up on İncirlidede, it can be seen that there are skyscrapers at the left of it. It is known that the skyscrapers are there. But I will try to explain the feeling posed by passing them by without a boundary.

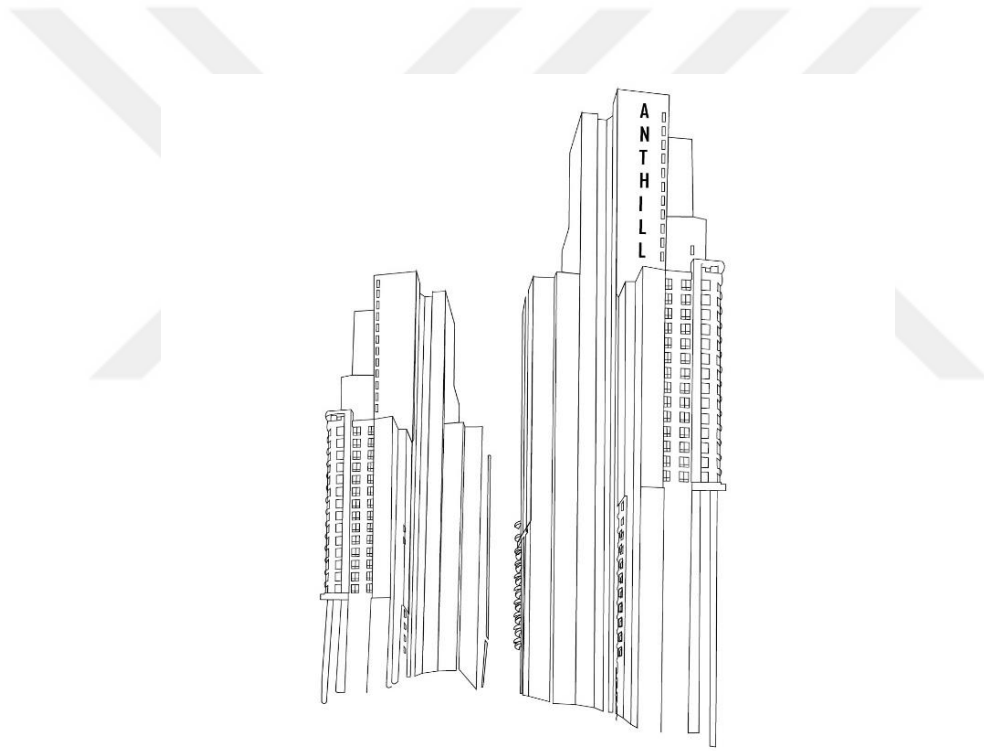


Figure 5.25: Linear drawing of Anthill Residence (Tavukcu, 2019).

The highest building that is the closest to the district in the area is Anthill Residence. The residence, which consists of two towers, has been presented as Şişli's highest building at the time it was built. Buildings are lightened with LED lights, visible at night. These lights have been placed along the outer lines of the building and they move up and down. Considering the building's vertical structure, lighting also allows it to be seen from a distance at night.

This huge structure with the physically distinguishing characteristics, in Lynch's terms, makes the Anthill a landmark. Landmarks are the reference points that let users navigate through them. Nevertheless, the massive size of Anthill creates a domination over the environment compared to the human-scale. With its height, scale, shadows over the area borders and colossal concrete edges, it dominates the environment. This domination creates major effect on navigation of human in daily life. Anthill's size is not problematic *per se*, however this domination in the neighborhood is caused by its impact resulting from a comparison with other buildings' sizes.



Figure 5.26: Entrance of Anthill Residence (Tavukcu, 2019).

There are enterprises such as markets and hairdressers within the borders of the residence. It is possible to enter into the borders of through a gate next to a big sign that has ‘Anthill’ written on it. At the entrance of the gate, the security registers the people going in and out. There are surveillance cameras throughout the residence. There are no various distractions at the pavement like in the İncirliçide district. The environment is clean and less crowded. While documenting the ‘going down’, I was one of the few that walks on the pavement.



Figure 5.27: Pedestrian road on Harika Street (Tavukcu, 2019).

The differences of these two roads from each other, builds mandatory neighborliness. Living at both sides of the road, the residents live different lives at the same location. When I was talking to the people who live at the gecekondu houses, one of the house residents said, 'I would not like to live there, though I could not anyway.' If I were to direct the same question to the Anthill residents, they would probably deliver that they could not live in the slums stretched out before their eyes, the shadow of these skyscrapers falls upon the slums. Even at the alleyways, the skyscraper is visible.



Figure 5.28: Representation of the contradictions (Tavukcu, 2019).

Anthill takes hold of its observer through its spliced symmetrical pieces and its 'designed' appearance. The basic impression that it leaves on the observer, has a visual dimension large enough to prevent other senses from being prompted. As Pallasmaa said, the vision in this design has been designed as a such dominant character, this structure turns into stage set for the eye. The structure is so big that you must raise your head upwards as much as possible in order to see the top of it. However, as it was delivered in the page 24, one can lift his head in the maximum of 10 degrees while walking. Therefore, this encountering situation that I have

mentioned, requires lifting the head enough to make even breathing difficult. And this causes me to deduce that this situation of confronting with the building is effective enough to block the building. The people who live at the skyscraper, can do all the activities that would require them to go outside, within the borders of the garden of the skyscraper (activities such as going to the market, to the gym, to the hairdresser, etc.) The activity of looking outside through the window, in terms of perceiving the city, must be different from the activity of the people who live at the other structures of the city. People who live on the upper floors of the skyscraper do not comprehend the city by seeing the differences at the opposite side. The skyscrapers in this area are so big that they make its observers feel small. As Gehl points out that ‘meaningful contact with ground level events is possible only from the first few floors in a multi-story building. Between the third and fourth floor, a marked decrease in the ability to have contact with the ground level can be observed. Another threshold exists between the fifth and sixth floors. Anything and anyone above the fifth floor is definitely out of touch with ground level events’ (Gehl, 2011, p. 98).

5.2.3. Intersection and Thresholds

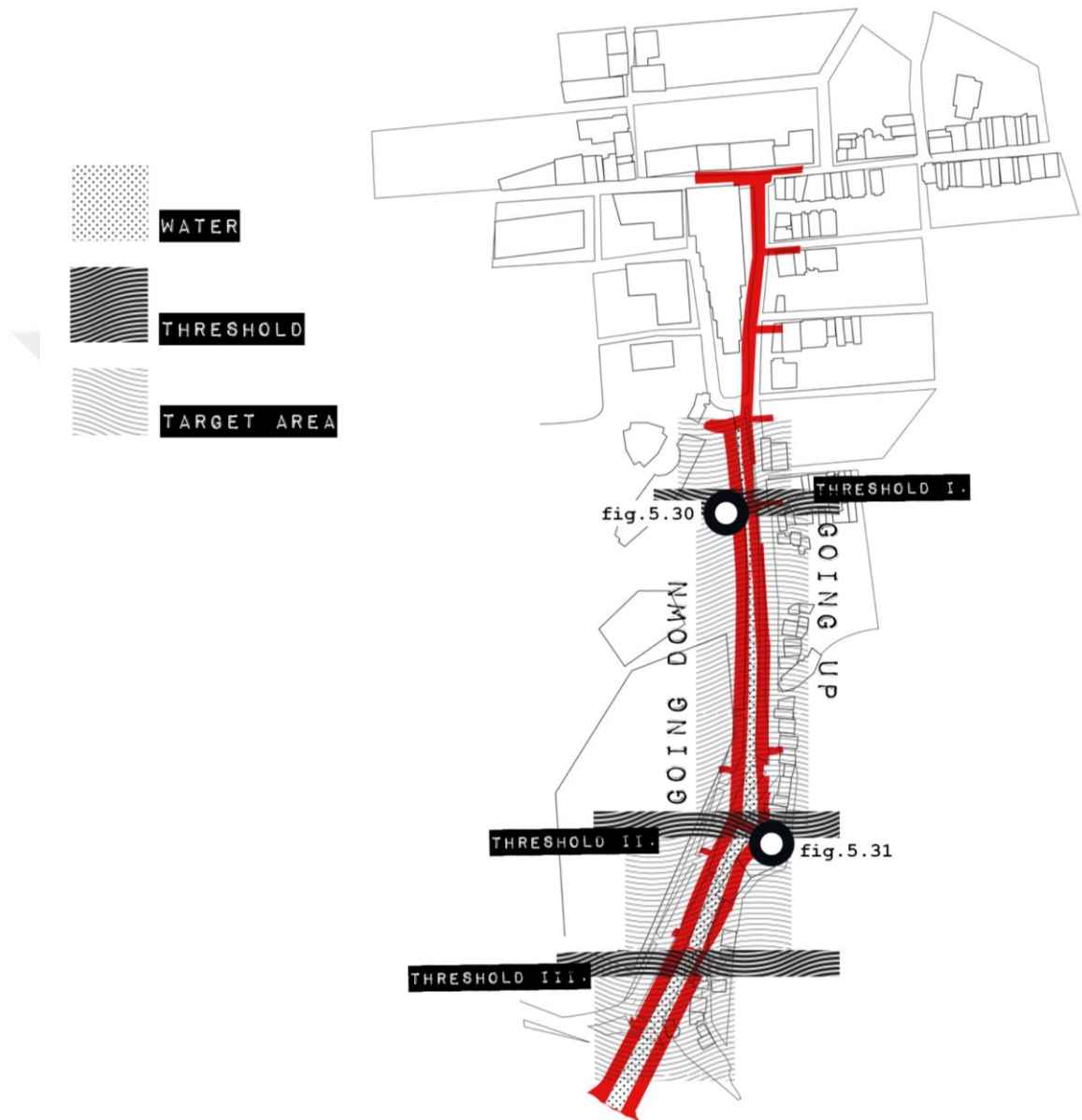


Figure 5.29: Intersection and Thresholds schema (Tavukcu, 2019).

One of the most important points that reinforces the difference between these two districts that I mentioned (İncirlidede and Harika districts), is the gate located between the two districts. As it can be seen on Figure 5.7., the stream that flows between this road continues to flow as attached into the sewage system. As much as it was tightened during the road construction processes, it is possible to see the flowing of the water on this stream. There are waste accumulated on this stream bed, which has its borders lined by concrete.



Figure 5.30: Stream under Thresholds (Tavukcu, 2019).

Some sort of wall has been created with vegetal cover made by afforesting the sides of the stream. This operation of afforestation might be a standard process, but drawing such a border in such area where there are dramatic differences, creates an impression that the differences of two worlds are being reinforced. Afforestation was sorted along the way, in a blinder form. Hereby, the people of two worlds can pass to the other strict by using the three gates located only in the two roads. Thresholds that interrupt and (re)unite this road three times, which is proceeded up and down. These gates are shown as thresholds on the map.

Stavrides (2010) says; ‘...the threshold is the point where two different worlds meet’ (p. 16). The usage of threshold instead of border, the two worlds that threshold divides is not the total opposite of each other. They ‘meet in order to “fertilize” each other’ (Stavrides, 2010, p. 16) These thresholds, strengthening their own existence, are the situations that create the otherness of the one that’s different from them. Therefore, the gate between districts and the edge at the both districts, feeds its own identity, fertilizes it.

Executing the action of going across, these gates are not only physical thresholds, at the same time, they are indicators of time, culture and economy.



Figure 5.31: İncirlidede view at the threshold (Tavukcu, 2019).

These are the gates, which are the temporal passages in between Anthill, which is an example of how the indication of economic power and luxury works in İstanbul and the slums at the verge of Feriköy with their structural parts that are standing the test of time.

6. CONCLUSION

Behind the slums of Bomonti that are three-storey at most, there are new buildings with golden colored details, standing in place of the slums demolished as a result of urban transformation. During the time I was wandering around the construction site, urban transformation was not executed in that particular area yet, due to conflicts between the government and the landlords, as far as I was told by the neighborhood's residents. Apparently, there is a court case and the residents know that they will have to move out from this area once the trial ends. Are temporary solutions to the problems in their houses caused by their temporariness in this area?

Every city is constructed by the reproduction of the elements that it consists of, by the residents of the city. The one who is observing the city produces the place upon her own memories by necessarily using all of her senses. Each place that has been produced is an output of the cultural dominance of those who create the place.

The places that memories took place in convert into new places as long as they are remembered, and the memory builds the further spatial perception from the senses that it has learned from those memories.

Once upon a time, this was a place where the stream was actively flowing and people were using its side as some sort of a socialization area; it has now been converted into a place where vehicles are socializing. Undergoing economic, political and cultural changes the initial years of the republic has changed the image of the city. As Raban says, the city changes itself with each decision that its dweller has made and each change converts the resident of the city.

The borders of Incirlidede district have an unpredictable system of edges with a complicated rhythm. As delivered in the previous chapter, if the edges are borders that divide the inside and the outside, what does this border that this district has produced tell us? The 'spaces' at these facades, which create the borders that are transmitting the permeability of the border. The experience of walking in this district, whether on purpose or not, enables one to get involved with the lives of

those who live in this area. Alongside of a permeability, such as a blanket placed instead of a window, at the same time, gives us clues regarding what kind of lives people sustain. Against this, the condition is quite different on the Harika district. The multi-storey skyscrapers raised on this district are big enough to make people realize how small they are. And, skyscrapers are obstructing the sun from dwellers. Can you put a price on the sun? As in the Anthill example, the determined borders and the security guards at its doorsteps are indicating that they have the authority not to allow those who 'do not belong to that skyscraper' from this area into the bordered area. The carefully built borders of the garden has been made by tall concrete walls for this very purpose.

The experience of walking up and down all along the district produces a rhythm with its various distractions. As moving on variable and defective structure of its path, each difference of the edges that the buildings create adds up into the rhythm. Each crossing upon that road, inspires me to create a new story arc with a new rhythm.

The gates that provide the transition in the midst of these two districts form the threshold of these two streets. These gates are thresholds that are not only physical, but at the same time they are the thresholds of two different narratives. The stream underneath these areas, where it is possible to switch between the otherness of both narratives, proceed to flow in a way without emotion. Annihilation, with this stream, which will be transferred into the infrastructure with the continuation of urban transformation, will be erased from the memories not only in plain sight, but as in the language (the conversion of the dere (stream) to dede (ancestor)).

Upon my efforts in narrating the state of the way we perceive the city in the memory under the 'Fragments' headline, I've transmitted the layers of our perception of the city. I have mentioned the peculiarities of the sensed places and the impressions they leave on people. I have tried to explain the effects of changes in spatial scale on our lives through the changes in our language. Doing all that, with the Bomonti example, I have referred to the urban structure which changes day after day and the effects of this alteration.

I have examined the existence and the sustainability of urban spaces with the memory which Harmanşah mentioned, specific to Bomonti. The stem that transformed from İncirlidere River to İncirlidede demonstrates the change of the reflections of the spatial changes in our daily language. If we consider my research as a reference point, similar points can be made through Bomonti, priory and subsequently. As it was a timberland where a river flowed in the past, its location hosted factories and various enterprises by having its share from the urbanization movements. After the gecekondus that took form around these enterprises, skyscrapers erected and the environment began to be textured with mass production architectural elements. The slum areas that did not get their share from urban transformation, it appears, will soon have their turn.

Bomonti has a critical temporal and spatial importance in terms of being a host to these transformations. Running such research on Bomonti in the year of 2019 may create a reference point for future research. At this point, I can foresee the transformation of this area, which underwent various changes and transformations in terms of sociocultural and physical aspects, will be repeated.

This thesis may be a first step to retrieve the lost traces in the language and to capture the spatial experiences of the moment of an urban space, which is in the process of disintegration and disappearance. For further steps of the research, it may be suggested that the differences of the area are documented and investigated with in-depth-interviews. Only then may the impressions and observations of a wanderer be combined with the narratives of the residents and a more holistic phenomenology of space be documented.

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