



KADIR HAS UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
PROGRAM OF DESIGN

**TRACES OF INFORMAL PLACEMAKING:
THE CASE OF CAFERAĞA NEIGHBORHOOD IN ISTANBUL**

AYSEL MERVE TOPALOĞLU

SUPERVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. DR. AYŞE N. EREK

MASTER'S THESIS

ISTANBUL, AUGUST, 2019

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MASTER'S THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Kadir Has University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Design.

ISTANBUL, AUGUST, 2019

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August 9, 2019

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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe N. Erek (Advisor)

Kadir Has University

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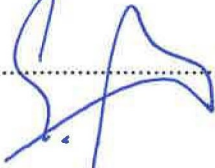
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kevser Üstündağ

Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University

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Asst. Prof. Dr. Ezgi Tuncer

Kadir Has University

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Prof. Dr. Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe (Dean)
School of Graduate Studies
DATE OF APPROVAL: 9 / 8 / 2019

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TRACES OF INFORMAL PLACEMAKING:
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ABSTRACT

Today, placemaking practice consists of deliberate and mostly planned activities and projects in urban spaces. Yet, the differentiation and appropriation of a space is simply the process of creating places. Placemaking then, may appear as a casual and unplanned occurrence resulting from human interactions and interventions in the fabric of urban space. It is the informal placemaking that is rooted in unplanned and daily human activities and spontaneous interactions in a space. Hence, informal placemaking resides outside of the realm of planned placemaking practices that involves stakeholders, communities, authorities, and professionals. Informal placemaking enhances from the interactions of ordinary people in everyday life with a subtle characteristic that makes it harder to observe than standard placemaking activities. On the other hand, human interactions leave traces behind in the material texture of a place which can be observed as the indicators of informal placemaking activities. From this perspective, this graduate dissertation aims to explore the acts and objects of informal placemaking by investigating human traces in Caferağa neighborhood of Kadıköy in Istanbul. Through these traces, it is also anticipated to have an understanding on how informal placemaking emerges in the everyday life practices of people in Caferağa. For these purposes, two different walking routes were selected, and an observational walking methodology which was supported by spontaneous unplanned interviews in the neighborhood was adopted in order to gather data through field research. The data collection is interpreted under four categorizations as the acts of informal placemaking: waiting, socializing, sheltering, and self-expression. Lastly, temporospatial dimension of the informal placemaking activities in Caferağa is explored through visualizations and mappings.

Keywords: placemaking, place-making, space-place, intervention, interaction, walking methodology, trace, Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul

ENFORMEL YER OLUŐTURMANIN İZLERİ: İSTANBUL'DA CAFERAĐA MAHALLESİ ÖRNEĐİ

ÖZET

Günümüzde kentsel mekânda yer oluŐturma pratikleri kasıtlı ve çoĐunlukla planlı aktivite ve projelerden meydana gelmektedir. Fakat, mekânın farklılaŐması ve ayrıŐması basit bir şekilde yer yaratma sürecidir. O hâlde yer oluŐturma, kentsel mekânın dokusundaki insan etkileŐimleri ve müdahaleleri sonucunda sıradan ve plansız ortaya ıkabilen bir oluŐum olarak görülebilir. Enformel yer oluŐturma, bir mekândaki planlanmamıŐ ve günlük insan aktiviteleri ile kendiliĐinden gerekleŐen etkileŐimlerden kaynaklanır. Bu nedenle, enformel yer oluŐturma, her zaman paydaŐları, toplulukları, otoriteleri ve profesyonelleri ieren planlı yer oluŐturma pratiklerinin dıŐında kalır. Enformel yer oluŐturma, sıradan insanların gündelik yaŐamdaki etkileŐimlerinden hemen göze arpmayan bi karakter ile, standart yer oluŐturma aktivitelerinden daha zor gözlemlenir şekilde geliŐir. Öte yandan, bu insan etkileŐimleri geriye, yerin materyal dokusunda, enformel yer oluŐturma faaliyetlerinin bir göstergesi olarak görülebilecek izler bırakır. Buradan yola ıkarak, bu lisansüstü tezi, enformel yer oluŐturman eylemlerini ve nesnelarini İstanbul'daki Kadıköy CaferaĐa Mahallesi'ndeki insan izlerini araŐtırarak keŐfetmeyi amalar. Bu izler yoluyla, CaferaĐa'daki insanların gündelik hayat pratiklerinin iinde enformel yer oluŐturmanın nasıl ortaya ıktıĐı üzerine bir anlayıŐ elde edilmesi beklenmektedir. Bu amalar doĐrultusunda, mahallede iki farklı yürüme rotası seilmiş ve hazırlıksız kendiliĐinden gerekleŐen görüŐmelerle desteklenen bir gözlemsel yürüme metodolojisi benimsenerek saha araŐtırması yoluyla veri toplama gerekleŐtirilmiŐtir. Toplanan veri, bekleme, sosyalleŐme, barınma ve kendini ifade etme olarak enformel yer oluŐturma eylemlerinin dört sınıflandırması altında yorumlanmıŐtır. Ardından, CaferaĐa'da gerekleŐen enformel yer oluŐturma aktivitelerinin zaman-mekansal boyutu görselleŐtirmeler ve haritalamalar yoluyla incelenmiŐtir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: yer oluŐturma, yer kurma, mekân-yer, iz, yürüme metodolojisi, müdahale, etkileŐim, CaferaĐa, Kadıköy, İstanbul

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe N. Erek for her profound guidance and support in researching and writing this graduate dissertation. I deeply cherish how she helped me to develop this research appropriated to my own skills and personality while steering me towards the right directions in this exciting new academia.

I would like to express my gratitude also to my jury members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kevser Üstündağ and Asst. Prof. Dr. Ezgi Tuncer for their constructive criticisms and exchange of experience which profoundly guided me while putting this thesis into its final form.

Additionally, I would like to thank all my professors and my fellow graduate student friends for their understandings, supports, and invaluable feedbacks. I would love to give my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Bülent Diken for always giving me such incredible inspirations and introducing me a brand new world of knowledge in social sciences. I am also deeply grateful to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Orçun Kepez for always influencing my studies to be more human-centered, and encouraging me openheartedly in research and design.

I also want to thank Kadir Has Information Center library specialists for their assistance, hardwork, and patience while fulfilling my unending document requests.

Last but not least, I must express my sincere gratitude to my mother for always believing in me throughout my years of study; to my beloved friend Martin Baron for always being there with his continuous encouragement and unforgettable support; to my precious friend Deniz Hacısüleyman for his unfailing boosts and outstanding feedbacks throughout the process of researching and writing this graduate dissertation. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them. Thank you for everything.



To my granny and her fairytales ...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

API	: Application Programming Interface
art.	: article
BCE	: Before the Common Era
c.	: chapter
D.I.Y.	: Do-It-Yourself
DOI	: Digital Object Identifier
ed.	: edition
Ed(s).	: Editor(s)
e.g.	: for example (Lat. <i>exempli gratia</i>)
et al.	: and others (Lat. <i>et alia</i>)
Fr.	: French
GPS	: Global Positioning System
ILR	: Integrative Literature Review
IoT	: Internet of Things
Lat.	: Latin
LBSN	: Location-Based Social Network
n.d.	: no date
non-POI	: not Point-of-Interest
n. p.	: no page numbers
p.	: page
para.	: paragraph
POI	: Point-of-Interest
pp.	: pages
SI	: Situationist International
Tr.	: Turkish
Trans.	: translated by
TurkStat	: Turkish Statistical Institute
UNICEF	: The United Nations Children's Fund
Vol.	: Volume
WWF	: World Wide Fund for Nature

INTRODUCTION

Placemaking practice has been the center of attention in the field of urban planning and design since 1960s as a contemporary approach to construct, create, operate, and sustain vibrant public places. Regardless how it is undertaken with a top-down or a bottom-up approach, the domain of placemaking in urban scholarship mainly focuses on deliberate and planned placemaking practices in urban space. On the other hand, placemaking as the process of creating places is basically the differentiation and appropriation of a space. As Friedmann points out that places materialize within spaces constantly and spontaneously because humans make places inevitably as a part of their daily life (2007, pp. 259-260). Hence, the designed or planned places are not fixed points in time and space since they keep changing, improvising, and being recreated continuously. It is informal placemaking which arouses from the mundane necessity of inhabitation as a way of human existence through meaningful experiences and belongingness (see Cresswell, 2004; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). In this regard, the everyday experiences and even small interactions and interventions of ordinary people can carve out places that are neither planned nor designed intentionally in the urban space. Placemaking reflects the incremental character of a place through indirect or direct involvements of common people who live in, interact, interfere, build, visit, pass through or even avoid a place (Lombard, 2014, p. 14). Here, everyday routines and experiences of citizens create places in public space continuously. In other words, human interactions in daily life result in spontaneous interventions that informally differentiate and appropriate a space into a place.

Informal placemaking then, enhances as a hardly recognizable process of creating places with a subtle character in the banality of everyday, and exists outside the realm of planned placemaking practices. Yet, it can be observed through the traces left behind in the material texture of a place as a consequence of human interactions within the space, with the space. These human traces of informal placemaking offer a great opportunity to the researcher by bringing informal placemaking into view. *Therefore, the main purpose of this graduate dissertation is to explore the acts of informal placemaking by investigating human traces in Caferağa neighborhood of Kadıköy in Istanbul. Through these traces, it is also anticipated to have an understanding on how informal placemaking emerges in the everyday life practices of people in Caferağa.*

In accordance with the purposes of this qualitative study, the following research questions are determined to be focused over the course of research:

What are the human traces resulting from informal placemaking at Caferağa?

How does informal placemaking emerge in the everyday life of Caferağa?

The study benefits from an active engagement with the urban space in the neighborhood through field research extended over a period of time. The research methodology adopted consists of non-participant observations conducted while walking on two different routes, and unplanned brief interviews conducted at the moments of encounters with the people in action. Here, walking is a key element to engage with the field, amplify the perception of environment and the physical immersion, keep the necessary state of awareness on traces, and stimulate the encounters with informal placemaking activities during different times of a day. In this qualitative methodology, the knowledge of *that* individual or group of people (who), use *that* spot (where), at *that* time (when), because of *that* (why), leave *that* trace behind (what), and in *that* way (how) were inquired through observations and interviews. During the field research, observational data was saved through photographs and field notes. All interviews were also noted down without any voice recordings since they were short and quick by their nature. Due to ethical concerns, all recognizable human faces and license plates of vehicles are blurred out in the images used in the dissertation. Interviews are designated with letters in alphabetical order in accordance with their appearance in the text, so the anonymity of interviewees is ensured.

Caferağa neighborhood is focused as the case study because it is a vibrant and pedestrian friendly neighborhood. Through various public transport options like underground metro, ferries, buses, and minibuses, it becomes an easily accessible neighborhood from other districts of the city. It contains the Kadıköy historical market, an antiques street, and many bar streets within itself. Over the last decade, there have been an upward trend in food and beverage services in the neighborhood. People prefer Caferağa to meet up with their friends, spend time, walk around while shopping, sit in a café and watch people passing by the street. The urban structure and appropriateness to walk also make it possible for the people to interact with the texture of urban space. Therefore, Caferağa is a convenient neighborhood to study informal placemaking and its traces. Additionally, the researcher has been a regular visitor of the neighborhood since 2004, which provides her a previous

knowledge of the space, and an ability to position herself both as an insider and outsider during the field research. Being an insider in qualitative research is important in order to have an understanding on the complex multilayered human experiences. However, the research may lose its objectivity if the researcher is positioned as a complete insider. As Dwyer and Buckle explain, occupying a position in between insider and outsider can derive a profound knowledge and an intimate experience in a qualitative research (2009, pp. 60-62). Hence, it was aimed to obtain a standpoint in between rather than positioning as only an insider or an outsider as the past of the researcher in the neighborhood granted.

The structure of this thesis consists of three main chapters. The conceptual framework of the research is presented in the first chapter to provide the reader with knowledge on the concepts and viewpoints of the researcher. Here, the distinction between space and place is explained through various modes such as the components of place, sense of place, and experience of place in the space. Then, a short history of placemaking and the types of placemaking practices are discussed in the chapter. Eventually, the informal placemaking is conceptualized based upon the typology of placemaking at the end of first chapter. The second chapter presents the methodological framework of the research in a conceptual way. It is aimed to define the trace from abstract to concrete by conceptualizing the trace, explaining how it emerges as a consequence of the everyday life practices of people. The dataset of trace and its relation to informal placemaking are also explained in this chapter. By describing walking as a way to gather data in urban space, observational walking, its praxis in social sciences, and its relation to traces of informal placemaking is discussed afterwards. The third chapter focuses on the case of Caferağa with a start representing the last decade of the neighborhood. In this chapter, selection of the walking routes, the field research practice by employing observational walking and interviewing, and obtained data types are clarified in detail. Traces are interpreted by developing a categorization of the acts of informal placemaking. Through the interviews and photographs from Caferağa taken during field research visits, it was aimed to construe how informal placemaking emerges in everyday life and what traces people leave behind in the neighborhood. At the end of the third chapter, temporospatial dimension of the informal placemaking activities in Caferağa is explored through visualizations and mappings created based on the data collection.

1. PLACE AND PLACEMAKING

In this chapter, the conceptual framework of the research is presented gradually in order to justify the standpoint of the researcher to the reader who can be whether an insider or an outsider of this research field. Concepts are essential to intersubjective understanding as they interpret, communicate, and discuss; therefore, they must be well defined, clear, and explicit in any research (Bal, 2002, pp. 22-25). Framing the concepts that are being explored in an interdisciplinary research, becomes the initial concern of the researcher to eliminate any ambiguities that may emerge around the study. Below, Figure 1.1 provides an overlook at the conceptual framework of this research as it is discussed following in this chapter. In order to conceptualize the informal placemaking, first, the distinction between space and place is explained through various elements of place such as sense of place, social and individual experiences of place. After the exploration of these spatial experiences, placemaking practice and its relatively established typology is studied which is followed by the conceptualization of informal placemaking.

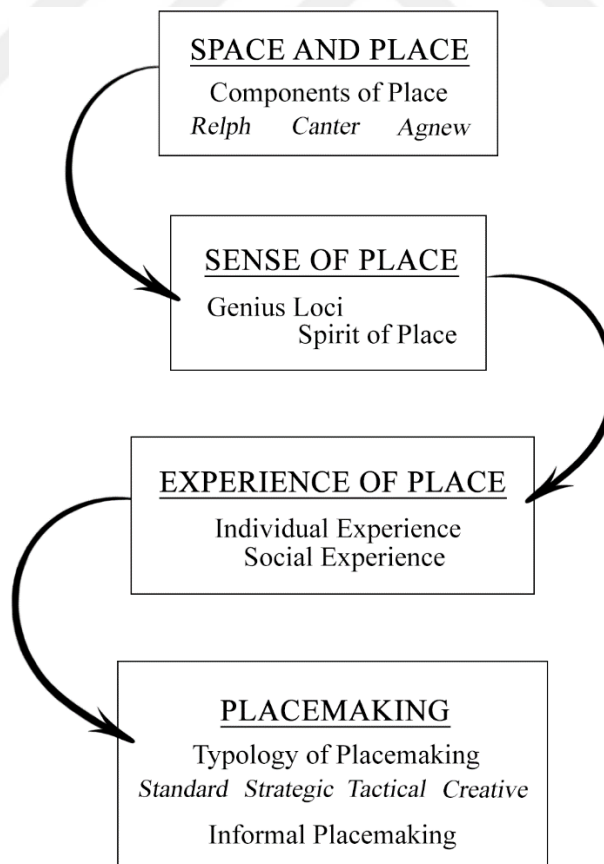


Figure 1.1. The conceptual framework of the research (Source: Personal Illustration)

1.1. Space and Place

The concepts of space and place are always in company and interrelated in human geographies. Especially in everyday conversations, we encounter with the interchanging use of words 'space' and 'place'. However, there is a conceptual difference between these two spatial terms, which is significant to explicate first and foremost. Both concepts hold great importance in the placemaking literature notably in geography, arts and humanities, architecture, urban planning and design. It was during 1970s, when humanist geographers like Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph wanted to understand the place and its distinction from space (Cresswell, 2011, pp. 236-237).

Fundamentally, place differentiates from space as humans start to learn more and know better about their surroundings (Tuan, 1977, p. 6). This differentiation can be seen in any scale – from macro to micro scale as from geographical regions to a small room of a building. Yi-Fu Tuan relates space to “movement” and “freedom”, and place to “pause” and “security” (1977, p. 3). Accordingly, we move and travel in spaces while they start to become places we know and maybe even cherish deeply or avoid dreadfully. The café at the corner of a street can be an important place for us as we regularly go and spend our time in there. The street itself can also become a place of meaning that we particularly choose to walk or spend time. People experience places because they are concrete, peculiar, singular, instantaneous, and finite whereas space presents an incomplete experience as it is abstract, universal, infinite, and repetitious (Walter, 1988, p. 142). Cresswell emphasizes that people make places from space to make their experiences and the world more meaningful (2004, p. 12). In other words, place is an appropriated and differentiated space. In his book *Being and Time*, Martin Heidegger also states that the “bare space” is concealed, so space bears places to be embraced by the beings themselves (1927/2010, p. 101). Yi-Fu Tuan remarks that space is ought to transform into place, because only then it can be defined and attributed a meaning (1977, p. 136). Furthermore, Lukermann comments on how a place is unique and distinguished from other places by its very own ensemble of nature and culture (1964, p. 170). To get a better understanding on place differentiating from space, Figure 1.2 below, attempts to illustrate the notional distinction between space and place. In this context, place gets constructed from space as if by circling the amorphous space, sculpting it, and endowing it with unique attributions.

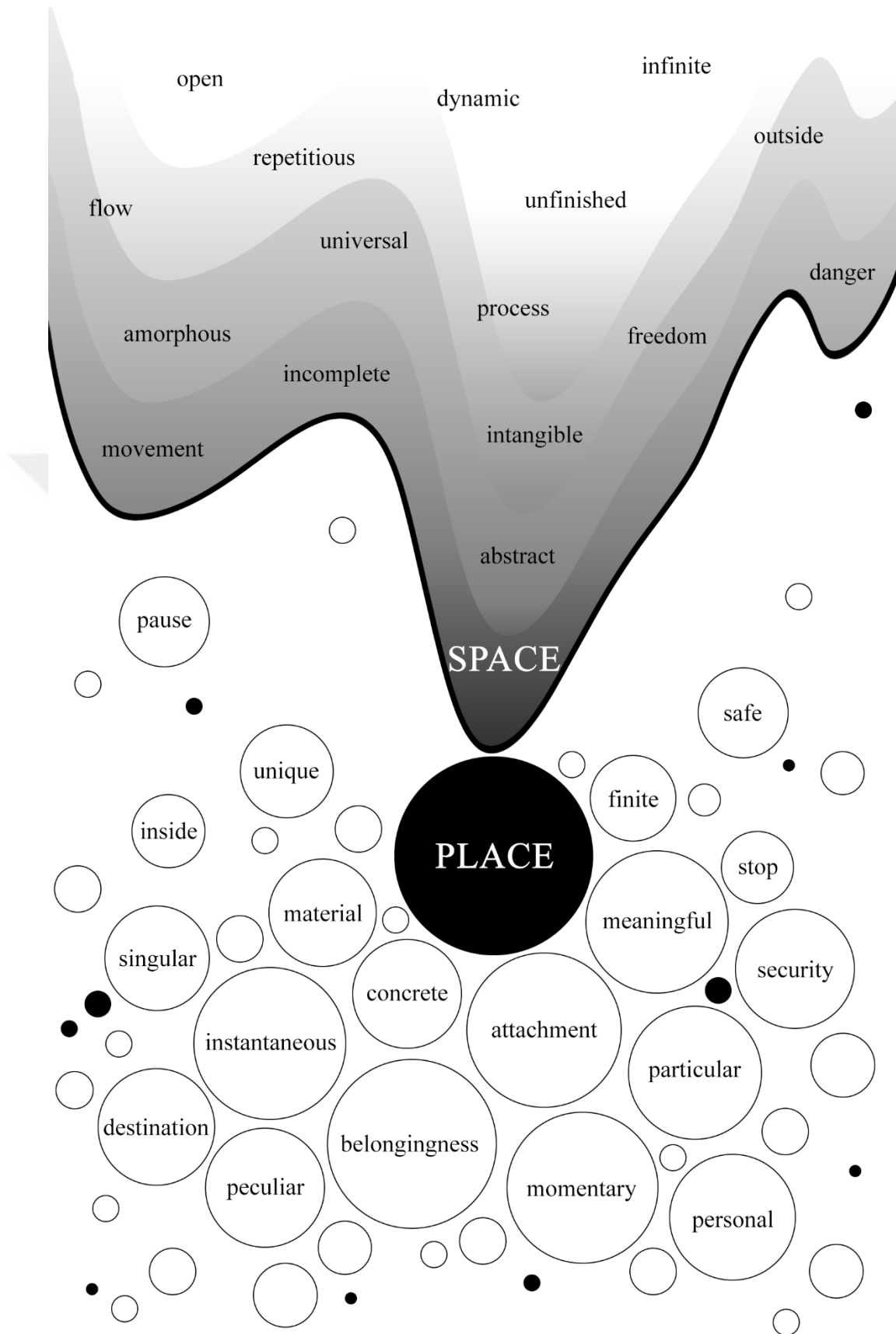


Figure 1.2. The distinction between space and place (Source: Personal Illustration)

Besides the academic interests in differentiation between space and place, comprehending place by analyzing its elements has been in the limelight for many scholars. As a humanist geographer, Edward Relph approaches the aspects of place in a phenomenological way. In his book *Place and Placelessness*, he pinpoints “physical appearance, activities, and meanings” as three components of place* (Relph, 1976, pp. 46-48). Physical appearance indicates the concrete material setting of a place with its physical objects. Activities focus on the physical activities and the movements of people in the physical settings where “some [people] carry objects, some produce objects, some consume objects, and so on” (Relph, 1976, p. 47). The last component, meanings are developed as a result of human interactions and experiences; therefore, they are directly rooted in the physical settings and activities.

In a similar manner, David Canter suggests a triad model by focusing on the psychological dimension of place, in which place emerges from the relationship between physical attributes, actions, and conceptions (1977, p. 158). He asserts that architects and urban designers can understand place completely only after they consider the behaviors of people, the concepts arising from the human actions, and the physical specifications affecting human behaviors in a particular site. Later on, he develops an advanced version of the triad model called “facets theory” proposing four interrelated components as four facets of place (Canter, 1997, pp. 116-119). The first facet, functional differentiation, conceptualizes “centrality” and “peripherality” aspects in place as an outcome of physical activities. The second facet, place objectives, brings up different individual, social and/or cultural purposes appearing in places. Thirdly, scale of interaction concerns the environmental extent by comparing interactions in small and large scales. Last facet, aspects of design, focuses on the physical form of place to reveal and evaluate individual, social and cultural levels of discernments. Apart from Relph’s concentration on the humanistic and phenomenological aspects of place, Canter adopts place as a “technical term” under the influence of his previous studies in psychology (Gustafson, 2001, p. 6). On the other hand, there seems to be similarities between each conceptual approach especially when Canter’s triad model is considered (see Figure 1.3). By any means, Canter’s four facets model is a complex version of his previous triad model.

* Relph gets inspired by the philosopher Albert Camus’ essays while arriving at these three components.

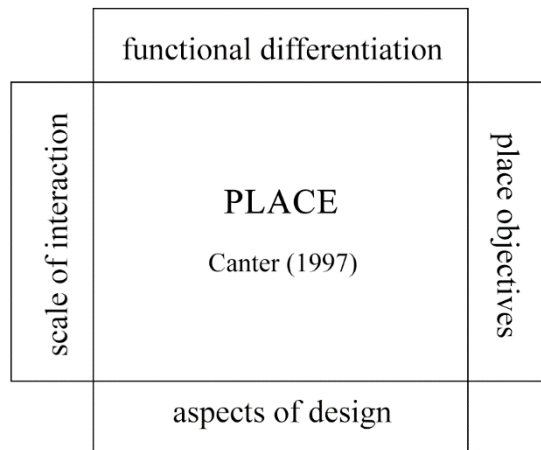
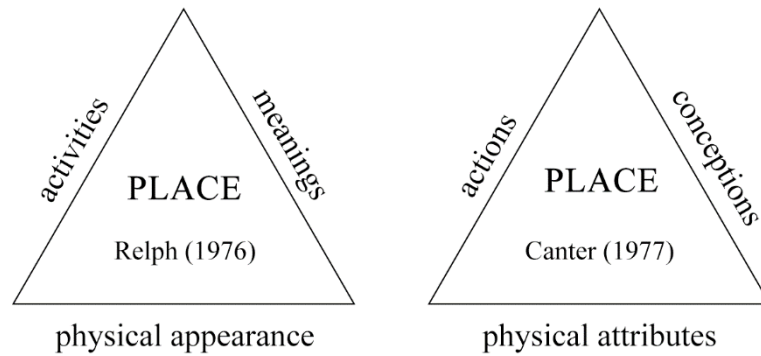


Figure 1.3. The components of place for Relph and Canter (Source: Personal Illustration)

Another three elements model for place is presented by the political geographer John Agnew who investigated the conceptual use of place within social sciences in his book *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society* (1987/2015). According to his triad, there are three essential aspects of a place as “locale”, “location”, and “sense of place” (Agnew, 1987/2015, pp. 26-28). Before Agnew, sociologist Anthony Giddens (1983) suggests the term “locale” as an alternative to place in order to avoid confusions caused by the use of term place. To Giddens, “locale” indicates the physical setting where social activities are inserted (1983, p. 79). By taking Giddens’ use of this term into consideration, Agnew employs “locale” as an aspect of place that structures both formal and informal social relations by virtue of the physical setting where material production and distribution occurs (1987/2015, pp. 27-28). From this point of view, it seems like locales could be anywhere in anytime. However, Agnew emphasizes that locales are not everywhere, but all locales are located in somewhere with accordance to the demands of geographical territories, in which he simply points out to the second aspect

of place: “location” as “the geographical area encompassing the settings for social interaction as defined by social and economic processes operating at a wider scale” (Agnew, 1987/2015, p. 28). Lastly, the third aspect of place he mentions is the “sense of place” – that particular intangible feeling aroused in place. To Agnew, the sense of place is the subjective territorial identity as the location of place is the objective macro-order of place. Taking it further, he claims that these three components of place are inseparable from each other; therefore, they must be considered all together in any circumstances (Agnew, 1987/2015, p. 28).

Apart from Agnew, many scholars also mention the sense of place phenomenon in their analyses even though they do not include it as a component of place. However, they do enunciate the significance of this characteristic much more than any other elements of place. For instance, Relph states that the components of place he analyzed are incomplete because there is “the attribute [of place] ... variously termed *spirit of place*, *sense of place* or *genius of place (genius loci)*” which is less tangible than the components of place and their dialectics (Relph, 1976, p. 48, emphasis in original). As it can be noticed from Relph’s statement, this characteristic of place appears with diverse names and approaches in the literature, which makes it more obscure to debate on.

1.1.1. Sense of place

In Roman mythology, the term *genius* (Lat.) means “a generative and protecting spirit” who does not create but accompanies and looks after every independent being* within a life time (Chisholm, 1911, p. 594). As the Latin phrase *genius hominis* is used to express the spirit of person, *genius loci* is used to imply the spirit of place. It is acknowledged in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* as that, the guardian spirit, the genius determines the essence and influences the character of both people and places from artists, craftsmen, cooks, business people, gladiators, legions, armies, cities, colonies, to provinces, houses, baths, stables, markets, streets, and so on (Chisholm, 1911, p. 595; see also Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p. 18). Because the concept of *genius loci* carries supernatural and divine notions in its context, “the genius of place” indicating only the influence of a place, was opted instead of the direct translation as “the spirit of place” during the Enlightenment

* Even each Roman god has a *genius* protecting and influencing them (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p. 18).

(Jackson, 1994, pp. 157-158). As time passes by, we start to see the term *genius loci* being used along or replaced with the term “sense of place” (Jackson, 1994, p. 157; Spittles, 2015, pp. 113-121). Nevertheless, both terms appear in the geography, architecture, landscape architecture, urban planning, and design literature frequently as a substitute to each other, which turns them into elusive terms (see Cresswell, 2015, pp. 128-134; Guo, 2015; Jivén & Larkham, 2003; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Tuan, 1997).

In his book *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (1980), the Norwegian architect Christian Norberg-Schulz unfolds the concept of *genius loci* by illustrating the themes emerging around it with many photos of townscapes, landscapes, and pre-modern buildings from Europe and North Africa. He introduces the concept of *genius loci* to the architectural field by using it to represent the sense-related experience that people have for a place as a consequence of both physical and symbolic qualities in the natural and built environment. The natural environment consists of rhythmic changes in the landscape topography including constant fluctuations of light, atmosphere, and plant life from a temporal and cosmological viewpoint. This rhythmic pattern contradicts with the stability of built environment where symbolic and existential meanings in a place constructs the concept of *genius loci* (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, pp. 23-32). In this way, Norberg-Schulz intends to introduce the phenomenological approach of philosopher Martin Heidegger* in the study of architecture.

As mentioned in earlier, Relph also acknowledges the spirit of place as a “subtle and nebulous” attribution of place that incorporates topography, physical appearance, economic actions, social activities, both historical and present conditions (1976, p. 48). Similarly, Cresswell states how sense of place is directly connected with both personal and shared meanings inherited by humans in a place (2008, p. 134). Although social scientists from the field of humanist geography, environmental and urban psychology have been exploring these meaning attachments to places (see Canter, 1977; Relph, 1976), Punter and Carmona claim that most of the urban designers and planners tend to ignore or avoid the sense of place – the profound dimension of place, because it is hard to tackle while designing due to its ambiguous character (1997/2007, p. 75). Therefore, Punter and Carmona aim to tailor the sense of place for design implementations by breaking it down

* For his further analysis on Heidegger and architecture, see Norberg-Schulz, 1983.

into three components: activities involving pedestrian and vehicle flows and human behavior patterns; the physical setting including the dimensions of urban form from townscapes to landscapes; and meanings embracing individual and shared perceptions and cultural associations in public (see Figure 1.4 below). Furthermore, they emphasize the importance of research utilizing mental maps, experimental and formal aesthetics in urban design policies to be able to implement and practice a strong sense of place in urban planning and design fields (1997/2007, pp. 75, 152).

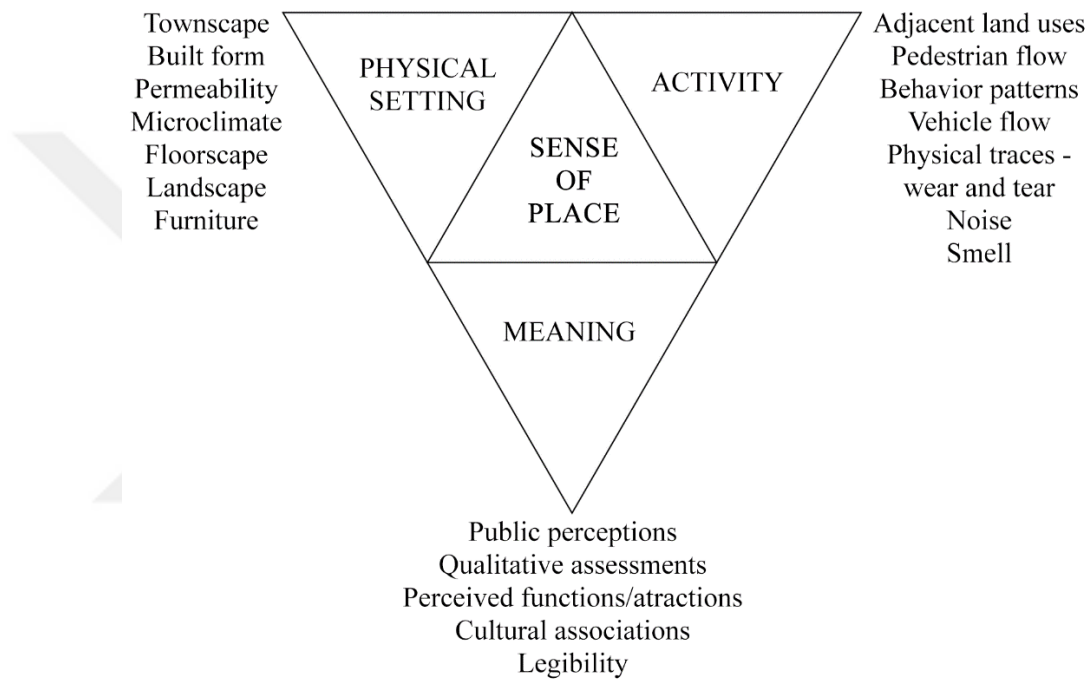


Figure 1.4. The components of a “sense of place” for Punter and Carmona

(Source: Punter & Carmona, 1997/2007, p. 76)

On the other hand, Montgomery points out that the components of sense of place provided in detail by Punter and Carmona still need to be analyzed and unpacked further in order to be useful in the field of urban planning and design (1998, p. 97). Therefore, he suggests another altered model combining different elements of place together (see Figure 1.5), with an aim of setting out principles and preconditions for the production of successful urban places with *a strong sense of place*. According to Montgomery’s model, an urban sense of place can be fostered by making use of the three components of place: activity, form, and image (1998, pp. 97-103). The first component, activity in a place, is the result of both diversity and vitality, which includes the complex economic, social, and cultural

transactions in the place. Second component, the form of a place is not only about its physical setting but also about the organization of the place where people perceive the functions of place. Lastly, the image of a place serves as a construction of personality and meaning that directly sets the impressions and the feelings of both individuals and social groups present in the place.

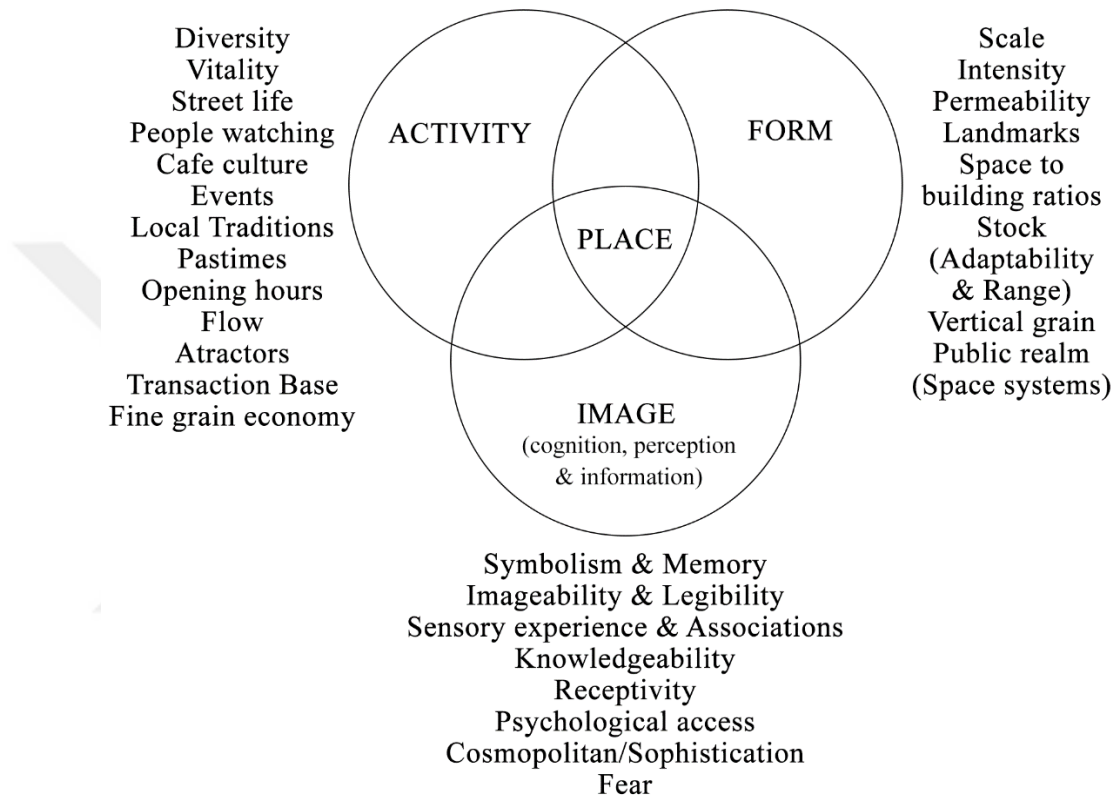


Figure 1.5. The components that foster an urban sense of place for Montgomery

(Source: Montgomery, 1998, p. 98)

Additionally, Jorgensen and Stedman focus on the sense of place as a multidimensional place attitude towards the place that originates from human interactions in a physical setting (2001, pp. 233-237). In this regard, sense of place resides in self-referent human cognition, feelings, and behavioral patterns. As two environmental psychologists, they claim that the sense of place is provoked by the place concepts of identity, attachment, and dependence (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001, p. 238). Moreover, Jorgensen and Stedman approaches sense of place as a measurable element of place, which opens up further

possibilities in place related research benefiting from both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

In a similar manner, Shamai (1991) studies the intensity levels in sense of place in which he suggests a scale distinguishing different levels. As illustrated in Figure 1.6, this scale consists seven intensity levels ranging from not having any sense of place to full commitment to a place (Shamai, 1991, pp. 349-350). According to the scale, there is no sense of place at the beginning of encounter. After getting familiar with the place, one starts to obtain an awareness of place and can identify the symbols of place but does not become a part of it. These symbols involve the visual and social qualities of a place such as social structures, communities, myths and stories, rituals, icons, signs, logos, names, architectures, landmarks, roads, districts, and so on that construct the image and idea of a place (see Mueller & Schade, 2012; Peterson & Saarinen, 1986). At the third stage, the feeling of belonging to the place and a respect for the symbols of place emerges. Then, a strong emotional attachment to place where the symbols now create the identity of place filled with personal and shared experience starts. Later, most of the inhabitants identify and agree with the goals of the place while there is a loyalty to the place. At sixth stage, the community actively contribute to the place with a deep commitment to place. The last stage is the highest and the deepest commitment stage. At this level, Shamai points out that residents are ready to sacrifice any rights or values such as freedom, prosperity, well-being, or even their life for the sake of place (1991, p. 350).

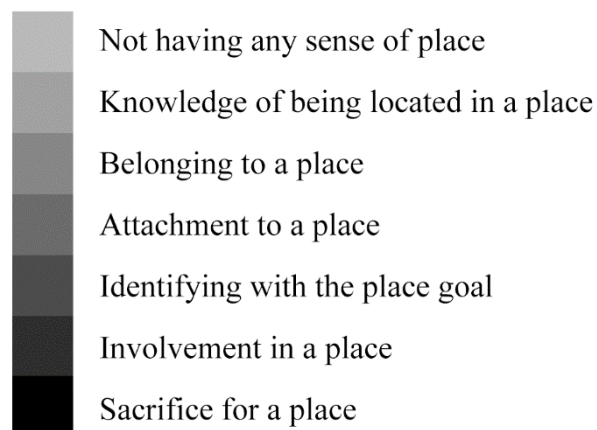


Figure 1.6. The intensity levels in sense of place for Shamai (Source: Personal Illustration)

Although not as extreme as Shamaï's sacrificial sense of place, the love of place is also expressed by the word "topophilia" in the literature that is first used by Wystan Hugh Auden in his introduction for John Betjeman's poetry book *Slick but not Streamlined* in 1947 (cited in Relph, 2015). A decade later, Gaston Bachelard uses it to specify his analysis on poetic images of "felicitous space ... – the space we love" (1957/1994, p. xxxv). Yi-Fu Tuan also uses topophilia to refer "the affective bond between people and place or setting" (1974/1990, p. 4). To him, topophilia is not the strongest human emotion but a variation of emotions and intensities ranging from visual and sensual pleasures to affection and joy of intimate places (Tuan, 1974/1990, pp. 93, 245-247). As it appears, apart from what it is called – genius loci, spirit of place, sense of place, or topophilia – feelings and human relationships play a significant role on the differentiation of space.

1.1.2. Experience of place

Experience is a single whole, within which modifications may be distinguished, but which admits of no final or absolute division; and that experience [is] everywhere, not merely inseparable from thought, but is itself a form of thought. (Oakeshott, 1933/1991, p. 10)

Human beings learn, understand and acquire the knowledge about the world around themselves through various modes of experiences. The differentiation of a place is directly connected to the knowledge of an individual or a group of people on that place. Tuan argues that one needs to experience a place in order to learn about it, so that a reality around that place can be assembled together with the creation of emotions and thoughts (1977, pp. 8-9). The construction of place knowledge actualizes at different scales. For instance, a fireplace, favorite armchair, home, café at the corner of a street, neighborhood, city, geographical region and even a nation present different scales of spatial knowledge. Although places differ in their physical size and character, they are all centers of meaning and feeling experienced by both individuals and social groups (Tuan, 1975, p. 153). Thus, places depict some processes of relating to the space through experiences of that space (Cresswell, 2008, p. 135). As Tuan points out it is not only eyes and mind but also both direct and indirect experiences construct the knowledge of a place as a center of meaning and feeling for individuals and groups (1975, pp. 152-153).

Individual Experience

The experience of place is never restricted to the material boundaries of a physical setting because subjectivity of individuals is always immersed in the place, sensing, intuiting, feeling, interacting, learning, responding, interpreting, and symbolizing (Stefanovic, 1998, pp. 32-33). A person learns and constructs a reality through different modes of experience including passive and direct sensory experiences of taste, smell, and touch, active visual and auditory perceptions, and indirect symbolic interpretations (Tuan, 1975, pp. 151-152). Although individual experiences and their intentions are extremely subjective and biased from a community-based perspective, these experiences still constitute the reality and the knowledge of that place for those individuals (Relph, 1976, p. 56). The reality built by one's very own experience and knowledge, serves as a connection between the subjective self and the place. According to Tuan, all human experiences result from sensations, perceptions, and conceptions while emotions and thoughts qualifies these experiences (1977, p. 8). However, focusing on sensations, perceptions and conceptions in places are not enough to investigate how thought and knowledge of a place is structured. Piaget explains that cognition emerges as a consequence of the interaction between subject and place, which is originally triggered by immediate activities of the subject, as well as by the effects of external factors situated within the place (1967/1971, p. 29). To understand the differentiation of space and the formation of abstract and symbolic knowledge of a place thoroughly, it is important to contemplate the modes of personal experiences and cognitive processes.

The Neo-Kantian philosopher Ernst Cassirer is one of the key contributors of the spatial knowledge who has approached to human experience of time and space from a cognitive development point of view (see 1944/1953). He describes three progressive levels of spatio-temporal experience^{*}: concrete level, perceptual level, and abstract level (Cassirer, 1929/1957; see also Figure 1.7). At the first level, called concrete or expressive level, the place is understood by its apparent and immediate physical characteristics experienced via sensory system. This concrete experience always exceeds the sensorial qualities

^{*} Cassirer develops these three experiential levels by expanding upon Immanuel Kant's notion of the nature of objects as constructions of the mind. In contradistinction to Kant, Cassirer claims that there is no innate commonality of worldviews because the cultural knowledge of an individual is eminently intertwined with the personal knowledge (see Cassirer, 1929/1957; Kant, 1781/1998).

whether simple or complex, by embracing “a specific expressive tone ... [featuring] the character of the luring or menacing, the familiar or uncanny, the soothing or frightening” (Cassirer, 1929/1957, p. 67). Then, the sensory data is construed from the meanings and signs at the perceptual level. This intermediate experiential level appropriates the concrete expressions obtained through senses into a basis for the abstract level which is mainly a conceptual level. The place is experienced through the interpretations of symbolic representations. Thereby, the concrete acquaintance with space is distinguished from the abstract knowledge of spatial relationships. In Cassirer’s own words, “Acquaintance means only presentation; knowledge includes and presupposes representation. The representation of an object is quite a different act from the mere handling of the object.” (Cassirer, 1944/1953, p. 67). He argues that the spatial knowledge reflects the symbolic formation not the concrete sense data. Furthermore, he highlights that there must be a general conception perceived and regarded from different angles in order to represent and comprehend a place with its spatial relations (Cassirer, 1944/1953, p. 68).

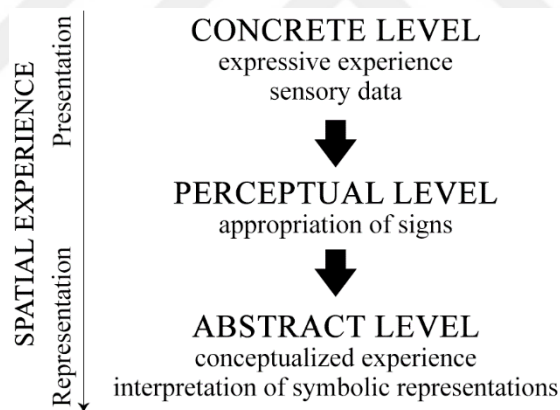


Figure 1.7. The levels of spatial experience for Cassirer (Source: Personal Illustration)

As the knowledge of place is acquired through this comprehensive process progressing from concrete experience to conceptualized experience of the world, it is important to clarify that it is not an absolute permanent knowledge. The knowledge of place is an interactive experiential knowledge because the new sensory inputs are continuously included in the spatial experience causing adjustments and adaptations in the previous perceptions (Piaget & Inhelder, 1956, p. 3). Therefore, acquisition of spatial knowledge is a never-ending gradual process that is dependent directly to the active interaction with the place.

Another dimension of personal experience in a place derives from the territorial concept of inside and outside. Edward Relph asserts that one experiences a place profoundly by being inside of it and becoming a part of it (1976, p. 49). Here, the primary intention of differentiating a place from space, is to be somewhere *inside* away from the *outside* (Norberg-Schulz, 1974, p. 25). This dialectic division of inside and outside is presented by the geometrical boundary of a place, which simply manifests between *here* and *there*. A boundary layer connotes the suggestion of a threshold, a passage, or a doorway between inside and outside since the border-line is immensely ambiguous and unclear. Hence, both sides are always intimate, ready to exchange their antagonism and be reversed (Bachelard, 1957/1994, pp. 217-218). The reversal between inside and outside is a consequence of subjective place knowledge that has appropriated the space in accordance with personal intentions. In a similar way to our home being a place for *us* but a space for *them*, we are inside for us while outside for them. Furthermore, the moment we step outside of home, our neighborhood becomes inside for us. As we move, we carry our territories and boundaries with us, which makes the distinction between inside and outside unclear. That is to say, individuals experience insideness and outsideness from different levels of depths. As illustrated in Figure 1.8, Relph (1976) identifies overall seven levels of inside-outside experience: four levels of insideness as existential, empathetic, behavioral, and vicarious insideness, and three levels of outsideness as incidental, objective, and existential outsideness. As he explains (Relph, 1976, pp. 51-55):

Existential insideness – is where the place is experienced subconsciously without any intentions or reflections. At this point, one belongs to the place, embraces the identity of that place, and knows it tacitly.

Empathetic insideness – is where the place appeals to the emotions of the individual. It is experienced via empathetic involvement, expressions of cultural values, and intimate association with the place.

Behavioral insideness – is where the place is observed and recognized with its qualities like physical appearance, activities, and objects. The individual experiences the place mostly through visual patterns and simple enclosed structure of place.

Vicarious insideness – is where the place is experienced remotely through secondhand sources such as motion pictures, photographs, and mass media. A person grasps the symbolic properties of the place identity with an imaginative involvement.

Incidental outsidersness – is where the place appears as an accidental background for the events and activities. It is an unconscious attitude towards the place, in which the identity of place seems meaningless in comparison to the active functions of that place.

Objective outsidersness – is where the place is reduced either to its mere geographical location or to a space locating activities and objects. The individual adopts an objective, detached, and unemotional attitude towards the place deliberately.

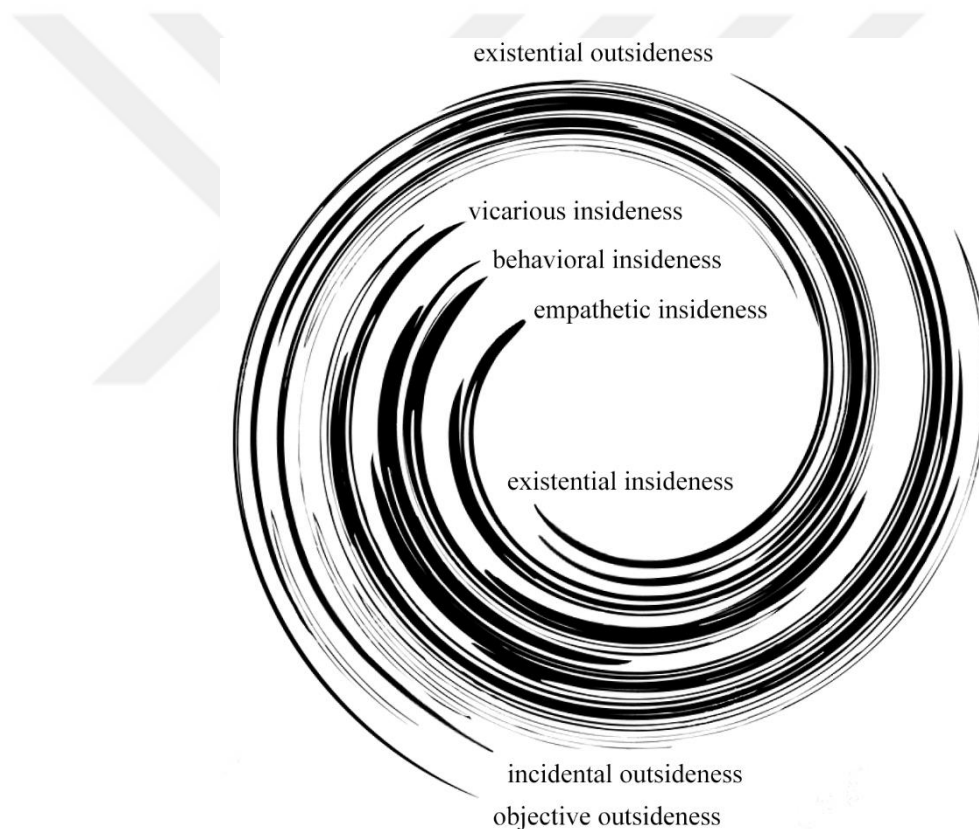


Figure 1.8. The levels of inside-outside experience for Relph (Source: Personal Illustration)

On the other hand, the levels of insideness and outsidersness can be increased or decreased in number according to different individuals, and their experiences of a place. Relph also underlines that these seven levels are not exactly discrete and separated from each other (1976, p. 50). To him, one experiences a level and then another, or both levels at the same time depending on the place, the circumstances, and the person.

Social Experience

From the perspective of personal experiences, the difference between the concepts of space and place is discernible conveniently. However, this distinction becomes eminently blurred in the matter of social experiences. Experience is performed and lived in places, but economic and political processes that are embedded in a place, operate beyond its spatial scales, essentially in the realm of space (Merrifield, 1993, p. 520). Considering the material exchange setting and the practice of everyday life in a place, the concepts of space and place appear to be merged together inextricably in social experiences. This dialectical unity of space and place exists overall in the studies of sociologists like Henri Lefebvre who has focused on the socio-political dimension of spatial experience, and Edward Soja who has carried Lefebvre's study one step further (see Lefebvre, 1991b; Soja, 1989, 1996).

In his book *The Production of Space* (1991b), Henri Lefebvre approaches space as an endless social dynamic that changes and develops constantly while manifesting itself through places. To Lefebvre, space is socially produced and reproduced over and over again through various modes of social experiences (1991b, pp. 86-92). From this point of view, he theorizes his known conceptual triad – the trialectics* of space, in which he identifies three modes in the production of space as spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 33). Here, *spatial practice* creates a society's own space through a dialectical interplay by asserting the space, gradually embracing, and definitely producing it. Spatial practice implies to a *perceived space* where people experience the space and its contradictions via their daily routines embedded in the urban reality (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38). *Representations of space* refers to a *conceived space* where technocrats and professionals such as scientists, urbanists, planners, architects, and engineers construct by getting involved in the space discursively. Since it consists of knowledge and ideology within its practice, the conceived space predominates, and absolutely influences the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 42). *Representational space* stands for the *lived space* where people inhabit, passively experience through its complex images and symbols, and seek to appropriate. Furthermore, all of these perceived-conceived-lived spaces are experienced and produced

* trialectics = triple dialectics

simultaneously in the everyday life of citizens. Lefebvre particularly emphasizes that it is the social relations forming basis for spatial practices (1991b, p. 404). His analysis on the production of space provides us an alternative viewpoint on the subject matter of space-place interrelations (Merrifield, 1993, pp. 525-527). In Lefebvre, space depicts the world of capital, material and information flow, where the forces of power remain within the society and reflected on the social experiences of citizens. In this case, place is shaped by the reification of these flows as it represents a particular suspension – a momentary destination in the global capitalist space. Hence, space is the domain for social experience while place is where personal interactions and interventions occur.

In a similar vein, Edward Soja presents another trialectics of space by both advancing and criticizing Lefebvre's spatial triad (see Soja, 1980, 1996). First of all, Soja objects to the idea suggesting that the structure of space is an autonomous separate construction, and a basic expression of social classes derived from the social relations of production and consumption (1980, p. 208). He defines space as the dialectical component of concurrent social and spatial relations by embracing a dialectical point of view on the issue (Soja, 1980, p. 208). These social and spatial relations are the common relations of production in the space. He then, develops his trialectics of space based on Lefebvre's spatial triad. Soja (1996) replaces perceived space with firstspace, conceived space with secondspace, and lived space with thirdspace as illustrated in Figure 1.9. According to this interpretation, *firstspace* is the empirically measurable physical space connotating mappable and concrete human geographies along with the spatial consequences of social processes (Soja, 1996, pp. 74-75). This directly experienced material space allows the exploration of sociality and historicity in spatial structures; therefore, it becomes a focal point in geographical analyses. *Secondspace* is the subjective and symbolic cognitive space where images, imaginaries, representations, and the knowledge of firstspace is grasped via thoughts and interpretations (Soja, 1996, p. 79). This realm of spatial thoughts and ideas produces the mental comprehensions and the perceptions of socio-spatial dialectics. Finally, *thirdspace* is an alternative social space surpassing the dialectics of firstspace and secondspace, expanding the contents of geographical imaginations, and enabling such spatial knowledge that cultivates new places and spatial possibilities (Soja, 1996, pp. 81-82). In this way, thirdspace as inhabited and practiced space sets a fresh theoretical ground for the politics of spatial experiences.

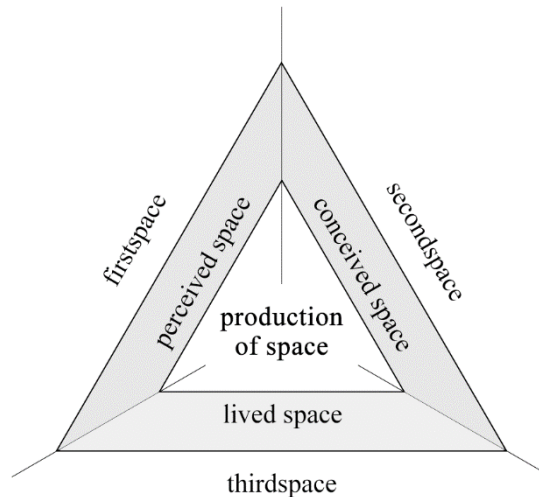


Figure 1.9. The trialectics of space based on Lefebvre and Soja (Source: Personal Illustration)

According to Soja, thirdspace appears as the space that contains and represents all places together both explicitly and secretly – as “a space that is common to all of us yet never able to be completely seen and understood” (1996, p. 56). Here, he conceptualizes the thirdspace as a space for everyone and everything all together. To do so, he suggests an additional strategical term called *thirthing-as-Othering*, which provides a Lefebvrian point of view on the political knowledges and meanings of thirdspace (1996, pp. 60-62). The critical production of a thirdspace depends on an-Other standing between the dialectical opposites, creating a disturbance, deconstruction and then reconstruction for the contrasts. In this regard, Soja critiques the otherness of thirthing as “a critical *other-than* choice” introduced into spatial dialectics through intrusive disruptions (1996, p. 61, emphasis in original). To him, the third as the other brings a new perspective to the spatial experience, which rebalances Lefebvre’s trialectics of space.

In his lectures entitled *Of Other Spaces** (Fr. *Des Espace Autres*), Michel Foucault also focuses on the notion of *otherness* by proposing a new spatial concept called *heterotopia* (see 1984/1986). According to Foucault, social relations produces distinct heterogeneous sites where the real, unreal, and spatial boundaries coalesce into one as these heterogeneous emplacements are simultaneously generated, represented, reflected, suspected, contradicted, contested, and inverted within all societies and cultures

* In October, 1984, the French journal *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité* published an article with the same title, based on the lectures given by Foucault in March, 1967. Thus, the article is not written by Foucault himself, but was released to public soon before his death.

(1984/1986, p. 24). Both physically and mentally, heterotopias are the counter-sites as a consequence of human nature regardless the cultural differences. Heterotopias as the sites of conflict and contradictions then, appear in every societies through different forms and modifications both in the history and present time. Overall in *Of Other Spaces*, Foucault describes some heterotopias such as the cemetery, the prison, the asylum, the hammam, the sauna, the museum, the library, the theater, the barrack, the brothel, the motel room, the fairground and so on. He emphasizes that the notions of space and place are intertwined within a heterotopia because several spaces, several sites are juxtaposed incompatibly in a single real place (Foucault, 1984/1986, p. 25). To exemplify, a garden appears as a heterotopia to Foucault when its microcosm is consisted of various ecosystems of plants from different parts of the world juxtaposed to each other. As himself states, “the garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world” (Foucault, 1984/1986, p. 26). There is no one single concrete identification of heterotopias for Foucault because each heterotopia emerges through different modes of social relations. It seems that, heterotopias exist to unfold the contrast relation between extreme opposites. Foucault argues that heterotopias reveal every real space either by creating a space of illusion like a famous brothel, or by creating a space of compensation that is meticulously arranged another real space like the first colonies of the seventeenth century (1984/1986, p. 27). In this regard, the real space where spatial experiences take place within the segments of human life, contradicts with the utopian unreal space that is illustrated like an ideal perfection or a flawed imperfection. Hence, the juxtaposed others of heterotopias expose the real spaces, which retrieves them from the utopian unrealities. Here, Foucault’s heterotopia introduces an alternative space where the subjects of homogeneous society can experience diverse socialites. Partially like Soja’s thirdspace*, the *otherness* and the new modes of social relations appear to be imagined and practiced in heterotopias, and through heterotopias.

* Soja criticizes Foucault’s heterotopias to be incomplete, incoherent, and inconsistent as he condemns them to be “narrowly focused on peculiar microgeographies, nearsighted and near-sited, deviant and deviously apolitical” (1996, p. 162). Yet, he also remarks the relation between heterotopia and thirdspace. He states that heterotopias are “the marvelous incunabula of another fruitful journey into Thirdspace, into the spaces that difference makes, into the geohistories of otherness” (Soja, 1996, p. 162).

1.2. Placemaking

By the end of 1950s, the placemaking mindset had started to gain traction in the field of urban planning and design especially under the influence of Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte. Jacobs who was not an urban planner but an urban activist, asserted how cities need to be designed and planned for the people not for shopping malls and cars (see 1958, 1961/1992). She focused on the synergy between urban elements like neighborhoods, local economies, buildings, parks, streets, and sidewalks, in which cities appear as natural ecosystems created by the people (Jacobs, 1961/1992). She pointed out how pedestrians of downtown make a city alive; therefore, the social life of sidewalks and streets must be considered in design by architects and planners (Jacobs, 1958). In a similar manner, William H. Whyte articulated the need for human centered urban planning and design (1972) together with the impacts of urban development and urban sprawl on social interaction and community engagement in public spaces (1988). He conducted a research project called *The Street Life Project* in which he focused on the quality of life and pedestrian behaviors in small urban spaces such as corporate plazas, streets, sidewalks, and parks (Whyte, 1980).

Indeed, Jacobs and Whyte made a huge impact in the field of urban planning during their time as both of them revealed the potentiality of public spaces that can become places for everyone. However, as it is seen from the literature, neither Jacobs nor Whyte had coined the term *placemaking*. On his personal web page (2016), Edward Relph states that the use of word “placemaking” in literature seems to be started in the 1970s even though it is still ambivalent who exactly had come up with the word. Additionally, he emphasizes that the first book using the word placemaking in its title, seems to be *Maya Cities: Placemaking and Urbanization* written by George Andrews, published in 1975, in which placemaking represents “simply the founding of settlements” (Relph, 2016, para. 3). Furthermore, there have been three different spellings of the word as *placemaking*, *place making* and *place-making* in the literature. Although all of these spellings seem to meet the same meaning*, different notations of the word may bring some disadvantages for the literature reviews.

* In his article “Tourism Planning and Place making: Place-making or Placemaking”, Alan A. Lew attempts to analyze and categorize different notations of the word placemaking by assigning a separate meaning to each spelling (2017, pp. 449-451). However, it seems extremely debatable and confusing since there have been numerous English words with different spellings but same meanings such as decision-making (decisionmaking and decision making), law making (lawmaking and law-making) and so on.

For instance, Strydom, Puren, and Drewes analyzes the placemaking literature among various disciplines by using an integrative literature review method (ILR) which limits their search key term to the spelling of ‘placemaking’ (2018, p. 171). It is more likely to lose a portion of the literature with this kind of a limitation on keyword notations during database research, in which the reliability of a research would become arguable.

Up until 1990s, scholars like Jane Jacobs (1961/1992), Kevin Lynch (1960), and William H. Whyte (1980, 1988) continuously influenced the placemaking practices in the field of urban planning and design. At that time, placemaking was more about the spatial order and design of physical elements in urban settings (Day, 1992), in which the decision-making processes were in the hands of expert policy makers (see O’Brien, 1985, p. 59). The processes of policy and decision making in an urban setting require the involvement of politics in the municipal space. As Auerbach explains, basic topics such as structuring urban zones, developing licenses, establishing regulations and limitations for buildings, defining administrative procedures, and designating organizational structures are subjects to the planning laws of the country (2012, p. 52). Hence, placemaking was an initiated, systematic and organized activity carried out by the professionals depending upon legal, political, administrative, and economic conditions in an urban space. It was after 1990s when placemaking started to be approached in a collaborative manner that brings academics, urban planners and designers, community members, non-governmental groups, and local authorities together to participate in its decision-making (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2000, p. 34; Shibley, 1998, p. 80; Thomas, Pate, & Ranson, 2015, p. 83; Toolis, 2017, p. 194). As Rios and Watkins point out, only by collaborative projects, the diversity within communities can be taken into consideration during placemaking process and it can foster placemaking as a practice of democracy (2015, pp. 212-217). Today, in twenty-first century, heterogenous multifaceted structure of cities and their constitutive public spaces, has become one of the main concerns of placemaking initiatives in order to proliferate rich social relations that are essential for democracy, social justice, cohesion, urbanity, and civility (Watson, 2006, p. 6). From the perspective of architectural and urban planning professions, placemaking then, appears as *a deliberative intentional practice* that aims to create desirable social and material places within the urban fabric.

As a matter of fact, there have been numerous approaches and paradigms of placemaking in competence across the literature, in which the lack of a dominant definition stems from

the debates on the purpose and role of placemaking (Roberts, 2009, p. 439). To some scholars, placemaking is a networked process formed by interconnected social, political and economic experiences among citizens, institutions, and systems (Pierce, Martin, & Murphy, 2011, p. 59). To some others, placemaking is the way to create lively places by endowing value and meaning into existing places through various strategic interventions (Cilliers, Timmermans, Van den Goorbergh, & Slijkhuis, 2015, pp. 592-594). While some asserts that placemaking is all about constructing shared place meanings in a community, which can be successful only through active civic engagement in its decision-making (Sorensen, 2009, pp. 210-213); some others acknowledge that placemaking should be creatively performed in collaboration with artists or architects (see Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Schneekloth & Shibley, 2000), and so on. The variety of approaches, theoretical trends, and definitions on placemaking reveals a need for thematization of placemaking processes (Courage, 2017, p. 72).

1.2.1. Typology of placemaking

Across the literature, there is an obvious tendency for entitling placemaking with countless different adjectives such as *communicative* placemaking (Juárez Latimer-Knowles, 2009), *cultural* placemaking, *economic* placemaking, *innovative* placemaking (Verheul, 2017, pp. 237-238), *relational* placemaking (Pierce et al., 2011), and so on. It is because all researchers desire to forge and establish their very own object of inquiry, placemaking literature swarms with fill-in-the-blanks placemaking definitions. While this vast usage of terms along with the diversity of theoretical trends may foster fresh opinions between disciplines, it may also become an obstacle for effective placemaking processes (Roberts, 2009, p. 439). It seems that placemaking implementations which casually cause disorientations in the literature due to diverse use of terms and entitlements, can be uncovered and articulated through a typology. From this point of view, Wyckoff intends to create a typology of placemaking by identifying themes emerging in placemaking practice (2014, n. p.). As shown in Figure 1.10, he simply defines four types of placemaking processes ranging from one general type called standard placemaking to three specialized subtypes as strategic placemaking, tactical placemaking, and opportunistic placemaking (Wyckoff, 2014, n. p.). To explain more in detail,

Standard placemaking – is the universal generalized placemaking, in which the quality of a place is improved incrementally over a long period of time through various independent activities and small projects such as façade improvements, residential infill, and events in public places (Wyckoff, Neumann, Pape, & Schindler, 2015, p. 26). The main purpose in standard placemaking is to create *quality places** where people want to live, play, study, and work, which requires an active engagement and participation of community members in both the process of inception and implementation (Wyckoff, 2014, n. p.). Hence, standard placemaking provides economic development in a place by attracting talented workforce (Wyckoff et al., 2015, p. 26). Standard placemaking differentiates into three subtypes called strategic, tactical, and creative placemaking, adopting particular approaches.

Strategic placemaking – embraces a deliberate top-down approach to accomplish distinct economic development objectives in a place in order to be unique and appealing to skilled knowledge workers who usually pick quality places to live in (Wyckoff et al., 2015, p. 29). Strategic placemaking is relatively narrower than standard placemaking considering its robust stakeholder involvement in targeted long-term activities and projects such as rehabilitation of structures, multiple housing options, transit-oriented developments, recreation and implementation of green places (Wyckoff, 2014, n. p.).

Tactical placemaking – refers to a deliberate bottom-up approach that aims to create quality places with low cost, quick, short-term, and temporary experimental interventions through community-led projects and activities like self-guided walks in neighborhoods, closing streets for festivals, craft markets, and community-built playgrounds (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 13; Wyckoff et al., 2015, pp. 26-28). Tactical placemaking can also be referred as Do-It-Yourself (D.I.Y.) urbanism, city repair, guerilla urbanism, pop-up urbanism, or tactical urbanism (Lydon, Bartman, Garcia, Preston, & Woudstra, 2012, pp. 1-2; see also Sadik-Khan & Solomonow, 2016).

Creative placemaking – features creativity, artistic and cultural event-based approaches in public space through projects and activities such as urban furniture design, sculptures,

* *Quality places* are referred as safe, accessible, welcoming, connected, comfortable, sociable, and authentic places where physical form, land uses, functions and social opportunities are proper enough to provide a strong sense of place (Wyckoff, 2014, n. p.).

monuments, cultural activities, mural art, and performance art (Wyckoff et al., 2015, p. 29). Creative placemaking strategies also actualizes aesthetic streetscapes, revitalized structures, viable local economic development, safe, reliable and lively places where people interact and collaborate with each other (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, pp. 3, 5). Therefore, it empowers communities and places through sustained inspirational activities especially in underused public spaces (Courage, 2017, pp. 55-58).

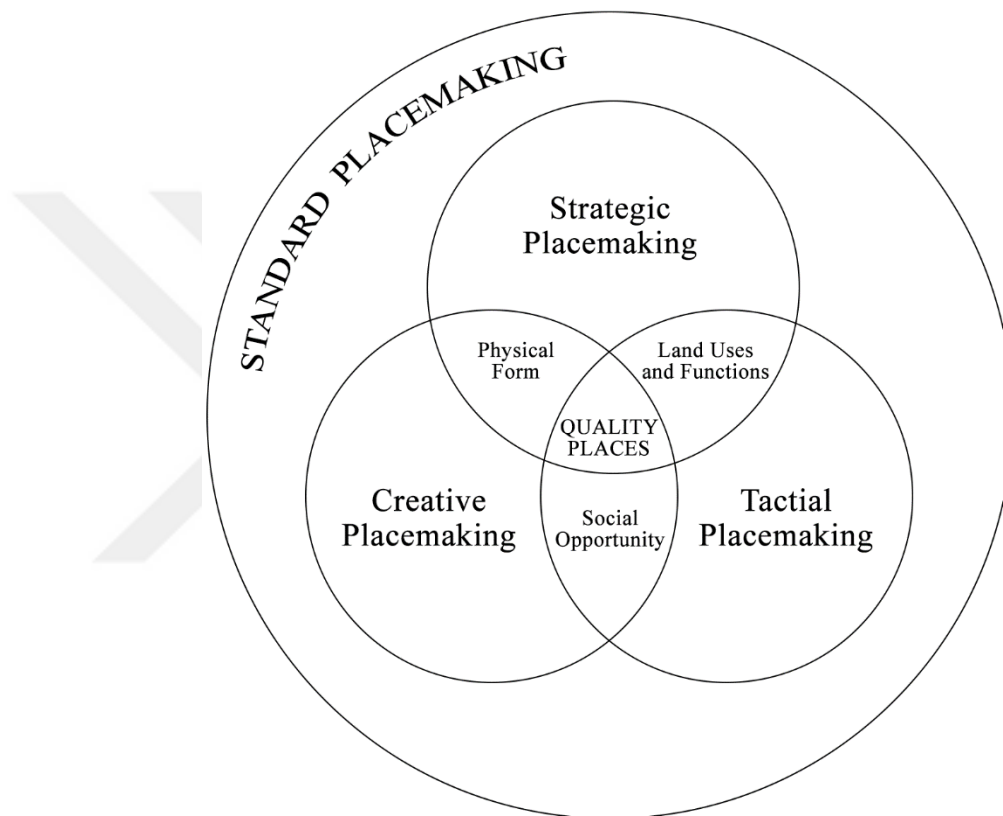


Figure 1.10. Wyckoff’s four types of placemaking (Source: Wyckoff, 2014, n. p.)

Here, Wyckoff builds his typology according to the placemaking practice that consists of completely deliberate and purposeful planned activities and projects. The main goal of his categorization as he explains, is to provide a “Placemaking Assessment Tool” that will serve as a self-guide for stakeholders and local officials in order to analyze which type of placemaking is beneficial to pursue in a specific location (Wyckoff et al., 2015, p. 28). Moreover, he asserts that his four types of placemaking altogether represent the entire placemaking field (Wyckoff, 2014, n. p.). However, he does not question if placemaking may appear as an unintentional and unplanned occurrence. He is not

interested in the differentiation between space and place or any definitions on space-place relations. In this way, Wyckoff's typology of placemaking becomes only a utilitarian tool which lacks to consider the theoretical framework behind space, place, and placemaking. Therefore, Wyckoff's typology of placemaking is still in progress with a need of revision.

1.2.2. Informal placemaking

As it is explained previously, the differentiation and appropriation of space is simply the process of creating places – so to say making places. From this point of view, placemaking is a natural process arising from the mundane necessity of inhabitation, which is a way to perform our existence through meaningful experiences and belongingness (see Cresswell, 2004; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). In this regard, Cresswell gives a micro-scale placemaking example of a university student moving into his new dormitory room (2004, pp. 2, 7). The room is a space for the student up until the moment he makes it into a place for himself by decorating the walls with his favorite posters, filling the bookshelf with his books, and putting his beloved blanket onto his new bed. It is the *informal placemaking* that is rooted in unplanned and unintentional human activities and interactions in a space or place*. The incremental character of place is bred by placemaking consequently through direct or indirect involvement of ordinary people living in, building, passing through, visiting or even avoiding a place (Lombard, 2014, p. 14). Then, the daily routines – everyday life experience of citizens continuously construct places in the urban texture. As an example, through an ethnographic study, Fataar and Rinqest (2019) explores the ways that two high school girls make places for themselves in a peri-urban suburb informally. Both girls appropriate the physical space through active engagement in social relations and bodily interaction with the material environment such as benches, swings, gates, and corners of buildings (Fataar & Rinqest, 2019, pp. 31-34, 39). Hence the daily experiences and even small physical engagements of people in public spaces carve out places that are neither planned nor designed intentionally. Scholars like John Friedmann also point out that places cannot be designed or planned from outside of the community but appear within communities spontaneously because humans make places inevitably as a part of their everyday life (see Friedmann, 2007, pp. 259-260). However, as it is stated

* To emphasize, placemaking can appropriate already existing places as well.

before, informal placemaking does not fit into any types of placemaking described by Wyckoff. Therefore, Figure 1.11 below illustrates an improvement for the typology of placemaking by including informal placemaking in Wyckoff's thematization.

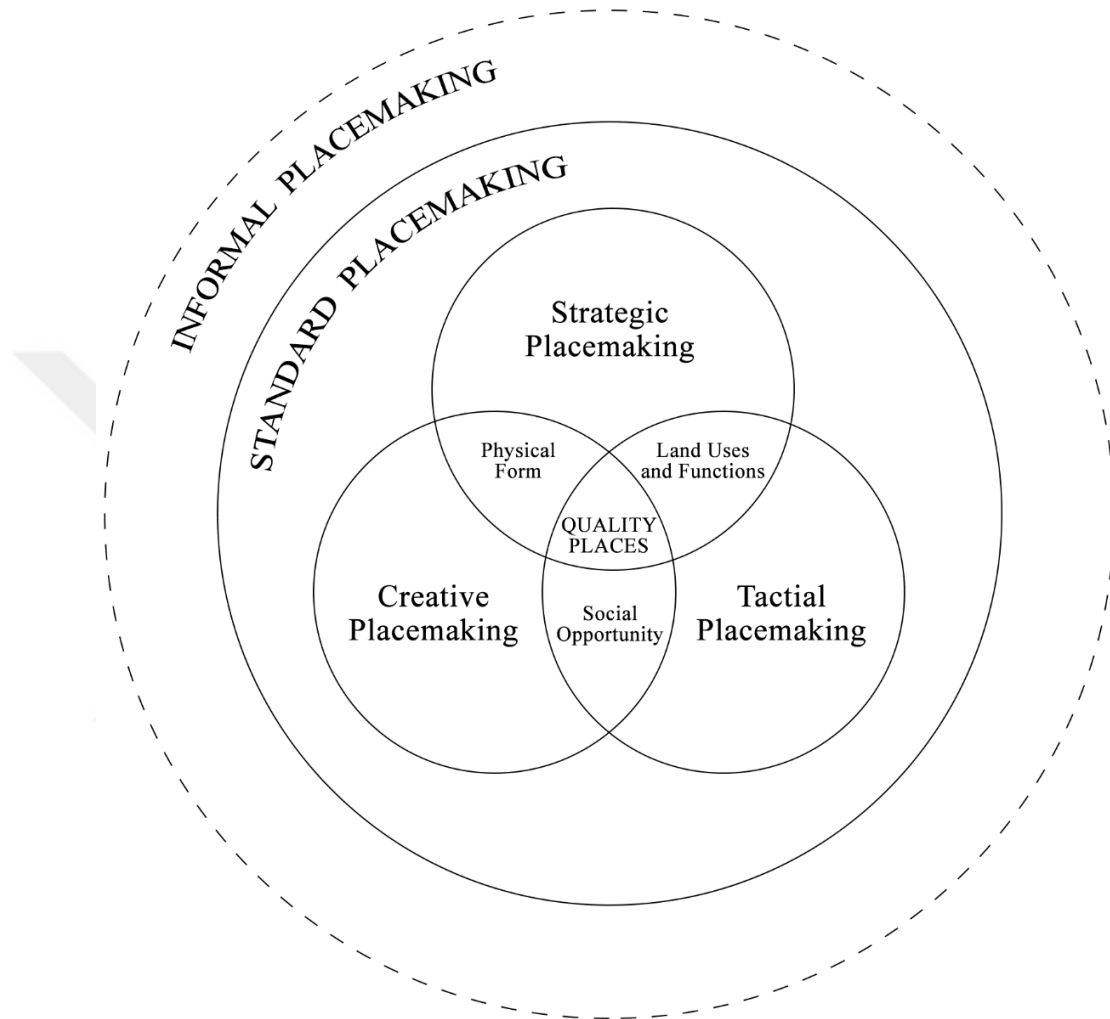


Figure 1.11. Altered typology of placemaking (Source: Based on Wyckoff's typology)

Here, informal placemaking resides outside of the realm of standard placemaking practices that involves stakeholders, communities, authorities, and professionals through planned and intentional projects or activities. In this way, informal placemaking holds every potential of unplanned, unintentional, spontaneous, natural, and subtle placemaking interactions. Informal placemaking does not have concrete boundaries or rules – which makes it relatively harder to observe compared to standard placemaking activities. Since it can occur in anytime at anywhere, humans keep differentiating spaces and appropriating places within the rhythms and patterns of everyday life.

We know that neither home nor neighborhood, at this particular place, will remain ours forever. We change homes; we change communities. But regardless of how many times we assert these claims, both ways of claiming have to do with what I call [informal] placemaking. (Friedmann, 2007, p. 259, parenthesis added)

It is significant to point out that informal placemaking emerges independent from time and space. During any time in the history and in any community, places are always created in and out of spaces. These created places indeed keep changing through time. Yet, the act of informal placemaking never changes. It is because we, humans, make places to simply be inside even when we are outside. Therefore, the homes, the neighborhoods, and any corner keep changing. Furthermore, people know the place they differentiate in the texture of an urban space will not stay same forever. The informal placemaking activity plays with the urban space publicly and through difference and change in the physical texture of space. These acts can appear in various ways from humorous to serious. As a matter of fact, it can show us communities and their wills, and the very creative activity of inhabiting and existing in the public, out in the open, at inside of the outside.

Consequently, informal placemaking holds the very essence of spatial differentiations that can provide a basic representation of the relationship between space and place along with a comprehensive outlook on communities within a place. There appears to be a gap between placemaking literature and space-place literature. While placemaking literature focuses on planned deliberate projects and activities practiced in public spaces, space and place literature discusses topics like the differentiation of space, components of place, and definitions of space-place. Informal placemaking appear right in between these studies, as it feeds from the ideas of both literatures. People in their everyday life construct places in public spaces by endowing the space with unique attributions and sculpting it into places for themselves to exist, to feel, to dwell, to spend time, to socialize, to escape and so on. It is the informal placemaking which tends to be ignored in the placemaking practice. Yet, informal placemaking of individuals contains the essence of community in a particular urban setting. By studying such spontaneous and continuous placemaking activities, human expectations from the built environment and appropriation of space can be revealed in which a profound understanding on the quality places can be obtained. Such knowledge can also steer placemaking practices into diverse directions where the natural place creation can lead up fruitful design processes for the sake of communities.

2. TRACE AND WALKING

In this chapter, methodological approaches of the research are presented in a conceptual way by mainly asking the questions “informal placemaking by which data?” and “how to gather this data?” (see Figure 2.1). It is aimed to provide the reader with the notions behind the trace from discrete to concrete. Featuring Derrida’s concept of trace, human traces and their emergence through everyday life practices of ordinary people in the urban space are discussed in relation to informal placemaking activities. Human traces are determined as the data to be collected in this research because of the subtlety of informal placemaking acts. In urban space, human traces have the potentiality to make the informal placemaking activities visible and recognizable. However, traces themselves tend to melt within the daily routines of ordinary people. Hence, observational walking as a research tool to be utilized while gathering data, its practice in social sciences, and its relation to traces of informal placemaking is discussed after conceptualizing the trace in this chapter.

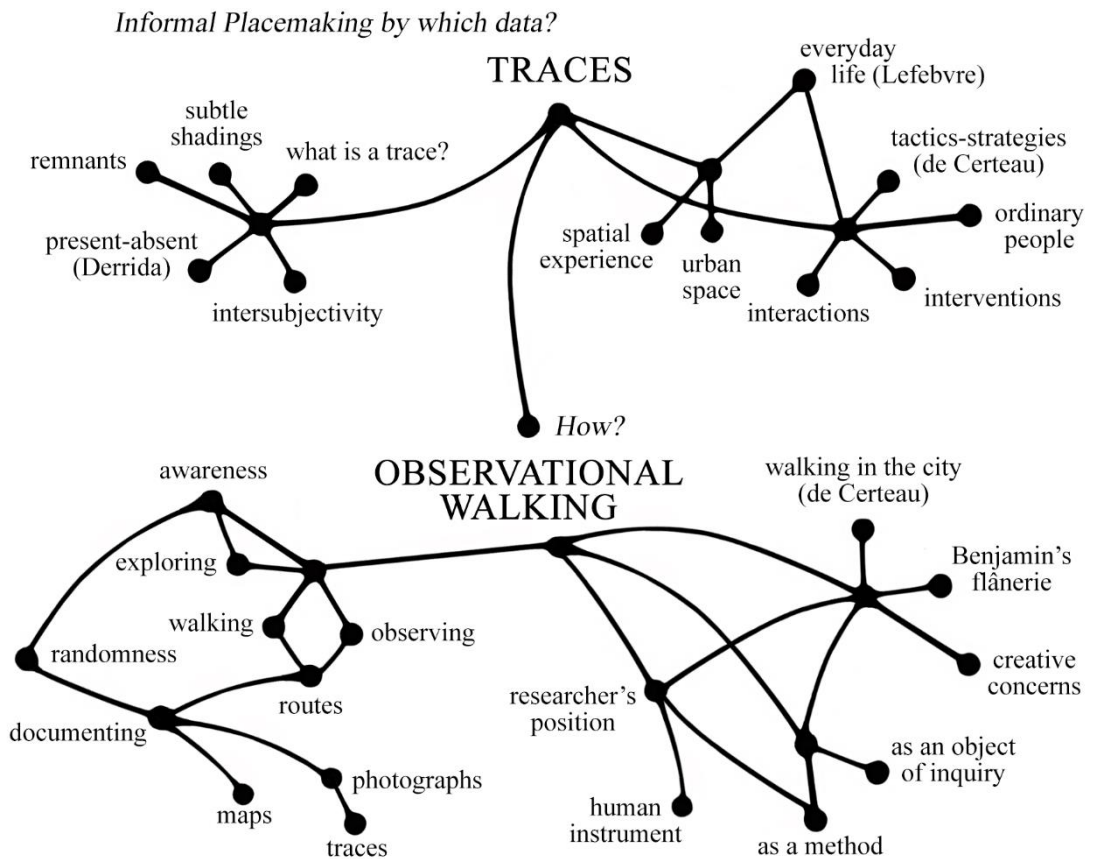


Figure 2.1. The mind map for methodological approach (Source: Personal Illustration)

2.1. Traces of Informal Placemaking

As it is explained in the first chapter, people make places simply by interacting with both space and each other. To put it another way, human interactions result in spontaneous interventions that informally differentiate and appropriate a space into place. When this kind of a subtle characteristic is the matter at hand, placemaking enhances as a hardly distinguishable natural process, in which it contains remarkably intersubjective spatial experiences. On the other hand, human interactions in ordinary everyday routines always leave plentiful marks in the material texture of a place (Tittle, MacDonald, & Strickfaden, 2013, pp. 19-20). These *subtle shadings* – these small-scale traces of spatial experiences then, can be the definite indicators of informal placemaking. As Bachelard mentions,

... the related problems are many if we want to determine the profound reality of all the subtle shadings of our attachment for a chosen spot. For a phenomenologist, these shadings must be taken as the first rough outlines of a psychological phenomenon. The shading is not an additional, superficial coloring. We should therefore have to say how we inhabit our vital space, in accord with all the dialectics of life, how we take root, day after day, in a “corner of the world”. (1957/1994, p. 4, emphasis in original)

Humans then, leave physical traces behind in urban spaces as they inhabit, which offers a great opportunity to the researcher by releasing informal placemaking from its dormancy in everyday life and making it observable for the naked eye. To do so, one needs to comprehend what the notion of trace is at first within this scope.

2.1.1. Defining the trace

The English word *trace* as a noun signifies a mark left by someone either a human or an animal, and implies to follow a path on a map or to draw around an already existing line as a verb (Miller, 2011, p. 47). Although the dictionary meaning of the word seems very clear, it is inclined to get obscure when approached conceptually. In his book *Of Grammatology* (1967/1997), philosopher Jacques Derrida contemplates the concept of trace from both existential and experiential point of view. According to him, the presence of the trace presents the irreducible absence of the other; hence, the trace comes before the entity – the maker of trace (Derrida, 1967/1997, p. 47). Here, trace appears as the appearance of a lived experience which *was once* experienced by someone. In this case, the trace is subjective since it is the *present-absent* – the remnant of someone’s existence

or experience, but it is also objective as it is present independent from one's perception. This brings to the mind, Edmund Husserl's discussion on how anyone can experience something that exist independently, because

... as "psychophysical" objects, they are "*in*" *the world*. On the other hand, I experience them at the same time as *subjects for this world*, as experiencing it (this same world that I experience) and, in so doing, experiencing me too, even as I experience the world and others in it. (Husserl, 1929/1982, p. 91, emphases in original)

In this manner, the world around us is simply an intersubjective world, where the experience of others seems to be embodied in our experiences and perceptions forming an empathic intentionality (Crossley, 1996, p. 4). To discern informal placemaking in a particular setting, one needs to track down the experience of other. Thus, trace is a convenient data to observe and unravel informal placemaking. In addition to that, with its subjective-objective dual character, trace surpasses the temporality of lived experiences.

The trace is the differance which opens appearance [*l'apparaître*] and signification. Articulating the living upon the nonliving in general, origin of all repetition, origin of ideality, the trace is not more ideal than real, not more intelligible than sensible, not more a transparent signification than an opaque energy ... (Derrida, 1967/1997, p. 65, emphases in original)

Here, Derrida makes a wordplay by making a deliberate misspelling and writing the word difference (*différence* in Fr.) as differance (*différance* in Fr). The change in the letters do not make any change in the pronunciation of the word. Derrida aspires to create a subversion in the hierarchies between writing and speech along with a criticism towards intelligible and sensible. The distinction between two words only exists in the writing – in the trace of these words. To Derrida, trace stays outside, exceeds, and exists before any dichotomies. The trace creates a rupture within the fabric of a space that deciphers the present-absence as a deconstructive intervention. For instance, consider how a postcard contains the trace of its writer that is meant to reach its receiver, but also it is a completely open letter which is already in sight of another – the postman (see Derrida, 1980/1987). The trace of the postcard travels and creates a difference separated from its sender and receiver whereas it carries their shared experience in their absence. Derrida principally contemplates trace by focusing on writing and speech. However, the acts of informal placemaking and their traces tend to arouse in the same vein. It seems that there are only traces of traces and differences everywhere since the lived experience is ever only present

or absent in anywhere (Derrida, 1972/1981, p. 26). As Derrida states “the experience of touching-touched admits the world as a third party” (1967/1997, p. 165). By interacting, touching, one leaves a trace of the self in the world. In informal placemaking, people interact with the physical texture of a space and leave abundant traces of such activities, experiences, and marks of decisions. Therefore, it is possible to articulate the experience of informal placemaking in the fabric of traces. Here, human trace serves as a bridge between the researcher and the absent other as the carrier of informal placemaking experience. The unnoticeable informal placemaking then, can become *perceptible* and *intersubjective* in the distinguishing objective realm of the trace.

2.1.2. Trace in everyday life

Everyday life studies allow researchers to reveal the potential conflicts in rationales of the society and the time; therefore, it is convenient to focus on the quotidian when formulating the particular problems of production such as the production of social existence and its transitions between depreciation and appreciation (Lefebvre, 1968/1971, p. 23). According to Lefebvre, everyday life is humble, sturdy, natural, dateless, and seemingly insignificant, yet it holds the aesthetics of acquainted settings with the ethics underlying its regular routine (1968/1971, p. 24). In this regard, everyday life encounters, relates, blends, and merges with the modern. Here, the modern implies what is new, but transitory, bright and bold, but also paradoxical, which bears the influence of worldliness and technicality (Lefebvre, 1968/1971, p. 24). The modern world declares itself, and gets acclaimed for it. Everyday life arouses between production and consumption in the modern world by creating a temporary balance – a middle zone where social relations are produced and continuously reproduced as long as people can live their ordinary everyday lives (Şahin & Balta, 2001, p. 197). It seems that there is an attempt to detach and stratify the sphere of productive activities from common everyday activities in the modern world (Gambacorta, 1989, p. 122). However, Lefebvre emphasizes that the practice, the multifaceted phenomenon of production* that imprints both objects and beings, does not

* Lefebvre adopts the term *production* from Marxist thought as he refers not only to material production but also to creation and making of things (e.g. time and space), production of one’s self, production of social relations, and biological production as re-production, etc. (see Lefebvre, 1968/1971, pp. 30-31).

take place in the realm of upper crust – academy, state, or culture, etc., but emerges within the daily life (1968/1971, p. 31).

In the praxis of everyday life, the individual moves, exists through spatial experiences, and expresses oneself in the ocean of ordinary objects among common people (Gambacorta, 1989, pp. 122-123). Yet, as city dwellers, we cannot see or comprehend the productions, the mundane reality of everyday life residing in the familiar, regular, and ordinary everyday objects (Lefebvre, 1947/1991a, p. 132). To Lefebvre, everyday life and its ordinary objects are accustomed utterly in daily routines of people, which makes them invisible for the eye in the urban texture. We tend to recognize the natural facts over the humble human facts that everyday life contains (Lefebvre, 1947/1991a, pp. 132-133). While we get mesmerized by the birds, the sky, the wind, the trees, and so on, we remain ignorant and unaware towards the objects of everyday life. However, there is “something else *which is there* in everyday objects, not an abstract lining but something enfolded within which hitherto we have been unable to see” (Lefebvre, 1947/1991a, p. 134 emphasis in original). From this perspective, Lefebvre explains that we encounter with the practical and effective transformation of things when we realize the grandiose, magnificent character of the works which are produced by common people, and embedded in the banality of everyday life (1947/1991a, p. 134). Everyday life embodies the individuals in its very center as everydayness derives from the notion of time paving the ways of countless narratives in the life. In Lefebvre (1968/1971, pp. 34-60), everyday life exists no matter what the era is by simply reflecting the knowledge of that era. Meanwhile, everydayness is enforced by the existing political and economic power, controlled by the market, and imposed by the media. Here, everydayness encapsulates the repetitiveness of everyday life. In this regard, the formation of a day along with all the human interactions taking place, involves the formation of the world and the formation of society. In these processes of formation, the acts of informal placemaking flourish in urban space.

Although daily life seems to exist by simple ordinary activities, it contains the acts of informal placemaking in itself through creative spatial constructions and experiences. On the other hand, these spatial constructions become ambiguous and invisible as a result of the restrictions in production (see Lefebvre, 1968/1971). In pre-industrial society, the production processes had appeared with the individual and progressed simultaneously.

The workspaces had represented places where the production occurs, the products get marketed, and the individuals socialize. The individuals had been away from the mere ordinariness of the quotidian by being forced to acquire all their physical and perceptual satisfactions in work areas (Lefebvre, 1968/1971, pp. 58-60). After the industrialization, the forms of production obtained the power to change the lifestyles of the people, which came along with the perception of everyday life dependent on the consumption. During that period, people faced with the repetitiveness of the quotidian and the idea of leisure time in between private life and business life emerged in the everyday life. Today, it can be argued that the everyday life of the individuals has become dull and manipulated by a program, an order, just implemented into their life. Consequently, individuals have lost their relation to the whole by alienating and withdrawing from the social, and start seeking ways to attain a place in the public sphere (Lefebvre, 1968/1971, pp. 64-67). Here, the acts of informal placemaking create fractions in the state of mediocrity and alienation, and in the routines of everyday life. By informal placemaking, the ordinary people attain the ways of coping up with the space by transforming and differentiating it into places to exist and deal with the quotidian creatively. Through the reconstruction of urban space, daily life becomes a territory of action. By breaking the boundaries of built environment and changing its physical and social texture through subtle interactions, the common people disrupt daily routines and quotidian behaviors.

In a similar way, ordinary people appear as the protagonist in Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1980/1984). To him, the ordinary people are the anonymous heroes who are present everywhere as thousands of them walk on the streets each day (de Certeau, 1980/1984, preface). De Certeau is more interested in manifesting the inventions and the practices revealed through the everyday life of common people rather than conceptualizing the everyday itself (Schilling, 2003, p. 35). In his approach, the practice of everyday life appears as the daily activities such as reading, talking, shopping, moving, walking, strolling, using, consuming, producing, etc. These practices reside within the routines of everyday, and intertwine with the urban space. As mentioned before, Lefebvre states that the tedious routine, the banality of everyday life is imposed on the common people by the dominant authorities (1968/1971, pp. 35-38). De Certeau also argues that never-ending competitive and antagonistic relation between the weak and the strong makes the birth of a neutral place mostly impossible (1980/1984, p. 24). Hence, the

ordinary people seek the possible ways to escape from the imprisonment of everyday that is enforced by the strong. Their search for possible escape routes unveils numerous methods and ways of making in the urban space. In this regard, the common people move forward in the spatial representations of everyday life by leaving traces that make informal anonymous places out of urban space for themselves. To do so, they interact with the physical structure of urban spaces, and make small incidental changes and imprints which express their concealed existence in the everyday life. Then, traces of informal placemaking appear as sometimes banal, sometimes clever human interventions or just mere human traces left behind within the fabric of urban space (Tittle, MacDonald, & Strickfaden, 2013, p. 19). From this perspective, trace is the leftover of an escape route or a practice to cope up with the dullness of everyday life resulting from *the tactics of ordinary people*. De Certeau describes a *tactic* as a figured, calculated action which plays with the place within the place. The tactics of common people aim at creating a place for themselves in the current daily circumstances. “The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other’s place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance” (de Certeau, 1980/1984, p. xix). Tactics appear to manipulate, take advantage of the existing environment and relationships so, there can be chances and opportunities for the ordinary hero’s existence and escape. De Certeau also points out that most of the everyday practices like walking, talking or shopping are carried out tactically (1980/1984, p. xix). Hence, the tactical decisions and actions take place in the fabric of urban space, leaving subtle human traces scattered all over the territories of dominant order and rationality.

In contrast with tactics, everyday life in urban space also bears systemic strategies of power structures. As De Certeau defines, a *strategy* is the manipulation or the calculation of power relations which “becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated” (1980/1984, pp. 35-36, parenthesis in original). Then, the strategy of the one with power asserts and sets limits to a place by distinguishing it from the environment of others. “It is an effort to delimit one’s own place in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other” (de Certeau, 1980/1984, p. 36). It is appropriating by using power and will that calculate, discriminate, circumscribe and impose so-called *proper* places. Here, the power-holders such as

proprietors, institutions, enterprises, political and militaristic actors dictate the properness of a place to its surroundings and to the ordinary people.

It seems that tactics and strategies diverge from each other in terms of their scope and processes. Strategies are correlated with certainty, order and rules as they aim to create established places for the ones with power via particular objectives and planned actions. Tactics, on the other hand, are not coordinated or planned in detail so, they do not have any determined trajectories. Yet, they do have the capability to change or transform the organization of place in due course of time. In this manner, tactics manifest themselves as a form of behavioral discourse that counters strategies by interacting with the texture of places (see de Certeau, 1980/1984, pp. 37-39). Even though, this counter-stance of tactics against strategies is not enough to demolish an established system and also, the purpose of tactics is not to destroy any strategies. Tactics only contradict strategies while the common people make informal places for themselves within the current system and space by playing and tampering with it. In everyday life, urban space and ordinary people are always intertwined as the individuals reconstruct places by interacting with the spatial attributions and boundaries of the public space. These reconstructions appear in diverse scales from macro to micro as from regions to the staircase of a building or from cities to the surface of a wall. Then, the profound tactics of ordinary people as the acts of informal placemaking may arouse anywhere in the urban space anytime. In accordance with their needs in the quotidian, common people stand against the strategies, impositions, and pre-determined consumption patterns with their subtle tactics and everyday life knowledge. Through the tactics of ordinary people, informal placemaking fractures the objectified and homogenized urban spaces, and it brings out the creative subjects of informal placemaking. As the ordinary people encounter with the strategies of strong, they obtain a further knowledge and experience in the quotidian in which they improve their tactics and enhance the creativity. Consequently, tactics play a fundamental role in the acts of informal placemaking to create a place aligned with the expectations of individuals in the everyday life. Traces of informal placemaking result from these tactical acts in the urban space. People interact with the texture of a space through diverse tactics to create places, and this mundane interaction leaves subtle traces of informal placemaking behind, buried deep inside the ordinary everyday life (see Titley, MacDonald, & Strickfaden, 2013). In this research, the trace introduces a discernible data set to make informal placemaking

partially observable in the urban space. It is partial because these marks, imprints of tactical experiences in urban space, are very accustomed in daily life. Both acts and traces of informal placemaking are received with a universal consent since they appear as a part of human life in public space. Traces tend to melt in the dailiness where the ordinary people live, and the visibility disappears. Yet, human traces are the signifiers, the remnants, of informal placemaking activities. By improvising a methodology, they can be investigated, recognized, and gathered as the data of informal placemaking research. From this perspective, walking methodologies of social sciences offer a great potential because tracing the trace brings the requirement of walking in the field by all means. In this regard, walking while observing and interviewing can be utilized as a research tool in order to gather data in an urban setting. Following that, observational walking and its relation to traces of informal placemaking is discussed in the next subheading to build up a way to conduct the field research in Caferaga neighborhood.

2.2 Observational Walking

We do not belong to those who have ideas only among books, when stimulated by books. It is our habit to think outdoors – walking, leaping, climbing, dancing, preferably on lonely mountains or near the sea where even the trails become thoughtful. Our first questions about the value of a book, of a human being, or a musical composition are: Can they walk? (Nietzsche, 1887/1974, p. 322)

Throughout the history, *walking* has always been adopted across different disciplines from philosophy to urban scholarship with numerous approaches. At first, many writers and philosophers have used walking as a base for their thinking processes. For instance, in his book *A Philosophy of Walking*, Frédéric Gros emphasizes how walking was a precondition to the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's writing as it was more than a pleasure or a fellowship to him (2014, p. 18). Not only Nietzsche's himself, but also his well-known character Zarathustra* kept walking all day long, wandering paths, and climbing mountains to think, to stay awake, to put effort in the movement, and to discover oneself from a detached distance (Gros, 2014, pp. 21-23). From this way of thinking, the

* Zarathustra is the fictional protagonist of Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for All and None* (see Nietzsche, 1883/2006), who travels, thinks, and speaks throughout the book while walking.

individuals employ walking to search for themselves away from people by getting lost in their own thoughts and ideas.

An approach commentating on walking was provided by Walter Benjamin (1969/1973), in which he conceptualized the *flâneur** figure as the archetype of modern urban experience on the basis of French poet Charles Baudelaire. Benjamin's *flâneur* is the one who strolls on the streets and passages where the visual image is abundant, observes, and comprehends the modern city through its images, architecture, and people (Frisby, 1994, pp. 82-83). The *flâneur* is not only an observer but also a creator since he always documents, writes, narrates, or illustrates his observations of urban space (Frisby, 1994, p. 83; Tandaçgündeş, 2012, pp. 106-107). In this regard, the *flânerie* (Fr. the act of walking and observing) appears as an open-ended process that can reveal the changing nature of urban daily life and consumer culture. Hence, Benjamin argues that *flânerie* requires being "abandoned in the crowd" in order to spectate the consumer capitalism and the alienation of urban dwellers in daily life (1969/1973, p. 55). Benjamin's *flâneur* then, can be tailored into an urban researcher with aesthetic and critical concerns, who can comprehend the city by being (walking) in it without any social interactions. In the case of tracing the informal placemaking in an urban setting, the researcher should be detached from the daily routines of inhabitants while being near them bodily. Getting completely involved in daily activities can make the people of the setting easily relatable for the researcher but also this involvement can turn the traces of informal placemaking even harder to observe. It is because one needs to stay aware of human traces in order to recognize these traces that are familiar, common, and accustomed within the fabric of everyday. The characteristic of informal placemaking is already spontaneous, natural, and unplanned, which makes its traces difficult to observe in everyday life. Therefore, staying aware and trying to see the whole picture helps more than getting involved in the activity when it comes to informal placemaking (see Titley, MacDonald, & Strickfaden, 2013). However, this does not mean that researcher should disconnect and stay far away from the setting researched. On this matter, it seems to be convenient to contemplate walking and spectating with de Certeau.

* In French, *flâneur* means stroller, dawdler, idler, or loafer equivalent to the one who wanders and observes the society in urban space.

In his book *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1980/1984), Michel de Certeau thinks on walking after he climbs to the 110th floor of the World Trade Center to see the Manhattan from above. The city from such height lays in front of the spectator like a miniature, a texture as he attains the pleasure of *seeing the whole* away from the crowds of the city. De Certeau questions if this satisfaction comes from seeing the city from so far, and he arrives at the conclusion of human's god complex – as if the spectator acquires an omnipotent, all-seeing-power up from the sky (1980/1984, p. 92). He then, articulates that the image of this panorama is nothing more than an optical artifact, a picture, a produced facsimile that will fade into oblivion; hence, the godlike spectator is doomed to misunderstand the city. To him, the spectator must join the waltz and walk in the city in order to understand it inclusively.

It is hard to be down when you're up. ... The ordinary practitioners of the city live “down below,” below the thresholds at which visibility beings. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, ... whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban “text” they write without being able to read it. (de Certeau, 1980/1984, p. 93, emphases in the original)

To experience the city, the spectator must go down from the building, mingle in the crowd, and keep walking. Walking is the way of becoming one with the city and writing the city unlike reading its visionary representations from above. De Certeau (1980/1984) theorizes walking in the city as a practice of lived space in everyday life. In a similar way to Benjamin (1969/1973), walking is a way of creating, and producing for de Certeau. Yet, to him, the one who walks is not specifically the flâneur, the researcher, but is the ordinary man, anyone and everyone. He mentions how everyday life brims with a certain invisible strangeness in its intertwined social relations (de Certeau, 1980/1984, p. 93). Here, a space of enunciation involving a process of appropriation and a spatial acting-out of the place gets predefined through the movements of pedestrians as they encounter with each other inevitably (Pink, 2007b, p. 244; de Certeau, 1980/1984, pp. 97-99). De Certeau states, “walking affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects ... the trajectories it *speaks*” (1980/1984, p. 99, emphasis in the original). To him, all the modalities such as ethical, logical, legal or epistemological modalities take a part in pedestrian enunciation resulting from the act of walking. Furthermore, the intensity of walking always depends

on the time, the road taken, and the walker. Therefore, there is not one and only kind of a walking in the city as there is not one and only practice of everyday life.

Beside walking holds an important place in de Certeau's study, his reasoning on walking today lays the foundation of walking methodologies for many researchers like Tim Ingold and Sarah Pink. By the beginning of twenty-first century, walking appears increasingly as a research methodology in the contemporary scholarship as a way to gather data through observations (Ingold & Lee-Vergunst, 2008; Kusenbach, 2003; Pink, 2008). As Pierce and Lawhon explain walking is adopted by researchers generally either as an object to be researched or a way to conduct a research (2015, pp. 656-657). As an object of inquiry, primarily the practice of walking is focused by researchers (Middleton, 2009; Wylie, 2005). As a methodology, researchers make use of walking in order to obtain an embodied knowledge which identifies and delineates the questions, important sites, and processes in an urban setting by observing human interactions, physical structures, and social relations during the walks (Anderson, 2004; Evans & Jones, 2011; Pink, 2007b). Pierce and Lawhon define this *observational walking* as "a self-conscious, reflective project of wandering around to better understand an area's physical context, social context, and the spatial practices of its residents" (2015, p. 656). By walking, they imply more than mere movements on foot in the city because walking is also accompanied by the processes of observation, standing, and random place-specific interactions.

In the case of informal placemaking and its traces, observational walking offers a vital opportunity for the sake of observation at the temporal and spatial scales, and enhances researcher's awareness on the traces. The traces of informal placemaking are already subtle and accustomed by the inhabitants in their nature. In this regard, observational walking can assist the researcher to be aware of the place and recognize the traces within its texture. To Ingold, observational walking does not consist of one-directional movements between two destinations but being immersed in an urban setting and perceiving the environment while moving (2011, p. xii). Here, walking provides a physical immersion that raises the recognition of material presences through an experiential flow (see also Edensor, 2010, p. 70). From this point of view, walking in this graduate research study essentially serves as an observational channel. Ingold and Lee also assert that the most fruitful explorations of places can be attained by walking around and through places (2006, p. 68). It is crucial that the researcher maintains an awareness

stage during fieldwork, and does not get too much accustomed to the traces of informal placemaking. While we move and create new routes and paths ahead of us, we maintain our interest and consciousness towards a place, the acts around it and their traces. There is also the potential temporality of traces because people continue their informal placemaking processes during the time that the research is pursued. Considering human interactions in everyday life, it can be assumed that anyone can interact with the trace of an-other so, traces are not fixed points in time and space but dynamic, shapeshifting, and cumulative remnants of frequent informal placemaking activities. Here the observational walking can be conducted in several ways. Firstly, the urban space can be researched through observational walks conducted on random walking routes. The routes are directed spontaneously at the partings of the roads during these walks.* A new non-scribbled clean map of the setting can be used for the structured explorations while taking notes of the roads chosen, so the routes tend to intersect and coincide with each other in the end. As Seamon argues that the researcher here, features as a human instrument steering the unstructured explorations through her own perceptions with a certain uncertainty (2000, p. 164). The spontaneity of routes then, allows for a fluidal research process that offers new walking-derived insights to the researcher. This kind of an observational walking increases the number of encountered traces in general, but it lacks the comprehension of temporospatial dimensions of human traces. As explained before, traces of informal places are not stable or unchanging. The acts of informal placemaking and their remnants accumulates over time at a particular spot in the urban space. Then, conducting an informal placemaking research on random routes means missing out the changes in place, trace, and activities. Therefore, the qualitative fieldwork of this research has been sustained through pre-determined walking routes (for the selection of routes in detail see Chapter 3).

In order to explore acts and traces of informal placemaking, an active field research in the related space is inevitable. By walking the same route in a specific urban space repeatedly, the subtly of human traces can be outsmarted in both temporal and spatial scales. The observational walking in this research is basically a way to gather the data of traces and

* The Situationist International (SI) – a group of avant-garde intellectuals and artists formed mainly under the influence of Dada and Surrealism in 1957 – had embraced a similar walking randomly practice in particular geographical environments to study the behaviors and emotions of individuals and combine objective and subjective knowledge together (for more information see McDonough, 2005).

acts of informal placemaking by making non-participatory* observations while walking in the neighborhood. Thus, this research practice calls for a systematic documentation of the traces of informal placemaking and its makers' activities on action during observational walks. As Pierce and Lawhon mention, the researchers who engage in sustained urban explorations and personal observations during their fieldworks should document and report the data collection explicitly in order to highlight the aspects of their research (2015, p. 658). Depending on the creativity of the researcher and the appropriateness of the study, there have been different ways of documentation in social sciences such as walking diaries over a period of time (Ingold & Lee, 2006, p. 68), digital recording by photographing, filming, or sound recording (see Pink, 2007a, 2007b), and so on. In this regard, both the acts and traces of informal placemaking were decided to be documented via digital photography and field notes on the route maps with an aim of creating a data collection regarding Caferağa neighborhood. As it is utilized in many social researches, the observational walking in this research was used in a combination of observations and interviews. Human traces of informal placemaking are in need of a further articulation and interpretation after their observation to deduce the informal placemaking activity that has left traces behind in the urban space. It can be asserted that human traces can provide a knowledge on the acts of informal placemaking without witnessing the moment when activities are taking place. Here, the trace makes the invisible and accustomed informal placemaking acts reachable and obtainable. Besides, it is open for misinterpretations when the acts of informal placemaking are only observed directly in the place because simple observations from a distance tend to bear a subjective data explication. Therefore, non-participant observations were blended with unstructured and spontaneous interviews conducted at the moments of encounters with any individuals on action (for further information on these interviews see Chapter 3). As a consequence of adapting the observational walking with interviews, the data collection of human traces and acts of informal placemaking allows us to make relatively objective deductions that raise a word about the neighborhood.

* Observational walking can also be practiced through participatory observations while walking with an interviewee in a particular space in order to have a profound understanding of the interviewee's experience in that space (e.g. see O'Neill & McHugh, 2017).

3. INFORMAL PLACEMAKING IN CAFERAĞA

In this chapter, acts and traces of informal placemaking that were documented during field researches in Caferağa are presented, discussed and interpreted. Figure 3.1 below, illustrates the word cloud designed when the writing of this chapter was finished. First of all, the present-day socio-spatial state of the neighborhood is represented by focusing on the last decade of Caferağa. The determination of two walking routes, and implementation of field research utilizing observational walking and interviews are explained particularly. Then, traces of informal placemaking are interpreted according to emerging patterns around the acts of informal placemaking in Caferağa. Additionally, encountered stances against informal placemaking acts are discussed under the related sections. Finally, maps and visuals are created according to the data collection in order to explore temporospatial dimension of the informal placemaking activities and traces in Caferağa.

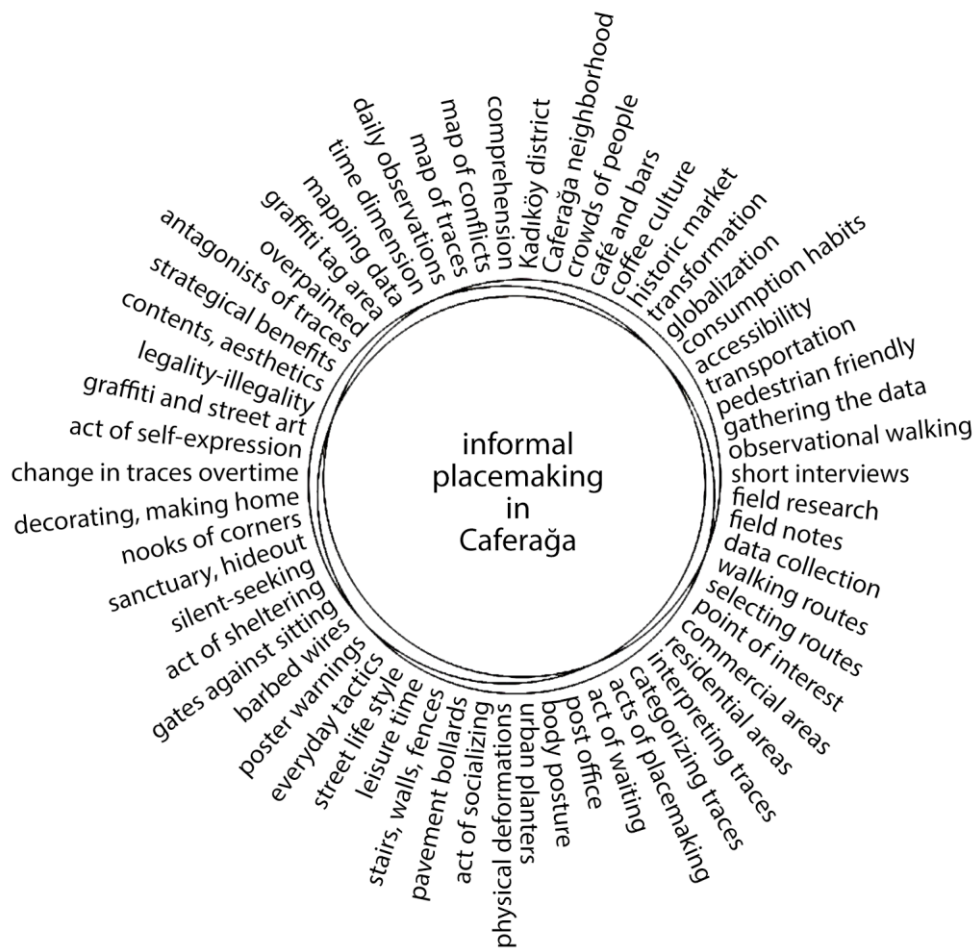


Figure 3.1. The word cloud of the case study (Source: Personal Illustration)

Here, “everyone” appears as all age groups and socioeconomic segments, which shows the high-tolerant mindsets of the people of Kadıköy. According to Firidin Özgür et al., the people in Kadıköy accept the urban space as an open public space where everybody have the right to perform their constitutional rights and express themselves (2017, p. 50).

The field research area, Caferağa neighborhood, is the central district of Kadıköy that is located at the southwest of Kadıköy and surrounded on south, north, and west sides by the Marmara Sea (see Figure 3.3). The neighborhood consists of over 2300 buildings used



Figure 3.3. The satellite view of Caferağa neighborhood

(Source: Accessed on May 24, 2019 from Google Earth, n.d.)

for the purposes of both residency and retail (Kadıköy Municipality, 2017, p. 51). Figure 3.4 below shows the urban structure of the neighborhood via focusing separately on the street (a) and the building (b) layouts. The Caferağa neighborhood is chosen as the field research area because it is convenient for informal placemaking to take place as it is vibrant, easy to reach with various public transport options, and pedestrian friendly.



Figure 3.4. (a) Street layout (b) Building layout of Caferağa neighborhood

(Source: Created based on the data provided by Google, 2019)

First of all, the neighborhood is a nest of restaurants, cafés, coffeehouses, bars, and pubs, which makes it crowded and lively at any time during any day. People mostly prefer this neighborhood to meet with their friends, socialize, have a meal, shop, relax, and watch around (Firidin Özgür et al., 2017, p. 50). The fabric of urban space in the neighborhood makes a vibrant urban life possible as both the residents and passersby can encounter with different people and make new acquaintances on the street. Although the flow of crowd in the neighborhood remains unchanged, the consumption habits of its residents and visitors go through many changes under the influence of globalization. Since 1980s, Istanbul has been playing a crucial role for the country with an aim of attaining a place in

the global market. As Keyder argues even though the globalization in Istanbul has been progressing slower* than the global cities like New York and London, the impact of globalization can be sensed considering global flows of capital, ideas, signs, people, and information in the city (1999, pp. 33-34). As the central district of Kadıköy, Caferağa has been encountering with effects of globalization on the ways of thinking and acting which created new urban spaces and consumer culture. Today, many global companies from popular fashion brands like Nike and Adidas to global fast-food chains like McDonalds and Burger King, have one or few workplaces for themselves in the neighborhood.

In the last decade, Caferağa has been keeping up with different consumption patterns and Turkey's everchanging economic conditions by either wearing many faces or remaining unchanged. Some of the attractions in the neighborhood such as the Akmar Arcade with second-hand book and music stores, the Kadıköy historical market with spice sellers and fishmongers, some known local restaurants, and Tellalzade Street with antique sellers have stayed nearly the same over time. Meanwhile, plenty of space has gone through rapid changes. Although Kadife Street was the one and only bar street in Caferağa before, there are now several bar streets like Osmercik Street with vibrant nightlife among the neighborhood. In the last decade, Caferağa has kept pace with the trends emerging in social life like a chameleon changing its colors. Bookstores turned into home appliance stores, shoe stores turned into restaurants, clothing shops turned into cafés, and then cafés turned into other cafés. The third wave of coffee has become a trend and influenced the consumption patterns in the neighborhood. To explain it briefly, third wave of coffee movement favors coffee as an exclusive, high quality, artisanal drink like a wine instead of a commodity. Here, there is a stance against the commodified coffee culture imposed by global companies like Starbucks. Thus, the coffeehouses of third wave tend to offer their customers a small and intimate place. Manzo observes that an authentic and organic social experience emerges between the customers and employees in these third wave coffeehouses (2015, pp. 749-750). In these cafés, it is the lifestyles that people consume

* Keyder argues that because of the uncertain and ambivalent attitude of Turkish government towards privatization, foreign and transnational investors always approach Istanbul cautiously, which is why the city's globalization-in-progress has been slowed down since 90s, and Istanbul could not have turned into a global city properly (for more information see Keyder, 1999; see also Aksoy, 2008).

(see Figure 3.5). At first glance, the café culture that thrived in the Caferağa neighborhood through small and medium sized local enterprises seems to counterpose the globalization.



Figure 3.5. “Hane Chocolate and Coffee” in Caferağa (July 1, 2019)

As Aksoy argues that it is crucial to equipose fundamentalist neoliberalism in order to direct the emerging cultures towards a democratic enhancement that can empower the disadvantaged and the excluded in the city (2008, pp. 82-83). In this regard, the neighborhood appears as the glocal by holding both the global and the local within itself. However, having a themed café one after another on the corner of every streets and consuming trending lifestyles turns the authenticity of experiences into a controversial topic.* Apart from this debatable issue, Caferağa stands still, adapts to the changing consumption habits, and continues attracting people. The crowd never ends as the residents and visitors continue to consume whether old or new lifestyles that the neighborhood contains within its glocal self. Hence, the neighborhood remains as a destination for many people to spend time and interact with the physical texture of neighborhood. Figure 3.6 below demonstrates the flows of people in Caferağa.

* For the debates on authenticity of urban places see Zukin, 2010, pp. 220-246.



Figure 3.6. The crowd in the Muvakkıthane Street at Caferağa (July 1, 2019, 18:20)

The other reason of selecting Caferağa neighborhood as the research area is that it is one of the most accessible districts via diverse public transport options in Istanbul (see Figure 3.7). Before 2010, it has already been an easy to reach urban space with the Kadıköy public bus station, minibus station and the ferry stations located in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, it has become more accessible and crowded after the opening of underground metro station in August 2012, and the opening of Marmaray connected to the city metro in October 2013. The nostalgic tram is also preferred by many people both for transportation and sight-seeing in the neighborhood. All of these transportation facilities make Caferağa an urban space of choice to visit or live in. Additionally, the easy to reach characteristic of the neighborhood flourishes the daily output of field research for the researcher by decreasing the time spent for transportation, increasing the time spent while gathering data, and enabling more frequent visits to the neighborhood.

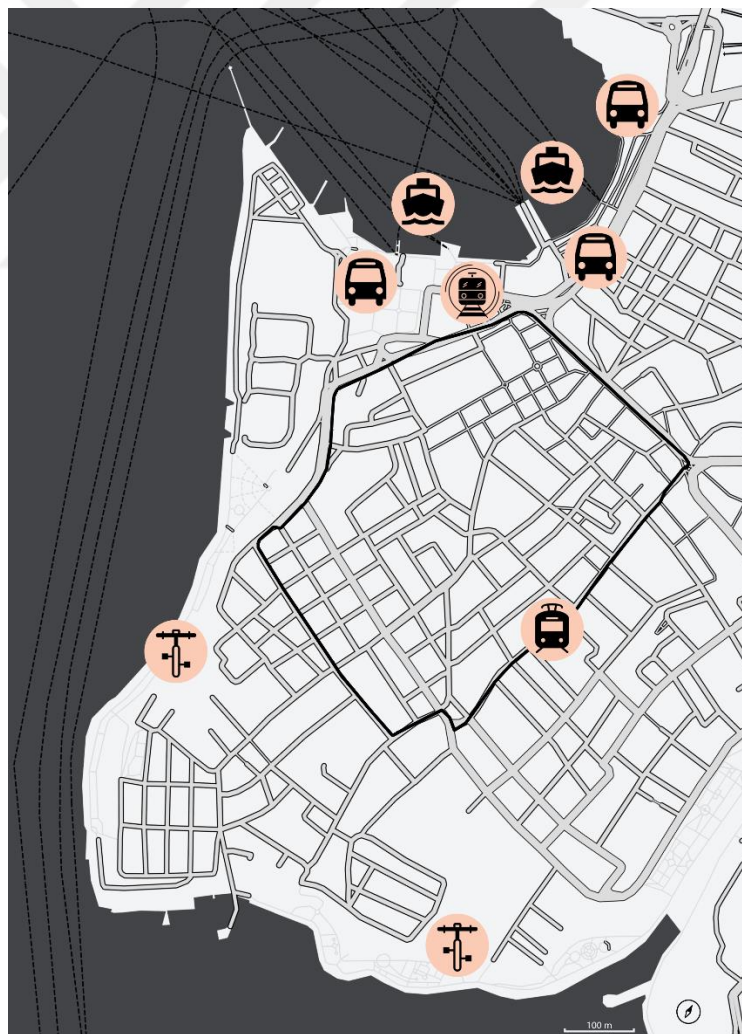


Figure 3.7. Transportation options in Caferağa (Source: Created from base map)

Aside from the accessibility of the neighborhood from outside of the district, Caferağa is highly in favor of the pedestrians with its narrow pedestrianised streets and pavement bollards built to prevent any cars parking on the pavements and invading the pedestrian area. Özbil, Yeşiltepe, and Argın report that the street network configuration and non-residential land use stimulate walking in the neighborhood (2015, pp. 200-203). Caferağa consists of many commercialized streets on the ground level with cafés, restaurants, and shops attracting dense movements of pedestrians. The flow of people walking on the streets makes the neighborhood vibrant and very crowded (see Figure 3.6). Moreover, the spatial structure in residential areas also encourages the walking (see Figure 3.8). Since the neighborhood is easy to reach via public transport and easy to walk around, it presents a convenient urban space for people to visit and hang around. This pedestrian friendly characteristic of neighborhood enriches the spatial experience in urban space that can result in informal placemaking activities. As people walk, they interact with the physical space and make decisions to feel themselves comfortable in the urban space by making a place for themselves.



Figure 3.8. A view from residential area in Caferağa (July 1, 2019)

3.2. Gathering the Data

As explained in the second chapter, human traces of informal placemaking in Caferağa neighborhood is the focused data set of this qualitative case study. The most appropriate way to explore these traces is determined as walking in the neighborhood frequently because only by frequent walks the subtlety of traces can be outsmarted in temporal and spatial scales. Starting from this point of view, at first, frequent visits to the neighborhood and random walks were conducted. During these walks, each time a non-scribbled clean map of the neighborhood was used and walking routes were decided spontaneously at the partings of the roads during each walk. By using a new map, the aim was to prevent structured explorations and coincide the routes with each other by overlapping the roads randomly, so the researcher's awareness on traces is maintained. However, these random walks were time consuming and redundant. It was understood that walking the whole neighborhood was unnecessary in this research because similar traces were being encountered on different streets. The temporal nature of the traces was also unobservable through random routes. Therefore, it was decided to carry on gathering the data on selected walking routes in which space-time and human dimensions could also be included in the research.

In this regard, two different routes were determined as walking routes to conduct research in consideration of the Point-of-Interest (POI) areas in the neighborhood. Basically, a POI is a particular physical location that a person may find interesting to visit such as restaurants, cafés, bars, bookstores, shopping areas, malls, grocery stores, retail stores, business offices, government buildings, transit stations, museums, landmarks, and so on (see Angkhawey & Muangsin, 2018, para. 1). POI data is an outcome of location-based services which gained importance and advanced rapidly by the rise of Internet of Things (IoT)* in the early twenty-first century. To illustrate simply, a device with internet connection such as a smart phone collects the users' location information by tracking and recording their daily routes, and then, a map application like Google Maps installed on the same device gathers that location information of users to use it for further data analysis and predictions. In fact, there are numerous ways of collecting the POI data as these

* Internet of Things (IoT) is the interconnection of computing devices implanted in everyday objects, which enables sending and receiving data between these objects through the Internet (for more information see Greengard, 2015).

services are popular among users, and different platforms tend to feed each other. For instance, Global Positioning System (GPS) tracking data, search histories and encouraged user reviews on the search engines like Baidu and Google, the user check-ins on Location-Based Social Networks (LBSNs) like Foursquare and TripAdvisor, and even Wi-Fi access logs in any places can provide POI data to be distributed around the globe (see Aliannejadi & Crestani, 2018; Angkhawey & Muangsin, 2018; Hang, Pytlarz, & Neville, 2018; Zhao, Lyu, & King, 2018). According to Liu, Andris, and Rahimi, as millions of people voluntarily check in their locations on social media platforms like Facebook and Instagram each day, and share their photographs with location tags, and reviews specific locations on these platforms by commenting and rating with stars, the urban POI data harvested from such voluntary user interactions accumulates highly accurate and reliable location information (2019, p. 147). POI data is particularly used to make predictions and recommendations on user behaviors at different times and locations with the purposes of advertising and personalization – if you liked this place, *you might also like* that place.

In this research, the Point-of-Interest data of the neighborhood has provided the location information showing where people most likely prefer to visit in Caferağa. As shown in Figure 3.9, a Point-of-Interest map of Caferağa neighborhood is prepared according to the data provided by Google Places API of Google Maps Platform*. In this map, POI buildings are gathered in the commerce and service areas such as Kadıköy historical market area and café-bar condensed streets; meanwhile, non-POI buildings are mainly gathered in the residential areas. Based on the POI map, two different walking routes are determined as one to be more in the commercial area, and other more in the residential area (see Figure 3.10). At this point, the choice of routes was also stimulated through the insight that has been acquired during the random routes of walking. Additionally, both routes are structured as they remain under ten thousand steps** in order to prevent any fatigue from walking and physical limitations. By that way, the continuity of research was well-maintained as the time-spent in the neighborhood was balanced enough for frequent field research trips.

* For more information, visit the following url: <https://developers.google.com/places/web-service/intro>

** The research has shown that between 7500-10000 steps per day provides the healthy amount of physical activity for healthy adults who are “somewhat active” in their life (see Tudor-Locke & Bassett, 2004, p. 6).



Figure 3.9. Point-of-Interest (POI) map of Caferağa neighborhood
(Source: Created based on the POI data provided by Google Places API, 2019)



Figure 3.10. Two determined walking routes in the neighborhood
(Source: Created from the POI map of neighborhood)

During this study, research focused visits took place mainly in April, May and June, 2019. Some of these visits had been random and unstructured, mostly as explorations in the neighborhood. After determining the two walking routes, the observational walks were conducted systematically on May 16, 21, 25, 2019 and June 15 – 26, 2019. In general, observations were carried out during one of the three different times of a day (06:00 – 12:00, 12:00 – 18:00, 18:00 – 24:00) on each of the field research days. Besides these observations, brief interviews were conducted whenever a *placemaker** was encountered in action. The research would be inevitably subjective and open to misinterpretations if it was conducted only by non-participant observations. Through impromptu interviews, it was aimed to learn when and why people make or use a particular place, see the reasons behind the daily tactics of people, and unravel the unnoticed dimensions of traces objectively. These interviews consisted of open-ended questions such as “why do you sit here?”, “when/how frequent do you spend time in here?”. During the field research, the observations were documented via field notes and photographs (see Figure 3.11). Since all the interviews were conducted briefly, they were noted down by hand, and no digital sound records were taken.



Figure 3.11. An example of the field notes taken during a walk (June 16, 2019)

* Here, *placemaker* is referred as the person who makes an informal place, and leaves a trace behind.

3.3. Interpretation of the Traces

During the data gathering stage of the research, several concepts started to emerge around the data collection. At the first categorization attempt, the data was grouped under five themes as pavement bollards, graffiti, stairs, corners, and waiting spots (see Figure 3.12); however, these themes were not compatible with each other. While one was focusing on objects like pavement bollards, another was focusing on places and locations like waiting spots, so the first categorization was consisted of apples and oranges together. Yet, it was supportive during field research visits by providing a resource for the coding to be used in the field notes such as q for graffiti, p for pavement bollard, w for waiting spots, etc. The main problem in that categorization was that some of the data collected were not befitting to any of its groups, which was not desirable since all of the data was non-negligible. After scrutinizing the emerging patterns, the final categorization shown in Figure 3.13, was determined to be followed in the interpretations.

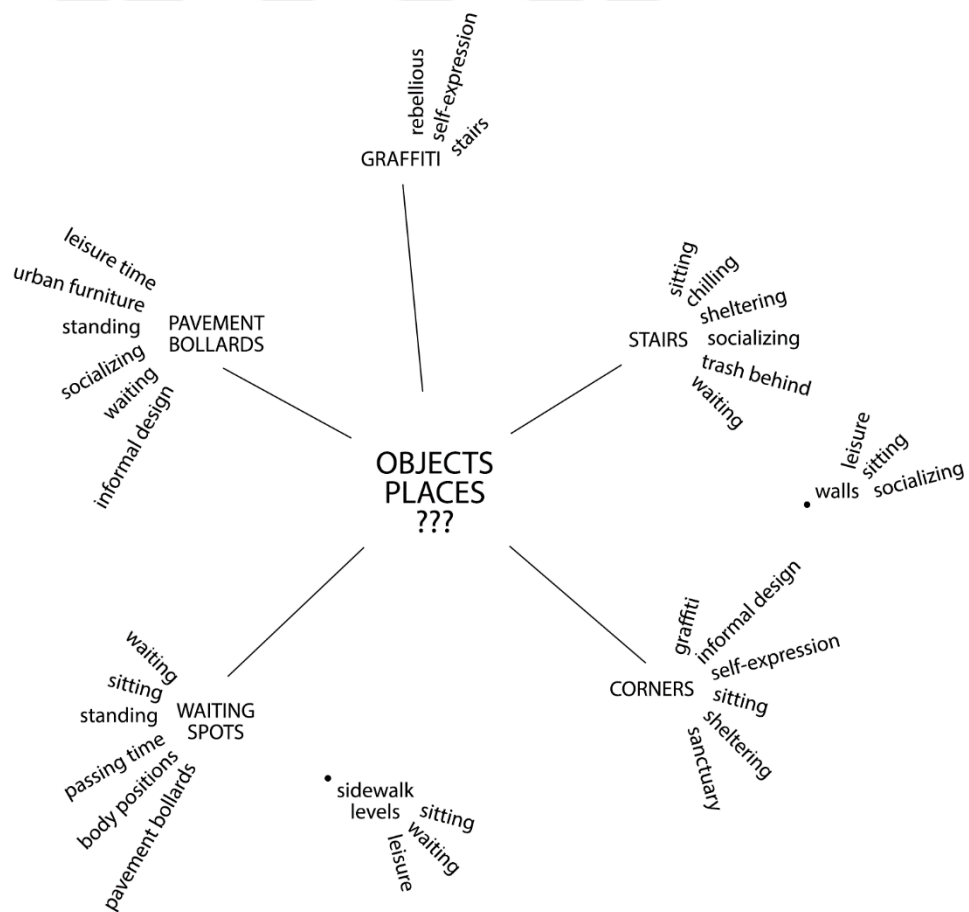


Figure 3.12. The first categorization attempt (Source: Personal Illustration)

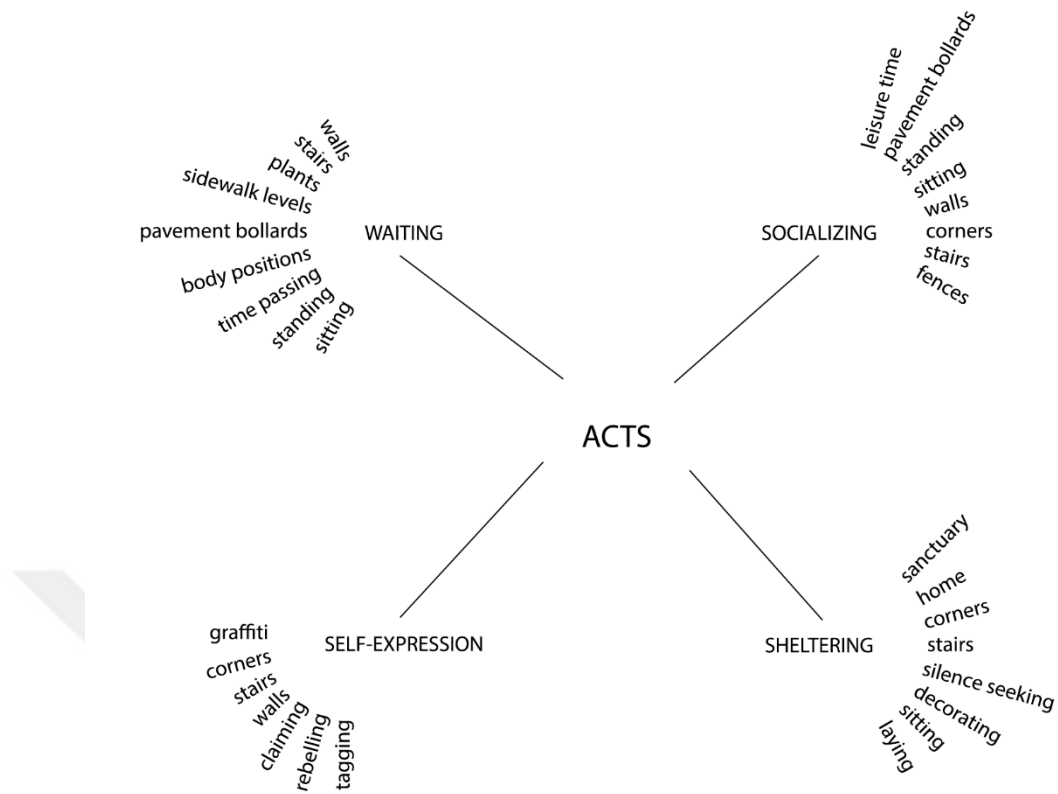


Figure 3.13. The final categorization of traces (Source: Personal Illustration)

The final categorization was developed according to the actions that evoke and create an informal placemaking activity. Based on the data collection, these acts are observed to be *waiting*, *socializing*, *sheltering*, and *self-expression*. Here, everything works mutually in both ways. People make informal places to perform these acts, and while people perform these acts, they also create informal places. The ways of acting however, the paths taken, differs through the tactics of ordinary people. All of the choices, all of the decisions matter in informal placemaking as they create micro changes in the texture of space. In the following four subsections, each of these categories are interpreted in accordance with the data gathered via observations and interviews conducted in Caferağa neighborhood.

3.3.1. Waiting

In Caferağa, the act of waiting appears concentratedly in locations such as areas around the post office, Rexx cinema, and areas close to ferries, busses, and metro stations. All of these areas serve as a meeting point for the people who wait for their acquaintances. Here, informal placemaking arouses from behaviors and choices of people waiting in the urban

space, and from their interactions with the physical texture of that space. As the space crowded with strangers holds a daunting experience in itself, people make short instants of places for themselves while waiting through various tactics. In the duration of waiting, everybody chooses the most comfortable posture at the most comfortable spot in the urban space. The definition of *the most comfortable* is dependent on the person, since human behavior, characters and choices vary regarding different individuals. Where and how they wait, why and when they wait on that spot, what kind of traces they leave behind were the main considerations during observations and interviews. For instance, as seen in Figure 3.14 below, people had left traces while waiting next to the post office building as a consequence of bodily interactions with the surface. From these traces, it can be deduced that there had been some people standing by leaning on and putting their feet on the wall.

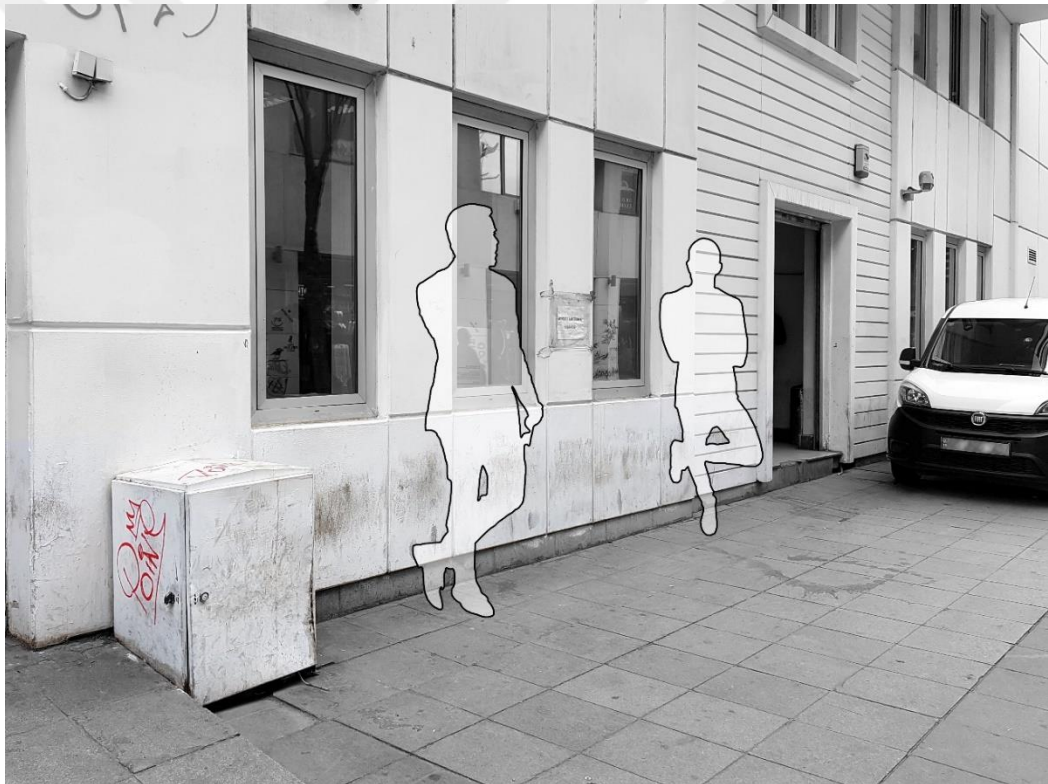


Figure 3.14. Traces of waiting next to the post office (April 12, 2019)

However, it was not completely deducible if these traces were resulted from the act of waiting or something else. To explore, areas around these traces were observed frequently during the field research, and people were noted very often waiting next to the post office.

Usually, two to five people wait around the area (see Figure 3.15). It is not as crowded as in front of the post office, but a space of preference to wait. Moreover, one of the reasons



Figure 3.15. Two people waiting next to the post office (July 1, 2019)

it is preferred for waiting is in fact it is away from the crowd of front side. On one of the field research days, an individual was asked for the reason of waiting on that spot. He answered as* “I’ll meet up a friend. When I wait on that side [points towards the front side of the post office], surveyors come to talk. Well, this time couldn’t escape though, you’ve caught [smiles]” (Interviewee A, June 17, 2019, 14:20). There are volunteers of Greenpeace, UNICEF, and WWF informing and convincing the people waiting in front of the post office to become regular donators. The interviewee A mentions about them as surveyors. Before the interview, he was leaning with a foot on the wall, and hands in the pockets. At first glance, he looked really comfortable. He was blending in with the space via his body, making a place for himself in that particular spot. When he started to be approached by the researcher, his posture changed into standing straight with both feet on the ground, and he crossed his arms. In body language, a crossed arm means the person

* All interviews were conducted in Turkish, and are translated to English in text by the writer.

is closed to communication and does not want to be approached. However, his hands were not holding his arms, but were hugging his body. This happens when someone is getting strength from one's own body. He was nervous because of the researcher – the stranger. After the brief interview, he did not go back to his previous posture. He leaned his back on the wall with both feet on the ground, legs at an angle, and played with his phone (for a similar posture see Figure 3.16). The reason he chose that spot was because it was away from crowd and the people who might want to talk to him. The “bold” and “cool” body posture was a tactic in making a place which allowed him to fit in the vast of urban space filled with strangers. The researcher created a disturbance by entering in this informal micro-place which ended up with a shy smile and a change in the posture.

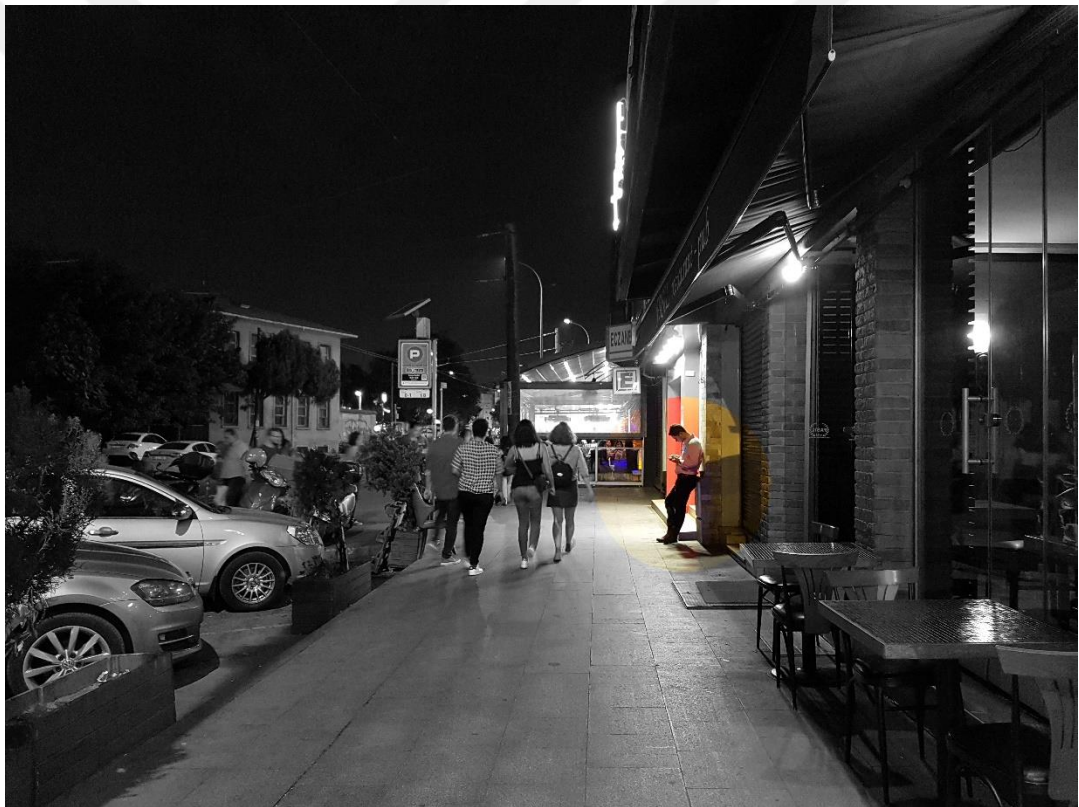


Figure 3.16. A man leaning his back on a wall (June 21, 2019)

The poses that are assertive and bold tend to leave traces behind because there is more bodily interaction with the physical structure of space than in a simple standing or sitting position. For instance, there is a young man with his foot on the pavement bollard, his leg making a ninety-degree angle in Figure 3.17. Depending on the individual, everybody has

their own tactics at the moments of waiting. Some embrace bold poses drawing attention, some stand still modestly, some sit or stand with the crowd, and some stay away from it.



Figure 3.17. People waiting in front of the post office (June 17, 2019)

In front of the post office, there are always people waiting by sitting on the doorstep (see Figure 3.18). There are many benches few meters away from this spot. Yet, people prefer to sit on the doorstep than sitting on these benches. People who are sitting on these benches are in fact, are observed to be not waiting but just resting from shopping in the neighborhood. One of the sitting interviewees who was waiting for his relative was asked for the reason of sitting on that spot. He explained that his relative told him to meet up at the post office, the benches were too hot, the doorstep was blowing gently, it was *comfy*, and everybody was waiting here (Interviewee B, June 17, 2019, 14:06). The day of this interview was a hot summer day, and the bench area was exposed under sun, so staying in the shadow was a good option while waiting. On the other hand, some of the benches stay under shadow of the plants, and was being used at the moment of interview. It was also observed during the field research visits when the weather was pleasant, neither hot nor cold, that the bench area usually is not used for the act of waiting. As the interviewee

clearly stated that his relative wanted to meet *here* and everybody was waiting *here*. Over the time, the post office in Caferağa, has become a place of meeting for everyone – *let's meet up at the post office*. Both the ferry and bus stations are very close, and one of the exits of metro station is right crossed the street in front of the post office. People usually meet up there, then go together to wherever they have planned to go in Caferağa.



Figure 3.18. People waiting in front of the post office (June 17, 2019)

The traces resulting from the acts of waiting are also distinguished to be cumulative rather than occurring all at once. For instance, traces shown in Figure 3.14, have become as they are on that photograph after many people used the same area in similar ways which left marks of foot prints on the wall day by day. Until the wall is painted over as an action taken against the trace, it is going to remain existing as a present-absent. In the same vein, traces of waiting were observed in the neighborhood also as a consequence of sitting on the planters over a period of time while waiting. People usually sit on one particular side of a planting pot. As a result, the plant's leaves fall over time, and do not grow on the side that people choose to sit. In Figure 3.19 below, traces of sitting and waiting can be seen on the corner of a planter. An individual who was sitting on another planting pot was

asked for the reason of sitting on that spot. He explained why he had chosen that specific planter as *it was appropriate for sitting*, he was waiting for his friend to come by ferry, and the area around the ferry station was *too crowded* for him (Interviewee C, November 7, 2018, 13:10). However, there were a lot of benches near that planter, and nobody was sitting there at the moment of this interview. When he was asked about the benches, he simply said “ah, they don’t face to ferries, but this [the planter] does”. Here is the issue:



Figure 3.19. Traces of waiting on a plant (April 12, 2019)

benches not facing towards the ferry station is all dependent to someone’s point of view. This man could sit on the side of a bench in a way that he would face towards the station and be closer to the ferries. Yet, he has chosen the planter. He was also holding his phone in his hand. Before he was approached, he was chatting with someone on the phone via text messages. When he was talking about waiting for his friend, he naturally moved his hand up and showed his phone with a gesture like the phone was the person he was waiting. Maybe he was chatting with that friend, or maybe not. He could have sat on one of the benches and inform his friend about waiting in the bench area. Yet, he has chosen the planter to sit. Just like him, many others did the same before, so the plant had become

an *appropriate place for sitting*. These traces of informal placemaking then, make these spots more inviting for the action to take place. By the time, a planter can become more tempting to sit than a bench.

Traces arising from the physical interactions and bodily positions also appear as physical damage and deformations on the objects. Figure 3.20 below, shows a ventilation duct in front of a hiking equipment store. According to the shopkeeper, the duct was deformed by different people waiting in front of the store more than two years ago. As it was functioning without issues, the store did not take any actions to repair it. Moreover, the shopkeeper stated that it would be unnecessary to fix it since someone *always* wait there because of the retail shop nearby (Interviewee D, April 18, 2019, 13:45). From this point of view, even if the duct was repaired, it would get deformed in a short span of time.



Figure 3.20. Traces of waiting on a ventilation duct (April 18, 2019)

Then, people may choose a particular spot as a place for themselves to wait due to various reasons. Crowdedness is one of these reasons as some people prefer to stay away from the strangers in order to be comfortable in the space. Body positions and postures are also the tactics used frequently to escape any discomfort, blend in the surroundings, and feel

confident. Physical and environmental aspects like appropriateness for sitting or standing, location of the spot, and temperature are again other influencers on the choices. Iterations of the same tactics accumulate human traces in chosen places over time. Whether as a deformation or a change in the physical texture of space, traces of informal placemaking may arouse a temptation that directs the acts of waiting, and invites people.

3.3.2. Socializing

Traces originating from the act of socializing as an informal placemaking activity appear scattered around certain objects and surfaces like pavement bollards, stairs, walls, fences, and so on. In a similar way to waiting, informal placemaking here, arouses from behaviors and choices of people spending their time in the place by interacting both with each other and the texture of space. Traces emerge as deformations on the physical environment and trash such as cigarette litters and empty tin cans left in the place. People choose particular spots in the urban space to have a conversation and spend time together. These choices differ from one to another depending on the personal tactics and preferences.

As mentioned before, Caferağa is a pedestrian friendly neighborhood with its pavement bollards and narrow pedestrianised streets. Pavement bollards with a few different designs are built by the municipality in almost every street in the neighborhood in order to prevent cars parking and invading the sidewalks. During field research, some of these pavement bollards were noticed to be broken due to various reasons like wear caused by weather conditions over time, people kicking, cars bumping, and so on. Below, Figure 3.21 presents some examples of broken pavement bollards in Caferağa. As it can be seen from the figure, these bollards are made out of metal in various cylindrical forms. Besides their different shapes, all of them have been broken from their top. It is within the bounds of possibility that some of the tops may be removed by some people to scavenge and sell for their material. Anyways, it is not in our concern how or why they had been broken. What is significant here is that how they are being used today. All of the broken pavement bollards now, function as ashtrays and small litter bins (see Figure 3.21). There is almost no broken pavement bollard left unused in the neighborhood. During their cleaning shifts, dustmen of the municipality are observed emptying the cigarette litter by their gloved hands. Here, an urban object morphs into an informal design object with a change in its

use and meaning. Many of the bollards were observed to be social gathering spots for the people who work nearby. During their lunch times, people of a street gather and stand around broken pavement bollards, rather smoke together, socialize, and make an informal place for themselves. After their socializing *session*, they all throw away their cigarettes into the broken bollard, leave the cigarette litters behind as the traces of informal placemaking, and go back to their workplaces either together or separately.



Figure 3.21. Some of the broken pavement bollards in Caferağa (April 12, 2019)

On one of the field research days, two interviews were conducted at the Serasker main street where there are both pavement bollards and benches along the street. Many retail shops, souvenir stores, off-brand clothing shops, restaurants and snack bars align along

that street. People working at these workplaces are observed spending their leisure times around particular broken pavement bollards on daily basis during field research visits. Some prefer standing in front of a bollard that is closer to their workplace as some others choose to sit on a specific bench because of a broken bollard. One of the interviews was conducted with a group of two people standing around a bollard. It was observed that these two people with another third person – who turned back to his workplace when the researcher approached for an interview – were using the same broken bollard on different field research days at certain times. Each of them works in different stores, and gathers around the bollard during their break times to spend it together. That bollard is not a middle point between their workplaces. In fact, they get out of different buildings, pass some other broken bollards, and walk towards to that specific bollard to stand around. When they were asked for the reason of standing on that spot, they answered as “the *ashtray* is here” (Interviewees E&F, June 19, 2019, 12:25). It was not a broken pavement bollard in their eyes, it was an *ashtray*. When other bollards were pointed out, they asserted that they do not use only that bollard but also the ones around the bench area. However, they had never been observed around any other bollard during any of the field research days. They simply use that bollard – *the ashtray* each day on lunch time as a habitual activity. Even though the benches are empty, they choose to stand in front of *their* bollard. There is nothing particular about that bollard they can state. It is a simple, ordinary broken pavement bollard (same as Figure 3.21). Its surroundings, aspects of the physical environment around it, the light, the wind, the sun, and everything are same as the other bollards in the street. If one of them would say that he could see his crush working in that other store from this bollard, it would make sense. Yet, that was not the case. They do not watch any particular person but only talk to each other and smoke together almost every day. Once upon a time, they had started to gather around that *ashtray*, and then, they just continued doing the same every other day.

The other interview was conducted with two people who were observed preferring a particular bench with a broken bollard again on a daily basis. There are benches and pavement bollards aligned on the upper part of the street. The bollard nearby one of these benches is the only broken bollard around the bench area (see Figure 3.22). These two people, almost each day, get outside of their workplaces, pass few empty benches, walk, and go for the bench with a broken pavement bollard to sit and chat while smoking. When



Figure 3.22. Bench with a broken pavement bollard (April 12, 2019)

they were asked for the reason of choosing that bench, one of them answered as “I dunno, out of habit, I guess. We always sit on this bench”, while the other one interrupted proudly “We don’t throw cigarette butts to the floor this way. We always smoke at this bench at noon. We are using the *pole* as a trash bin to not throw on the floor.” (Interviewees G&H, June 19, 2019, 13:47). Here, the *ashtray* has become a *pole*.^{*} While it was just out of habit for one of them, it was because of the broken bollard for the other. After people start using a certain spot each day, they get used to it, and accept the place as it is. They keep making the same place over and over on the same spot while they become a part of the place they make. Interviewee H was very proud of not throwing any litter on the street. By using the broken bollard, she was feeling herself as a responsible individual. By the virtue of a *pole*, the bench was enabling a place where she could be who she wanted to be. This bench (see Figure 3.22) is also considered to be the same bench that was mentioned before by the interviewees E and F since there are no other broken pavement bollards around.

^{*} The words “ashtray” and “pole” are translated from “küllük” and “direk” in Turkish as they were used by the interviewees.

The Tellalzade Street is where many antique stores line up from end to end in Caferağa. Early in the mornings, all of the stores are closed, and the street is like a zone of silence with all the shutters down and no humans around. There are again, pavement bollards aligned everywhere along the street. None of them are broken, but new either. Towards noon, the street starts to breathe as the stores open one after another. Some products are laid outside to display as chairs and tables are put outside of the stores. The shopkeepers in this street do not spend their time inside the stores. Some sit on the stairs in front of doors, some sit on the chairs they put outside. They just watch people passing by, read newspaper, chat with each other, drink tea, and sometimes play backgammon together (see Figure 3.23). Their acts of socializing turn the street into a calm and peaceful but very lively street. Some of them were asked about the times they sit on the street to understand if it was only special for the summer. The answer was “Summer or winter, we sit here as long as the weather is pleasant. It feels suffocated inside, it’s healthier in the open air. Besides, we see some human face in this way.” (Interviewee I, June 17, 2019, 15:25). Communicating with each other, engaging with people, having conversations until the closing time is how they spend their every day. For them, sitting outside of their stores is a tactic both to engage with the customers and escape the dullness of daily life. As they sit outside, they catch the sight of customers easily. All of them are very friendly towards everyone. It is not only them who sit outside, but also their customers. They all have a spare spot for their customers. When asked about how frequent they sit together with the customers, one of them answered as:

Our job is an old-timer job. There aren’t many younglings. New generation especially doesn’t understand. Our customer is also old as our job. We know whom is who. Well, our customers have become our friends after so long time. They mostly come for a talk not for shopping. We sit, drink tea, and chat together. (Interviewee J, June 17, 2019, around 15:30)

It holds an importance for them to offer a place to sit and some black Turkish tea to the elderly customers. They create a place in the urban space for themselves that includes the whole street by spending time outside together each day. As one expressed, “Either inside or outside, where we sit doesn’t matter. This street is our *home*.” (Interviewee K, June 17, 2019, 15:40). To them, this street – *home*, makes their world and experiences in daily life more meaningful. As this home embraces the street, anyone who passes by is a welcomed guest in their world.



Figure 3.23. Shopkeepers of antique stores in Tellalzade Street (June 17, 2019)

The traces of informal placemaking emerging in Tellalzade street are considerably subtle and accustomed in the neighborhood. At first glance, traces are not observable directly at all. It is because traces in this street are not material remnants but the inhabitants and passersby themselves. At the closing time, everyone gathers their chairs, tables, and displays from outside, puts them in their stores, and closes their shutters down. Through the evening and night, the street echoes with the sounds of café and bars around. The traces of informal placemaking therefore, appear as the very self of human in Tellalzade street. Meanwhile, many leave traces behind on various places at the other streets of Caferağa. Stairs for instance, in front of the buildings are one of the most favorable spots preferred frequently for the acts of socializing regardless of time. People tend to sit on the stairs to have a conversation in relatively more private spaces. The pocket like staircases of residential buildings provide a covered place against both sun and rain for sitting, which also makes the time spent sitting intimate. During day, the stairs chosen are usually in the quiet streets where there are less people walking or sitting around. As an example, Figure 3.24 below shows two young people spending their time chatting on the stair steps. They listen each other, sit comfortably, and share a moment together.



Figure 3.24. Informal placemaking via socializing on stairs (July 1, 2019)

These acts of socializing on staircases get denser after the sunset since the neighborhood gets livelier and more crowded after dark. Apart from residential areas, numerous people were observed sitting on the stairs in the streets where cafés, pubs and bars are abundant. Kadife street is one of those streets that is known as an old bar street in Caferağa. The street fills up with the crowds of people through evening and night. There are a lot of groups standing in the streets outside of the cafés. Some people sit on the stairs nearby in the street, drink their beers, and talk to each other. They prefer to buy their beers from the retail shop in the street, drink and chat on the stairs. They choose to socialize on stairs rather than in bars because it is affordable and economy-wise. As one expressed during an interview, they can buy at least three beers from the retail shop with the money they would spend to buy only one in any bar (Interviewee L, May 25, 2019, 22:20). They had explained how their planned tactic is to drink few beers while chilling on the stairs, and then go to a bar, buy only one beer there, and drink very slowly to spend more time in the place. Yet, they always end up spending the all night on stairs because it is *comfortable* enough to make them forget about their plans. They also stated that they always sit on the stairs in anywhere, and “feel *the street style* flowing into life” (Interviewee L, May 25, 2019, 22:20). Here, a staircase becomes a place that makes a lifestyle possible for them to embrace. Some groups of young people also observed in a similar way during night time in the residential areas. They prefer to spend their time outside chatting, drinking, and sitting on the staircase of a building rather than going to a café. One of the groups were asked for the reason of sitting on a staircase. They simply stated that they were just “spending time either at the seaside or around here up to *the daily mood*” (Interviewee M, June 20, 2019, 23:10). The use of stairs as a place to socialize then, can be traced by the trash left behind. Traces of informal placemaking on stairs often appear as human trash like empty tin cans, glass bottles, and snack packs left behind on the stairs after the acts of socializing (see Figure 3.25).^{*} These traces are best observed early in the morning right before the garbage men clean up the trash.^{**}

^{*} Wear of stair steps may also indicate some traces of placemaking; however, it might be misleading to make an inference without further observations and extended consultations.

^{**} According to the information obtained from cleaning workers (personal interview, May 16, 2018, 07:35), garbage men work in two shifts as one between 06:00 to 15:30 and other between 15:30 to 22:30. The remaining times street sweepers and similar small vehicles gather large garbage in the neighborhood. Only individual cleaning workers gather small trashes piece by piece. Therefore, some of the observational walks were conducted between 05:00 to 07:00 in the mornings.



Figure 3.25. Traces of informal placemaking on stairs (April 12, 2019)

Apart from staircases, a diverse range of surfaces such as doorsteps, sidewalks, walls, fences, and so on are chosen for informal placemaking activities. Figure 3.26 different people socializing at the doorsteps at the evening can be seen. In the photograph above, four people are eating ice cream and chatting delightedly while using the doorstep of a vacant building (poster on the building is written “for rent” in Turkish). Below, two young people are sitting on the doorstep of a residential building, drinking their soda and hanging around together. Figure 3.27 shows a group of young people sitting on a fence like structure in front of an ATM machine. Another example can be seen in Figure 3.28 where five young people are sitting on a sidewalk, and talking as they drink their sodas. The common thread in these places is that all of them offer a spot to sit comfortably in the middle of a crowded neighborhood, and have a word with your friends. People also like the sense these places arouse for them while they hang around. Furthermore, these are not just sit-for-a-brief-rest kind of spots. Everybody has their drinks or snacks while spending time in these spots, which are sometimes left behind after activities. These surfaces and spots then, provide the means to everyday tactics of ordinary people. As the trace remains in place, it carries the remnants of previous activity without humans around.



Figure 3.26. Informal placemaking at the doorsteps (June 21, 2019)



Figure 3.27. Informal placemaking in front of an ATM machine (July 1, 2019)



Figure 3.28. Informal placemaking on a sidewalk (June 21, 2019)

Additionally, corners of streets and buildings are preferred continually because they provide an intimacy to people. It is like children playing house, people can create a place at the corners to feel *inside* while being outside. Figure 3.29 shows a corner that was often observed being preferred by a group of young people. At first, traces of placemaking, empty beer bottles and snack packs were discovered at the corner during day time. After several visits, it was revealed that three young people almost each day after dark hang out at the corner drinking, eating, and chatting. They occasionally leave their trash behind, which are gathered by garbage men at the very beginning of cleaning shifts. In the course of field research trips, there had been changes happening on this corner. For instance, the spot was used to pile up some construction materials belonging to a building construction nearby at the street. However, it did not affect the use of this spot by any means. The group continued appropriating a place in the space for themselves. Sacks filled with construction materials can be seen in Figure 3.30, which also shows the empty beer bottles left at the corner observed on the same day. Presumably, the garbage men did not realize these bottles while cleaning the street because they were so secluded next to the sacks.



Figure 3.29. Informal placemaking in a corner (April 18, 2019)



Figure 3.30. Traces of informal placemaking in a corner (July 1, 2019)

Walls and fences grant other favorable surfaces to be used for making a place through the acts of socializing. These are highly accustomed of being used by the people. Many sits or leans on walls and fences while spending their time with a friend (see Figure 3.31 and Figure 3.32). As a result of the physical interaction with surfaces, various deformations may appear on the texture of place especially in the case of fences. For example, the metal fence that can be seen in Figure 3.32 is bended discernibly due to people sitting on it for a long time. Some parts in residential areas are particularly convenient for placemaking activities. When asked for the reasons of hanging around on a wall, a middle-aged couple stated that the ambiance in the area makes them *feel young* and *peaceful* (Interviewee N, June 27, 2019, 16:45). The place they were experiencing was depending on their sense-related experiences in the built environment. Sitting on a wall was being young. Stillness of the residential area was the peace they sought. All of these places differentiate in urban space via everyday tactics of the individuals. Based on personal preferences, places where their makers can be who they want to be, embrace the lifestyles that place evokes, and spend time comfortably, emerge in space. Here also, informal placemaking itself becomes the very tactic of people by breeding places where they can spend time and socialize.



Figure 3.31. Informal placemaking on a wall (July 1, 2019)



Figure 3.32. Traces of informal placemaking on a fence (July 1, 2019)

Now and then, tactics of ordinary people encounter with different antagonistic strategies that aim to restrict the acts of informal placemaking on specific spots. One of these strategies is the use of barbed wire on fences and walls. The wall and fence in Figure 3.33, separate the front yard of a building from the street. The barbed wire wrapped around the fence is there not in case of any burglary but just to eliminate the possibility of people sitting on the wall. The fence is quite short, so it is explicit that it does not hold any safety purposes. It can be easily jumped over in its current state with this barbed wire. There is only one reason, and it is that the building owner do not want people sitting on the wall. The barbed wire maintains a stance against informal placemaking activities by turning the wall into an uncomfortable place to sit. The building at the moment is vacant and up for sale. It is important to emphasize here that way before it was decided to be up for sale, the barbed wire was already there. The most probable reason for using such a strategy is that people who had used that wall before the barbed wire were making too much noise or leaving too many trashes behind. As it will be explained further below, these are in fact, two main reasons for making use of such strategies against informal placemaking activities in all other examples from the neighborhood.

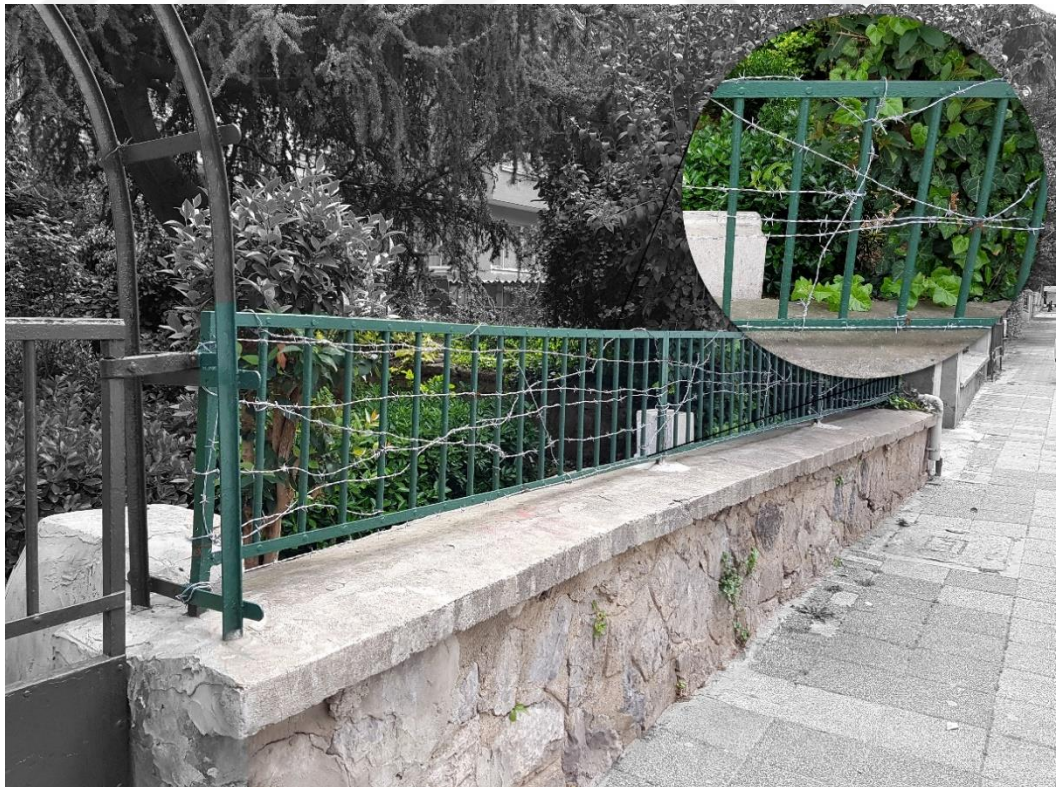


Figure 3.33. Barbed wire against informal placemaking activities (April 18, 2019)

Another strategy is the hanged posters on the front doors of buildings in order to prevent people from spending time at the doorsteps. Figure 3.34 shows a poster warning written “PLEASE DO NOT SIT ON THE BUILDING STAIRS” in Turkish. According to the building manager, the poster was hanged because of the young people sitting on the stairs at night and making a lot of noise (Interviewee O, June 21, 2019, 17:45). The strategies in Caferağa have their own rationales. The neighborhood folks are usually high tolerant towards the social activities unless there is something overdone. It was also emphasized by interviewee M during previous interview that the residents of the building were not getting angry at them for sitting on the stairs because they were not making any noise but only hanging out (Interviewee M, June 20, 2019, 23:10). Then, sound levels motivate any strategical acts against informal placemaking.



Figure 3.34. A poster warning against informal placemaking activities (April 12, 2019)

In a similar way to the barbed wire example, numerous gates in front of the building doors have been observed all around the neighborhood. Most of these gates only have simple latches without any kind of locks (see Figure 3.35). Hence, they were presumed not to be made on security purposes. During a field visit, one of the old-aged residents of a lockless

gated building was asked for the reason behind the gate. At first, it was claimed to be made for security reasons. Yet, when the lack of a lock was pointed out, the answer had changed into how youngsters leaving their *filth** on the stairs at night, and how necessary these gates are for the sake of the building (Interviewee P, June 21, 2019, 20:16). These lockless gates serve as a physical deterrent force, a barricade against the act of socializing on staircases. All these strategies result from people leaving too many trashes or making too much noise late at night.



Figure 3.35. Lockless gates against informal placemaking activities (April 12-18, 2019)

On the other hand, it is open to question how much these strategies serve for their purpose. For instance, Figure 3.36 shows two people hanging out in front of a building with a lockless gate by leaning on the gate and chatting. In the end, obstacles may offer more of tempting experiences, and attract more people since all of the places created are observed to be dependent on personal preferences.

* The word “filth” here is translated from the word “pislik” in Turkish.



Figure 3.36. Two people leaning on a lockless gate of a building (June 21, 2019)

The act of socializing is one of the main tactics of human beings to make a place in the urban space and to deal with the strange dullness of everyday life in regard to Michel de Certeau (1980/1984). Where and how the leisure time is spent depend both on the person and the potentiality of natural and built environment within the reach of that person. People in Caferağa neighborhood, differentiate places that can give the sense they seek to experience in the urban space while socializing and sharing the moments of time. In many cases, the act of socializing in a particular spot turns into a daily activity, and becomes a habitual pattern. People continuously visit that spot, and prefer it rather than a bar or a café to sit and have a conversation. It seems that all these acts of socializing in particular spots and traces resulting from them are accustomed and admitted in the urban space of Caferağa neighborhood. With or without a reason, they make micro places for themselves in the space which change the texture of space at the moments of acts, and leave traces behind as the remnants of informal placemaking.

3.3.3. Sheltering

The act of sheltering appears at any spots that gives a sense of burrow such as the nooks of corners and staircases. Sheltering in Caferağa, derives from two motives which happen to be the pursuit of silence and home. During field research, it was the hardest act of all to be observed by encountering because of its concealed and intimate nature. Traces of sheltering were come across sometimes loud and clear, and sometimes confusing and bewildering. There are times when people create a place like a pocket universe in a corner abundant with traces of placemaking (see Figure 3.37). These places usually become a place to visit frequently to spend time. There are also times when individuals do not leave much of a trace behind after the placemaking activity (see Figure 3.38). This is when the place is created for a while, and left behind, not visited ever again. The act of sheltering here, can also be performed by a homeless person who leaves on the streets. It was acknowledged that there are few homeless people living in the neighborhood; however, none of them or their traces were encountered on the researched routes. Presumably, it is because the areas around research routes are way too crowded for them to prefer.



Figure 3.37. Traces of informal placemaking in a corner (April 12, 2019)



Figure 3.38. Traces of informal placemaking in a corner (April 18, 2019)

One of the traces resulting from the acts of sheltering was observed as human trash similar to the ones from socializing (see Figure 3.38). The difference between traces of sheltering and traces of socializing was quite deceptive during the research. Socializing occur very frequently in the preferred spots where the placemakers can be encountered on their acts regularly. The same spots can be used for sheltering as well. As a matter of fact, these acts can happen all together in the same spot at the same time. They are not totally discrete from each other, but mostly existing together. For example, several people may choose a spot to stay away from other people and make a place by sheltering while socializing only with each other. Therefore, it is important to emphasize that these acts interpreted under separate subheadings in this text do appear together many times. It is to understand informal placemaking further in their context, they have been studied one by one.

As mentioned before, Caferağa gets very busy after mid-afternoon and stays crowded until late night. It was when this individual was come across in the residential area (see Figure 3.39). He was sitting on a staircase, drinking an instant coffee he bought from the retail shop nearby, and smoking. The street was really empty and he was just sitting alone,



Figure 3.39. The act of sheltering on a staircase (July 1, 2019)

staring into nothingness. When he was asked for the reason of sitting on stairs, he simply answered back as “too many people [a short pause], everywhere” (Interviewee Q, July 1, 2019, 16:10). While he was talking, he did not bother to remove his hand from his mouth. As if he did not want a word to escape from his mouth. It was a retreat from the crowd of urban space, taking refuge in a sanctuary of silence that he was building around himself on a staircase. He was carrying a plastic ashtray, and had his drink in a travelling mug (see Figure 3.39). It was a momentary encounter. He sat in there almost for an hour while the researcher had passed from the street sneaky beaky like four times. On the fifth one, he was gone, and there were no traces left behind. It was just an ordinary staircase remaining there without him. The act of sheltering was to seek silence. He did not need anything or anyone to make a place. He had his personal items with himself anyways. Only a spot far away from people, and appropriate to sit was enough for making a place. It was a pause in time – a place in space.

In a similar vein, another person was encountered in a corner nearby Akmar Arcade at night (see Figure 3.40). The street next to him is a busy street regardless the hour. A lot

of cafés and restaurants line up on the street as the people socialize while even standing on the sidewalks. The corner he sits is like a dead spot, a hidden sanctuary in this ocean of people. When he was interviewed, he explained that he needed a *noise free* and *calm* spot to be on his own, and this corner looked *perfect to harbor* for the night (Interviewee R, June 21, 2019, 22:25). He was smoking, and drinking from a beer can. After half an hour, he got a phone call and met with a friend on the corner. They sat next to each other, continued drinking, and chatted through the night. Here, the place in that corner was a crib for sheltering, waiting, and socializing simultaneously.



Figure 3.40. The act of sheltering in a corner (June 21, 2019)

Three years ago, there were a bookstore, a coffeeshop, and a café-bar next to this corner.* Back then, people were hanging around the place, sitting or standing at the corner to chill out in their spare time. The coffeeshop had tables and chairs outside in front of the corner, so it was always crowded in the area. The employees of cafés were also spending their break times there to smoke and chat together. All of these businesses were closed in 2016.

* According to the researcher's prior knowledge as a regular visitor of the neighborhood. The businesses mentioned are Alkım Kitabevi, Kahve Dünyası, and Café Kafka.

The bookstore transformed into a white appliances store which in fact reduced the density around the corner. And cafés did not come back or transform into anything. Since then, the intense acts of socializing faded out while the acts of sheltering had become favorable in the corner. Here, the functional differentiations and activities in an urban space alter place objectives and informal placemaking preferences.

Additionally, the change in the physical appearance of the corner over time was observed during the research in order to have a better understanding on the traces of informal placemaking. When someone decides to use a spot as a hideaway, a place of reclusion, they interact directly with the physical texture of space according to their own taste. They start moving objects around, in and out of the place. Figure 3.41 below shows the same corner from Figure 3.40 as observed in November, 2018. Here, the traces of informal placemaking are evident considering how such ordinary objects are left behind. Someone embraced this corner as a place to take shelter, and even bothered to decorate it with a stone pillar and some sacks. By decorating, a place endowed with unique attributions gets constructed in the space to feel comfortable, to make a home – to be inside at the outside.



Figure 3.41. The decorated corner nearby Akmar arcade (November 7, 2018)

Figure 3.42 shows the same corner as observed in April, 2019. In four months, objects in the place had been moved into different positions. The column and some other stones are stacked up on the stairs, previous sacks are gone, and there are torn apart cardboard box pieces left behind. It is still appealing and convenient to sit. Over the course of field research trips, this corner was observed being preferred by different people for informal placemaking. It arouses the feeling of a backstage behind the curtains with the noise of crowd in the background – hidden from the spectators while being very close to them.



Figure 3.42. The change in the decorated corner over time (April 18, 2019)

After two months, we see small changes in the details of the corner. As it can be seen from Figure 3.43, there is no cardboard box trash any more, some of the stone pieces are relocated, and a dirty tissue is laying on the first step of the stairs. The longer the time passed, the greater the encountered change in place. By the time, objects get relocated, added and subtracted, which demonstrate the frequent use of a spot, and interaction with the physical texture of space. Although objects and objectives of the place alter through time, the fact that an informal placemaking activity occur in that corner does not change unless the corner itself is gone or an action, a strategy against the placemaking is taken.



Figure 3.43. The change in the decorated corner over time (July 1, 2019)

3.3.4. Self-expression

The act of self-expression is about pursuit of a place to express one's self through artistic creation. When individuals are in search of such a place, creative attempts as in street art and graffiti start rising to the surface of urban spaces. It is an act of leaving a trace on a wall, and saying "I too exist. I was *here*, and I did make a place" (see Figure 3.44).



Figure 3.44. The word "iz" in Turkish meaning "trace" left on a wall (July 1, 2019)

In the literature, graffiti and street art appear with definitional issues as many scholars attempt to identify and try to distinguish them from each other in different ways. As Ross explains that there are several contextual perspectives that strive to define street art and graffiti phenomena such as legality-illegality and content-composition-aesthetics (2016, pp. 1-3). Based on the legal-illegal criteria, they both get considered as vandalistic acts carried out without the permissions of property owners. Here, graffiti refers to figures, words, and images painted, drawn, or written on the surfaces while street art refers to noncommercial images, sticker, and stencils left on the surfaces. Meanwhile, from an aesthetical perspective, graffiti and street art are aimed to be distinguished based on the visual and material distinctions, and their contents. Ross also emphasizes how all of these approaches struggle at defining these phenomena because graffiti and street art always appear with many faces in different places (2016, p. 3). To him, in most general, street art and graffiti are types of public art because both of them immensely appear in public spaces. Nevertheless, it is not the concern of this graduate research to distinguish graffiti and street art from each other, or make any definitions about them. In line with the inquiry, what was concerned here is how the acts of self-expression through graffiti and street art bear places in Caferağa as an informal placemaking activity. What traces are left behind, self-expression as a tactic making place, and strategies against or parallel to these tactics were considered mainly.

In *Kadıköy Municipality Orders and Prohibitions Implementing Regulations* (Kadıköy Municipality, 2011), any kind of graffiti and street art activities are prohibited* in Kadıköy district which includes Caferağa neighborhood unless they are commissioned by the municipality or the private property owners. In the policy, they are seen as the acts of vandalism, illegal damage caused on the public property. Illegality of these acts makes them informal in the public space. Legal, permissioned artistic activities are in fact the very planned creative placemaking activities themselves. The places created through such permissioned acts are more formal and commissioned places of proprietors. As a matter of fact, the neighborhood hosts various public art events and activities under the support

* “It is forbidden to scribble, burn, draw shapes by chalk, oil paint, tar, and so on, and leave stains on the faces and walls of buildings, monuments, streets and sidewalks, underground and surface passages, mosques and all kinds of places of worship [Tr. – ‘Binaların, abidelerin, yer altı ve yer üstü geçitlerinin camilerin ve her türlü ibadet yerlerinin yüzlerini, duvarlarını, cadde ve sokaklarla yaya kaldırımlarını tebeşir, yağlı boya, katran, ve saire ile karalamak, yakmak, şekil çizmek ve kirletmek yasaktır’]” (Kadıköy Municipality, 2011, c. 2, art. 5(1)/1, p. 3; translated by the writer).

of district municipality. There are annually arranged various art festivals like comic art festival, winter art festival, etc. which are all supported by the district municipality. There is also an annual Mural Art Istanbul Festival supported by the municipality since 2012 (for more see Kadıköy Municipality, 2016). As an example, Figure 3.45 shows one of the murals from the festival of 2015, named “Miracle”, and painted by the artist Rustam QBic at Ağabey Street of Caferağa. Known national and international street artists are invited as a part of mural art festival each year to flourish art in public spaces, and turn the empty building facades into artworks. Then, the festival eventuates in a kind of planned formal creative placemaking activity in the appointed neighborhood. On the contrary, places created by the informal placemaking activity as an extension of the act of self-expression are not commissioned from anyone. It is rooted in the desire of existing, getting accepted, claiming, creating, and leaving a trace behind to communicate on behalf of the self in the world. Therefore, non-commissioned graffiti and street art pieces as the acts of self-expression in Caferağa were approached as informal placemaking activities in the frame of this study.



Figure 3.45. The mural “Miracle” painted by Rustam QBic in Caferağa (April 18, 2019)

What are the traces of informal placemaking through self-expression in Caferağa then? As a matter of fact, there is almost in every street a graffiti or a street art in Caferağa. These consist of tags as creator nicknames written with markers or spray paint in the abstract forms of alphabet, pieces as large and complex visuals with shadows, color transitions and three-dimensional effects, stencils as spray painted works with the help of paper or cardboard molds, and stickers as small size premade works with sticky tapes and papers. Any works that are commissioned by the stores with commercial purposes were ignored during the field research. In commercial areas, there are graffiti pieces on each store's shutter (see Figure 3.46). To be able to observe these, one needs to visit the neighborhood early in the morning before the stores open their shutters. Other works were observed on various surfaces such as walls, pavements, and electric boxes. The context in these works are mainly philosophical questions that aim to make the spectator think about (e.g. "what about a hundred year later?"), artistic drawings and paintings that are under the influence of political issues and contemporary popular culture. For instance, Figure 3.47 shows a piece in Japanese chibi style, inspired by a character called "The Night King" from one of the popular tv series of 2010s named "Game of Thrones".



Figure 3.46. The act of self-expression on shutters of stores (April 12, 2019)



Figure 3.47. The act of self-expression on walls (April 12, 2019)

One of the salient spaces packed with graffiti and street art pieces is right behind the old Kadıköy Şifa Hospital building (see Figure 3.48). Back then*, when the hospital was open, people working at the hospital and the employees of car parks near were spending their break times behind the building at this corner. They would bring tea or coffee in paper mugs, eat pastry together while chatting and sitting on the chairs that they pulled at the backdoor of the hospital, or sometimes sit on the fire-escape stairs. The space was used for the act of socializing. In 2016, the hospital was sold to Group Florence Nightingale Hospitals (Hukuki Haber, 2017). By the end of January in 2017, the hospital was moved to Ataşehir district, and the building was vacated completely. Since then, the building has been vacant, and its future is in vague. During field research, some traces of socializing like newly used paper tea cups and snack packs were observed early in the morning few times on the wall next to the ramp going towards the building's backdoor. The corner had always been used for graffiti and street art. As an example, Figure 3.49 is a screenshot taken from Google Maps showing the Street View of Nailbey Street from February, 2018.

* These are based on the researcher's previous observations between 2007 and 2009; from when she was attending to a cram school nearby the hospital.

It can be seen from the image that there were traces of graffiti and street art on the corner which were overpainted at that moment when Google’s mapping vehicle was recording.



Figure 3.48. Graffiti area behind the former Kadıköy Şifa Hospital (April 12, 2019)

Moreover, walls of the building were also covered with event posters and graffiti (see Figure 3.49). Today, the corner is still used for the act of self-expression, and regularly overpainted. According to an employee of the fast-food kiosk nearby, there are *weird types, dangerous glue-sniffing vagabond groups** hanging at this corner, and *painting everywhere* late at night (Interviewee S, June 20, 2019, 21:50). From his point of view,



Figure 3.49. Nailbey Street in February, 2018 (Source: Google Maps, 2018)

these placemakers were dangerous *for a girl like the researcher*, and he was very insistent on making her forget about them. Although the corner is a place for self-expressions, walls of the old hospital building are clean and empty today. The first thing noticed was

* Translated from “tuhaf tipler, tehlikeli tinerci serseri gruplar” in Turkish.

the poster warnings written “ATTENTION! IT IS STRICTLY FORBIDDEN TO WRITE AND ADVERTISE ON THE WALLS! [with a red exclamation mark]” (see Figure 3.50).



Figure 3.50. The poster warning against writing on walls (April 12, 2019)

There were eight copies of this poster attached on the front façade with few meters distance between each, and the walls were spotless. Later, a security guard was noticed to be patrolling around the building. When he was asked, he explained that he was guarding the building as night shift to avoid anyone writing on the walls (Interviewee T, June 21, 2019, 21:35). During the interview, he proudly stated that whenever someone tries to write anything on the walls, he catches them *right away on the act, and stop, never letting it slip away*. In response to this, he was asked about the corner, how it is filled with graffiti, and if he had seen anyone making these pieces. Unfortunately, he got both offended and embarrassed upon these questions, mumbled about missing one or two sometimes, and did not want to respond any other questions. There is apparent color on top of color overpainted layers in the corner. Regardless of these strategies of posters and security guards, people find a way to express themselves at this corner. Also, with such big pieces of graffiti and street art that are hard to not realize *on the act*, it is questionable

if the reason for hospital walls being empty is the patrol of guards, or the poster warning is enough to keep these anonymous artists' hands away from the building, but not the corner. Below, Figure 3.51 shows the graffiti area during evening hours in order to demonstrate the street light and visibility around the surfaces.



Figure 3.51. Graffiti area behind the hospital at the evening (June 21, 2019)

Graffiti and street art are observed to be more condensed in the POI intense commercial zone than the residential area. Most pieces are on the shutters of stores, so when the stores are open, they are hidden from the eyes. Moreover, even if a store overpaints a work on its shutter, another appears next day right away. Hence, stores do not bother about these nickname focused graffiti painted with bubbly letters (see again Figure 3.46). Some storeowners commission graffiti on their own shutters as a strategy to prevent informal placemaking activities. It is important to note that during field research visits, there were no graffiti or street art encountered that use offensive or abusive language. These works are to claim a spot, say that the individual is here, and to mark his or her place in the space. There is also a respect to each other between these creators. No one paints over on another's work (unless there is a battle between drawers which was not observed on the selected routes). There are only added comments sometimes, talking to the maker, trying to communicate with each other on a surface, and join in one's place to exist together.

Beside the store shutters, available wall and door surfaces are preferred in the commercial areas. Some of these works were observed to be popular among the visitors of Caferağa.

People love to take selfies in front of a graffiti and street art piece to share it on social media (see Figure 3.52). The context of work and expected aesthetical values direct the visitors' choices. If there are angel wings, halos, faces, or figures in the work for instance, it gets noticeably popular and in demand among the passersby. There were few times that a line of four to five people waiting for their turn to take a photograph in front of a piece was observed.* The storekeeper next to one of these pieces was asked if that work was commissioned by anyone. He stated that it was not commissioned but “suddenly appeared one night” (Interviewee U, June 17, 2019, 16:15). He then explained how these works invest the street with *a modern aura* which is *beneficial for their business*. It was a store selling souvenirs of handmade purses, tote bags, and some ornaments like necklaces, etc. People who were interested in taking photos were potential customers. When people were spending more time in the street, it was also creating a curiosity towards the store since it was crowded around. Hence, it was a mutual relationship between the trace and the store.



Figure 3.52. Taking advantage of street art in commercial areas (April 18, 2019)

* These were all during rush hours in the neighborhood; therefore, the researcher was not able to obtain a visible shot from any of these scenes in the crowd.

The graffiti and street art pieces in Caferağa, are observed to have a very time-dependent changing nature. This is not only because they get overpainted many times, but because creators tend to go back to their previous pieces, and make changes in them. Figure 3.53 below, shows how the piece from Figure 3.52 had changed in two months. The same person added two new pieces next to the first one, and also left a sign next to them to make the spectator understand it is the work of same drawer. All the pieces keep changing in time as some get overpainted or damaged, and some get repainted or changed by the creators. This shows that the place created by an act of self-expression is not for one-time only. The creators go back to the place, and see if anything has changed, if it touched to anyone, and if anyone touched it as well. Here, these creative personas themselves are aware how their trace keeps their presence in their absence.



Figure 3.53. Change in graffiti and street art over time (July 1, 2019)

Mainly, the residential areas were observed to have a stance against graffiti and street art. From the perspective of antagonistic inhabitants, graffiti and street art are vandalistic activities carried out without any legal permissions in urban space in which their living space turns into an eye sore. After having spontaneous conversations with the residents

randomly during the field research, it was understood that their reasoning against graffiti roots in the tendency of practicing graffiti excessively on facades and front doors in the neighborhood. As it can be seen from Figure 3.54, graffiti artists sometimes leave their tags overly condensed on a surface. One anti-graffiti resident expressed what she does not like is that these graffiti artists have zero artistic concern in their works, and she would be okay with it “if it wasn’t only to cause damage but for real art” (Interviewee V, July 1, 2019, 14:05). Graffiti tags were not a form of art for her, it was just an act of vandalism.

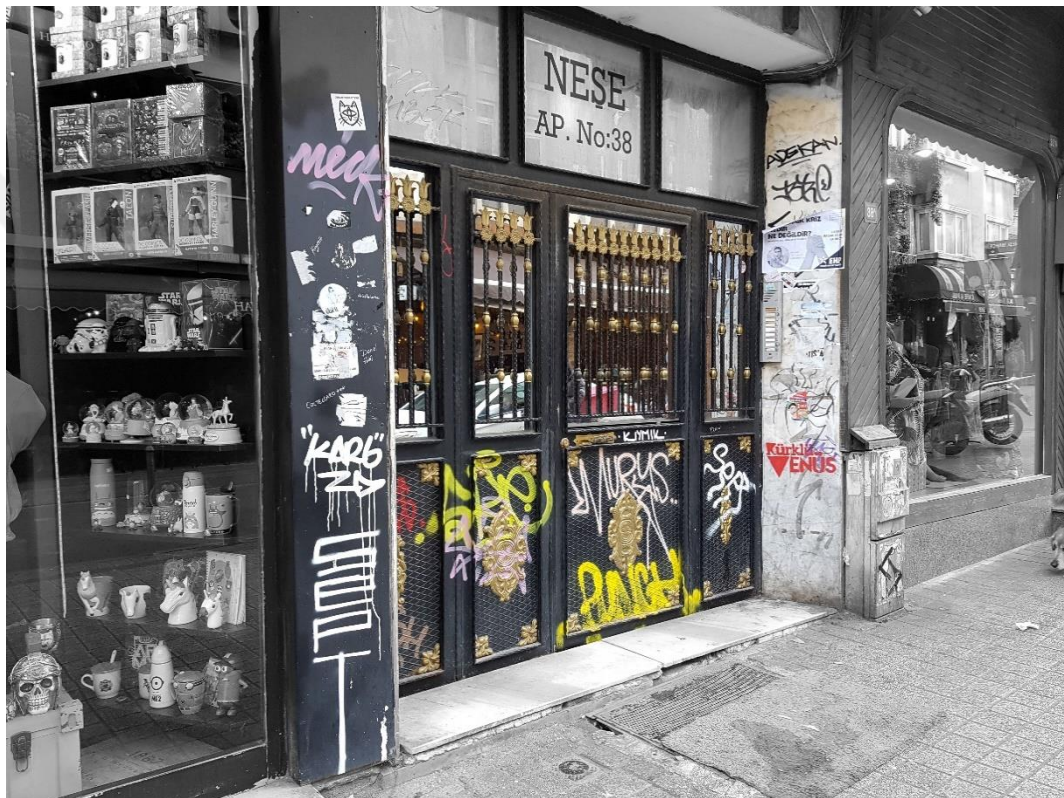


Figure 3.54. Graffiti tags on a residence door (November 7, 2018)

As a consequence of this antagonism, graffiti and street art pieces often get overpainted in residential areas of Caferağa. However, the overpainting process materialize in such a way that another type of trace emerges on these surfaces. If whole buildings were to be painted each time a graffiti was left on the walls, it would cost a lot of money. Therefore, different colors of paints in small amounts are used to cover the parts where graffiti and street art are left on the walls (see Figure 3.55). Although the pieces are covered up with paints, there are still traces of informal placemaking remaining on the walls. These color patches still tell the spectator *there had been an informal placemaking activity in this spot*.

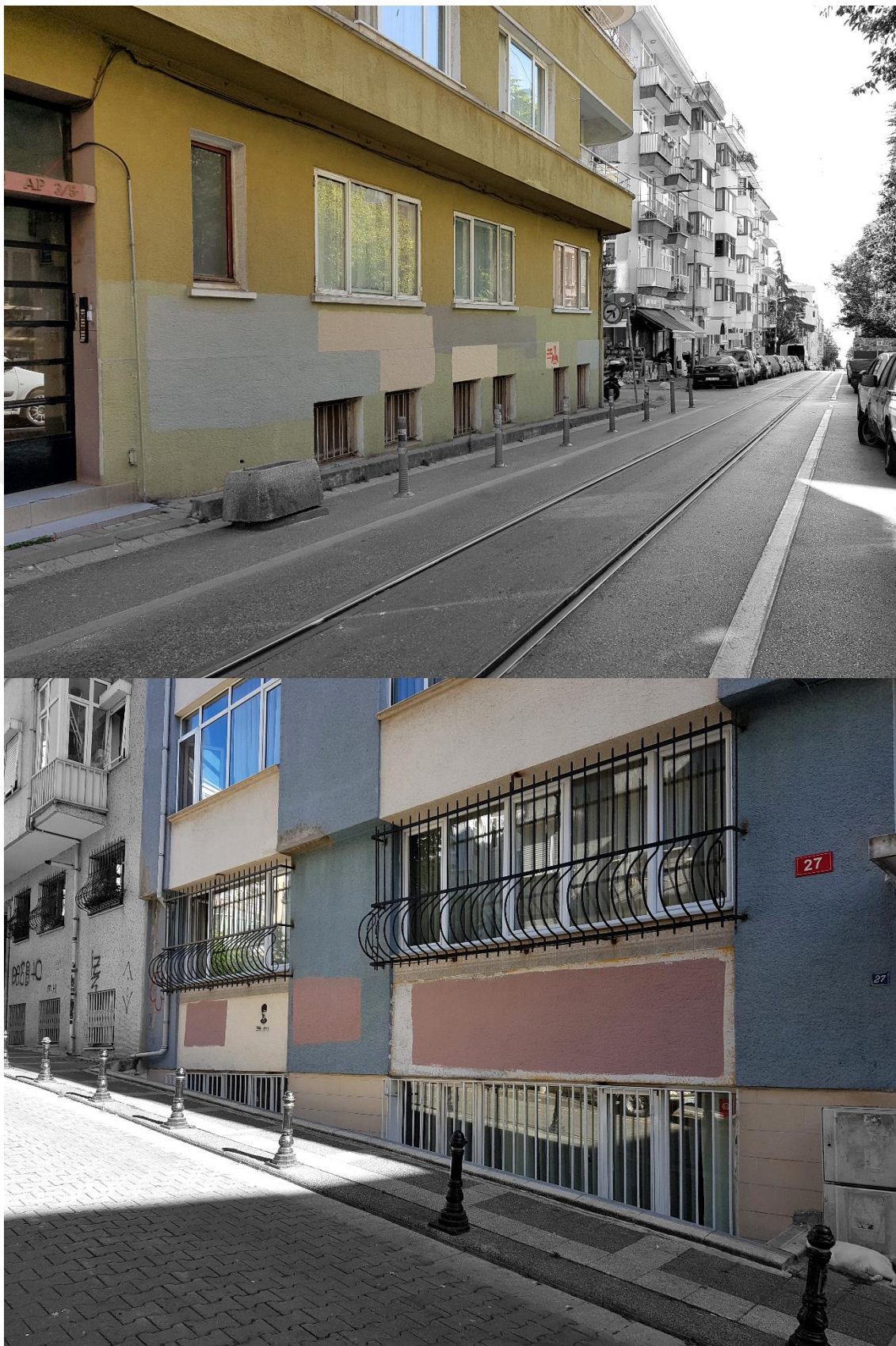


Figure 3.55. Overpainted graffiti and street art surfaces (July 1, 2019)

The presence of artists may be gone, but the presence of places they created is perceivable. In one of the residential streets where all walls were patched three times during the research, a janitor of a residence was interviewed about the standing point of inhabitants on graffiti and street art. Accordingly, building managers on that street once got in touch, and decided to stand strictly against any graffiti and street art activities around buildings. “There are good ones sometimes, but they don’t care. They say *there shouldn’t be any graffiti in an elite neighborhood.*” (Interviewee W, June 18, 2019, 18:25). He then, was asked for an example of the good ones to understand which works he had referred to: “There was a rosy girl* once. Some dwellers liked it too. But it had some letters too, so they didn’t want it in the end”. Here, the reason that some of them liked the rosy girl was “because it was pretty”. Many residents in Caferağa apparently, have this criterion of *being pretty* in order to approve a piece of graffiti or street art. It seems that the pieces that make the streets *pretty*, and the neighborhood gentrified are the ones that are awaited with the possibility of acceptance and recognition in residential areas.** This brings to the mind that if all graffiti and street art pieces were *pretty* and acceptable in a neighborhood, would gentrification take place? As these works are the fruits of self-expression, would it not lead to social injustice in the public space where these artists cannot make a place for themselves to speak up? As a matter of fact, what they seek is just a space where they can make a place through the acts of self-expression. One explicit example of this desire was observed in Bademaltı street of Caferağa, where a black iron barricade put in front of an empty lot is filled with graffiti tags (see Figure 3.56). There is a title written “Graffiti Tag Area” with white paint at the top of barricade while the door is also framed with white paint, and declared as “Banner Area”. The rest of it is used for graffiti tags as the title makes an invitation. Since the structure was used very cleanly, it was suspected if the district municipality was supporting its creation. The storekeepers and café employees in the street did not have any information on the issue. The real estate agent of the street stated confirmed that the municipality was not involved, and it was made by the youth (Interviewee X, June 19, 2019, 16:45). Following that, Google Maps street view of Bademaltı street was checked and screenshotted as it was showing the view from November, 2017 (see Figure 3.57).

* “rosy girl” is translated from “güllü kız” in Turkish.

** For more on gentrification and street art see Gonçalves, 2019.



Figure 3.56. Anonymous “Graffiti Tag Area” in Bademalti Street (June 16, 2019)



Figure 3.57. Bademalti Street in November, 2017 (Source: Google Maps, 2017)

As it can be seen from the figure, back then in 2017, the structure was brown, and two large graffiti pieces were painted on it. Apparently one day, the graffiti was covered up with black paint. If it was a place for another graffiti or street art afterwards is shrouded in mystery. Yet, there is now an area declared as a graffiti tag area on this structure. This

is an innocent but subtle tactic of anonymous street artists. It is an effort to get accepted in urban space. While it mocks up with the prohibitions and restrictions of graffiti and banners in public spaces, it simply utters the desire of a space for the acts of creative self-expression in the neighborhood. People in Caferağa then, seek for spaces where they can engage in informal placemaking activities through artistic creations. As the viewpoints on graffiti and street art show variations throughout the neighborhood, they sometimes face conflicts, and sometimes attain an acceptance. Nonetheless, making places through and for the acts of self-expression perseveres in the neighborhood.

3.4. Mapping the Data

As explained in the previous section, the observational data was gathered cumulatively on the selected routes through regular field research visits. Primarily, traces of informal placemaking, people at the moment of placemaking actions, and oppositions to these acts constitute the body of data collection. One of the inferences made from this data collection is the time dimension of informal placemaking activities. As it can be seen in Figure 3.58, an illustration was created to demonstrate during which hours in a day the acts of informal placemaking may emerge in the neighborhood. As the first row show the time of the day, each informal placemaking act as self-expression, socializing, waiting, and sheltering are described by a color in their own row. By the time act is performed, the row gets colorful.

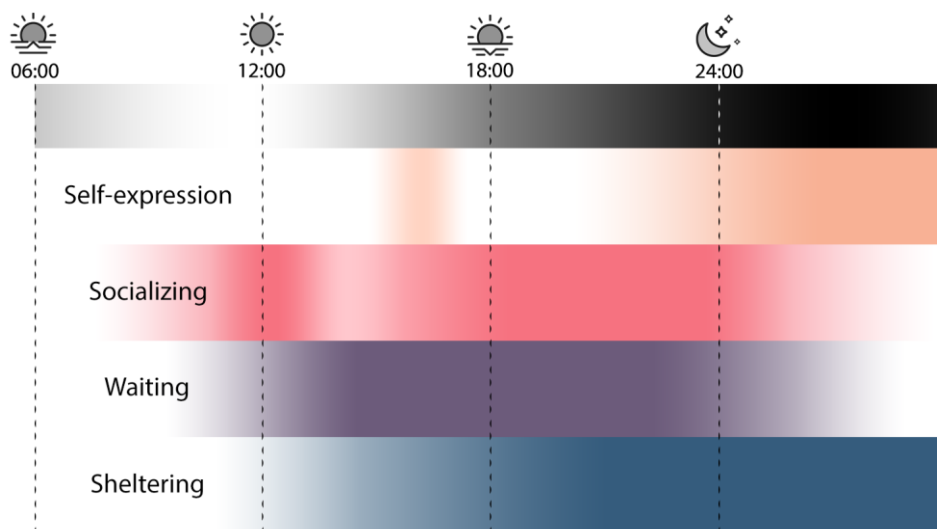


Figure 3.58. The acts of informal placemaking in a day (Source: Personal Illustration)

In Caferağa, the acts of self-expression appear particularly after midnight because of its anonymity and illegality. The night covers up anonymous artists from antagonistic eyes and forces. It also enables surfaces like closed shutters of stores which are not accessible during day time. There is a short time interval which occurs between 16:00 to 17:00. It is the after-school time when high school students* were encountered several times while swiftly leaving their graffiti tags on their way in the neighborhood. The act of socializing densifies towards the noon in a day as a consequence of break time leisure activities. After lunch time, the activity lessens as people go back to their workplaces. Then, it gets vibrant again towards the clock out time, and stays condensed until late night. The act of waiting starts escalating after two o'clock in the afternoon. It is highly observable between 14:00 to 22:00 in the neighborhood, and then it starts fading away through the night. The act of sheltering is similar to the acts of self-expression happening at night. Although, it is more observable on the action since there is no legal-illegal issues. After the noon, the chances of encountering with an act of sheltering gradually increase. Through evening and night, it is from one corner to another by existing together with the acts of socializing and/or self-expression at the same time.

Furthermore, two maps were created from the data collection in order to understand traces and placemaking acts in the neighborhood comprehensively. Figure 3.59 shows the map created through the data of traces of informal placemaking on the researched routes. The data here, is based on the encounters with the traces in the course of field research. As it can be seen from the map, traces of waiting and sheltering appear to be at particular spots in small quantities. In contrast to waiting and sheltering, traces of socializing and self-expression appear in larger quantities. Figure 3.60 shows the map created according to the data of antagonists of informal placemaking on the researched routes. Additionally, the neighborhood's POI map zoomed around the researched routes is given in Figure 3.61, so the reader can have a further demonstration. Through a cross-reading between these three maps, it can be seen that self-expression is performed more in commercial areas than the residential areas. POI areas are more graffiti and street art friendly since it is also strategical to benefit from them. In POI intense areas which are in fact commercial

* By 2019, there are few high schools in Caferağa neighborhood including Kadıköy Anatolian High School and Saint Joseph High School which are two known and successful high schools of the country.



Figure 3.59. Map for traces of informal placemaking on the walking routes
(Source: Created according to the observational data from base map)



Figure 3.60. Map for antagonists of informal placemaking on the walking routes
 (Source: Created according to the observational data from base map)

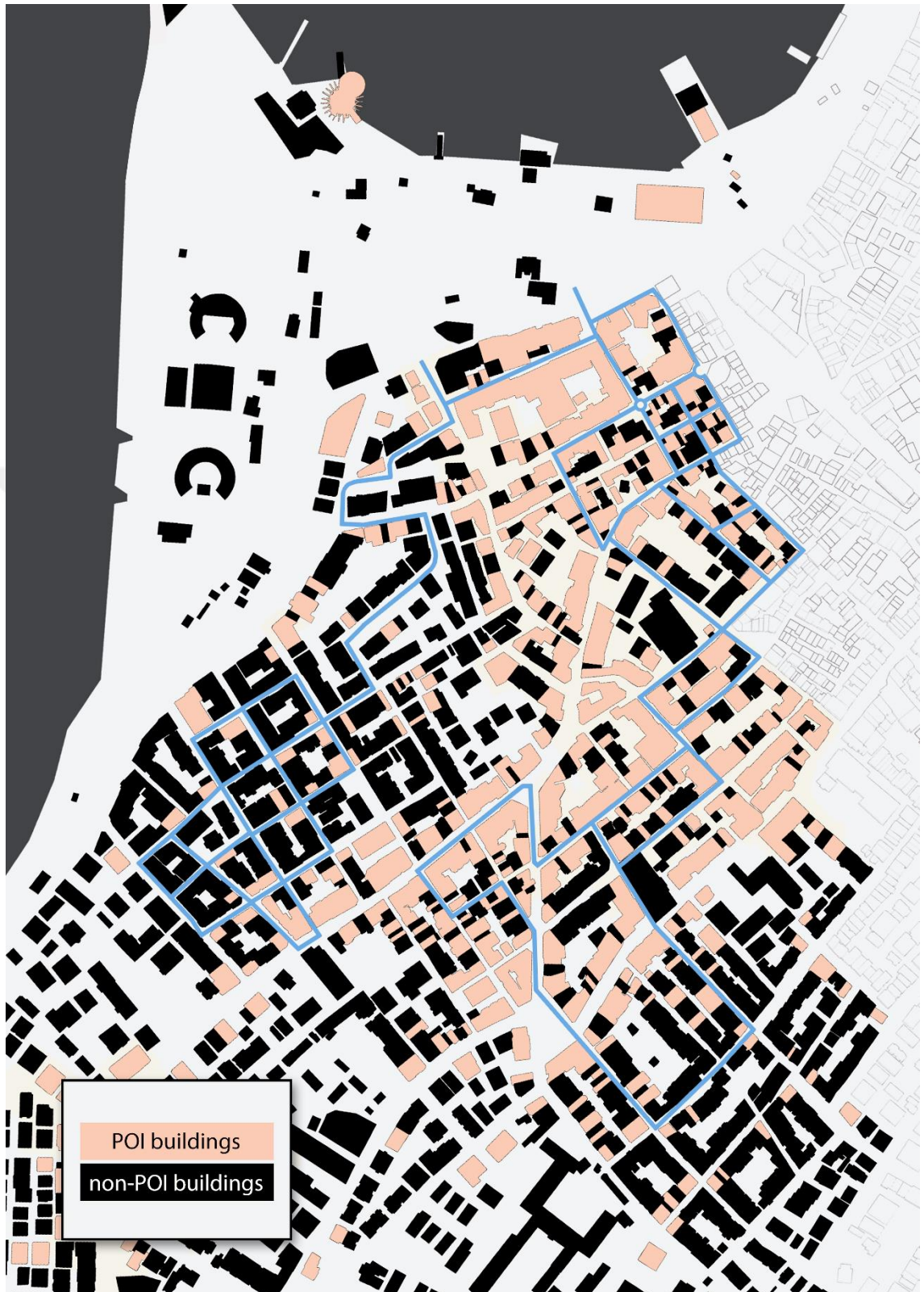


Figure 3.61. POI map zoomed around the walking routes as a reminder

(Source: Created from the POI map of neighborhood)

areas there is almost no stance against self-expression. On the other hand, non-POI areas which are residential areas take action against the traces of self-expression. Traces of socializing is well-received in commercial zones, but they appear more condensed in specific spots convenient to socialize based on personal preferences. There is a changing attitude towards traces of socializing in residential zones. When it is welcomed meaning that there is no stance against the act, traces spread around the area. When there is an antagonistic attitude, traces still appear, but more in condensed places near opposing locations. There is nothing against waiting on the selected routes. Yet, the post office area is the most preferred place to wait. Other waiting spots are usually near the potential social activities and POI spots like cinema and sports hall. Traces of sheltering were encountered near non-POI residential buildings because these spots are less crowded and more silent than POI areas.

CONCLUSION

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.
(Eliot, 1943, Little Gidding V, 240)

Today, placemaking practices focus mainly on deliberate activities and planned projects within their scope with an aim of constructing lively public places. On the other hand, ordinary people continuously differentiate and appropriate spaces into places as a part of their everyday life. It is the informal placemaking that emerges from daily experiences and human interactions and interventions in the urban space. The places of informal placemaking are neither planned nor designed but created by being involved in the space, and interacting with its physical texture. By studying the acts of informal placemaking in a particular setting, a profound understanding on the differentiation of space and human expectations in the built environment can be obtained. It can also provide a guidance for standard placemaking practices to design succeeding and meaningful public places.

In this study, the acts of informal placemaking were explored by investigating human traces in Caferağa neighborhood. The concept of trace was adopted in order to surpass the limits of data gathering. Informal placemaking is a subtle accustomed occurrence of creating places in the banality of everyday. By focusing on human traces, the subtlety of informal placemaking was overcome during field research trips. Through these traces, the emergence of informal placemaking in the everyday life practices of people in Caferağa was made observable for the eye conveniently. Walking was determined as the most appropriate way to gather trace data since the encounters with both people and traces were increased. It was experienced that walking amplifies the collected observational data in this qualitative research. Accordingly, two walking routes were selected based on point-of-interest data provided by Google Places API. On these two walking routes, informal placemaking in Caferağa was researched through a field research that was composed of observational walking and spontaneous brief interviews to attain data. An intense field research was necessary to explore the temporospatial aspects of informal placemaking.

Furthermore, it was understood that collecting human traces solely through observations were not enough to comprehend informal placemaking in Caferağa. When traces are in focus only through observational data, human dimension and objectivity of the research start lacking. In order to interpret traces objectively, the people of Caferağa needed to be included through interviews. In this way, the research did not get stuck in the mere physical materiality but provided an outlook from different viewpoints of the people on informal placemaking in Caferağa.

In the research, traces of informal placemaking were encountered as trashes of bottles, tin cans and snack packs, leftover ordinary objects, physical damage and marks accumulated over time, graffiti/street art pieces, and also humans themselves. In Caferağa, informal placemaking appears through the acts of waiting, socializing, sheltering, and self-expression. People of Caferağa form an interaction with the urban space in their everyday life practices. These interactions originate from the acts of informal placemaking. As they make places, and use repeatedly same spots, they leave traces in the texture of space. There are “what was done once, can be done again” and “what others had done, can be done by another” modes of thought in these activities. Therefore, the places created by the acts informal placemaking are also the places to perform the same acts over and over again. Informal placemaking in Caferağa is not a momentary happening but a regular activity embedded in the daily life with all its psychological, sociopolitical and creative layers. Which is also the reason that informal placemaking tends to be accustomed. In general, there is a mutual interrelationship between acts and informal placemaking. It can be an act to make a place and making a place to perform an act. Hence, the acts of informal placemaking most of the time appear repetitive, and human traces accumulate over time in the urban space. Personal preferences, feelings, sense of place, insiderness-outsiderness, expectations from the place, and built environment steer the acts of informal placemaking and human decisions in urban space.

In conclusion, this qualitative research was conducted in an interdisciplinary way due to the researcher’s background and interests in diverse fields. The void between space-place literature and placemaking literature was noticed at the beginning of this study. Space and place literature mainly focus on the definition of place via discussing its components and differentiation of space. Meanwhile, placemaking literature focuses on deliberate planned projects and activities in public space. Unless this gap in between two literatures is filled,

the understanding on indeliberate and unplanned placemaking activities in public space would remain excluded by many designers and planners. This research aimed to fill a part of this blank, and call attention on the subject of informal placemaking. Architectural designers should inspect informal placemaking activities in everyday life practices of people in an unplanned space before starting their designs. Only then, a comprehension of space and its people can be obtained and included in the design to create desired places for people themselves. This thesis research also brings a suggestion to both academic literature and design practice by putting forward a methodology observing informal placemaking through humans and their traces to understand urban spaces which can be appropriated in any other disciplines. Consequently, further research may focus on the acts of informal placemaking emerging in a specific spot over a long period of time, so the time dimension of such activities can be explored. It is also possible to study the informal placemaking and its traces from the researcher's point of view since the researcher as well makes a place while walking and observing in the urban space. Furthermore, the same research process can be practiced in another urban setting to augment diverse acts of informal placemaking which can help to broaden our understanding on the subject. Finally, it is important to point out that the human trace as an observational data can be utilized in many other fields of social sciences.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

AYSEL MERVE TOPALOĞLU

ayselmervet@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Kadir Has University, Cibali, Istanbul, Turkey
Master of Arts, Design, GPA 4.00/4.00 (Distinction) *expected* September 2019
Kadir Has University Success Scholarship
Thesis: Traces of Informal Placemaking: The Case of Caferağa Neighborhood in Istanbul
Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Ayşe N. Erek

Istanbul Technical University, Gümüşsuyu, Istanbul, Turkey
Bachelor of Science, Mechanical Engineering, September 2016
Vehbi Koç Foundation Success Scholarship
Dean's Honor List in December, 2015
Senior Design Project: Energy Efficient Residence Design
Advisor: Prof. İsmail Cem Parmaksızoğlu

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Graduate Researcher, Urban95, Bernard van Leer Foundation (BvL) January - June 2018
Advisors: Superpool and Asst. Prof. Ayşe Coşkun Orlandi

Outcomes: Animated video (3 min), Presentation at Studio-X, Research poster, Experience mapping

Graduate Researcher, Kadir Has University, March - May 2018

Advisor: Asst. Prof. Orçun Kepez

Outcomes: "Quality of Accessibility at Maltepe Seaside: The Case of Kucukyali Neighborhood" article manuscript, Research poster

Independent Research

(April - May 2018) Outcome: "Nocturnal Perceptions" an experimental essay focusing on the political experience of night in urban space. Advisor: Dr. Bülent Eken

(November - December 2017) Outcome: "A Representation of The Social: Musubi" an experimental essay favoring creative visualizations in social sciences. Advisor: Prof. Bülent Diken

(Ongoing) "Deleuze and Thermodynamics: Relating the Concept of Body without Organs to Entropy"

(Ongoing) Musubi (結ひ), Artistic Research with black acrylic paint on paper

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Private Tutor in Mathematics, Physics, and English (as foreign language) October 2016 - March 2019

Studio Assistant, Savas Art Workshop, Istanbul, Turkey February 2014 - July 2016

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Designer, Freelance, Olesno, Poland & Istanbul, Turkey September 2016 - Present

Consultant, Freelance, Bodrum, Muğla, Turkey June - August 2018

Mechanical Engineer Intern, Honda Türkiye, Çayirova, Kocaeli, Turkey July - September 2015

LEADERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES

SCI&TECH Coordinator, Istanbul Technical University Press Club January - April 2013

Volunteer & Panelist, TEMA Foundation 2004 - 2008

WORKSHOPS

Data Visualization and Verbalization Workshop, Kadir Has University, (September - December 2018)

Datascapes Workshop, 4th Istanbul Design Biennial, A School of Schools (October 11-12, 16-17, 2018)

FEEDS Workshop, 4th Istanbul Design Biennial, A School of Schools (September 21-22, 2018)

Short Film Workshop, ASPRO Production, Istanbul, Turkey (March - April 2013)

PUBLICATIONS

- Topaloğlu, Aysel Merve. “Bir Başka Dünya [Another Earth].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, February 2013, issue 22, sec. Science&Technology.
- . “Facebook Bize Ne Yaptın? [Facebook What Have You Done to Us?].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, February 2013, issue 22, sec. Science&Technology.
- . “Hareket Ederek Müzik Yapmak [Making Music by Moving].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, February 2013, issue 22, sec. Science&Technology.
- . “İlk Yerli Savaş Uçağı Nasıl Olacak? [How Will the First Made-in-Turkey Fighter Jet Be?].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, February 2013, issue 22, sec. ITU Agenda.
- . “Metilcivaya Karşı Atılan Büyük Adım [A Big Step Against Methylmercury].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, February 2013, issue 22, sec. Science&Technology.
- . “Renk Körlüğünü Gözlükle Aşmak [Overcoming Color Blindness with Eyeglasses].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, February 2013, issue 22, sec. Science&Technology.
- . “TURKSAT-3USAT Mayıs'ta Uzayda [TURKSAT-3USAT Is in the Space in May].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, February 2013, issue 22, sec. ITU Agenda.
- . “Biyo-Yazıcı ile Yapay Organ [Artificial Organ via Bio-Printer].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, April 2013, issue 23, sec. Science&Technology.
- . “HIV'ye Karşı Arı Zehri [Bee Venom Against HIV].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, April 2013, issue 23, sec. Science&Technology.
- . “İki Durumlu Parçacık [Two-State Particle].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, April 2013, issue 23, sec. Science&Technology.
- . “Vortekslerin Gücü Adına! [By the Power of Vortexes!].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, April 2013, issue 23, sec. Science&Technology.
- Topaloğlu, Aysel Merve, and Serdar Erbay. “Perdelerin Arında Bırakılan Kadınlar: Bilim ve Sanatta Kadının Yeri [Women Behind the Curtains: Women in Science and Art].” *ITU Ariyorum Official School Newspaper*, April 2013, issue 23, sec. Empowerment of Women.

INDEPENDENT COURSEWORK / MOOCs

- Smart Cities, ETH Zurich, 2019
- Future Cities, ETH Zurich, 2019
- Quality of Life: Livability in Future Cities, ETH Zurich, 2019
- Responsive Cities, ETH Zurich, 2019
- Understanding Political Concepts, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2019
- The Architectural Imagination, Harvard University, 2018
- Models in Architecture, Delft University of Technology, 2018
- A Global History of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2018
- Ecodesign for Cities and Suburbs, The University of British Columbia, 2018
- Housing and Cities, The École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), 2018
- Seeing Through Photographs, The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), 2018
- Sustainable Urban Environments, Trinity College, 2017
- Four Facets of Contemporary Japanese Architecture: Theory, The University of Tokyo, 2017
- Modern Japanese Architecture: From Meiji Restoration to Today, Tokyo Technology Inst. (certified), 2016
- Image and Ability: Visualizing the Unimaginable, Delft University of Technology (certified), 2016
- Modern Art and Ideas, The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) (certified), 2016
- User Innovation: A Path to Entrepreneurship, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (certified), 2016
- Introduction to User Experience, Michigan University, 2016
- The Science of Happiness, University of California, Berkeley (certified), 2016
- Information Systems and Computer Applications, Universitat Politècnica de València (certified), 2015-16
- Product Design: TU Delft Design Approach, Delft University of Technology (certified), 2015
- The Modern and The Postmodern I-II, Wesleyan University, 2015
- Sexing the Canvas: Art and Gender, Melbourne University, 2015
- Environmental Management Systems Training Program, Aker Patent (certified), 2012
- Quality Management Systems Training Program, Aker Patent (certified), 2012

PROFESSIONAL SKILLS

Adobe Suite, Sony Vegas, AutoCAD, SolidWorks, CATIA, C+/C#, MATLAB, MS Office Suite.

Turkish (Native), **English** (Proficient), **Japanese** (Intermediate), **Spanish** (Basic)