

İSTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

**TURKISH WOMEN’S DAILY ACTIVITIES IN PUBLIC SPACES
DEPENDING ON THEIR CULTURAL BACKGROUND : SAMPLE OF
BRUSSELS/SCHAARBEEK**

**M.Sc. Thesis by
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Department : Interdisciplinary

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ FEN BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

**KAMUSAL MEKANDA TÜRK KADINLARININ KÜLTÜRLERİNE BAĞLI
DAVRANIŞ BİÇİMLERİ : BRÜKSEL/SCHAARBEEK ÖRNEĞİ**

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FOREWORD

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Berrak BAKIŞKAN
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TURKISH WOMEN'S DAILY ACTIVITIES IN PUBLIC SPACES DEPENDING ON THEIR CULTURAL BACKGROUND : SAMPLE OF BRUSSELS/SCHAARBEEK

SUMMARY

There are many factors affecting human-environment relations in public places. One of these components can be accepted as cultural background that people have depending on their past experiences. In terms of this interaction, these factors can be related to environmental perception, personal and social behaviors, urban image and identity. Culture and other mentioned notions constitute a filter in people's minds besides their personal evaluations. Hence, to understand the human-environment interaction, these concepts are re-investigated theoretically.

Brussels, besides being the capital city of Europe, has an important mission for locating in the core of a small but politically complex country, Belgium. In addition, many Turkish citizens dwell in this city densely in a neighborhood. As a result of this situation, significant social and physical structures exist in several types of public spaces in the Turkish neighborhood, Schaarbeek. The main purpose of this research is to understand how people from a different culture in Brussels perceive and evaluate the public spaces they mostly use within their behaviors in those areas.

The methodology of the thesis has been started to be constructed by determining the public spaces to be analyzed in Northern Brussels, Schaarbeek. Immediately, observations and note taking on the site are done to determine daily visible part of human behaviors in selected spaces. Afterwards, a questionnaire is applied to some part of local people living in the neighborhood in order to understand how public spaces are evaluated for a part of people not using the spaces effectively.

As a result of this study, human-environment interaction considering Turkish inhabitants in Brussels is researched. It is found out that female users prefer to use public spaces less than males, and they have negative points of view related to the social environment, design of open spaces, safety, and originality of outdoor spaces in Schaarbeek.

Keywords: Environmental Perception, Culture, Public Space, Urban Image and Identity.

KAMUSAL MEKANDA TÜRK KADINLARININ KÜLTÜRLERİNE BAĞLI DAVRANIŞ BİÇİMLERİ : BRÜKSEL/SCHAARBEEK ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZET

Kamusal mekanlarda insan-çevre ilişkileri bağlamında pek çok etkiden söz edilebilir. Bunlardan birinin, insanların geçmiş deneyimlerinden kaynaklanan kültürel birikimleri olduğu kabul edilebilir. Bu etkileşim bağlamında bahsedilen birikimler çevresel algı, kişisel ve toplumsal davranışlar, kentsel imaj ve kimlikle ilişkili olabilmektedir. Kültür ve yukarıda sayılan diğer kavramlar, kişisel değerlendirmelerin yanısıra insanların belleklerinde birer filtre oluştururlar. Dolayısıyla, insan-çevre etkileşimini anlamak için bu kavramlar teorik bağlamda yeniden sorgulanmıştır.

Brüksel, Avrupa'nın başkenti kabul edilerek önemli bir misyona sahip olmakla birlikte küçük, fakat politik açıdan karmaşık bir ülke olan Belçika'nın da başkenti ve merkezi olması nedeniyle de dikkate alınan bir şehirdir. Buna ek olarak, çok sayıda Türk vatandaşı da özellikle kentin belirli bir semtinde yoğun olarak ikamet etmektedir. Bu durumun bir sonucu olarak, bu Türk mahallesindeki (Schaarbeek) pek çok kamusal mekanda önemli sosyal ve fiziksel yapılanmalar bulunmaktadır. Bu araştırmanın esas amacı farklı bir kültürden gelen Brüksel'deki bu insanların sıklıkla kullandıkları kamusal mekanları algılama, yorumlama ve oradaki davranış biçimlerini anlamaktır.

Tez çalışmasının metodu öncelikle Brüksel'in kuzeyindeki Schaarbeek semtinde analiz edilecek bölgenin belirlenmesi ile oluşturulmaya başlamıştır. Hemen ardından, gün içinde görülebilen alanlarda kullanıcı davranışları gözlenmiş ve buna bağlı notlar alınmıştır. Bunların ardından, gözlem sonuçlarına bağlı olarak Schaarbeek'te yaşayan insanlar arasından bu mekanları efektif şekilde kullanmayan gruptaki kişilerin bir bölümü üzerinde anket çalışması uygulanmıştır.

Bu çalışmanın sonucu olarak, insan-çevre etkileşimi Brüksel'de yaşayan Türkler göz önünde bulundurularak araştırılmıştır. Kadın kullanıcıların kamusal mekanları erkeklere göre daha az kullandıkları ve genel olarak Schaarbeek'teki dış mekanlara karşı sosyal çevre, açık alan tasarımı, güvenlik ve özgünlük yönlerinden olumsuz bir bakış açısına sahip oldukları ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Çevresel Algı, Kültür, Kamusal Mekan, Kentsel İmaj ve Kimlik.

1. INTRODUCTION

Public places belong to everyone. They are the common areas of a city which do not require any economic, social or cultural privilege to use them. Hence, public spaces are significant by making different user groups – such as citizens and immigrants, children and elderly people, disabled people and homeless people in addition to the young and healthy people in general standard in a city – come together, and causing a high level of contact between humans themselves and their environment.

In public open spaces people are free to fulfill several activities like transportation, communication, and commerce in general. As it can be perceived, transportation network of a city represents its development in macro-form. Nevertheless, in last couple of years, understanding of communication changed somehow. By development of technology, decrease in lack of face to face interaction caused alterations in human relations. To illustrate, meaning of ‘the closest friend’ has differed from generation to generation such that elderly people had chosen their friends from their near environments while young people prefer a variety of places including cyber sites to make friends. This example indicates that both transportation and relationships have spread in further areas instead of depending on certain centers. In addition, depending on changes in communication, needs for consumption turned into be placed in well-designed boxes called shopping malls defined by ‘non-places’ by sociologists because of lack of relations between people.

It can be said that all these changes reduced the direct and tactual human contact in our daily lives. However, human as a sensible entity, needs relations occurred by sensual experiences with other people and the environment. Even if all kinds of people may circulate in isolated areas like shopping malls, business districts, restaurants and so on, public areas can be regarded as essential places in providing connection between different groups of people. So, it can be accepted that the communication in public areas is still somehow more quantifiable in terms of a research based on behaviors triggered by different cultures.

Experiencing a space starts with a perception. Mostly, visual perception is deterministic in cognition of spaces. It should be also kept in mind that beyond visual recordings in human brain, there is interpretation of sensual stimuli in order to make the knowledge stable and useful. Hence, personal, cultural, and environmental codes are determinant factors for each person.

According to authorities, culture can generally be defined as acquisition of a common style in all ways of living of a group of people. Besides being a conceptual issue, it is visible that culture can be revealed by behaviors as reflections of the personal and collective memory. As expected, life styles of people under the concept of culture, directly affect the city-scapes. This can be accepted as an evidence for the reflection of social background to constructing cities and human behaviors dependently.

All the people have social and personal accumulation in their minds which guide them to response to what they perceive. In terms of this intertwined relation, it can be said that designing a space needs to be considered within the users' actions in the areas they use. In this case, it may be significant to test people's approaches to spatial perception in public areas in terms of an urban design research.

1.1 Purpose of the Thesis

The main objective of the study is to help increasing the level of life quality within providing consistent urban space organizations. By the way, these organizations may provide opportunities for people to adapt city life and to be more tolerant to each other. In addition, this research may be useful for urban designers, city planners, sociologists, statisticians, and other related professions in their decisions about human based projects.

1.2 Hypothesis

People coming from a society to another country will be expected to sustain their behaviors coming from their pasts in public spaces. In a more detailed way, Turkish women's daily activities and environmental perceptions in public spaces in a foreign country are directly related with their social and cultural background.

1.3 Limitations of the Thesis

The study consists of the terms visual perception, culture and human behavior within their relations to each other in theoretical basis. Throughout the reflection of this research of literature on thesis, beyond quotations and paraphrases, discussions and interrelations between these terms are given place in crucial points.

In addition, urban spaces are the laboratories while the natural user group in the spaces is the actors of this study. Hence, a site research on a neighborhood is made. In this public space, observations are made interviewees found via organizations are wanted to answer questions that prepared in advanced. Depending on these, the research is limited by the people using selected areas.

1.4 Content of the Study

The research includes investigation of perceptions, evaluations, and behaviors of Turkish people depending on their cultural traditions in a variety of public spaces in Brussels.

In the initial part of the study, general information about activities in public areas, perception and evaluation for humans in urban spaces, and the term of culture as background of them are mentioned.

In the second part of the study, concepts of perception, cognition, culture, urban space and collective memory are discussed on theoretical base.

In the third stage of the research, definitions of urban spaces where observations and interviews are made, content of questionnaires and their evaluations, and transformation of theoretical knowledge within the site experience are given.

In the last part, conclusion and general evaluation of the study are included.

1.5 Method

In the second part of the study, interrelation between perception, culture and behaviors, public spaces, and urban image and identity is re-investigated from literature of several disciplines –architecture, urban design, philosophy, anthropology, with interpretations and discussions.

In the third step related to practical study, observations and interviews are done considering the ages, genders and nationalities of people in the area, how long they have been living there, and with whom they are living. In addition, searching about how long time they spend in the area, their purposes to use that space, their feelings about the space, the relations of the users with the design elements in the spaces area can be significant in order to compare people's behaviors in urban areas with their social backgrounds.

In the conclusion part, re-evaluation of the source research within studies in the sites selected and a general interpretation for the whole study according to the quantitative results and theoretical assumptions are included.

2. HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT INTERACTION IN PUBLIC SPACES ON THEORETICAL BASIS

2.1 Perception

The term ‘perception’ has an extensive meaning such that it is defined differently in several fields and sources. Considering many authors’ views about ‘perception’, it may be categorized significantly in three aspects such as a general overview for the term, psychology of perception and perception in cognitive science in order to express the term from different aspects.

2.1.1 A general overview for the term ‘perception’

For early beginning, literal meaning of the word was researched and several dictionaries of philosophy were scanned. To start with, “Perception is the process of attaining awareness or understanding of sensory information. The word ‘perception’ comes from the Latin words ‘perceptio’, ‘percipio’, and means receiving, collecting, action of taking possession, apprehension with the mind or senses”. From this basic definition, it can be understood that perception is an abstract notion meaning ‘being taken by human brain’.

Perception is defined as the most basic of all cognitive processes. It starts with the sensation . . . and ends up with identifying (“interpreting”) the object of sensation . . . Because perception is the most cognitive process, the Gestalt psychologists thought that it must be instant and global (Bunge, 1999).

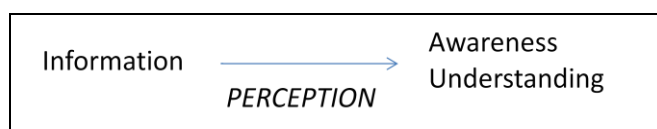


Figure 2.1: Perception

Considering the word meaning of the term and Bunge’s thoughts, a relation as in Figure 2.1 is drawn by me. In this scheme, it is expressed that the authors define the term as the process of transformation of the data to understanding in general meaning.

Perception . . . is the transfer of the objective world to subjective conscious . . . is the design of the image coming by the sensations from the outer world realized in conscious . . . According to Leibniz, -a German philosopher- ‘perception is an unconscious function. For the subject it means to take the items except itself’ (Hançerlioğlu, 1994).

. . . perception is a two-stage phenomenon: the first involves the receipt, by the individual human organism, of ephemeral and meaningless sense data; the second consists in the organization of these data into collectively held and enduring representations (Ingold, 2000). The author expresses the term combining two different ways of it. First the physical stimulus comes to the body, and then the evaluation of it fulfills in the brain via representative images or meanings.

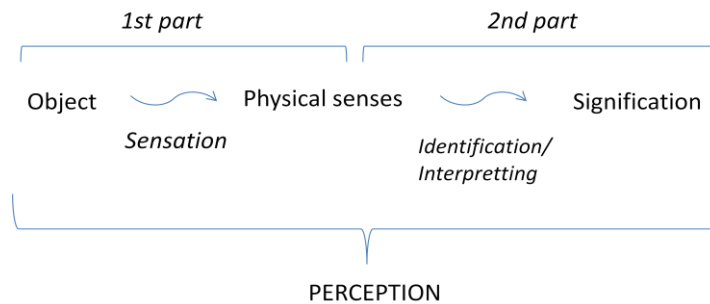


Figure 2.2: Perception in 2 phases

Considering Hançerlioğlu’s definition and Ingold’s thoughts, the figure above is prepared. His attitude for perception is in 2 processes. Physical stimuli taken by human body is the first period of sensation while its interpretation to significations occurs the second part of the whole process.

Perception can be defined as “. . . the process of recognizing or identifying something. Usually employed of sense perception, when the thing which we recognize or identify is the object affecting a sense organ” (Drever, 1952). In these words, the author mentions about general process of perception as done in previous definitions. However, he stresses about the sensual process (the first part) more. According to Ponty, an authority for perception, the theory of body is already a theory of perception (Neo, 2004). In these words, the author stresses the physical part of the notion.

In addition, the term perception is used in the environmental design literature differently from the way in which it is used in psychology – it is used in the sense of how things are seen (Rapoport, 1977). The author expresses the term in an environmental meaning. Besides, he emphasizes on the identifiable side of the perception which may change from person to person.

On the other hand, Akarsu makes another emphasis on the second part. An object is perceived by the senses. However, perception is more than sensational impressions, it is to be aware consciously and a fact that leads the senses to the awareness (Akarsu, 1998). This expression indicates that senses and conscious function together and consecutively to cause perception.

2.1.2 Psychology of perception

Expressing psychology of perception after the term's philosophical background may be significant. Sources related to psychology of perception mention about how perceiving occurs from birth to adulthood and for the society by individuals. Vernon (1971) points out that psychology of perception can be mentioned beginning with a baby's birth and how it perceives the world around, going on with adults' perception of the objects, shapes, and colors respectively. Afterwards, the perception of space and movement can be mentioned associating them with people's personalities shaped with the accumulation of several years' experiences with the environment. The author stresses that perception is based on the early childhood experiences, and then spatial and personal evaluations improve. From this point of view, it can be said that common users of a public place may have similar acknowledgement related to their environments. However, their ways of interpretation about their environment may change according to different codes coming from their childhoods.

It can be predicted that when a child was born its psychological structure begins to be developed by the senses. Vernon (1971) implies that by the first light coming to the baby's eyes, the first perception occurs visually. Then when something touches its skin, it hits against, when mother's nipple touches its lips, it sucks. Its mother's voice is the first voice to be recognized and her smell is the first one that it gets. This explanation indicates that babies firstly experience the sensational part of perception which is initial and physical (Figure 2.2).

Secondly, it may be relevant to consider the talking children in terms of their perception of life. Children pay attention to the overall appearance of the environment seriously, and they can notice the differences immediately (Ünlü, 1998). This can be accepted as the period which perception begins to be identified by individuals.

The process of learning to classify objects in accordance with their qualities of appearance, behavior, and use is greatly facilitated by the development of speech and language (Vernon, 1971). The author means that childhood is the period when speech is improving, and children's naming and grouping of objects develop accordingly.

Vernon makes an illustration for the ways of perception of children. Often the same word is employed for objects to which the child reacts in similar ways. Thus one child used 'hot' for everything he was forbidden to touch because touching it would cause pain (Vernon, 1971). This example also verifies that children tend to categorize everything they experience in daily life. It means that identifiable part of perception starts with classifications and categories.

Furthermore, while children are growing up, these categories are being shaped and detailed. According to an illustration of Vernon again, when children were asked to group together pictures of objects which 'belonged together' or were alike, many children of six to eight years stressed the perceptual characteristics of size, color or spatial position (Vernon, 1971). In these words, the author expresses the result of a research related to how children group things applied to children. When the author's general explanations related to perception in childhood considered, it can be concluded that children tend to categorize things according to their physical appearances such as their size and shapes. However, Vernon insists that before being able to perceive and identify the environment, the child has to learn classifying things according to their shapes and sizes also with different surroundings and from different ways of seeing.

For a research having a case study area in several public places, perception of adults may be quite more important than that of children considering the physical characteristics and behavior types in the areas. In terms of perceiving objects,

making classifications and categorizations beginning from childhood is mentioned under previous headings. It can be understood that this is a kind of generalizing objects and cannot totally let people identify and differentiate things. Hopkins (1998) points out that in order to detail perception, general outline or ‘contour’ of a substance is the most important feature. From the author’s point of view, it can be understood that the line occurring the general shape determines the perception for the perceiver of a matter.

In terms of ‘figure – ground’ relation, which is regarded as fundamental in perception, several observations are made. According to Zakia,

- Even though the figure and ground are in the same physical plane, the figure often appears nearer to the observer.
- Figure and ground cannot be seen simultaneously, but can be seen sequentially.
- Figure usually occupies an area smaller than does ground.
- Figure is seen as having contour and form; ground is not (except of course when ground is seen as figure) (Zakia, 2002).

These determinations indicate that figure can be thought as the attractive one in terms of figure – ground experience. In addition, when one item is perceived as figure, it is impossible not to perceive the rest as ground at the same time. In the case figure and ground interchange, the perception moves to another moment. Whenever the figure is perceived, it does have an outline of form. At the same time, ground may have a form in case of being seen as figure.



Figure 2.3: Alternating figure and ground (Vernon, 1971).

It can be perceived that the first square in figure 2.1, only boundaries of two figures – a vase and two faces– are visible. However, it is possible to make it easier to perceive figures by grouping them –darkening two complementary figures separately–. In terms of these alternating images related to perception, Ünlü (1998) points out several concepts such as proximity, similarity, encompass, continuity,

enclosure, zone, and symmetry. In this respect, it becomes possible to evaluate the figures in terms of basic design notions.

Besides being a cognitive process, it can be understood that perception is a relative concept that changes from person to person. According to Rapoport, “Perception seems to be used in the sense of how things are seen” (Rapoport, 1977). In these words, the author emphasizes the changeable meaning of the term.

According to Gibson (1971), image which is formed in the retina of the eye and image which we perceive are different. First of them is field of view, and the second one is world of vision (Abacı, 2009). Because vision is different for each person, perception also can be accepted as a changing notion depending on different accumulations of people. According to Lang (1987), “Perception is an active not a passive process . . . Person – environment relationship is a dynamic one . . . Perception cannot be explained by separating behavior into the perceiver and the perceived”. The author mentions about the importance of human who can make perception significant. By the way, Noe (2004) implies a similar thought with following words, perceptual experience acquires content thanks to our possession of bodily skills. What we perceive is determined by what we do; it is determined by what we are ready to do. In this respect, Noe emphasizes that perceiver is essential in what is perceived actually.

2.1.3 Environmental perception and cognition

It can be said that environmental perception has a two-way expression coming from environment and perception. According to Rapoport, avoiding the obvious philosophical problems, environmental perception is concerned with the environment relates to the ‘real’ environment (Rapoport, 1971). In these words, environmental aspect of the term is emphasized by being a ‘real environment’. According to the author again, environmental perception is important because it introduces variability (cultural and personal) and modifies the notion of a single environment with invariant properties (Rapoport, 1971). Herewith, personal and cultural aspects are mentioned together with the environment. It means that human – environment relationship can be clarified via environmental perception.

Human – environment relation can be accepted as a transactional issue. It means that each of them affects the other. According to Ocakçı, people take something (positive or negative) from and give or do things to the environment; these acts may alter the environment influence on people. A sense of place is the pattern of reactions that a setting stimulates the person. In these words, it is emphasized that the meaning of an environment changes depending on how a person interprets it in a positive or negative way.

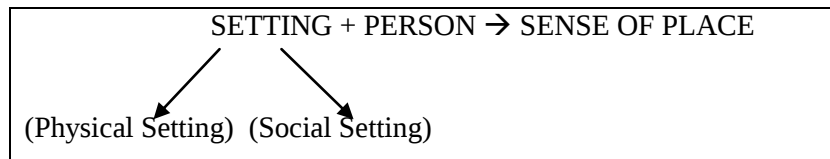


Figure 2.4: Constitution of sense of place

The figure above indicates that perception of a space is shaped by the physical and social environment of the person within the person himself/herself. As it can be understood, a single person and the one's place in society differs in terms of perception.

All concepts (psychological, cultural and social, and physiological factors) help us to understand the relation between human and structural environment and contribute to our environmental understanding process. Beyond this purpose, each notion teaches us important elements in the environment and the effects of structural environment to people or in contrast to be affected by the environment (Ünlü, 1998). In these words, the author denotes the effects of personal and environmental actions on people in terms of cognitive process. However, the notions are in a relation. According to the author again, in summary, these concepts are related to each other in a complementary way in cognitive process (Ünlü, 1998). Herewith, it is again emphasized that there is an interactive relation among the factors mentioned.

In addition, the individual and culture are two well-established concepts that humanists and social scientists have used to examine man and his world, including his perception and evaluation of the environment (Proshansky and Ittelson, 1976). This means that both the individual itself and normative demands of the society shapes the environmental perception of a person in general. Related to this view, Rapoport (1977) created the following scheme.

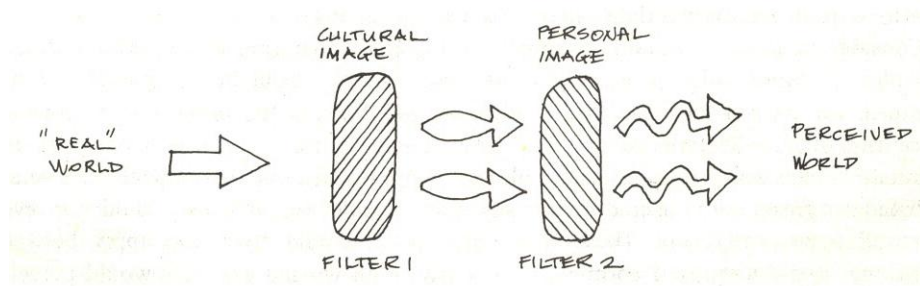


Figure 2.5: The filter model (Rapoport, 1977).

Within the model above, the author expresses how transformation occurs between the real world and the one perceived by the person. As it can be understood, perception occurs when cultural accumulation and personal point of view make eliminations in human brain. In this respect, it may also be important to mention about meaning and evaluation that can be accepted as a part of filtering process and the perceived world.

According to Rapoport again, evaluation leads to preferences and choices based more on wants (and related to meaning and affect) than on needs. It also includes aesthetics, which I identify with perceptual aspects of environmental quality (Rapoport, 2005). In this respect, the author means that evaluation is kind of sum of choices made by personal and social environmental forms in people's minds. Aesthetics can also be regarded as a part of decisions coming with these choices in an environmental meaning.

After accepting evaluation of perception in two filters, it may be significant to mention the difference between 'perception' and 'cognition' –two related terms separating in some point–. According to Rapoport again, "Perception has been used to describe the way in which people understand, structure and learn the environment and use mental maps to negotiate it. This might better be called environmental cognition . . . Perception is more sensory, more related to direct experience, and involves the individual in the specific environment. As experience becomes less immediate, and the amount of interference made increases, we can speak of cognition (Rapoport, 1977). In these words, the author emphasizes the difference between the terms 'perception' and 'cognition'. Cognition can be accepted as a definition related to a longer period of accumulation rather than experience as in

perceiving an image. The following figure created by Rapoport indicates the relation between perception and cognition in a general way.

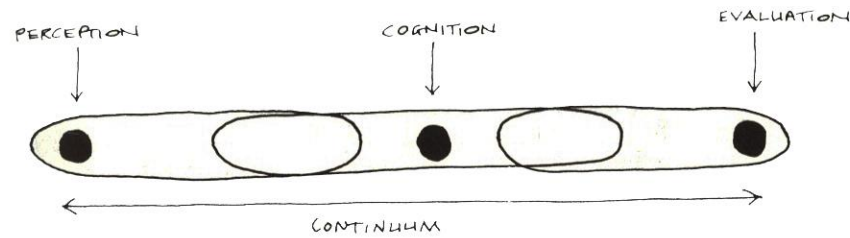


Figure 2.6: Perception, cognition and evaluation (Rapoport, 1977).

According to the figure above, perception, cognition and evaluation are related to each other defining a continuous period of signification. In a more detailed way, perception and cognition have an intersection area while cognition and evaluation intersect as well.

Perception itself is a cognitive process. Human beings relate to the physical world through the visual-psychological process of perception and cognition. Perception is the act of apprehending through the mind and senses of observing, of being aware. Cognition is the act of knowing, of consciously gaining and storing new information in the memory. It means that perception is related to instant comprehension via senses while cognition is linked to the memory occurring acquisition knowledge throughout the time.

In terms of types of perception in urban area, three basic headings can be mentioned. Ocağcı points out operational, responsive and inferential perceptions. Firstly, operational perception is based on environmental image. To illustrate, while people are moving in a city, they tend to become familiar with many elements in the city to use them as reference points. Hence they can create a mental structure of the city through their repetitive activities by remembering and evaluating mentioned images.

Herewith, the author makes it possible to understand how urban perception reflects to the memory through environmental images. Secondly, it can be said that responsive perception may be based on demand and responsibility. This type of perception is quite different than the previous one. The author makes the following illustration about this issue;

When the urban dweller is relaxing, or actively sightseeing as a tourist or explorer of his own city, the environment is perceived more responsively for what it is. In this respect, a more cognitive action is explained through responses to the urban images. Lastly, inferential perception in urban area can be based on communication medium and memories. According to the author again, when people move from one part of the city to another, they remember their past experiences, and compare the environment of the city by inference from parallel situation . . . The environment is viewed as a communications medium, and we infer beyond the information given (Ocakçı, 2004). The term can be regarded as the most critical type of urban perception because of containing the instant experience and accumulations together. Besides, personal interpretations become a vital part of urban perception within this definition.

Several factors can be ordered in terms of how people perceive and contact their environments. Cüceloğlu (1991) points out that physical characteristics and comfort conditions of space, diversity of structures or type of environment (such as residential, business, or school area) affect transmission. Also, ages, professions, education levels of people who get in touch with the place determine the way of contact (Günel, 2006). Besides, several factors affecting perception of the environment mentioned by Cüceloğlu, some more may be added. Abacı (2009) points out that age, gender, experience, movement, attention and hereditary characters are important features that affect the way people evaluate their environments.

These factors can be investigated in a more detailed way in order to see their effects on perceiving and evaluating environments.

- **Age:** It can be predicted that age is a determinative variable in perceiving environment. Chawal (1991) mentions that children between 1 to 3 ages spend just a little part of their time for social environment when they interested in the environment. They spend 80-90 per cent of their times interested in their physical environment. It has been known that this relation changes by age. Surveys show that young people emphasize especially on streets because they browse around commonly. Passive recreational spaces, like parks and resting points where people fulfill their needs, become more important (Abacı, 2009). In these words, the author

emphasizes that the importance of what is perceived changes depending on how old the perceiver is.

- **Gender:** In general terms, Tuan (1974) expresses the gender difference in perception with “In cultures of strongly differentiated sex roles, men and women will look at different aspects of the environment and acquire different attitudes toward them (Abacı, 2009). This statement can be accepted as predictable when perceptions of different genders are thought in such society.

According to Kimura and Fishman (1992), women perceive environmental images more rapidly than men. Moreover, their visual memory is more powerful. However, men can distinguish figures in a complex form easily than women (Abacı, 2009). With this information, it is revealed that women and men have different capacities and abilities in terms of environmental perception. According to Guardo and Meisels (1985) cultural learning begins earlier in girls than boys. Alexander says, men’s perception and evaluation of their environment are more detailed and correct because of their dynamic life styles (Morval, 1985; Abacı, 2009). Additionally, this knowledge about perception difference in genders is related to psychology of perception.

- **Experience:** Importance of experience was mentioned while defining perception and cognition. Besides, Lynch (1960) states that if the observers have knowledge about how the existing conditions developed, this data affect their environmental image partially.

People, who are born in a certain city or migrated, have different cognitions about same place. Francescato and Mebane (1973) point out that in a study on Rome, natives draw the city usually city center oriented, however, migrants draw out spaces of the city. Similar to that, a study on Milan shows that natives draw more components than migrants. If the period of dwelling increases, the degree of perception will increase. That is because people find more chance to observe their surroundings and gain more knowledge about the urban (Kara, 1997; Abacı, 2009). This example indicates that experience totally changes the way people perceive their environment. For such study, several results might be attained because perception

changes from person to person. However, the difference between migrants and local people can be accepted as an expected result. Additionally, according to Tuan (1974), only the visitor (and particularly tourist) has a view point; his perception is often a matter of using his eyes to compose pictures. The native, by contrast, has a complex attitude derived from his immersion in the totality of his environment. The visitor's evaluation of the environment is essentially aesthetical. It is an outsider's view. The outsider judges by appearance, by some formal canon of beauty (Abacı, 2009). This point of view also indicates how visitors' and habitants' perceptions differ. The author insists that visitors have a quite untouched view compared to native inhabitants. On the other hand, with experience, a person learns to pay attention to details of the world that were not attended before (Lang, 1987). This author finds experience quite more advantageous in terms of signifying things in perception.

- **Movement:** In terms of environmental perception, movement of the perceiver affects the meaning of the perceived item. Perception is multimodal; movement plays a major part in environmental perception (Lang, 1987). Herewith, the author emphasizes how important movement is. According to Kara (1997), people who use different transportation vehicles perceive their environment differently. A car driver directs his attention to visual details; however, pedestrians perceive their environment as a whole. People who usually use buses condense on bus stops; however, pedestrians focus on facades and around buildings (quoted in Abacı, 2009). The author stresses on the speed of movement and exemplifies a person's perception in urban environment while the one is walking or driving a car.

- **Selective Attention:** It can be accepted that there is too much stimuli towards people in the (especially urban) environment. Hence, people tend to select some of these stimuli related to their interests, expectations and needs. According to Morgan's (1995) 'selective attention', perceived items can be described as 'focus', and the total of partially perceived items can be called 'limit area', and all other stimuli apart from these can be described as 'background' . . . Occurrence of 'selective attention' depends on the variables coming from the perceiver and the stimulus. External factors originated by stimuli are defined as magnitude, contrast,

repetition and movement (Kahvecioğlu, 1998). By these definitions, the author stresses on the importance of what people select to perceive in their environments shape their perceived world.

- **Hereditary Characters:** People's abilities, intelligence, individual differences or obstacles result in differences in their perceptions.

The individual is, from one point of view, a human organism that has basic needs and reacts to external stimuli in different ways; is a being with a unique genetic makeup, unique experiences, and a unique world view (Proshansky and Ittelson, 1976). Considering following thoughts of the authors as well, it can be understood that the second sense of evaluating an individual is more important in order to be able to differentiate a person's unique interpretations from the society.

Another important factor for perception is cultural characteristics. Segal mentions cultural influences on visual perception in his study. He states that after their studies, cultural differences affect perception of the people. He points out that the basic process of perception is the same for all mankind; only the contents differ and this difference exists only because of their differently reflected perceptual inference habits (Segal 1996; Abacı, 2009). This expression emphasizes the effects of cultural aspect on perception of people.

2.2 Culture and Behavior

Culture and behavior can be evaluated from two aspects such as the meaning of culture from a general overview and its relation with the term behavior consequently. Such level of expressions are decided to be made because culture can be regarded as a broad and abstract term while its interaction with behavior indicates to a visible result.

2.2.1 A general overview for the term 'culture'

Firstly, literal meaning of the term 'culture' is tried to be comprehended. According to Nişanyan (2002), when linguistic meaning of culture is investigated, it can be seen that the word is based on 'culture' in French and 'cultura' in Latin (Gürpınar, 2008). Herewith, it is possible to see the very basic meaning of the term.

The word ‘cultivate’ in English is derived from this meaning. The first meaning of ‘cultivate’ is to help something grow and flourish, and its second meaning is to try hard to develop something and make it stronger or better. It can be seen that this term is also related to ‘cult’ which is one step back from ‘culture’. ‘Culte’ means the way of worship, religion and religious ceremonies in French while ‘cultus’ meaning crop and to harvest in Latin (Gürpınar, 2008).

The term is also evaluated in philosophical meaning. Culture is defined as one of the three artificial (made) and concrete subsystems of every human society, along with the economy and policy (Bunge, 1999). The author emphasizes the man-made aspect of the term. According to Hançerlioğlu, culture is human nature. It is mostly defined as all the values that provide a whole for a society’s perceptions and thoughts (Hançerlioğlu, 1976). This author evaluate the term in a generalized way. Nietzsche defines culture as acquisition of a union style of living of a nation in all ways (Akarsu, 1998).

“Culture is not a thing but an idea, a concept, a construct: a label for the many things people think, believe and do and how they do them” (Rapoport, 2005). Therefore, culture should be accepted as a concept and a theoretical construct.

Namenwirth and Weber (1987) point out that culture does not have any designer but it comes from society and intersects with it. Culture has a conceptual existence. It is a representation of real life just like the plans of a building which is a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional reality. Culture is a conceptual term and when culture is understood by society then it will turn into other aspects within the society. In this respect, culture can be regarded as a generalization of an aspect of repetitions in society.

Under this heading, the term culture is evaluated in literal, philosophic and environmental meanings from different authors’ views. It can be understood that culture is a conceptual issue which has physical representations in the environment. As a result, culture can be defined as a conceptual system occurred spontaneously by unity of repetition of several social behaviors done by a group of people.

2.2.2 Culture – behavior relation

A simple way of thinking about culture and behavior means to relate them from concrete abstract considering behavior as a reflection of culture mediately. In the framework below, Triandis (1994) aimed to systematize this relation in a general way.

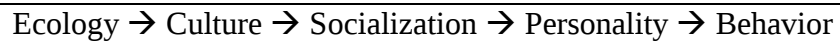


Figure 2.7: Culture and behavior

Considering the figure above, it can be said that firstly, ‘ecology’ refers to the physical environment, geography, climate, fauna, and flora. Herewith, the author evaluates culture as a result of natural resources. These resources make it possible for certain behaviors to lead rewards; behaviors that are rewarded become automatic and become the customs of culture (Triandis, 1994).

These factors create a particular way looking at the social environment, and are factors that make up subjective culture (. . . including categories, norms, roles, particular kinds of self-concepts and values). When attitudes and norms are shared, they are part of culture (Triandis, 1994). From this explanation, it can be understood that socialization comes together with sharing cultural issues.

Before commenting the rest of the table, it might be significant to define ‘behavior’. Rapoport (2005) points out that behavior can be accepted as the response to cognition, meaning, and evaluation. Herewith, behavior can be thought as a flashback of culture and perception.

For the rest of the table, it can be said that when they are held by an individual, they may or may not be shared; then they are part of personality. Habits, self-definitions, norms, attitudes, and beliefs are linked to behavior” (Triandis, 1994) (Figure 2.7). The author evaluates behavior as a consecutive element coming right after personality. Rapoport (2005) shows the relation in a more general way and in correlation (Figure 2.8).

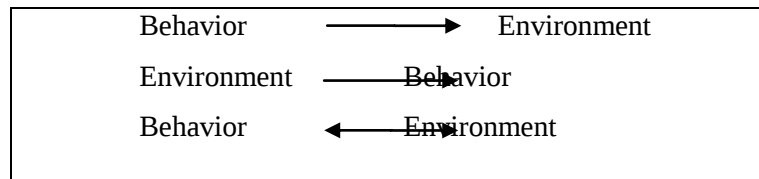


Figure 2.8: Environment – behavior relation

In addition, relation between culture and human behavior can be explained in some other ways as well. Rapoport (1980) evaluates the relation between culture and its environment in a frame called ‘Cognitive Appropriation Model’ (Turgut, 1990). Turgut expresses the model with the following words. According to this model, environment and life style reflect the choice among certain ideals and images within a culture’s cognitive figure. From this point of view, life style and symbolic meanings play important roles in culture (Turgut, 1990). Herewith, the author emphasizes the way culture forms the environment and life styles of people.

Similarly, one way of looking at culture is in terms of the most common choices made. It is this lawfulness of the choices which makes places recognizably different from one another; makes dress, behavior, structuring of space, time, meaning, and communication all noticeably different. These consistent choices result in style – whether of built environment and of life (Altman, Rapoport and Wohlwill, 1980). In this respect, the authors mention about the choices of a plurality related to the culture. They also mean that the culture forms spaces and behaviors in a general scale.

On the other hand, these three authors explain culture-environment relationship. As it can be understood, environmental behavior is a part of culture-behavior relationship for a research done in public spaces. The relationship between culture and the environment is complex. A functional interdependence often exists among multiple cultural and environmental elements. As a result, it is usually not possible to delineate simple unidirectional causal relationships between a single cultural and single environmental variable. In these words, the authors mention that there is an ambiguous relationship between culture and space because many valuables of two notions in themselves. Additionally, the natural environment often influences the development of cultural practices within any given society. In adjusting to the environment, people adopt certain patterns of living which allow for their successful adaptation (Altman, Rapoport and Wohlwill, 1980). From this point of view, it can

be thought that living in the same environment for a long time develops adaptation of people to the certain conditions.

Güvenç (1985) states that culture is a complex totality of man, consisting of his being a member of a society, gaining knowledge, and some other skills and habits such as art, ethics and traditions . . . Man, being a member of society will gain the cultural content by the educational process and will all be concluded as culture (Erdemir, 1993).

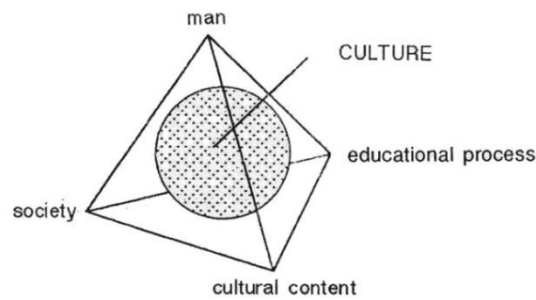


Figure 2.9: Schematic explanation of Tylor's theory of culture (Erdemir, 1993).

Considering the conceptualization in Figure 2.9, it can be said that culture has several variables such as man (the person him/herself), society, cultural content, and educational process when culture is evaluated theoretically. The figure reveals that culture is in balance with these factors and it can enlarge or shrink with the change of one or more of these components.

In terms of different individuals and different interpretations in a public places, an author gives example from the U.S.A. According to Hall (1966), different perceptions of space . . . may often lead to different definitions of what constitutes an inappropriate interaction distance or crowded living conditions. Consequently, miscommunication can occur when individuals from different cultures attempt to interpret each other's spatial behavior (Altman, Rapoport and Wohlwill, 1980). This can be accepted as an interesting view because of mentioning about an illustration of a real situation related to variety of culture and personal behavior relation. In these words, Hall touches upon how the variety of cultures may cause personal isolation in a country like the U.S.A.

In case of changes in cultural and physical habitat of people, how they can behaviorally deal with the new environment might be discussed. In this respect, adaptation (meaning the reduction of dissonance within a system – the increase of harmony among a set of interacting variables –) becomes an important term. According to Altman, Rapoport and Wohlwill (1980), “. . . the reaction or withdrawal modes have sometimes been employed, resulting in development of technology or in group or individual migration. If reaction is successful, then the group may be classified out of the subsistence-level category, or if reaction is unsuccessful, major breakdown may occur; and if withdrawal is used, the group is no longer available for study in that particular habitat. The authors express the adaptation or withdrawal in case of migrations individually or as a group of people within the situations’ positive and negative results. Hence, this issue may be significant to research on a group of migrants.

In case different cultures are mentioned in an environment, spatial behavior may also become important for an urban design research. When social behaviors of a society are accepted as a reflective factor of the society’s culture, it becomes impossible to distinctly built environment from the culture itself.

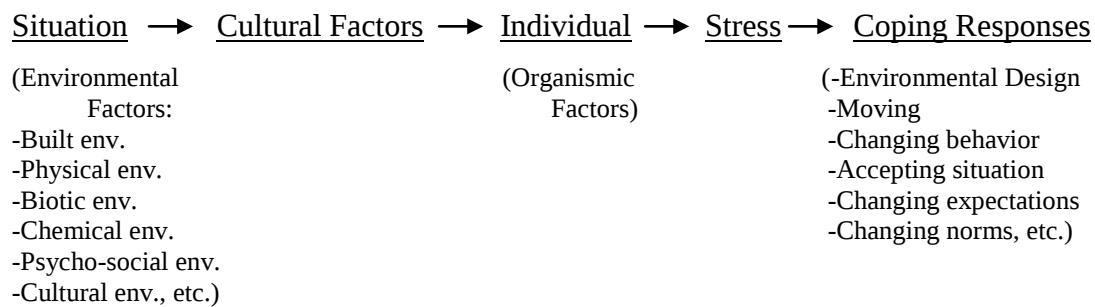


Figure 2.10: Environment, culture and behavior (Rapoport, 2005).

In the figure above, the author points out the sequencing between an environmental reality and behavior. Different from the ‘Filter Model’ mentioned before, it is upgraded in details in an environmental meaning (Rapoport, 2005). Herewith, the results led by physical environment and culture becomes more concrete in terms of environmental behavior.

On the other hand, Sommer (1974) illustrates that in smaller, more traditional societies, there is often a great deal of consensus regarding the architectural forms of

most buildings. Architectural designs of buildings are evolved to match the climate and cultural traditions of those societies. In contrast, heterogeneous, multi-ethnic cultures like the U.S. are characterized by much less agreement regarding ‘appropriate’ architecture. As a result, there is considerably more variation (Sommer 1974; Altman, Rapoport and Wohlwill, 1980). This example can be regarded as a general verification for differentiation in architectural appearances of cities directly related to cultural features.

To sum up, culture-behavior relations are evaluated both in ordered (*see figure 2.8*) and in interactional (*see figure 2.9*) ways under this heading. As a result of the discussions made under this heading, it is reasonable to observe that culture-behavior interactions can be experienced in an urban area after review of related theory.

2.3 Public Space

As was mentioned under previous headings, environment and space depend on and interact with the terms ‘perception’ and culture’. When sources related to urban and public space are investigated, it is possible to see the contextual importance of space especially in public meaning. In this case, meaning of space is investigated briefly, and then public space/place is researched based on this term.

2.3.1 General overview for the terms ‘space’ and ‘public place’

According to Dictionary Larousse, in lexical meaning, ‘space’ is defined as the place where a person or a thing exists, or an action comes through (1992). In these words, it is possible to understand a three dimensional physical appearance related to the term. However, there may be other factors to expand this meaning. Rapoport assesses space in a similar but contextual way. According to the author, space is more than a three-dimensional physical space. At different times and in different contexts one is, in effect, dealing with different kinds of space and their congruence is an important design issue (Rapoport, 1977). Herewith, it can be understood that time and social factors occurring context can be regarded as important notions affecting space. According to Çubuk, Yüksel and Karabey (1978), space is multi-dimensional, and cannot be thought without life (Atabek, 2002). In addition, according to Erdemir (1993), to make a place a space depends mainly on man’s understanding and feeling

of space. In this manner, cultural differences play an important role in understanding what space is. Therefore, importance of culture and experience should be considered while space-place relationship is mentioned. However, throughout the study including site research, public space is regarded as a physical common place.

Relatively, aesthetics can be regarded as one of the cultural variables or personal evaluation scheme. N. Schulz (1971) expresses ‘aesthetic space’ as a more abstract construct to describe space. In terms of culture again, according to Güvenç (1971) like every cultural theme that man has created or which creates man, space can also have anthropology (Erdemir, 1993). Hence, it is once more mentioned that human, culture and relativity is essential for space.

When space is discussed in a perceptual meaning again, space is basically formed by the relationship between an object and a human being who perceives it. This relationship is primarily determined by sight, but when architectural space is considered, the relationship can be affected by olfaction, audition, and tactility as well. It often happens that the same place gives entirely different impressions according to the way rain, wind, and sunshine affect it (Ashihara, 1970). In this respect, the author assesses the term related to physical conditions and perceiver-perceived relation. By the way, according to Piaget, “. . . our ‘space consciousness’ is based upon operational schemata, that is, experiences with things” (N. Schulz, 1971). Therefore, being aware of the space via accumulations related to that place is essential for evaluating spaces. In terms of evaluating space from many aspects, N. Schulz (1971) stated that human’s image of his environment is a stable system of three-dimensional relations between meaningful objects. Therefore, the schemata can be unified in the concept ‘existential space’. ‘Perceptual space’ on the contrary, is egocentric and varies continuously, although the variations are linked to form meaningful experiences. Therefore, existential and perceptual spaces are different from each other according to personal aspects.

After explaining space, it might be significant to understand what public means, so that public space can be understood better. Public can be regarded as something belonging to people. It certainly interests and affects the society. It is open for everyone and used by them. In addition, public is related to local and central governance and foreseen by them. The term ‘public’ is the opposite of ‘private’

according to many sources (Perinçek, 2003). Hence, public means to be open to everyone in society. In addition, Arendt (1987) mentions that public has two meanings related but not identical to each other. Firstly, everything in public is open enough to be seen and heard by everyone. Secondly, the word ‘public’ means a world that is common for everyone segregating from ownerships. The author expresses the term in a similar way to the previous point of view but from two aspects related to community.

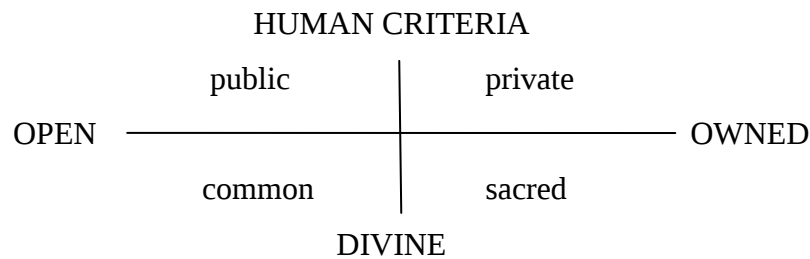


Figure 2.11: Publicity and privacy (Hénaff and Strong, 2001).

Considering the figure above, Hénaff and Strong (2001) mention that spaces may be human or divine; they may or may not be a manifestation of the being that owns them. Meaning of ‘public space’ is defined by on several authors and resources. As it is mentioned above, public and space have should be considered both separately and together because they have deep meanings. According to Iveson (2007), public space refers to particular places in the city that are (or should be) open to members of ‘the public’. Therefore, public’s ownership is vital for these places.

Francis (1989) points out that public spaces reflect a society’s culture, beliefs, public values, and the people themselves. Public space can be regarded as the common base where publicity is comprised and expressed. This common environment is like a mirror that shows inhabitants’ public values, personal treatments, social activities, and intersected public values. Therefore, it can be significant to mention that in terms of being open to all citizens and different cultures as well, distinctions are impossible not to constitute.

It should be noted that the social relations in urban public space act as mechanisms of social identification, marking boundaries who is in and out, not only between ethnicities, nationalities, and religious groups, but also within the community itself (Yücesoy, 2006). The author emphasized the categories and classifications public spaces defined by people. There is another similar view to that of Francis about the

relationships in public mentioned areas. According to Çubuk, Yüksel and Karabey (1978), public space is functional, and it is a social product of human activities. It is a base re-shaping by re-production continuously, and containing relations of production. It is a unity of relations constituting contemporary balances that society moves in (Atabek, 2002). Therefore, production, function and communication are essential in public places. According to Sennett (1990), as used interchangeably, the public space is considered to be at the core of the urban experience; the parts of the city in which everybody can come together to meet, to communicate, to conduct business, or just to enjoy the sound and sight of the urban area, and be anonymous in the crowd (Yücesoy, 2006). In terms of ownership and activities of public places more expressions are made. According to Atabek (2002), public places can be regarded as places designed or formed spontaneously for the people who dwell in the mentioned city. These are the places where urban and social life exists and people contact. In public spaces, streets and roads, open and green areas, education, health, religious, cultural, administrative buildings, parks and gardens are located.

2.3.2 Basic functions of public spaces

In order to let cities be a living organism, it can be generally said that social and physical fluxes such as life quality, movement, socializing, collective life, cultural and politic lives are required. Gökgür (2008) points out that public spaces can be regarded as activity, usage, and socializing areas of a city. These spaces have several basic functions and characteristics. First of all, in public spaces movement and accessibility exist. These are active areas that provide pedestrians access to services and urban equipments within guidance, shopping, waiting, gathering and distribution. Secondly, public places are open to social activities (ceremonies, fashion display, campaigns, festivals), cultural activities (street theatres, concerts, religious ceremonies), shopping, sportive activities, meetings, politic commissions, and commercial activities (restaurants, cafes, shops). Thirdly, public spaces are socializing areas. In these places, situations such as gatherings, apologizing, and consulting take place. Pedestrian transition is the most important movement in these spaces. Besides, public space is a place of information, opportunities, roaming of possibilities and ‘serendipity’ [efficiency of coincidence]. They are also important for politic and commercial activities.

In addition, public places are areas where social and spatial forms come together. Visual forms (architectural and sensual), social relations, and landscape elements are the factors defining these spaces. Moreover, public spaces can be accepted as places of identities. Because forms and architecture in these spaces contain movement, common usage, and identity, they give a meaning to the cities. Besides, architecture and urban forms change according to the socialization (Gökgür, 2008). So, it can be understood that there is an interactive relation between the society and architecture of public spaces.

The everyday life simply describes the lived experience shared by urban residents, the banal and ordinary routes, such as commuting, working, relaxing, moving through city streets and sidewalks, shopping, buying, eating food, and running households (Yücesoy, 2006).

In addition, according to Kayden (2000), cities provide space for their citizens in a variety of ways. Local governments own and operate parks, community centers, libraries and other facilities that are open and accessible to any user appearing at the entrance. Publicly owned streets, sidewalks, train and bus terminals, and subway stations are public spaces, even as their primary purpose is to facilitate pedestrian and vehicular movement from one place to another.

According to İnankul (1993), in urban areas, there is separation of public and civic spaces. Mark Lilla defines public place as commonly used areas for special needs while defining social space as areas where behaved appropriate for common purposes an individual in society (Perinçek, 2003). In these words, definitions of two kinds of spaces are made. In a similar way, this expression gives an idea about how public places can change people's behaviors.

Lofland (1998) mentions that public space is one of the areas that let people gain experiences with themselves and other people by providing different relationships between individuals. As Lofland states, human contact is a vital point in public spaces.

It is a known fact that public spaces have changed a lot depending on the periods they were built and the centuries they witnessed. Especially by the second half of the 20th century a dramatic change is visible in terms of qualities, contents, and land-use

characteristics of public spaces. Gökgür (2008) states that the most important changes in public spaces show themselves within determined norms and controls which aim to hinder conflicts and rebellions in order to create spaces free from danger. However, aesthetically good but unsocial spaces came out of this manipulation.

Carmona, Magalhaes and Hammond (2008) point out several key themes about public spaces that are debated today as follows;

- The notion of public space having multiple functions,
- The public space being a democratic space where citizens can interact and discuss issues pertaining to the city,
- Public space being used for commercial purposes,
- Public space as an informal meeting place and community space,
- The aesthetic qualities of a public space giving rise to pleasure,
- Notions of restricting access to public space, with some people having more rights than others.

According to Ascher (2004), changes in public spaces are led by rises of metropolitan areas. In a more detailed way, within metropolitan areas, city forms and scales change. Expansion process of cities and urbanization can also be accepted as the reflections of first period of Modernization (Gökgür, 2008).

Gökgür (2008) points out following factors that changed human-environment interaction into something else;

- Transportation, communication, development of information technologies, and role of electronic media constitute the first group of reasons. Especially electronic media is accepted as the factor which almost finished public places. Besides, faster communication and transportation decreased the human-environment relationship to minimum level in public spaces.
- Specialization of functions and rising of new city centers are other aspects of Modernism on public spaces. Mega-structures and commercial spaces became important by this way. Hence, users of these public spaces changed into customers.
- Change in urban functional hierarchy is another factor related to loss of industrial and economic potentials of city centers. Commercial urbanism

caused opening of new centers and introvert spaces in order to protect values of different cultural groups.

- Situation of public spaces in metropolis can be ordered as the last reason of change. In the process of becoming metropolis in a city, high-cost materials and people who have high income gather in important centers. This is especially caused by globalization and gathering largest amount of urban functions in certain cities. Hence, traditional public spaces are hindered to be common living environments as it used to be.

Since 1960's, urban studies and planning literature have addressed the urban public space ideally as a place of framing a vision of social life in the city, a vision for those who interact there everyday, a common place and a social staging ground (Yücesoy, 2006). This point of view refers to both aspects of public spaces and social behaviors in terms of interchanging each other. In this respect, it can be accepted that there is an interactive relation between people and design of social environment. Hence it can be experienced under a more general heading called 'human-environment interactions'.

2.3.3 Square as a type of public space

Among public spaces, squares play an important role. According to Moughtin (2003), one of the most important elements of city design is the square or plaza. To begin with, squares can be evaluated basically and physically. Webb (1990) points out that squares are urban spaces that are limited by architectural buildings, green elements, entrance routes of buildings, (lower elements such as urban equipments) and sky as a third dimension element –ceiling– (Öztürk, 2009). Herewith, a square should be defined by some elements. Actually, it even has a ceiling on the top.

Giritlioğlu (1991) points out that what is important to be able to provide to a human, as a social entity, is a comfortable life in public spaces. Hence, dimensions and physical conditions of a square as a public space is important for the users' psychology and comfort.

Zucker (1959) mentions that there are architecturally several types of squares. Hereby, it is possible to explain them briefly. Firstly, the closed square that is visualized as a complete enclosure is interrupted only by the streets leading to it.

Second one is the dominated square which is characterized by one individual structure or a group of buildings towards which the open space is directed and to which all other surrounding structures are related. Another one is the nuclear square that can be expressed by being directed through the visual magnetism of the governing structure or the dominant vista. Grouped squares are the fourth type which are basically formed by a group of three or more squares of different shapes and proportions that surround one dominant building. Lastly, amorphous squares are mentioned as the fifth group. This type of public squares can be thought as the ones that are hard to categorize within previous four squares because of being formless and unorganized. Herewith, amorphous squares should really be formless and without a shape or organization.

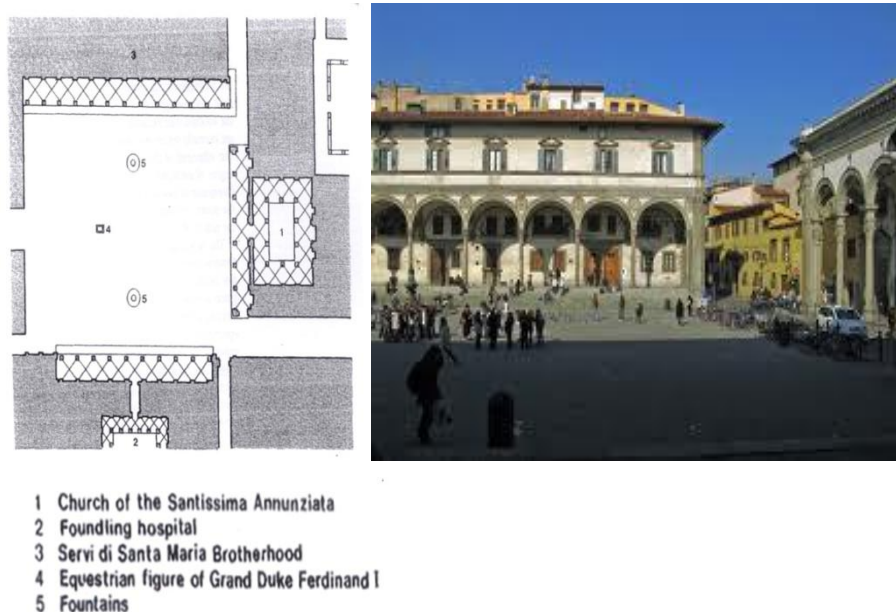


Figure 2.12: A plan and a view from Piazza della Annuziata, Florence (Moughtin, 2003).

In the picture above, it is possible to understand the feeling of enclosure from a corner as it is mentioned as the first type of square as a public space in Zucker's explanations.



Figure 2.13: A plan and a view from Piazza Santa Croce, Florence (Moughtin, 2003).

The visual examples above indicate that the dominated square refers to a square designed on an important urban element such as a religious building.



Figure 2.14: A top view and a view from Piazza del Popolo

From the pictures above, it can be understood that the nucleus square can be related to an obvious object and the organized space related to that image in such public spaces.

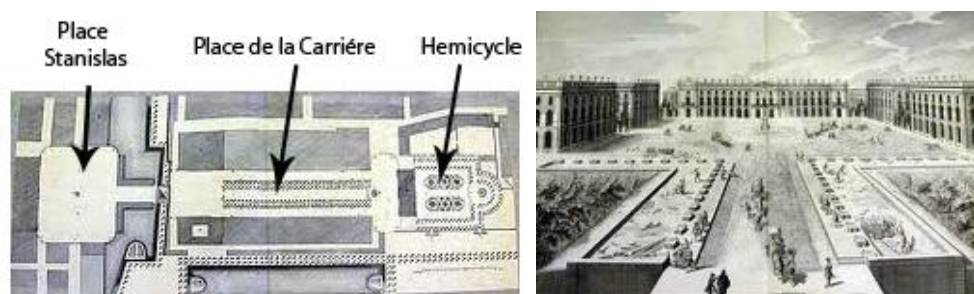


Figure 2.15: A plan from Place Stanislas, Place de la Carrière, and Hemicycle, and a view through Place Stanislas

A public square may be of complex shape so that it consists of two or more overlapping or interpenetrating spaces: quite clearly defined, spaces may open onto each other; a series of spaces may be physically connected by streets or alleyways; one or two major public buildings may be surrounded by a series of spaces which use the walls of the buildings for definition; and finally, squares may be related by an external reference point, a dominant element such as a tower (Moughtin, 2003). In these words, the author expresses how more than one public open spaces can come together physically in several methods in an urban space. In the example above from two linked squares, it is visible that a series of spaces are physically connected.

Beyond these physical characteristics, scale is a vital point in order to make somewhere an attractive square. A town needs public squares; they are the largest, most public rooms that the town has. But when they are too large, they look and feel deserted (Alexander, 1977). Therefore, ratio of total area to the surroundings around changes the visual perception of the square dramatically.

Square is based on the focal point of all architecture and city planning: the constant awareness of human scale (Zucker, 1959). In these words, importance of human scale is emphasized again.

For people to feel themselves confident in the space, dimensions of the square should be in human scale. In order to provide this, elements such as sculptures, monuments or fountains are used. Hence, effect of the space can be strengthened (Uçak, 2000). Use of plant material is important to define and make a square be attractive.

Francis (1990) points out that effect of plants in an urban area is a reason to keep many people in the space. Especially when people are alone and are not busy with an activity, they need items that can make them be delighted. Hence, squares in whose design plants are attractive for people (Uçak, 2000). These comments can be evaluated in an urban design scale. The following explanation can be accepted in a larger scale. According to Ahıskalı (1998), squares should be organized according to the magnitude of the city. However, it should be avoided to design too large squares. The bigger a square is, the lower the effect of the square and buildings around. So, the relation between the dimensions of human and buildings is important (Uçak, 2000).

Ahıskalı (1998) goes on with, from the aspect of spatial feeling, buildings that are surrounding the square should not exceed the human scale. This kind of squares does not give feeling of confidence. However, in small but crowded squares social life can be felt better (Uçak, 2000). Therefore, all square might be evaluated in terms of human scale.

In terms of activities of squares, variety is one of the most important criteria in order to let a square be an attractive point. Activity in a square is important for its vitality, and therefore also for its visual attraction (Moughtin, 2003). When the reason of vitality of squares in cities is investigated, some social and physical aspects of such spaces can be found out. Alexander mentions (1977) that all pedestrian movement in a city is organized by passing through squares. What is important, these spaces should be areas where people prefer to come rather than to pass by.

In addition, Giritlioğlu (1991) points out that squares provide random movement. They also let people stand or stop rather than forcing them to move. This does not mean that people use squares to do nothing. Instead, they should prefer there to stop and do an activity. In this case, activities can be ordered. Alexander mentions (1977) that squares should be usable and livable within several activities such as selling facilities, exhibition areas, platforms for concerts and shows. For the users, visual qualities, comfort, variety of functions, spaces to spend their free times are important factors in a square.

People play an important role on vitalizing urban squares. If the square has enough activities, it will be noticed by people. This expression can be illustrated with two different types of activities such as a number of people sunbathing in an open space will not be expected to be as attractive as the same number of people who play an instrument, sing and dance. Therefore, it should be agreed on the type of activities done in public spaces is vital for attraction (Trancik, 1986).

An interesting interpretation is mentioned about the coordination of a square and its attraction. According to White (1987), a good square starts at the corner of a street. If it is an active corner, the square will have a social life. The area where streets, squares or open spaces intersect is a key for success or loss. There should be such soft transition so that the starting and ending points of the areas should be uncertain (Perinçek, 2003). Therefore, each square should be evaluated from this aspect.

2.3.4 Street as a type of public space

First of all, it can be said that streets are the complementary elements of a city within the unity provided by building blocks. According to Jacobs (1965), streets and their sidewalks, the main public places of the city, are its most vital organs (Moughtin, 2003). In terms of defining ‘street’ as an urban element in a general scale, such following definition can be made.

Streets are the elements that provide mobility to cities and citizens between stable elements (building blocks) in urban texture. On the other hand, in literal meaning it can be said that the term comes from ‘Via Strata’ in Latin which contains the content of the words ‘courtyard’ and ‘transportation’ (Giritlioğlu, 1991). In this respect, streets can be evaluated considering common spaces of buildings and the transportation axis for through the related open spaces due to its lexical origin. From a similar point of view, according to Öksüz (2004), streets in general (including path, avenue, highway, way, route) can be regarded as urban tracks that people move on as pedestrians or in a vehicle (Akyol, 2006). Therefore, streets can be perceived from two aspects: as a pedestrian, and from a vehicle.

It would be possible to extend this list (what the meaning of street includes) to include other words such as road, boulevard, mall and promenade which have similar meanings (Moughtin, 2003). Nevertheless, throughout this thesis study, avenues, roads and branch streets in neighborhood scale are evaluated. Giritlioğlu (1991) mentions that streets should be like a machine or a factory that needs to be full-armed in a city’s pattern. It means that roads and streets of an urban area should be solved to feed all functions in buildings blocks sufficiently.

Social aspect of streets might be quite a larger issue than its physical aspect. To start with, according to Moughtin (2003), the street is not only means of access but also an arena for social expression. Hence, the author emphasizes on the social life that streets form.

In addition, the path enables us not only to move from place to place, to go near to or to cross places, but also helps to remind us of things seen and experienced and to situate us in a wider community (Von Meiss, 1992). These words express the life that streets create in a similar way to thoughts of Moughtin. According to Moughtin again

(2003), it (a street) can be analyzed in terms of who owns, uses and controls it; the purposes for which it was built and its changing social and economical function. In these words, streets gain an economical value in urban life. According to Fanuşcu (1994), especially pedestrian streets serve for the physiological (buffets, tea-rooms, etc.), sociological (because of being meeting and communication points), and economical (ability to shop) needs of the citizens (Akyol, 2006). Hence, it can be seen that streets can also serve for social needs. In addition, sides of the streets provide vehicle or pedestrian transition and helps people find the routes they want to go on as a guide on the roads of cities. Tram stations, subway stations, sidewalks carrying on many people, special guidance points, tourist information, traffic information, emergency exit and information are included in this notion (Akyol, 2006). Therefore, streets and their sides have many other functions in urban life.

Paths are challenges along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves. They may be streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads. For many people, these are the predominant elements in their image. People observe the city while moving through it, and along these paths the other environmental elements are arranged and related (Lynch, 1960). According to these explanations, it can be understood that Lynch evaluates streets as momentary scenes as experienced elevations from observers' views.

Your gaze scans the streets as if they were written pages: the city says everything you must think, makes you repeat her discourse . . . (Calvino, VonMeiss, 1992)

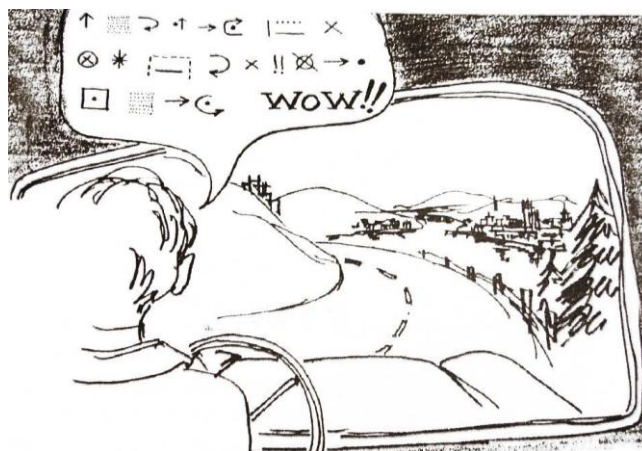


Figure 2.16: Imageability of streets (Nasar, 1998).

From the image above, it can be understood that while experiencing streets as a pedestrian or from a vehicle, in each moment images and interpretations occur in observers' minds. Hence, perception of environment is fulfilled like this through the streets because of being the linear type of public space.

Streets gain qualities depending on their land-use characteristics such as commercial, residential, educational, etc. In terms of social dimension, function and density of users are the most important factors (Giritlioğlu, 1991). Therefore, land-use characteristics of streets can give identity to the related space, as well. Moreover, other two authors make a comparison between physical and social understanding of the street considering modernism and post-modernism as two consecutive ways of thinking. According to Lash and Friedmann (1992), for modernists, the street is a space 'from which to get from A to B, rather than a place to live . . . for postmodernists, the street is a place designed to foster and complement with new urban lifestyles, reclaiming the street from lifeworld to system (Fyfe, 1998).

In terms of experiencing a street, his experience of the path is dynamic and the terms associated with it are verbs of action: to walk, to seek and find, to pass, to penetrate, to discover, to enter and leave, to stop and continue to arrive and depart". (VonMeiss, 1992). In addition, streets, as movement spaces, determines a way of life depending on relations between perceiver and time due to being in a rhythmic regularity within physical enlargements and restrictions (Giritlioğlu, 1991). In the picture below, it is possible to see the dynamism caused by streets' physical differences in a historical city. Related to expressions of Giritlioğlu, enlargements and restrictions are visible randomly in these streets.

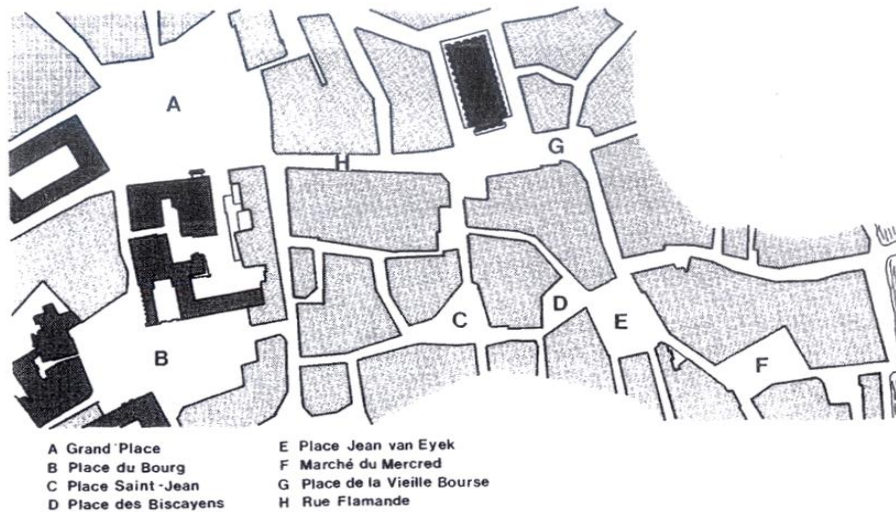


Figure 2.17: Center plan, Bruges (Jefferson, Rowe, and Brebbia, 2001).

Considering the author's words again, it can be understood that experience and memorizing a space is important in a path as much as its physical characteristics in order to make that space an attractive place in people's minds.

Although the street accounts for most of the urban public realm, in practice, particularly modern practice, the street is what remains after private planning of individual properties is considered satisfactory (Moughtin, 2003). This author also emphasizes the importance of being memorized for a street. In addition, according to Jacobs (1965), an important critic of the urban forms, states "Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets. If a city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull (Moughtin, 2003). Herewith, the author reveals again the memorable aspect of the streets in terms of imagination of cities.

When the relations and qualities in space of streets are investigated, suggestions and perceptual data can be found. According to Schaumer (1986), in the planning of a street the physical factors that appear most to influence street use are user density, land-use mix, pedestrian-vehicular interaction, configuration and context (Moughtin, 2003). In these words, the author gives suggestion about considering the social results of a physical planning.

Scale can be accepted as an important quality in comprehension of the street. From a perceiver's point of view, it can be easier to evaluate the magnitudes close to his/her

scale. Perception and evaluation might be better when the scales of elements creating a street are close to each other (Giritlioğlu, 1991). Human scale is again emphasized as a factor of perception of space.

In addition, streets and internal layouts are some of archetypes which can cause disorientation and anxiety, should the architect and planner needlessly depart from a familiar typology (Von Meiss, 1992). Therefore, scale, land-use characteristics and appropriate archetypes are important in street organization.

2.4 Urban Image, Identity and Meaning

2.4.1 Urban image

“Think about your experience with your city, town or neighborhood. Can you think of places that grab your attention and leave you feeling pleasure or delight, places that you experience as fearful or unsafe, or places that you experience as restful?”
(Nasar, 1998)

As it is mentioned in Nasar’s illustration, environmental images can be accepted to be a process occurred depending on two different items –observer and the environment– interactively. As Lynch (1960) also stated, the environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer – with great adaptability and in the light of his purposes – selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees.

The term (urban image) stands for notion, stereotype, plan or map, plan of action, concept, self concept and so on. It is used to emphasize that the city has different meanings for different people . . . It is used interchangeably with perceived environment (Rapoport, 1977). In this respect, environmental perception and environmental image seem like quite similar notions because in both terms interactive relation between perception and the perceived is mentioned as a vital point.

Boulding (1961) states that the image is defined as subjective knowledge, all the accumulated, organized knowledge that an individual has about himself and the world. The author also holds that images are very resistant to change and messages which are in conflict with it are first rejected but if messages contradictory to the image continue is eventually changed. In this respect, it can be understood that

there is a direct relation between people's change within effects in their environments and the images in their minds (Rapoport, 1977).

Environmental image is a mental scheme chosen consciously and in a cognitive unity constituted by formal qualities that whose effects remain stable effects as a result of an individual's historic, economic, politic, social and cultural relations with his/her environment (Aydınlı, 1993). Therefore, selection is a key point in imaging environment.

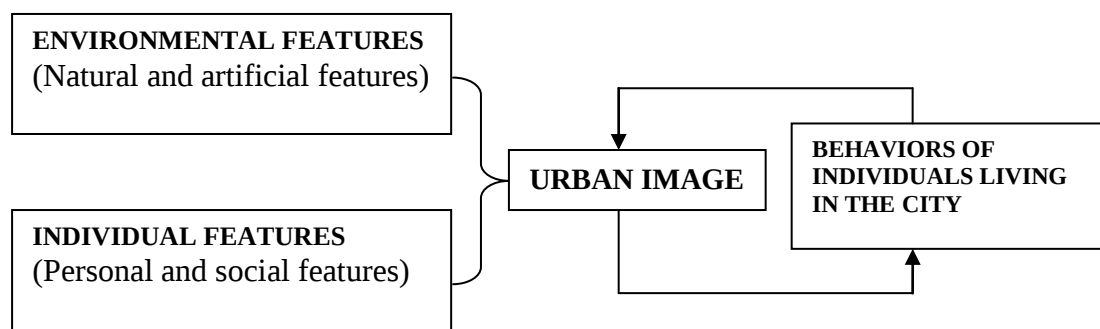


Figure 2.18: Relation between urban image and personal behavior (Krupat, 1985; Kancıoğlu, 2001).

According to the figure above, it can be understood that environmental and individual features constitute the urban image in people's minds. Besides, there is a two-way relation between these images and human behavior as it can also be regarded as an explanation of human-environment interactions.

Human interaction with the built environment is mostly visual. As a result, majority of our representations of architecture are also visual and closely related to the images we perceive in the built environment or the mental images we remember it by (Koutamanis, Timmermans, and Vermeulen, 1995). In terms of urban images, visual characteristics are more attractive due to architectural forms or remembered images.

However, according to Rapoport, urban images are not only visual: all senses enter into the formation, they are affected by non-experiential factors, which increase in importance with increase in scale and by age, education skills, socio-cultural variables, symbolic and associational values of individuals and groups . . . (Rapoport,

1977) In this respect, importance of an image is determined by the people who evaluate them according to the ordered characteristics.

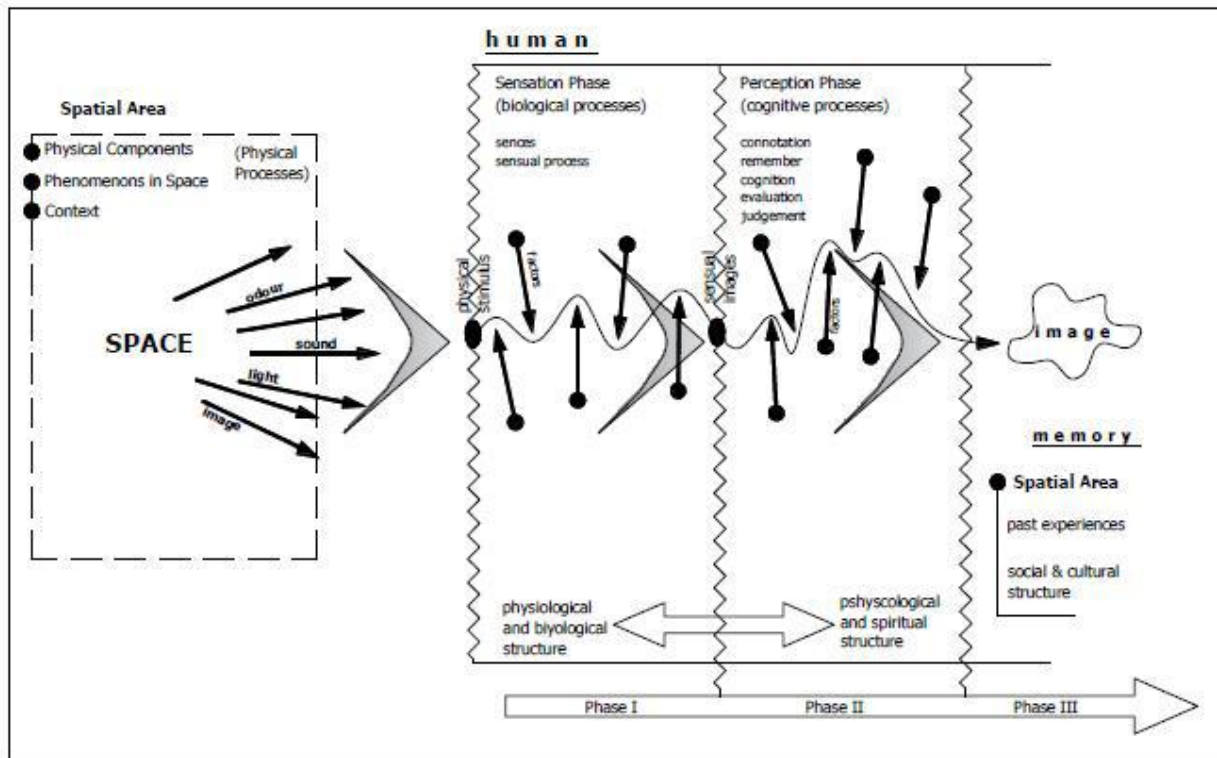


Figure 2.19: Formation stages of environmental image (Kahvecioğlu, 1998).

Kahvecioğlu (1998) mentioned three types of image describing them as follows;

Images in the first stage are those images that are perceived in the first moment and unique to their environment (similar to expressions under the heading 'Perception', the first part of the perceiving environment). Formation of this kind of general images existing in people's minds as a result of experiences will be effective. They do not symbolize all dimensions of the environment.

In the second phase, images are produced by the environment depending on continuity of environmental perception. These kinds of images are affected by experiences which are related to that environment. It is possible to define them as a more developed form of previous types and to call these images permanent image or real image of the environment because of such transformation of images. These can be accepted as more realistic images than first types of images in perceivers' minds. Definition of real image refers to this one.

In the third stage, images do not belong to definite environments. They can be accepted as common images which are defined by similar features of numerous environmental images. The idea of environmental images is affected by past experiences. By the way, this may bring to minds the question of how environmental images are composed without experiences. Lang (1974) mentions that an image begins to be composed in childhood and people gain some directive images by perceiving environment.

Lynch (1960) categorized city image elements into five types, which give identity to a city, as; paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. The author defines these elements as follows;

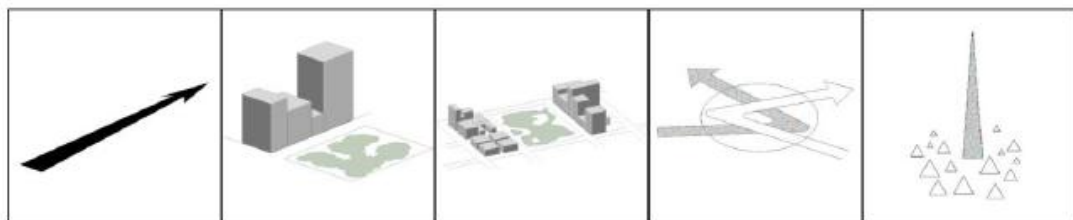


Figure 2.20: Paths, edges, nodes, districts, landmarks (Lynch, 1960).

To begin with, paths can be thought as streets, walkways, transit lines, canals and railroads, which are the predominant elements of the city for many people, are lines along which people move and perceive their environment and other environmental images which are arranged and related. Secondly, edges are accepted as the linear elements between two different regions. They can be shores, railroad cuts, edges of development and walls.

Thirdly, districts are defined as the medium-to-large parts of the city which have an identifying character. Beside physical characteristics, noise, odour or complexity are cues which are used to determine the districts in an urban area. What's more, nodes can be illustrated as the junctions, large squares, place of a break in transportation or the strategic spots in a city. Observers can enter within them. They may also be called cores. And landmarks can be defined towards the units which have the highest role in remembering the city. They are another type of point-reference. They are not entered by people but external elements. They are reference points like buildings, signs, stores, or mountains (Lynch, 1960).

On the other hand, Rapoport (1977) states that images are composed of both facts and values. Values are the evaluation of the world and they are important in the determination of what we see as truth and how we act. From this point of view, it can be stated that environmental image is the picture of the real world in people's minds. Hence, it can be accepted that environmental image depends on personal features.

Characteristics of images can be stated as follows;

- They help individuals to communicate with the outer world.
- Images are shaped depending on individuals' emotions and experiences.
- They are an effective way of revealing ideal thoughts.
- Images help individuals to recognize their environment and feel confidence.
- They affect reactions and behaviors against the individual's environment (Harrison and Howard, 1972; Kancioğlu, 2001).

Images are modality specific and often beyond awareness; they include both concrete and abstract stimulus information, the former involving parallel processing whereas the latter is processed sequentially (Rapoport, 1977). Image also refers to memory, and this has become dominant in planning and urban design (Lynch, 1960). Images seem to be structures or schemata incorporating some notion of ideals and ideas and knowledge of how the world is and how it works . . . Groups have differing images of environmental quality (Rapoport, 1977). At this point, it can be understood that image is formed by various stimuli, memories are determinative in imaging, and similar categorization of thoughts and ideals shape a structure of images in a group of people's minds.

According to Lynch (1960) the topological relation of five components which creates image determines three elements of environmental images. These are as follows;

- **Legibility:** is mentioned as a part of visual quality of cityscape. The author means the ease with which cityscapes parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern by this term. Legible city would be one whose districts, landmarks or pathways are easily identifiable and are easily grouped into an over-all pattern.

- **Building the image:** At the end of dual effectiveness between human and environment, beside environmental data, people's individual experiences are effective on the construction of the image.

- **Structure, identity and meaning:** Firstly, structure is defined as the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects. Secondly, Lynch refers to the identification of objects to imply their distinctions from other things with their identities. Finally, meaning is conceptualized as a different relation from spatial and pattern relations. Observer develops emotional or practical relation through meaning (Lynch, 1960).

Because urban image is based on personal or social features, Nasar (1998) defines this term from an evaluative aspect, and calls it 'evaluative image'. According to the author, the evaluative image is a subjective assessment of feelings about the environment (Nasar, 1998). At this point the author means that the evaluative image contains two kinds of variables –visual aspects of the urban appearance and human evaluative responses–.

To sum up, considering different researchers' points of views, it is seen that human feelings and perceptions are always determinant factors during any processes about the city. Because of each person's unique image of a city, identity will vary across observers. Hence, understanding the human behavior and senses is essential to create a good city form. Many authors give opinion on this topic and all of them share a common point: environmental image is affected by both personal and environmental factors.

2.4.2 Urban identity and meaning

To start with, several researchers made definitions of identity in a philosophical base. "The totality of the way the organization presents itself can be called its identity. What different audiences perceive is often called its image . . . Identity can project four things: who you are, what you do, how you do it, where you want to go" (Olins, 1995).

"Identity comes in many different shapes and forms, but always carries with it the double function of signifying differentiation, as well as relationship" (Peters, 2005).

Therefore, identity is related to signifying and meaning things. Hence, it can be said that identity is generally a character that distinguish a thing.

On the other hand, according to Bunge (1995), the concept of identity is not explicitly definable in a theory. The reason is that “=” is a part of every definition since definitions are nothing but identities.

“Identity is always a process, is always being reconstituted in a process of becoming and by virtue of location in social, material, temporal and spatial contexts.” (Edeson, 2002). It means that a period of time and a social and personal accumulation are required for identification.

Hall and du Gay (1996) state that identification is constructed on the back of recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation.

Dovey (2010) values urban identity as ‘urban character’, and points out that it is the feeling of a place, what it represents to a person. In addition, the people, the buildings, and the things happen there are all part of an urban character.

Akansel, Minez, and Varlı (2001) point out that identities of cities come from their historical pasts, architectural features they have, and environmental features. Architectural heritage of cities and their appearances give value to life and environment.

Doxiadis (1966) talks about urban environment under three sub-headings such as natural, social and man-made environments. In the author’s definition of urban identity, natural, social, and man-made identities are expressed. As it can be predicted, natural elements of urban identity can be classified as climatic, topographical, geological, and botanical features. In terms of social elements of urban identity, characteristics such as language, religion, ethnicity, family structure, residence pattern, food customs, manners and non-verbal communication, cognitive schemata, privacy, density, and territoriality, education, institutions such as ways of working, cooperating, training, and administrating, ways of establishing and

indicating status and social identity can be mentioned. Thirdly, in terms of man-made elements of urban identity, built urban fabric with human manipulation is mentioned.

These elements can be referred to visual features of urban and architectural forms (texture, color, form, proportion, scale, dimension, etc.), meaning of such forms (historical and emotional features), and land-use characteristics of them (administrative, religious, governmental, transportation, etc.) (Ocakçı, 1995).

Similarly, according to Gürsel (1994), identity is the product of a style of presence. This identity constitutes as a result of repetition of several conditions. Some of them are as follows;

- Cultural heritage and traditions,
- Qualities and characteristics of the society's requirements,
- Geographical, topographical, climatic, and natural factors,
- Technology produced by the nation,
- Capability of adaptation to changing conditions (Kancıoğlu, 2001).

Herewith, technology, and management of the changing world become important in addition to the categorizations of Doxiadis related to urban identity.

Lynch (1960) defines identity of a place as implication of distinction from other places and its recognition as a separable entity. He connotes that, "identity is not the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality or oneness".

In terms of importance of meaning in urban identity, Lang (1987) points out that it is given as a perception takes place and past experience interrupts perception to give a new meaning. According to Rapoport (1990), meaning can be investigated around the question of 'what people react to environments?'

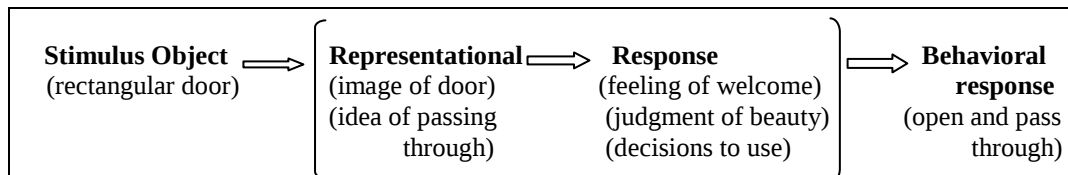


Figure 2.21: Mediation theory of environmental meaning (Hershberger, 1984; Lang, 1987).

In Figure 2.21, architectural meaning is interpreted. Imagination of a door is illustrated in the scheme. It can be understood that a rectangular door is a stimulus object while its representation form of the object is its image of reminding passing through. Depending on experiences in a person's mind, the one creates representations and responses sequentially. As a response, a door welcomes the perceiver and makes the one think about its appearance and usage. At the end of this evaluation, the person gives the object a meaning and behaves in a way to the object (opening it and passing through).

According to Creelman (1966), meaning is of considerable importance in perception and one of the most important determinations of human behavior (Broadbent, Bunt, and Llorens, 1980).

Rapoport (1990) mentions that meaning, as an important part of the function, is critical and central, so that the physical environment is used in the representation of self in establishing group identity. In addition the author researched the term 'meaning' under three sub-headings which are semiotic, symbolic and nonverbal communication approaches.

Among the approaches Rapoport stated above, N. Schulz (1965) stressed symbolic one defining it by establishing similarities, and representation of a different object or environment (Kancioğlu, 2001). On the other hand, Rapoport (1990) stressed more on nonverbal communication expressing it in two ways: the first one is based on metaphors and analogy, and the second one is nonverbal experience as an aspect guiding people to think and investigate.

Hershberger (1974) studied meaning in two groups: responsive and representational meaning. The first group deal with percepts, concepts and thoughts. The second meaning deals with feelings, emotions, attitudes, and evaluations (Broadbent, Bunt, and Llorens, 1980).

Meaning in architecture is uttered in terms of both cognitive and sensitive aspects. The object is understood and reacted as liking or disliking it. In this respect, meaning should be dealt with in a cognitive capacity not only from the aspect of physical characteristics of the form but also ideas, notions, and impressions (Aydınlı, 1993).

Meaning is related to the anthropological aspects of cognition, includes latent aspect. It involves images, ideals, status, identity, and many other very important aspects of the environment (Rapoport, 2005). In these words, the author defines meaning as a branch of image and identity.

Depending on relations of urban image, identity and meaning, it can be said that urban identity is constituted by the environmental values that society is aware of. Nevertheless, urban image and meaning is determined according to the evaluations of an individual on the environment (Kancıoğlu, 2001).

Considering the relation between identity and meaning, it can be said that identity is determined by individuals while it is constituted by environmental features. Meaning is a result of human comprehension depending on the person's interpretation of what the environment presents in a nonverbal communication approach. In this case, urban identity and meaning are important notions in order to understand human-environment interactions because of containing evaluations related to human experiences and manipulations on urban environment.

2.5 Conclusion of the Chapter

In this chapter, notions of 'perception', 'culture', 'public space', 'urban image, identity, and meaning' are investigated trying to establish their relations with human-environment interactions.

In terms of perception, it is found out that it is fulfilled in human brain in two steps basically. Sensual and interpretational results of the concept are significantly different from each other. Actually, it should be accepted that perception has a quite broad meaning that can be used for many other disciplines and levels besides architectural anthropology. Thereby, it is selected to be the first notion to be expressed in theoretical part of the research in order to start with a general meaning.

Secondly, culture and its relation with human behaviors are thought as another part of the research. When people and public environment are thought, social aspects of this relation is impossible not to be considered. Under this heading, it is found out that culture is a human-made concept meaning unity of repeated actions, and behavior is the visible response of this abstract notion. A direct relation among these

terms can absolutely be mentioned. However, there are personal and social filters between them that hinder people to do everything they learned throughout their experiences.

Public spaces are thought to be the laboratory of this research. Because reflections of these terms are selected to be searched in common places, especially squares and streets are investigated in detail considering physical and social changes occurred in public spaces since 1960's in general. It is seen that, streets and squares can still reflect the situation of people (human contact) and environment (urban design) in a neighborhood, town, or a city. Especially streets can constitute a photographic memory in people's minds. Related to their scale and design, both streets and squares create images in users' minds which can be used as a data in terms of environmental evaluation.

In terms of urban image, being a personal issue is an essential point. In addition, it is found out that urban image also fulfills in several stages for a person. Besides, city forms are tend to be categorized according to physical similarities in themselves such as Lynch's groupings in order to be understood better. Hence human-environment relationship can be established in a more successful way. Urban identity is also a process having many dimensions depending on natural/artificial environment and changing world and relations for an urban environment to be recognizable. When the ways people react against their environment are investigated, what the environment means to them can be understood. This can be regarded as a vital point for human behaviors in built environments. As a result of this, it is found out that meaning can be evaluated under concepts of image and identity, and can be fulfilled in several ways different from depending on sensual stimuli within people's understandings.

3. INVESTIGATING TURKISH COMMUNITY IN BRUSSELS IN TERMS OF HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT INTERACTIONS

3.1 Material and Study Area

The main materials of the research are reflections of people's behaviors observed in selected streets from Gare du Nord (Brussel Noord Train Station) to Rue Royal St. Marie including Rue d'Aerschot, Rue Allard, Rue de Brabant, Place Liedts, Rue Verte, Rue de la Fraternite and Rue Rogier within all their urban equipments. Besides, results of the questionnaire related to women's perception in these areas are used.

Aim of the case study can be defined as to investigate the behaviors of people who come from a foreign culture in selected public spaces in Belgium. Schaarbeek where Turkish people live densely today is chosen to do this research. It is located on the north-eastern part of Brussels around a politically important (The King's daily) route –Rue des Palais–. By 1960's, foreign workers allowed to migrate to Belgium until the beginning of high level of unemployment started. Within same years, Turkey became a country sending migrants to developed western countries especially after World War II.

Beginning from those years migrants have lived in this neighborhood densely in Brussels. After the expiration of their work permit, they wanted to go back to their countries. However, due to political changes in Belgium and benefits of migrants' families, their permits are extended to longer years. Hence, Schaarbeek has become the neighborhood of migrants especially Turkish people today (Gelekçi and Köse, 2009). Today, not only Turkish but also Moroccan, Greek, Indian, Chinese and various migrants live in Schaarbeek and use this area in daily life. Hence, some part of the area is used by a mixture of mentioned national groups while others are mostly related to Turkish people (Figure 3.1).

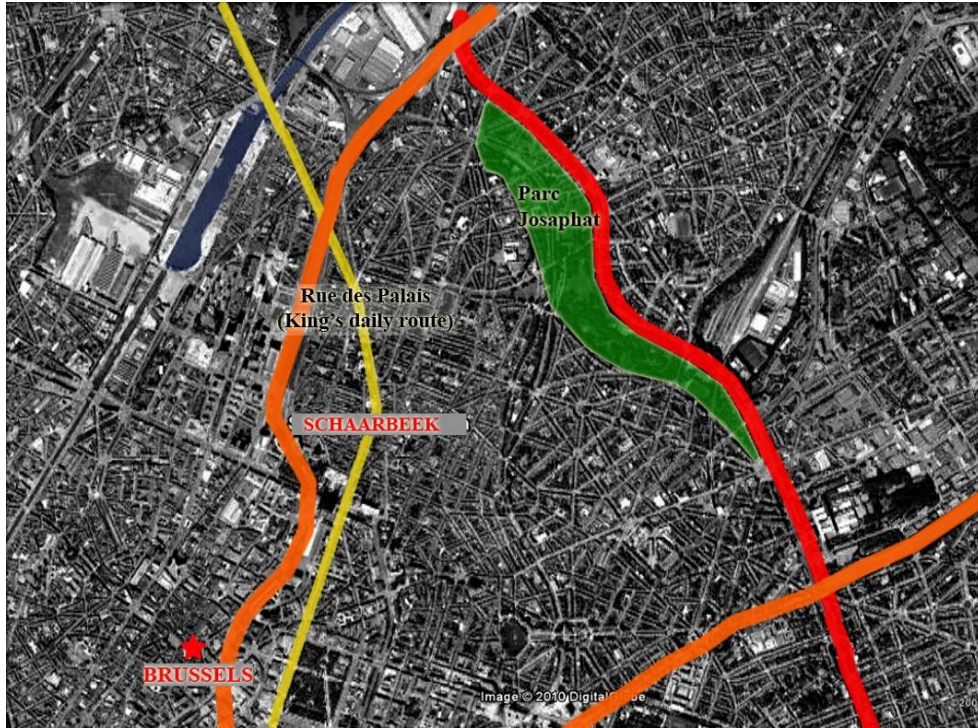


Figure 3.1: Definition of the study area

In this cultural mixture, physically and socially different structures are possible to be faced up with. Hence, adaptation process of both Turkish immigrants and people from another nation are relevant to be investigated. In addition to Turkish immigrants in Belgium, Germany is known with immigrants' cultural adaptation problems. Like Turkish citizens in Schaarbeek, the ones in Germany also settled there to work, and then stayed there with their families additionally.

According to the expressions done in Deutsch-Türkisches Symposium (1998), 'cultural adaptation process' means change of values, patterns, attitudes, choices, perception and ways of thinking by relations and inter-cultural acknowledgements. It is a correlative change and interaction. This means for a minority to get close to majorities, and for majorities to accept several factors of minorities. From this explanation, it can be understood that neighborhoods where immigrants live are important places because interactive relations in urban and public spaces can be seen.

In addition, this can be regarded as a policy trying to occur common characteristics between ethnic groups. This causes a more comprehensive social solidarity and an easier social communication. By the way, new common culture is including the

contributions of immigrants' cultures instead of being only a heritage of majority culture. Even if many lecturers discussed much about the concept 'cultural adaptation process', it was not easy to apply the requirements of this concept in Germany where new cultural values are set (Deutsch-Türkisches Symposium, 1998). Herewith, it can be understood that political decisions are not always useful to be set on societies in order to create a common culture. When Turkish immigrants in Schaarbeek are evaluated in terms of cultural adaptation, it can be said that physically and culturally a Turkish neighborhood is settled in Northern Brussels of course with some results of interactions with other cultures and nationalities. Also, participator urban design is applied by the government in the neighborhood, so immigrants can demand public spaces to be organized in the way they want to use them, and they can mostly sustain their accustomed daily activities in public spaces of the neighborhood.

3.2 Research

As a research method, firstly observations and physical analysis of the study area are done in three parts, then a questionnaire is prepared and applied face to face to the inhabitants and users of the area via two women organizations. In a more detailed way, human behaviors in squares are watched for about half an hour in several days at daytime. In the main street, longer walking tours at the same daytimes are done being aware of human relations and human-environment touch. In the branch streets, where women organizations also exist, a similar method is followed. In each area, architectural language of the public spaces and how people prefer to get in touch with it are investigated in physical analysis. Besides, users' approaches to each other, togetherness and isolations among them are observed.

3.2.1 Analysis of the area

After the first visit to the area for an initial observation, the streets and squares that are going to be analysed in detail are selected. Gare du Nord (Brussel Noord Train Station), Place Liedts and St. Marie Church are chosen as the nodes of the area. Rue Allard is a street and a gathering area between the station and Rue de

Brabant. Rue de Brabant is used as the shopping street of the area which connects to Place Liedts where people use for transition, gathering and transportation.



Figure 3.2: Analysis of the study area

Perpendicular to the axis where Rue de Brabant (Brabantstraat) and Place Liedts are located, there are many branch streets spatially and socially similar to each other. However, Rue St. Marie, Rue Verte, Rue de la Fraternite, and Rue Rogier are thought as determinative streets of the neighborhood in terms of physical characteristics and behaviors of people giving ideas about social life in Schaarbeek according to the observations made. It is observed that Rue St. Marie has a vista through the church. Secondly, in Rue Verte, there is an interesting mosque under construction and men with different clothes along the building and during the street. Thirdly, in Rue de la Fraternite, reflections of specific behaviors of people can be seen in the façades of the buildings; like throwing away their garbage in front of the buildings and the way they use their balconies. Finally, Rue Rogier is the widest and longest street in the area with traffic barriers intermittently. Besides, on the façades, it is possible to see the use of an interior material on the exterior sides of the buildings all along the street.

During the rest of the thesis, in order not to be confused by foreign names, selected public spaces will mentioned as follows; Rue de Brabant (Brabantstraat) as ‘Street A’, Place Liedts as ‘(Liedts) Square’, Rue Rogier as ‘Street B’, Rue Verte as ‘Street C’, Rue de la Fraternite as ‘Street D’, Rue Royal St. Marie as ‘Street E’, and Rue Allard as ‘Street F’.

3.2.1.1 ‘Street A’ (Rue de Brabant)

Street A is visited three times and observed on weekdays during daytimes. It is designed as a commercial axis with mostly 4-floor buildings and pedestrian pavements on each side of the street with vehicle way in 3 lanes in the middle. In addition, because of being a trade axis, there are many stimuli provided by boards of store’s names and advertisements from the first floor to third floor of the buildings besides ornamentation materials hanging between the fourth floors of the opposing buildings intermittently. Boards are designed generally in two languages –with a Turkish name and French words to define the function–, so this indicates that there is an ambiguous relation of culture in this area (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.3: 1st part of the study area, Street A and F

During the observations, it is noted that people are walking in the street or sitting on benches as groups which mostly reflect nationalities and genders. These groups are generally formed by people from same nationalities and genders.

On the other hand, it is possible to see families with children or couples as groups of people. Although there are many young people, it is not coincided with a group of young girls and boys (Figure 3.3). Herewith, it can be understood that there is a gender separation among public in such an area with all nationalities of people in daily life. Moreover, it is interesting that only men sit on the street benches and pavements in Street A. Sitting parts of street furniture are quite high which let only men sit on them. Also, many men smoking in the street are noted while no women smoking are seen during walks for observation (Figure 3.4).

By the way, it is significant to mention about Street F (Rue Allard) under the heading of analysis for Street A. It is located as a conjunction part of the train station with Street A, and named as a street. However, it is possible to see that it serves as a gathering place besides being a transition area (Figure 3.2). There are sitting elements both belonging to a restaurant and the street itself. As a result of the observations, it is noted that this situation also creates grouping among owners and nationalities; such that if the owner of a restaurant is Turkish, then it becomes a place of Turkish people. The rest of the sitting places on the street might belong to Moroccans or some women sharing the same nationality, then (Figure 3.3).

In terms of spatial behavior in Schaarbeek, it is possible to have interesting inferences after reading an article written for the similar area in Brussels. Under the heading of 'Intermediate Spaces', Benchelabi (1998) argues that "Filter spaces (stairwells and terraces, for example) play an important role in city life in North Africa. They are neither entirely public nor private, neither inside nor outside, but they orchestrate a transition between the outside and the inside while diluting the strict partition between genders. They allow chance or planned meetings between men and women, thus responding to segregation". Referring to the term 'intermediate spaces' I would like to mention the usage in Street A. On pedestrian pavements in the street, there is an interesting relation between the users and the place; such that owners of the stores behave as if some part of the pavement area is a part of his ownership. However, it is a public space belonging to anyone.

This type of relationship may be referred to bazaar and shopping areas –especially areas related to low income group of people– in Turkey (Figure 3.5). From this point of view, such areas can be accepted as intermediate spaces in Brussels.



Figure 3.4: Street A, use of street benches and pavements

The author further states “I argue that such spaces do not exist in Brussels, and this lack explains to some extent the failure of immigrant women to participate actively in Brussels’ public life” (1998: 9). From the interviews I made with the organizer of ‘Groep Intro’ –a women organization in Schaarbeek–, it can be found out that in the last couple of years there had been spatial changes in Street A. Fatma Ulusoy –organizer of ‘Groep Intro’– says, “Within a few years, spatial organizations such as enlargement of pedestrian pavement, repairing and re-functioning of stores, placement of street benches on the pavements, limitation in time for street car-parking are done . . . Number of stores related to women such as jewellery and space that the stores occupy in the street increased within those years in Rue de Brabant”. According to this explanation, it can be found out that the area of intermediate spaces related to human –including men and women– contact in public area raised a little until today in Street A.

3.2.1.2 The square (Liedts)

Liedts Square is named as a square which is physically occurred by two triangle-shaped defined areas. In the larger triangle, there are 6 round urban elements with one tree in the center each for people to sit around. The other small triangle is divided in two areas and defined by limiter urban elements like the other big one which is paved with hardened surface material (Figure 3.6).

According to Giritlioğlu (1991), row trees can be organized in various options, and mostly play an important role on emphasizing a way of direction in the space. In this square, there is such situation due to planning of trees parallel to the main road.

The square can be considered a transportation node for Schaarbeek. Besides, it is a densely-used transition and gathering place. Smaller triangle area on the northern part of the square is used for mostly passing across or waiting while the other divided area on the south relatively is used for sitting and spending time.

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (see p. 27) by many authors, human scale is a vital point of square organization. When the proportion and scale of Liedts Square is investigated, it can be said that human scale is considered in the area. Especially in sitting areas, the proportion of the plant material, the tree, and the sitting element is near human scale. In transition and transportation areas, the open areas are quite larger, but they can still be evaluated in human scale. Moreover, as mentioned in White's expressions in Chapter 2 again (see p. 30), this square is designed starting at the corners of several streets. Because many of streets linked to this square are attractive places, it can be said that population of the square is quite high.



Figure 3.5: 2nd part of the study area, the square (Place Liedts)

Therefore, people's behaviors in the square can be categorized in two groups. The first group of people just use the area to change their places as soon as possible. They are just coming to the area for the purpose of waiting for a tram or another vehicle, or just passing by. The second group of people's behaviors tend to sustain tradition of villages in Turkey which begin to be lost day by day. (In Turkey, it is a known fact that when a person needs to ask for someone or somewhere in a village, firstly s/he needs to go to the center and face up with local people there.) People in this area, mostly middle-aged Turkish men, sit around the designed urban furniture, talk to each other and watching the ones coming to or passing from that place for a long time. As an observer in the area, it was impossible not to notice their glance at standing and note-taking person in the square. By the way, they treat each other as if they are not only citizens but also friends. These indicate that they behave in an urban square in Brussels as if it is a village square.

3.2.1.3 Branch streets of the neighborhood

In order to systematize urban and cultural elements in the branch streets located perpendicular to the axis of train station, it can be said that details in street-crossings, graffiti writings on the walls, children playing areas are spatially repetitive elements. So, in branch streets, it is noted that each street-crossing is defined by barriers – separating the pedestrian pavement from the street– and speed bumps are thought on the way from high topography to the cross-point itself. In the branch roads, graffiti's and garbage areas are visible (Figure 3.7).

From social aspect related to branch streets, it is observed that women and children are more active in open areas in branch streets. These areas can be accepted as more isolated places of the study area compared to Rue de Brabant and Place Liedts. One can see children play and women talk to each other can be faced up with in those areas (Figure 3.7). In a more detailed way, in Rue Rogier, it is interesting that 'bathroom fixtures made of ceramic' are used as façade material. There are graffiti writings –some of them are in Turkish– on some recessed walls and façades. A variety of traffic materials like mushroom-shaped, cubic or thin metal cylinders are used on some streetcross as well. In Rue Rogier which is the longest and largest street in its near environment, there is also a tramway route pavement (Figure 3.7).

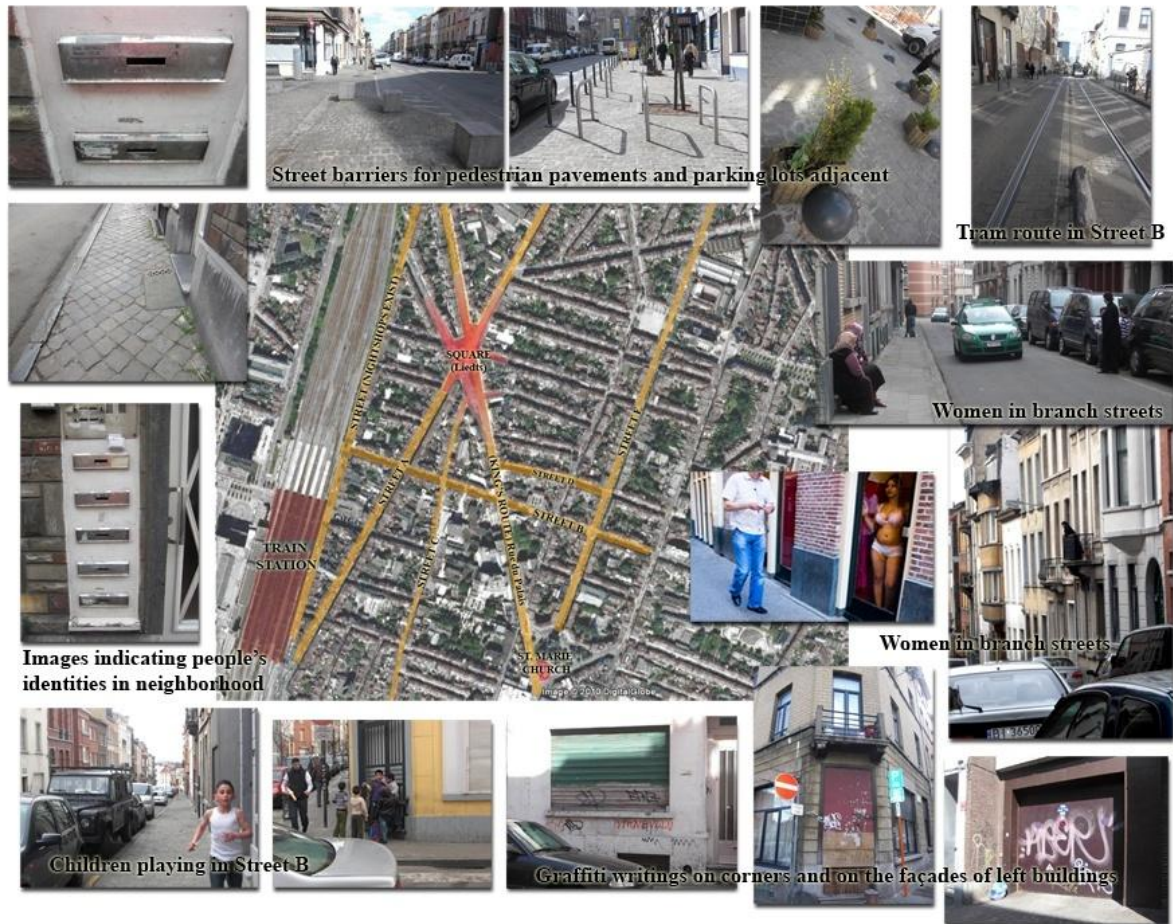


Figure 3.6: 3rd part of the study area, the branch streets where women exist more

Secondly, in Street D, spatial behaviors of people change reflect to the façades in a more different way, such that little windows belonging to cellars are closed in a different way. Besides, many children may be seen playing in this street. In terms of throwing daily garbage away, there is an interesting attitude; such that one hangs out his/hers on the door. Some volumetric openings in front of the buildings are left-over spaces and used as garbage areas. These show that people carry their lives out of the door with an ambiguous relation between their homes and urban environment.

Thirdly, Street C is a long and gloomy street compared to other branch streets around. It is noted that there is a mosque under construction there. According to the observation made, it can be understood that its near environment has become distant in terms of human contact.

Although the Muslim populations are clustered in the cities, there are no minarets in Brussels. Mosques are often housed in rather uncomfortable residual spaces – unlike

the ceremonial stature they hold in Maghreb countries (Benchelabi, 1998). As the author mentions, mosques in Schaarbeek are stated in apartment buildings. Today, when they are under construction, it is possible to see the same characteristics in Street C (Figure 3.8).



Figure 3.8: A mosque under construction in Street C, Schaarbeek

Finally, Street E is another street with a vista through St. Marie Church. This street is located topographically upper than the others and parallel to the train station axis. On Wednesdays, the street becomes a bazaar area where especially women go for shopping (Figure 3.2 and 3.7).

3.2.1.4 Synthesis of observation studies

Detailed analysis and observations are done related to densely used public spaces (Liedts Square and Street A) and branch streets of the neighborhood which are more rarely used in general but are used densely by women.

In a general way, it can be said that Turkish women are repressed through the inner part of the neighborhood. These streets, as the branch streets of the study area, are both similar to each other and each have its own characteristics. Mentioned streets are chosen to be analyzed because each of them gives a feeling to the observer. These spaces can be regarded as women's place because of being more intimate. Both women and children can get in touch with the environment in these spaces. People or groups from different nationalities or gender also can leave tracks there.

However, there are of course all kinds of people spending their times in crowded places of Schaarbeek (Street A and Liedts Square). In this case, women from all ages

can be seen in these streets as well. However, it is determined that they tend to establish minimum relation with these public places themselves. They do not get in touch with street furniture, pavements, walls, trees of such spaces. This can be regarded as a big difference between men and women in these crowded areas of the neighborhood.

In terms of perceiving built environment and behaviors against it, people's activities and speed of movement can be regarded as determinative factors. Hence, Liedts Square can be accepted as the place of the fastest movement while branch streets have the slowest flux of people in the neighborhood. Depending on this situation, remembrances of people and tracks that they leave are shaped. In a more detailed way, people tend to label their behaviors in branch streets while they establish more cursory relations in crowded places like Street A and Liedts Square.

3.2.2 Questionnaire

When daily life is investigated in chosen streets and squares in Schaarbeek, differentiation of gender in use of open spaces can be accepted as a crucial point. Especially in crowded places like gathering areas and commercial axis, dominancy of men is distinctive. That's why it is thought that applying questionnaires to women might be significant. The survey is applied to 20 Turkish women in two women organizations called 'Groep Intro' and 'Turkish Lady' in Schaarbeek in June, 2010. In each organization, interviews made face to face with half (50%) of the whole members due to a seasonal minority of attendance. Aim of the questionnaire is to understand how sociological backgrounds of women affect their perceptions and behaviors related to the urban environment they are involved in or sometimes not involved in.

3.2.2.1 Questionnaire frame

Questionnaire is framed related to the main purpose of the research using the survey design techniques. Thirty-three questions are asked to the interviewees. Twenty-two of them are open-ended questions while eleven of them are close-ended ones.

All questions are prepared and asked within a simple language in Turkish. They are also translated into English (*see Appendix*).

Rather than asking interviewees to fill in the blanks writing on the survey papers, asking them questions like making interviews is preferred. In the application of the survey, a voice-recorder was used while the researcher (me) was directing the questions to the interviewees. As a result, it helps saving more data and returning to the information again and again in order to use for both questionnaire results and analytical part of the case study.

Throughout the interviews including the questions prepared, misunderstandings affected some answers given to the questions. Especially, for close-ended questions, interviewees tend to give answers in an infinite way. Many times, they needed to be oriented within the limits of the questions. In the 15th question, numbering the name of the places (from 1 to 6) according to frequency of usage is wanted. However, some interviewees tend not to give numbers after number 3 or 4 because they categorize the rest of the places in the same frequency of usage. In order to get a result for such close-ended question, the interviewees are asked to think in a detailed way to decide for the rest of the numbering.

Moreover, most of the prepared questions have crucial aspects, so important words are underlined in some questions within expressions added in parenthesis. Even if the interviewees do not see all the questions written, I, as the questioner, emphasized underlined words in verbal language and read the additional explanations. Nevertheless, interviewees generally tend to skip the important parts and answer the questions in the way they want to.

Besides, some questions required the interviewees' reading because of having many choices. When the 16th question was shown to the interviewees, they do not scan all the options before choosing five of them. Instead, they prefer to start marking the options while they are reading them. Hence, they wanted to mark more than 5 choices. So, it had better remind the interviewees to read all choices before start marking.

3.2.2.2 Content of survey questions

The first eleven questions of the survey are prepared to learn about identities and demographical situations of interviewees in a general meaning. In an article titled

‘Morrocan Identity and Culture’, Romanucci-Ross and De Vos (2006) stress on how they understand their ethnic identity, and how they cope with living in these other cultures. This study is based on revealing the relations between Morrocans’ traditions and a newly developed life after what they see by immigration to Belgium or Netherlands. As part of this work, six case studies are expressed with several topics such as age, education, marital status, job, number of children and their marital status, where her parents are from, when and with whom s/he moved to Belgium, language (spoken at home / outside), language of the children (spoken at home / outside), the nationality s/he belongs to, what kind of education they imagine for their children, what kind of marriage they imagine for their children. These are regarded as related to learn about essential information to identify a person at the beginning of a questionnaire before asking questions about another discipline. Additionally, what she does in a typical day, who she spends time with, what she does in holidays are asked in the first group of questions.

The 12th and 13th questions are asked in order to understand if the person can keep up with the era. Use of internet and mobile phone may indicate that the interviewees use very common technologic equipments of our era. Within the 14th question, it is emphasized that driving a car in Brussels is important because it may also change the way of perceiving urban environment for the participant.

By the 15th question, collecting information related to perception of the environment in Schaarbeek begins. This is an open-ended question related to feelings of the interviewees while they are walking in the neighborhood. It may help them to generally think about the streets of Schaarbeek before answering following detailed questions. The 16th question is a numbering question in order to determine which streets interviewees visit more. Result of this question gives an idea about what kind of social life in Schaarbeek women prefer more.

In the 17th question interviewees are asked to choose the first five options when they think about Schaarbeek. It is aimed to understand how Schaarbeek is pictured in participants’ minds. In addition, they are grouped according to their age, education level and period of time they spent in Belgium. Within a comparative table, it is aimed to show interviewees’ personal choices, judgments and environmental interpretations.

The 21st and 24th questions are prepared in order to qualify the senses of interviewees related to the mentioned streets or squares. Interviewees are asked to prefer one of the two adjectives opposite of each other. Within evaluation of the answers given to these questions, visual senses of interviewees about the places will be understood. This evaluation prepared based on ‘Semantic Differential Scale’ (SDS) technique. According to Heise, “SDS measures people's reactions to stimulus words and concepts in terms of ratings on bipolar scales defined with contrasting adjectives at each end” (1970; quoted in Abacı, 2009: 106). By this technique, it is possible to reveal which aspect is more dominant in interviewees’ minds about Rue de Brabant and Place Liedts.

In the 18th and 22nd questions, frequency of usage of Rue de Brabant and Place Liedts is asked. The 23rd and 29th questions are prepared to learn about the duration of time spent in Rue de Brabant and Place Liedts. The 19th and 25th questions are related to the usage of mentioned places by the interviewees.

With questions from the 26th to 32nd, it is aimed to learn about alternative places that women prefer to use and their behaviors in open spaces around their apartments are investigated. Cinemas, shopping centers, parks are asked if they are preferred to use by the interviewees. Mosques and *hamams* are asked to be compared with those in Turkey.

3.2.2.3 Evaluation of the survey

Analysis of the questionnaires is made on Word and Excel with tables, figures and verbal interpretations. Answers to close-ended questions are evaluated on tables of percentage while open-ended questions are evaluated within expressions related to relation of cause and effect.

3.2.3 Survey findings

Afterwards survey questions are applied to the interviewees’, findings are tried to be categorized as survey questions themselves. In this respect, several headings like demographical findings which refer to general social background of people, interviewees’ experiences, and findings about the area itself can be mentioned as survey findings.

3.2.3.1 Demographical findings and general profile of the interviewees

The questionnaire was applied to 20 Turkish women who live in Schaarbeek. In table 3.1, it is possible to see several matters like interviewees' ages, education levels, marital status, jobs, number of children, hometowns of their families and how long they have been living in Belgium. Additionally, nationality they feel they belong to and wearing headscarf in social life or not are settled under this heading. Nationality they feel they belong to may indicate how much they internalize Belgian identity. Wearing headscarf in daily life may be important to determine how they reflect their culture.

Table 3.1: Demographical data of interviewees

<u># of Interviewees</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Parents' Hometown</u>	<u>Education Level</u>	<u>Job</u>	<u># of children</u>	<u># of years passed in Belgium</u>	<u>Nationality they feel they belong to:</u>
1	27	Afyon – Emirdağ	Primary School	Housewife	3	10	Turkish
2	28	Afyon – Emirdağ	High School	Housewife	1	28	Turkish
3	22	Eskişehir	Vocational High School	Tailor	0	22	Belgian
4	22	Afyon – Emirdağ	High School	Tailor	0 (Single)	22	Belgian
5	23	Afyon – Emirdağ	Middle School	Housewife	1	5	Turkish
6	30	Afyon – Emirdağ	High School	Housewife	2	30	Belgian
7	30	Afyon – Emirdağ	None	Housewife	2	7	Turkish
8	50	Trabzon	Vocational H. School	Pedagogue	2	45	Turkish
9	34	Bolu	High School	Housewife	3	31	Turkish
10	54	Bolu	None	Housewife	6	40	Turkish
11	24	Afyon – Emirdağ	High School	Housewife	1	5	Turkish
12	39	Afyon – Emirdağ	University	Book-keeper	2	8	Turkish
13	29	Ağrı	High School	Housewife	2	1	Turkish
14	40	Afyon – Emirdağ	Primary School	Housewife	2	3	Turkish

15	54	Afyon – Emirdağ	Primary School	House-wife	2	8	Turkish
16	23	Afyon – Emirdağ	High School	House-wife	0	2	Turkish
17	40	Afyon – Emirdağ	Primary School	House-wife	4	19	Turkish
18	43	Afyon – Emirdağ	Primary School	House-wife	5	26	Turkish
19	54	Bolu	Primary School	House-wife	4	31	Turkish
20	28	Bolu	High School	House-wife	2	28	Belgian

Considering Table 3.1, it can be inferred that how many years a participant has lived in Belgium is important for feeling like a Belgian. However, this result is valid for women under 30 years old. Interviewees older than 30 years old do not tend to mention about being a Belgian person even if they have the national identity of Belgium. So, it can be stated that age is a determinative factor within the period of time living in a city in terms of feeling like a citizen of the place lived.

In order to know more about general profile of the interviewees, several data can be useful. It is determined that all of them (except 1 22-year-old woman) are married. In daytime, they look after their children, do housework. They usually attend an organization they are depending on twice or three times a week. They meet their woman friends, go shopping if necessary. In the evenings they do not go out especially alone. Visiting homes of their relatives or friends as a family is a common part of their social life. All of them support that their children have university education to get a profession before marriage. Most of them dream that they marry a Turkish or a Muslim person. It is noted that generally the women who feel themselves belong to Belgium more than Turkey would like their children to marry someone grown up like their children. However, nearly all interviewees tend to show the tolerance to let their children choose their own spouses.

On the other hand, use of mobile phone and internet were asked in order to understand if interviewees follow today's well-known technologic equipments. As a result, use of internet may correlate with the ages of the interviewees rather than all other factors including education level partially. It can be generalized that all women except illiterate ones and the ones above 45 years old use internet while all

interviewees use mobile phone. This may show that use of internet in daily life can still be a distinctive mark among citizens in terms of following innovations, but the survey results show that having a mobile phone does not have this kind of decisive aspect.

3.2.3.2 Interviewees' perceptions, experiences and identifications in Schaarbeek

In order to listen to women in Schaarbeek about their feelings while they are walking in the street, open-ended questions are asked. Generally, interviewees tend to answer this question related to the degree of getting disturbed by people in open areas. Only 5 of 20 women which means 25% of the whole interviewees say that walking in the street in Schaarbeek is bothering them as a woman. In a more detailed way, the 4th participant according to table 3.1 prefers not to go to places she did not go with someone before. When she is asked more, it is revealed that she has a quite self-conscious personality. Secondly, the 8th participant according to table 3.1 says that she does not feel secure in Rue d'Aerschot – the street between Street A and train station – because of existence of night-shops and men's disturbing glances. In addition, nearly all women prefer not to go to back streets connected to Street A because of the spreading settlement of night-shops. However, they do not evaluate Schaarbeek as a neighborhood that does not let a woman walk in the street in the way she wants to. Actually, from the interviews beginning with this open-ended question, it can be understood that women do not go outside after 6 p.m. in evenings. Also, in daytime, they go only some streets and avenues. In this limited daytime and spaces, most of the interviewees do not hesitate to go anywhere in their neighborhood. Thirdly, the participant numbered as the 9th one in table 3.1 prefers to by-pass in the streets or squares where Turkish people –especially men– sit or hang out densely. As a Turkish woman who lives in Belgium since almost when she was born, she behaves more quickly in Turkish-dominated urban areas. Furthermore, the 11th participant listed in table 3.1 mentions that because of getting bored in a crowd formed by different kinds of people, she does not prefer going and spending much time in frequented places in Schaarbeek. Except those areas, she implies that she feels safer and forgets about being a woman in the street. Lastly, participant in the 15th order in table 3.1 has a memory that she had her bag stolen by Morrocans in a branch street. So, she does not prefer going to empty streets alone saying that “. . . being a woman alone is an unprotected situation in the branch streets in Schaarbeek”.

As a result, quarter of all women in the organizations do not feel confident while they are walking in their neighborhood because of variety of reasons depending on their personal experiences in urban life. It means that the rest of the women in the organizations think that being a woman in the street does not matter in Schaarbeek.

In order to reveal more about Turkish women's choices related to public places in Schaarbeek, several graphics are prepared which show where women frequently prefer to go from the 1st place to the 6th. At the first rank, Street B is placed by the first choice of 9 women of 20. Secondly, Liedts Square is preferred by 5 persons as their first choice. Thirdly, Street A is placed by 4 persons as their most frequent street. Street C is only 1 person's first choice among all other streets (Figure 3.9).

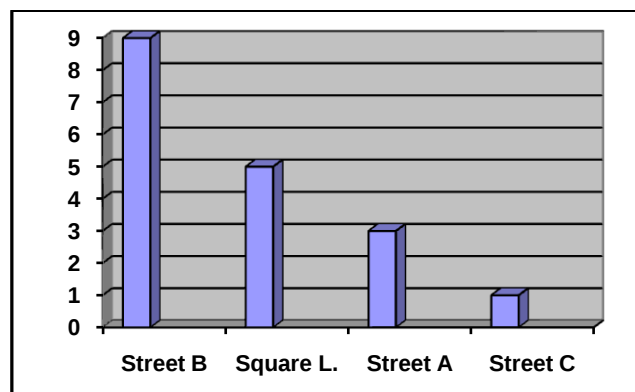


Figure 3.9: 1st choice of interviewees

As second choice, 6 women of 20 prefer Liedts Square while 5 of 20 choose Street B. Street A is chosen as the second choice by another 5 women. Street C is chosen second choice by 1 person (Figure 3.10).

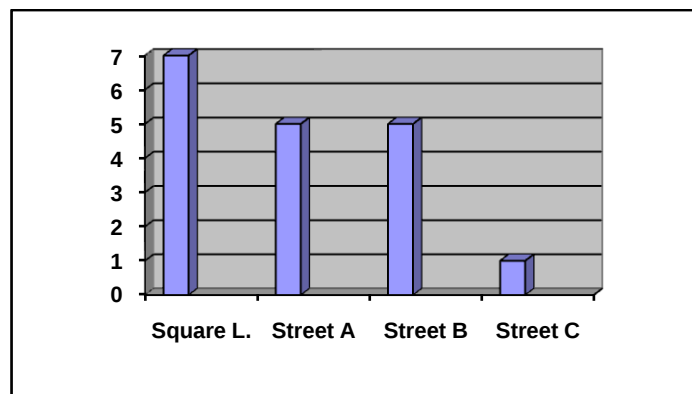


Figure 3.10: 2nd Choice of Interviewees

As third choice, 10 women preferred Street A. In the second rank, the square and Street B are placed by 3 interviewees. In the fourth rank, Street C is placed by 2 persons' preference (Figure 3.11).

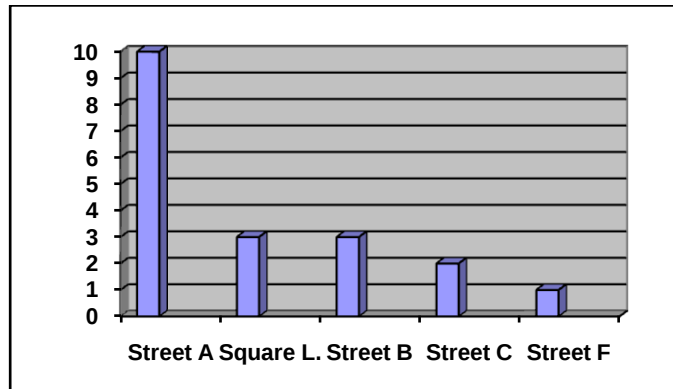


Figure 3.11: 3rd Choice of Interviewees

As fourth choice the square, Street F, Street B and Street E are preferred. In the first rank, Rue Allard is placed by choice of 6 women. In the second rank, Street C is placed by 3 interviewees' choices. Street E and Liedts Square are placed in the third order by 2 women. The fifth choices of interviewees are generally Liedts Square, Street C and Street E which are less preferred by women. Such that 3 people prefer Street E while Street C and the square are preferred by 2 people each. By the way, the first rank for the sixth choice is Street E which is followed by Street F and C. Unanswered choices may also be listed within these choices.

According to results of the survey related to most remembered images of Schaarbeek, comparisons between 'age groups', 'education levels' and 'number of years interviewees lived in Belgium' are made and Table 3.2 is prepared. The quantitative results are determined in percentage and stars are used to symbolize each value of 3% to show the results more clearly in an abstract way. It is resulted that stores in Street A, mosques, restaurants and buffets, tramway and Liedts Square are the first five places remembered by women in different demographical groups.

In a more detailed way, mosques in Schaarbeek and stores in Street A are important for most of the interviewees. This indicates that these places are quite important in memories of women who live in Schaarbeek. Especially, for the women educated less than high school level, mosques can be accepted as the most memorable place in the neighborhood they live; 24% of the interviewees marked 'mosques' as one of the

five places that come to their minds. For high school graduate women, mosques are still marked. However, the percentage of marking this choice is lower than previous group with 14%. Secondly, it can be said that for the Turkish women older than 35 years old, mosques are more memorable than for the ones between ages 24 and 35. The younger group is placed by 26% in the table while the younger group is placed by 13%. Furthermore, in terms of number of years lived in Belgium, it is resulted that interviewees who live in Belgium less than 20 years are more sensitive about mosques in their memories while interviewees who live more than 20 years in the same country do not remind about mosques that much. The first group of women mentioned is listed by 24%. However, the second group of interviewees is placed by 12,5% (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Determination of the first five choices which come to interviewees' minds about Schaarbeek cross tabulation with demographical data

		AGE GROUPS		EDUCATION LEVELS		DURATION OF LIVING IN BELGIUM	
	<u>Important Places in Schaarbeek</u>	<u>Ages between 22-34</u>	<u>Ages between 35-54</u>	<u>Primary or middle school</u>	<u>High school or university</u>	<u>1-20 years</u>	<u>More than 20 years</u>
1	Stores in Street A	20% *****	18% *****	18% *****	14% *****	18% *****	15% *****
2	Mosques	13% *****	26% *****	24% *****	14% *****	24% *****	12,5% *****
3	Restaurants and buffets	9% ***	17% *****	3% *	16% *****	9% ***	12,5% *****
4	Tramway	9% ***	6% **	9% ***	10% ***	15% *****	5% *
5	Liedts Square	7% **	6% **	3% *	10% ***	-	12,5% *****
6	St. Marie Church	9% ***	3% *	3% *	8% ***	-	12,5% *****
7	Street B	8% ***	4% *	12% *****	8% ***	9% ***	5% *
8	Train station	7% **	4% *	3% *	8% ***	6% **	10% ***
9	Kindergardens	9% ***	-	8% ***	2% *	9% ***	2,5% *
10	Squares	4% *	6% **	8% ***	4% *	4% *	5% **
11	Hamams	3% *	6% **	6% **	-	3% *	2,5% *
12	Resting areas	1%	2% *	3% *	2% *	3% *	2,5% *
13	Schaarbeek concert hall	3% *	-	-	4% *	-	2,5% *
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Secondly, it can be accepted that mosques are quite memorable for the women who answered the survey questions. It can be understood that, for the interviewees under 35 years old, stores in the street mentioned are a little bit more important than those older than 35. It is calculated that younger group is listed above by 20% while the older group is placed by 18 % in the table above. Moreover, it indicates that less educated women among all interviewees are more interested in mosques; such that markings of women graduated from a high school is corresponded by 14% while others are placed by 18%. In addition, no difference is resulted within the number of years passed in Belgium about remembering the stores in Street A. It is listed that for all interviewees listed in this category, these places are marked corresponded to a ratio of 12,5% (Table 3.2).

It can be perceived that restaurant and buffets are favorite places among Turkish women in Schaarbeek. Especially by the women above 35 years old, these places are selected with ratio of 17%. For the less educated women and the ones who live in Belgium for less than 20 years in the organizations, restaurants and buffets are less memorable by 3% and 9% respectively. However, for the women who at least graduated from a high school, the quantitative result is calculated as 16%. Also, the women who have been living in Brussels for more than 20 years is placed by 12,5 % (Table 3.2).

Lastly, tramway is mostly reminded by women who live in Belgium less than 20 years compared to others with ratio of 15% On the other hand, 10% of more educated women preferred the choice similar to less educated (9%) and younger (9%) women. Liedts Square is another important image of Schaarbeek especially for women living more than 20 years in Belgium and women who graduated from a high school or more. These quantitative results are calculated as 12,5 % and 10% respectively (Table 3.2).

3.2.3.3 Meaning and evaluation of public spaces and activities in Schaarbeek

It might be relevant to reveal findings about the study area after explaining interviewees' personal backgrounds in order to see in what way people prefer to use mentioned public spaces. In this respect, findings about Street A, Liedts Square, and alternative places in the neighborhood are given below in a more detailed way.

First of all, Street A is selected to be evaluated in terms of usage and how Turkish women evaluate them. This street is used for short-time activities by the interviewees. It is noted that most of the women who attended the survey use Street A only when they need something to buy. This indicates that they prefer going to Street A rarely. Considering table 3.4, it can be said that 15% of the interviewees go to the street everyday. Only 5 % of them prefer to go there in the weekends. 10% of the people in the group visit the street 2 or 3 times in a week. However, most of the interviewees (70 %) prefer to go there infrequently (Figure 3.12).

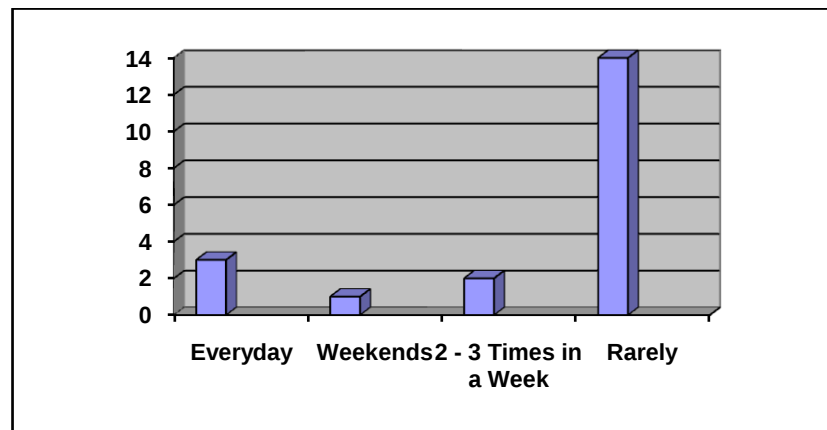


Figure 3.12: Interviewees' usage frequency of Street A

Considering the results of , it can be said that 8 women (40 % of the group) spend 1 to 2 hours in Street A. 7 women (35% of the whole) spend approximately 30 minutes when she visits the street. 3 women (15 % of the interviewees) spend less than 30 minutes in the area. Only 2 interviewees (10% of the whole) spend 2 or 3 hours in Street A (Figure 3.13).

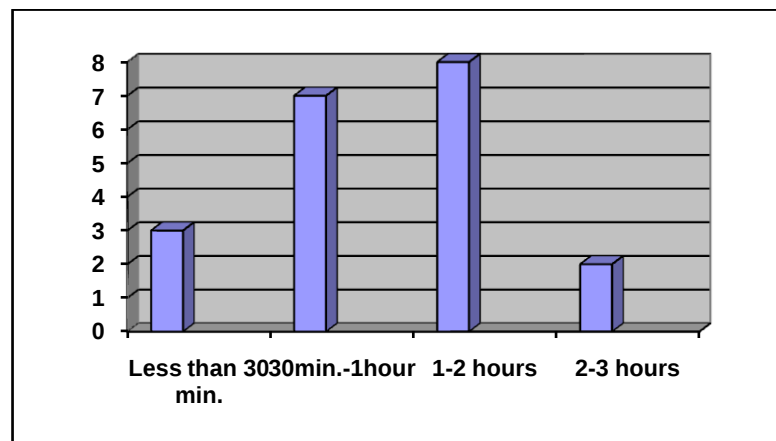


Figure 3.13: Time spent by interviewees in Street A

It is also revealed that interviewees use Street A generally for shopping. However, they generally mention that it is not a place for shopping for pleasure. Instead, they imply that Street A is a street to go and buy something discretionally.

Table 3.3: ‘Scale of sensation’ for Street A (according to SDS technique)

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Calm	0	100	Noisy
Regular	10	90	Complex
Specific	10	90	Ordinary
Safe	10	90	Unsafe
Memorable	80	20	Unmemorable
Developed	15	75	Undeveloped
Coherent	50	50	Incoherent
Spacious	0	100	Stuffy
Modern / Contemporary	10	90	Outmoded
Well-kept	15	85	Neglected
Entertaining	15	85	Boring
Attractive	50	50	Unattractive
Useful	60	40	Useless
Multifarious	80	20	Monotonous

All interviewees answered as ‘shopping’ for the reason of using Street A. 5 of the interviewees older than 35 years old prefer to go there for walking as a second choice. Interviewees evaluate Street A as a noisy (100%), complex (100%), ordinary (100%), unsafe (90%), memorable (80%), stuffy (100%), outmoded (90%), neglected (85%), boring (85%), useful (60%), and multifarious (80%) place. It may be interesting that there is equality in number of answers given by interviewees in terms of coherency with the environment and attractiveness of Street A.

Half of the interviewees think it is a coherent street with its near environment while the other half thinks it is not. Similarly, half of the women interviewees find it attractive in contrast to other half of the interviewees (Table 3.3).

All of the interviewees' answers related to time spent in Liedts Square is noted as 'less than 30 minutes' among other choices including longer periods of time –such as 30 minutes to 1 hour, 1 to 2 hours, 2 to 3 hours, and more than 3 hours –. This leads to make a prediction about the usage of the area as well.

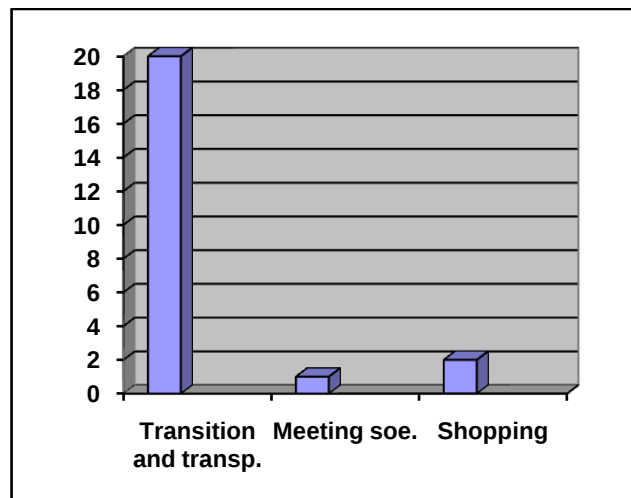


Figure 3.14: Reasons for usage of Liedts Square

Most of the interviewees use the area for transportation and transition. It means that although Liedts Square is a gathering and distribution place, Turkish women do not prefer to stay there more than half an hour. However, it is also noted that 2 interviewees preferred to go there for shopping as a second activity and 1 to meet with her friends, as well (Figure 3.14).

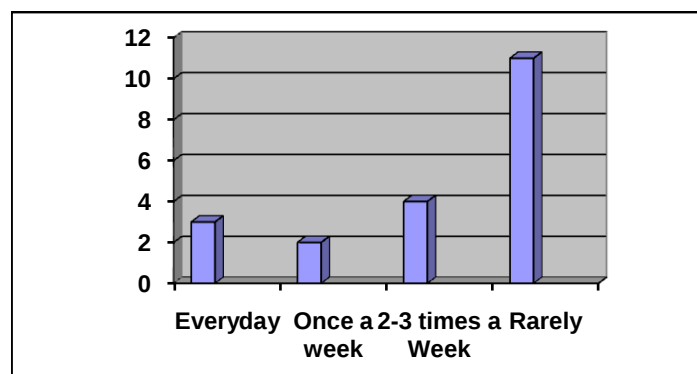


Figure 3.15: Interviewees' usage of frequency for Liedts Square

In terms of frequency of usage for Liedts Square, it is visible that 11 of the interviewees (55% of the whole) use the area very rarely. 4 of them (20%) are using the square 2 or 3 times in a week. 3 women (15%) use the same place everyday, and only 2 interviewees (10%) use it once a week (Figure 3.15).

Table 3.4: ‘Scale of Sensation’ for Liedts Square (according to SDS technique)

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Calm	0	100	Noisy
Regular	20	80	Complex
Specific	10	90	Ordinary
Safe	10	90	Unsafe
Memorable	70	30	Unmemorable
Developed	50	50	Undeveloped
Coherent	60	40	Incoherent
Spacious	10	90	Stuffy
Modern / Contemporary	25	75	Outmoded
Well-kept	50	50	Neglected
Entertaining	30	70	Boring
Attractive	25	75	Unattractive
Useful	60	40	Useless
Multifarious	65	35	Monotonous

As it can be seen in the table above, Liedts Square can be defined as a noisy (100%), complex (80%), ordinary (90%), unsafe (90%), memorable (70%), coherent (60%), stuffy (90%), outmoded (75%), boring (70%), unattractive (75%), useful (60%), and multifarious (65%) urban area. Besides, it is interesting that in terms of being developed or undeveloped, and well-kept or neglected, there is equality between percentages of choices for each line. It means that Liedts Square can be evaluated as a not much developed and not much well-kept square from the Turkish women’s point of views who attended the survey (Table 3.4).

3.2.3.4 Daily usage of alternative places in near environment of interviewees in Schaarbeek

Under this heading, different places where interviewees prefer to use related to their purposes are investigated. First of all, interviewees are asked for which purpose they use the branch streets in Schaarbeek. All of the interviewees said that they use the branch streets only for transition –. 3 of the interviewees who are older than 35 years old said that they use the streets for walking besides just by-passing while going to somewhere close to there.

The answers given to another question –which contains 3 issues such as use of balconies, use of pavements in front of the apartments, and use of street benches– show that open spaces near women’s homes are not frequently used by them.

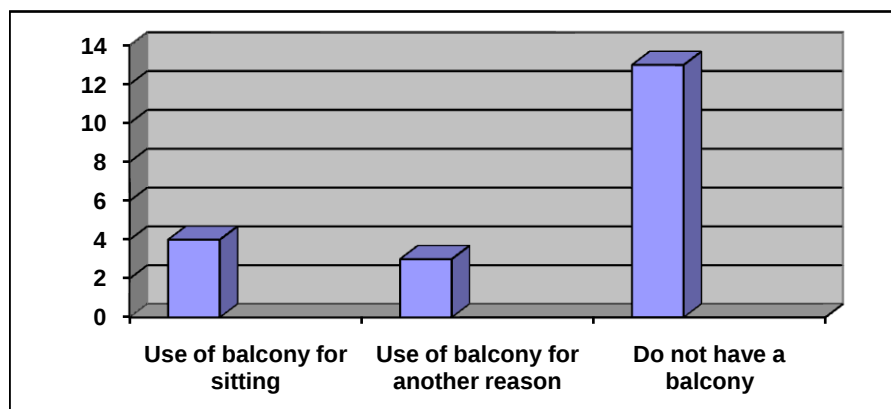


Figure 3.16: Use of balconies by interviewees

According to the results of the interviews made by women, it can be understood that most of the interviewees (13/20 means 65%) do not have a balcony in their flats. 4 of them (means 20%) use their balconies to sit when the weather is available for sitting. 3 of them (means 15%) use their balconies for different purposes like hanging clothes or putting something like depots (Figure 3.17). When they are asked more about these purposes, it is revealed that ‘. . . location of one of the balconies is not suitable for sitting because there is a *kahvehane* [Turkish coffee house where Turkish men sit] opposite the façade of the balcony’. Another woman said ‘. . . because of the noise in the street I do not prefer to organize my balcony to use in daytime’.



Figure 3.17: Use of street benches by interviewees

According to the expressions done for the use of street benches in Schaarbeek, it shows that more than half of the women (11/20 means 55%) do not sit on the street benches in Schaarbeek. 4 of them (means 20%) prefer to sit on the benches in the streets when they get tired. 5 of the interviewees (means 25%) prefer to sit on the benches only in parks (Figure 3.9). When they are asked more about not using the street benches they explain it with ‘. . . there is much traffic in crowded streets, so I prefer to use benches only in parks’, ‘. . . there are not enough street benches to sit in the streets’, ‘. . . many men sit in the squares, I hesitate to sit among them’, ‘. . . I do not go far enough in Schaarbeek to need for a sit on the benches’ (Figure 3.18).

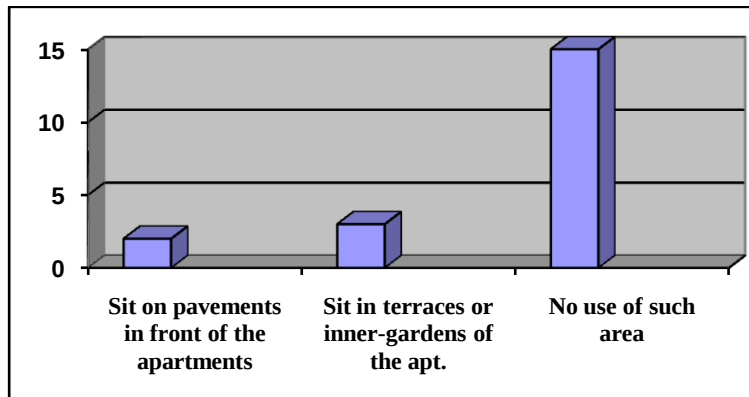


Figure 3.18: Use of pavements by interviewees

When use of pavements in front of interviewees’ houses are asked, it is resulted that most (15/20 means 75%) of the women do not use the pavements in front of their apartments. Only 2 (10%) of them prefer to sit in front of their buildings while 3 (15%) of them sit only in terraces or inner-gardens of the apartments.

When interviewees are asked about the places where women hesitate to go in Schaarbeek, most of the women answered that there are no places that make them feel unsafe. Possible reasons of this thought are analyzed in the expressions for the 15th question person by person. When women are asked about more names for these kinds of places, Rue Josaphat, Rue de Robiano which are near Rue Rogier, Rue d'Aerschot which is near the train station, and all streets settled at the back side of Rue Brabant where night-shops are densely located and Rue Verte in study area which is a quite narrow and deserted street are noted.

In order to learn more about alternative places to chosen places, women are asked to tell about places they prefer to go most. The result gives ideas about which places women prefer to go with their friends for socializing. It may be significant to evaluate the results according to age groups and education levels.

Table 3.5: Places interviewees prefer to go with friends according to age groups and education level

	AGE GROUPS		EDUCATION LEVEL	
<u>Places to go</u>	<u>Ages between 22-34</u>	<u>Ages between 35-54</u>	<u>Primary or middle school</u>	<u>High school or university</u>
Places of friends	36% *****	45% *****	40% *****	30% *****
Parks	24% *****	25% *****	24% *****	25% *****
Shopping malls	16% ****	10% **	12% ***	25% *****
Restaurants	16% ****	10% **	12% ***	10% **
Cafés and pastry shops	8% **	-	4% *	5% *
Women societies	-	10% **	4% *	5% *
Cinemas	8% **	-	4% *	-
Total	100	100	100	100

For Turkish women from all ages, visiting their friends at home is the most common activity. However, it is more visible among the ones older than 34 years old (45%) and less educated ones (40%) than others. However, for the younger interviewees who are under 35 years old (36%) and the women who graduated from at least a high school (30%), visiting friends at homes is the most common activity in Schaarbeek.

Going to parks is the second common activity among the interviewees. Such that around 25% of all interviewees prefer to go there with friends in their spare times. Thirdly, shopping malls are important areas for women in Schaarbeek. Especially for the more educated women among interviewees (25%) it is the second common place to go. Also, younger women (16%) prefer to go to shopping malls more than the ones older than 34 years old (10%). In addition, restaurants are another frequently preferred place especially for younger (16%) and less educated (12%) group of interviewees more than the older and educated ones (both 10%). It is interesting that cafés, pastry shops and cinemas are never preferable places for women in the ages between 35 and 54. Also women organizations are not regarded as a place of meeting with friends for younger group of people (Table 3.5).

According to the interviewees' answers to the open-ended questions related to their life styles in their near environments, it can be understood that none of the Turkish women let their children play in the streets except the ones who follow their children themselves in front of their apartments. When the reason is asked they mention ' . . . there is too much traffic in the streets for children to play '. When observed children in the streets are asked they reply 'Turkish children do not play in the street, generally. Other migrant children are more fearless, so they are more visible in the streets'. When names of the places where their children go to play are asked, family parks such as Parc Atomium, Parc Josaphat near selected study area, Parc Vilvoorde are noted.

Going to *hamam* may be accepted as an activity of Turkish people related to their cultures as foreigners in Belgium. Actually, today in Turkey this tradition is not common as it used to be. However, for the people who migrate from Anatolia before a few years or more, this can still be a determinative activity to evaluate if women sustain their customs in a foreign country or not. Answers given for the 31st question indicate that women who go to *hamam* (3 of 20) in Brussels do this activity in Turkey as well. When the other women are asked about the reasons not to go there, it is revealed that some of them (6 of 20) think that *hamams* are not hygienic enough while 4 of them hesitate being with foreign people there. Another 3 women do not go there because their husbands do not prefer them to go there. 2 of 20 women say that

the owners of *hamams* in Schaarbeek are not Turkish, so they do not prefer to go to there. Among these 11 people in total who do not use *hamams* in Schaarbeek there are 5 of women who use them in their neighborhoods in Turkey because there is no such reason. Another 2 interviewees imply that they do not even know about *hamams* in Schaarbeek.

Lastly, when interviewees are asked about mosques, and it is noted that all of them are aware of the mosques in Schaarbeek and both they and their husbands are users of this function routinely. However, it may be interesting that especially the women older than 35 years old think that there is no lack of worship for them in Brussels. When they are asked more about the architecture of mosques in Schaarbeek, they say ‘. . . it would be more excited to people if mosques were constructed as in Turkey. However, we feel the same (as in a mosque in Turkey) when we enter in the flat organized as a mosque’. In addition, some women say that they feel the lack of sound of *ezan* [call to the prayer] in the streets where they live as in Turkey. It is resulted that for the interviewees between ages 22 and 34, architecture of a mosque is more important. When they are asked about the mosques, some of these women first say that ‘. . . there are no mosques in Schaarbeek, but worship places for Muslims in apartments’. When they are asked about the frequency of usage, it is noted that they go there whenever it is necessary for women to go. Besides, their husbands go to mosques routinely according to interviewees’ explanations. So, it can be understood that in another country there may be some missing qualities related to lack of physical characteristics reflecting to urban area. However, people tend to fulfill their religious needs in suitable places.

3.3 Results of Site Research

Just before beginning the site study, it was predicted that there might be less women in the public spaces of Schaarbeek similar to some neighborhoods in Turkey. When observations started to be done, it revealed that stable users of the places were mostly men while women were using the areas mostly for walking through or by-passing rather than sitting. It is determined that this situation is because of the urban design applications in the area decided mostly by the users of the places.

Hence, survey is decided to be done among Turkish women who can be regarded as the secondary users of the places. Aim of applying such survey was to reveal how less visible users of the public spaces in Schaarbeek perceive these areas.

In general, it can be said that survey findings show expected results after analysis and observations in the area. In a more detailed way, women mentioned that they really did not prefer to use the selected areas often and for a long time because of both physical and social aspects of the urban design in Schaarbeek generally.

Results of survey can be evaluated in several parts like the preparation of questions. The first part indicates interviewees' identities and demographical situation. In general, it can be said that most of the interviewees are housewives, coming from Afyon/Emirdağ, graduated from primary or secondary school. All of them have at least one child while these women's ages differ from 22 to 54. More than half of them are citizens of Belgium and Turkey together. Besides, most of them feel like they belong to Turkey more than Belgium. This data shows general profile of women inhabitants in Schaarbeek. Besides, number of years the interviewees lived in Belgium has various values from 1 to 40 years.

Secondly, when interviewee's experiences in Schaarbeek are revealed, it is resulted that branch streets of the neighborhood are the most preferred public spaces for women. A crowded square which is significant with transportation systems intersection is quite less usable for the same women while a commercial and crowded street is in the third order. This indicates that women are living in more isolated and confidential places rather than dense transition areas in the neighborhood.

In addition, when most remembered images of public spaces in Schaarbeek are investigated among these women, it is noted that Street A, shopping, restaurants, tramway with its route and Liedts Square are the favorite ones. This result generally indicates the way women remember and evaluate selected places in Schaarbeek.

Moreover, it is determined that both Street A and Liedts Square are places where most of the interviewees prefer to visit rarely and spend minimum time. This is another outcome of the survey that overlaps with the findings of observations.

Furthermore, when alternative places related to urban equipments and details in the branch streets, some more results are determined. For instance, most of the interviewees do not have balconies in where they live. Very few of the ones who have balconies use it for sitting while more women prefer to use them for other reasons like for making a depot. Secondly, street benches are not usable for again most of women. However, some women prefer to sit on benches only in parks.

Lastly, *hamams* and mosques were built differently in Schaarbeek. So, when use of these facilities were investigated, it is noted that almost all men go to the mosques in a routine while *hamams* are not much preferred places for both Turkish men and women in Schaarbeek.

4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

When human-environment relations are thought in a general meaning, it seems a very broad issue. When it is investigated in field of an urban design research, it is seen that it has an extensive and functional role on understanding the physical and social aspects together in urban life. People's liking or disliking their environments, being happy or unhappy with their environments, their feelings and thoughts according to the places they face up with can be accepted as the image, identity and evaluation based results of human-environment interactions.

As a main result of the study it is determined that Turkish women generally do not exist in the public life, and they are trapped in constant places –mostly at their homes and near environment– in Schaarbeek. Even if the women's ages, educations, and duration of living in Belgium are stated as determinative factors in being aware of city identity and change the social lives of these women partially, there is a common and dominant background causing them to behave in similar ways; culture and social accumulations. It means that younger and educated Turkish women in Schaarbeek are more active and visible in public areas in the daytime, but both because of the physical characteristics of the public spaces and women's accumulations coming from their parents, there is still lack of connection between women and public spaces in Schaarbeek. In terms of human-environment issue again, this is a cause-effect situation. Because mostly men decide about the planning of the neighborhood, women cannot use those areas efficiently, and become the invisible side of the public life.

Consequently, in general, it is seen that Turkish people generally tend to sustain their learned way of living and types of behaviors in Brussels, Schaarbeek. When women's situations are investigated, their age of coming to Belgium is a more important factor to determine their feeling of identity and perceptions and behaviors as well. However, almost all of them live according to the norms and customs in Turkey, and use public spaces as that of their homelands.

Depending on these results, it can be recommended that especially in public spaces, it should always be kept in mind that equality for all people should be provided. Women may be able to involve in urban life as much as men rather than spending their daily time at homes. Depending on this, planning and design of public spaces should also change and become more useful by larger populations. For municipalities paying attention to participants' points of views as in Brussels, users' thoughts are very important. Hence, designers, social scientists, or other people in governmental issues should make the public be more conscious of equality in urban planning and design.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

0. Age
1. Education
2. Marital status
3. Job
4. Number of children and their marital status:
.....
5. Where are your parents from?:
6. When and with whom did you move to Belgium?
.....
7. Language (spoken at home / outside):
8. Language of the children (at home / outside):
9. Nationality / also nationality you feel that you belong to:
.....
10. What do you do in a routine day?
.....
11. What kind of education and marriage do you imagine for your children?
.....
12. What do you do in holidays? (weekends and longer holidays separately):
.....
13. Do you use internet / mobile phone?
14. Do you drive a car? Do you have your own car?

15. Do you feel like a woman when you are walking in the street (in terms of getting disturbed by other people especially men)?

.....

16. Give numbers to these places according to the frequency you use them (1 to 6):

- ☐ Rue de Brabant,
- ☐ Place Liedts,
- ☐ Rue Allard,
- ☐ Rue Rogier,
- ☐ Rue Verte,
- ☐ Rue de la Fraternite

17. Mark first 5 choices when you think about Brussel Noord/Schaarbeek:

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Gare du Noord | ☐ Hamams |
| ☐ Rue Allard (small square in front of the station) | ☐ Resting areas |
| ☐ Place Liedts | ☐ Shopping |
| ☐ Stores on Rue de Brabant | ☐ Kindergardens |
| ☐ Rue Rogier | ☐ Entertainment |
| ☐ Rue Verte | ☐ Restaurants and buffets |
| ☐ Rue de la Fraternite | ☐ Tram |
| ☐ Nightshops | ☐ Buses and other transportation vehicles |
| ☐ Crowd and complexity | ☐ Schaarbeek Concert Hall |
| ☐ Squares | ☐ St. Marie Church |
| ☐ Mosques | |

18. How often do you use Rue de Brabant?

- ☐ Everyday,
- ☐ Weekdays,
- ☐ Weekends,
- ☐ 2-3 times in a week,
- ☐ Rarely

19. How much time do you spend in Rue de Brabant?

- ☐ less than 30 min,
- ☐ 30min- 1 hour,
- ☐ 1-2 hours,
- ☐ 2-3 hours,
- ☐ more than 3 hours

20. Why do you use Rue de Brabant?

- ☐ For transition/transportation
- ☐ For shopping
- ☐ For sitting and having a rest
- ☐ For meeting with someone
- ☐ Other

21. How do you define Rue de Brabant? (Select positive or negative for each line.)

Positive	Negative
Calm	Noisy
Regular	Complex
Specific	Ordinary
Safe	Unsafe

Memorable	Unmemorable
Coherent	Incoherent
Spacious	Stuffy
Modern / Contemporary	Outmoded
Well-kept	Neglected
Entertaining	Boring
Attractive	Unattractive
Useful	Useless
Multifarious	Monotonous

22. How often do you use Place Liedts?

- ☐ Everyday,
- ☐ Weekdays,
- ☐ Weekends,
- ☐ 2-3 times in a week,
- ☐ Rarely

23. How much time do you spend in Place Liedts?

- ☐ less than 30 min,
- ☐ 30min- 1 hour,
- ☐ 1-2 hours,
- ☐ 2-3 hours,
- ☐ more than 3 hours

24. How do you define Place Liedts? (Select positive or negative for each line.)

Positive	Negative
Calm	Noisy
Regular	Complex
Specific	Ordinary
Safe	Unsafe
Memorable	Unmemorable
Coherent	Incoherent
Spacious	Stuffy
Modern / Contemporary	Outmoded
Well-kept	Neglected
Entertaining	Boring
Attractive	Unattractive
Useful	Useless
Multifarious	Monotonous

25. Why do you use Place Liedts?

- ☐ For transition/transportation
- ☐ For shopping
- ☐ For sitting and having a rest
- ☐ For meeting with someone
- ☐ Other

26. For which purpose do you use other branch streets?

.....

27. For which purpose do you use balconies of your apartments, pavements, street banches, etc.?

.....

28. As a woman, are there any places you hesitate to go in Schaarbeek? Which streets, squares? And why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

29. Where do you meet / sit with your friends except these places? (name of the place)

.....
...

30. Where do you take your children to play? (name of the place) .

.....
....

31. Do you go to 'hamam' in Schaarbeek?

.....
.....

32. What do you think about the mosques in Schaarbeek compared to those in Turkey? Does your husband use these mosques?

.....

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