

Transformation of mental maps during urban reconstruction in the Tahtakale District considering safety and gender

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Received: November 2017 • Final Acceptance: July 2018

Abstract

Istanbul, a city with over 14 million people, is invaded by its own inhabitants every day. With the maps in their minds that have the borders drawn by themselves, millions of vehicles, pedestrians, street animals are reaching from one point to another. During these changes, sometimes city fails to protect its original shape, yet sometimes manages to remain the patterns. Transformation of space is based on the economic and political backgrounds of the country and a new real-estate centered culture is forcibly applied. The isolating approach of politics is leaving traces on urban land. Istanbul, being a palimpsest city and a living organism, has been going through the most active phase of its history. But at the same time, lack of interest in urban esthetics and architecture has led many new problems. Individuals can only adopt and accept their social and physical environments as long as they're able to give a meaning to it. But the extremist operations reflect on the memory as ruptures, and this causes an unclear future perception and lack of sense of belonging. Tahtakale District which has going through social and physical changing phases is selected to be the case study area. Incidents of near past will be examined in a safety and gender perspective. For the inhabitants, urban land has become the crime scene for harassment; one of the main goals is to study how the change of mental maps will affect the future assumptions and individuals' behaviors as well as their sense of belonging.



doi: 10.5505/ituja.2018.59389

Keywords

Palimpsest city, Tahtakale District, Urban transformation, Gender, Mental maps.

1. Introduction

Cities are dynamic areas with a continuous change in which different groups live together in terms of sex, age, origin, beliefs, social and economic means. This multi-cultural system is one of the most significant elements for enriching the city life and cultural structure. But especially in recent years, increasingly, cities are being subjected to an intense attack, living spaces are being narrowed, instead of enabling the cultural mosaic of different life-practices available in cities, it becomes a discrimination tool.

Problems occurring due to the constantly growing cities and increasing urban population as a result of the transformation taking place in social life, affect the social harmony. Rise of individualism and increasing urban scale cause citizens to be alienated from their own living area, transition of public spaces reduces the communal areas and this causes indifference to the city's general problems.

Istanbul has undergone massive transformation in the past 30 years, especially desire to be involved in world markets by increasing the articulation and assertion in the last ten years which is closely related to the basic trend of being a "world city" that are compatible with a significant conversion rate (Keyder, 2000). In terms of city's economic development, Turkey goes beyond the borders of itself regarding the access and impact and reaching out to the world.

Turkey has started to carry out outward-oriented policy since 1980s, and made regulations after 2003s' regarding the REIT and housing finance which also enabled foreigners to have possessions. Due to the lack of planned housing policy unlike these regulations, citizens try to solve the problem by informal housing. Turkey tries to solve the lack of secondary market means in property sector by enlarging the position and authority of Housing Development Administration. High valued projects which discoursed first as creating healthy and modern life areas resulted ignoring the intellectual, cultural and craft accumulation, and unfortunately continued only as land development studies. The government,

which is expected to put an effort of preventing the speculations with its constructive forces, becomes a tool for generating speculation.

Housing Development Administration tries to reorganize the areas for the citizens who are in need of solution due to unplanned areas in accordance with the law which was entries into force regarding the Transition of Disaster Risk Areas in 2012, with the issue no 6306.

Within the scope of this law following decision in 2012 was taken; Tahtakale Quarter, which is included in Avcilar border and subject to the case study, identified as the urban transformation area.

Determination of socio-cultural and real estate sector effects in this area, which is in the middle of speculations regarding the urban transformation and Canal Istanbul Project, has been presented by analyzing the data taken from the state institutions and organizations and also site-audit.

Social gender-based approaches, diverged from other practices, enable the opportunity to provide information about the religion, social class, age, and of similar criteria and different fields in everyday life, relations with the intersection of social, political and economic dynamics.

This article is prepared on the basis of analyzing the continuously produced inequalities in the city within the perspective of social gender which will put forward more meaningful results. Although social gender concept emerged from women movement it consists of all gender and sexualities. But in the context of article especially the results of case study discussed and evaluated in terms of a gender approach to women.

Study is prepared under two main titles including subheadings. Under the main title of urban restructuring processes; Dynamics of Spatial Change, Dynamics of Social Change, Mental Maps and Their Fundamental Dynamics and Urban Violence and Gender Roles; under Case Study – Tahtakale Neighborhood Survey and Face To Face Interviews and a general Conclusion part are included.

Literature research is used as study method as well as case study and face-

to-face interview techniques are used. By obtaining data from the official agencies there has been various analyze maps are formed.

2. Urban restructuring processes

Urban space can be defined as a set of layers formed in a certain historicity. (Şengül, 2008) Each period constitutes own texture within a certain contradiction and interacts with the layers formed in the previous period. In this context, urban restructuring, in which the each period being in relation with the previous period, is emerging as creating its own or updating existing layer process.

An area gains an urban sense if it can create a holistic system with its users as well as its built environment. A city is a chain of places which are attributed to different meanings and functions by many users. It can be mentioned of urban sense and integrity only when the people interact with the environment living in directly or indirectly and give meaning to it. Therefore urban restructuring is a process that will go with the built environment and its users together. Most of the time it is not possible to differentiate that where the spatial or social change begins or where it ends in restructuring, or which one is followed by the other. These changes take place in such a way that together and influencing each other.

Nevertheless, spatial and social dynamics of change in the restructuring process, taking into account their influence on each other, are discussed separately.

2.1. Dynamics of spatial change

Cities all over the world are going through a functional and spatial transformation. In this process, on the one hand new form of construction and new urban spaces are emerging and on the other hand urban life is changing drastically. Behind this quest there is a new economic, social and political understanding and that understanding, also referred as new urban policies, is effective in the reconstruction of urban life and the remodeling of the city. Urban projects are seemed to be forefront in the process of remodeling of the city. While the cities grew as an oil stain by

the addition of individual structures in the 1980s and before, larger scale urban projects began to be added after that year. (Tekeli, 2008)

These large-scale urban projects vary in terms of functions such as housing estates, education or health care campuses and organized industrial zones. The articulation of these areas away from the city center, has led to relocate the functions in the city center in time. As coming until today, the city continued to grow spatially also undergoes a transformation in the scale of both structure and the large projects within the boundaries of these areas.

Urban spatial growth, proliferation and transformation processes have begun to differentiate in last 10 years. Now the cities are not managed with long-term strategies, planned development setups, the estimation of needs and demands for the different sectors of society, but with the supply-side urban policies, income-oriented urban projects which are the products of those policies and urban expansion and transformation processes required for these projects. (Penpecioglu, 2013)

Istanbul's increased activities related to the service sector such as financial, real estate and counseling has led to the rapid rise in the prices of urban lands by increasing the rate of commodification and bringing some areas into prominence in the city center. This is also brought about a separation of the urban space. Direct and serious interventions have affected the urban space and citizens' lifestyles. A slum demolition on the agenda during the 90s comes to the agenda again in the 2000s, this time in the axis of urban renewal projects. In this process, "urban renewal projects" carried out in the urban centers and surrounding neighborhoods stands out as an important intervention tool.

2.2. Dynamics of social change

Social change and spatial change are the processes that are in strong interaction with each other. Events that occurred in recent history and their reflections on everyday life of individuals are the causes of social change and changes in the related dynamics. Social reconstruction in societies, while in-

teracting directly with changes in the physical texture, is taking place with the effect of a chain of events taking especially the recent history as reference and settling in the collective memory. At this point, for the example of Istanbul, it is important that the reconstruction or replacement case to come up as a project shaped by radical interventions outside, not taken place with its natural dynamics. (Aslan, 2010) Rapid and not-holistic transformation in urban space and demolish-and-redo approach instead of preserving leads to a vandalized urbanization and creates lack of memory for citizens. City silhouettes changing dramatically in short periods of time, causes the problem of lack of spatial belonging sense.

The disappearances of the area related to the memories in connection with the space not only weaken the memories about past relationships but also blurs the perception of the future. Individuals who have difficulty in forming a relationship with the past, will have discontinuity in time on spatial context and will adopt the sense regarding future would not be permanent since the past is perishable. The individual who cannot leave marks on space or whose relationship between marks he left and time is blocked, will feel isolated and will go in a way of reducing his relationship with urban space.

2.3. Mental maps and their fundamental dynamics

Mental maps, founded and improved by Tony Buzan around 1970's, are a way of analyzing and observing a concept by using diagrams and schematics. They also enable to visualize the concept and make associations with different subjects. The key to the mental maps is to put a selected main topic in the center and arrange supporting branches radial or non-linear positions. However, urban mental maps are quite different from what Buzan has defined; they include both space and experience. Urban mental maps or behavioral maps are a subject of geography. By the reveal of human-environment engagement importance, space perception and its effects on human behavior was started to be studied. According to this study, the

information that is gathered from the surroundings is refined by one's experiences and learned skills. As a result, each independent's respond to the same case differs in various ways which is formed by information, experience and one's own imagination and create a unique image. (Özgüç, 2013) Each person has a behavioral geography for themselves and which has strong relationships with social qualities such as age; gender etc. and leads to urban perceptual maps. (Aliağaoğlu, 2007; Bunting, Guelke 1979)

Urban perceptual maps are shaped and rebuilt by the physical and social events. Individuals update their mental maps and daily habits subconsciously. It is only possible to learn and perceive a neighborhood by interaction. Urban land hosts big scaled and versatile environments that are defined by its inhabitants daily. This situation brings additional parameters to creation of mental maps such as topography, pattern, and climate to social ones. This leads to a meaning which shows that there are limitless mental maps, one for every individual depending on the physical and social parameters. As usual as it is to expect that, it creates a misconception because in spite of the social and physical differences; mental maps tend to resemble. They shape and effect from each other and create a collective image.

2.4. Urban violence and gender roles

Urban land offers a patriarchal built environment. In the urban place, users from both gender types are oriented by unwritten directions and signs. The fast and desultory construction of built environment helps to causes a more striking diversion between genders. Throughout the history the segregation between genders and the areas that they use is visible. Inside the houses, backyards and courtyard are often associated with women while urban public spaces are dominated by men. (Atauz,2004) Frequency depending on the cultural backyard; urbanization has let women to use public spaces that are now transition areas with public services and mostly open for everyone during day time relatively freely. Inequality in usage of space might be

partly overcome in big cities but most of the time it still is a big problem.

Around the 80's, decentralization caused rise in unemployment and migration which followed by serious changes in family structure. Alienation and socio-cultural problems came to fore. These problems result an increase in urban violence. Safety problems of built environment and unpredictable future perception have united with undesired social events and described a new pattern in the city. Cities, which are the heart of economic and social life, became the providers of criminal atmosphere. Different kinds of violence may occur and relate with each other. The main crimes that are seen and caused fear are the ones against women. Sexual harassment, murder, physical abuse and tangible damages such as robbery and mugging are most common urban crimes that women face every day. (The World Bank, Violence in the City; Understanding and Supporting Community Responses to Urban Violence Report, 2011) This violence also harms the feeling of safety. Fear of crime becomes as real as the crime itself. Individuals fail to gain the feeling of security. Thus, visible precautions in private and public spaces are taken in order to deal with fear of crime.

Anxiety being created by that violence, that is fear of crime, plays a role in taking visible measures in spatial sense. These measures are seen as the security emphasis in the segmental and large-scale real estate projects and as a new setup for life in the example of Istanbul. The security setup is located at the top in restructuring the physical environment. The 'security' themed structures reconstructed on the field erase the previous traces and lead to spatial segregation. They also reduce the communication between urban areas, threaten the presence of limited common transition places available to all genders, and also raise the doubts about the safety of the rest of the city. As a result of spatial restructuring, the individual who finds himself in "safe" constructions continuously enhance a subconscious perception of other places as unsafe. (Jacobs, 1962) Thus, the increase in the visibility of urban

violence is being accepted as a normal situation in these 'unsafe' areas and the victims of the normalized violence choose to change their everyday lives and their way of life in a more radical way. Therefore, when examining the urban structure of Istanbul, urban violence emerges as the most important factor in the fiction of relationship between gender and space. It is possible to be said on the basis of the increase of crimes committed against women in urban environment that the router gender codes on the built environment in Istanbul have been changing and getting sharpened. The threat and the fear of urban violence are a factor that affects the urban life negatively as well as urban violence. Fear of urban violence in Istanbul shows itself in many stages of everyday life like choosing time to go out and the road to be used and, for an individual walking on the road, the way handling the bag in her arm with the concern of snatching. Today's cities and especially metropolises like Istanbul have been becoming centers in which increasingly growing and diversifying crimes have been most widely committed. (Firat, 2008) There is no doubt that this evolution has urban and social backgrounds. However, it is a problem that worth to investigate that exactly when and in what form the individual's state of being female or male got ahead of his identity and became the main element determining the life practices.

Presence of urban violence and the fear of possible violence when analyzed with spatial restructuring and social change processes, censorship and self-censorship concepts are emerging on the urban space. Censorship literally means "pre-inspection of all kinds of publications, films and dramas by the government, strict control" (Turkish Language Society). In this sense, censorship in urban context can be described as blocking and / or controlling the access to certain places. Although the implementers of the urban censorship are basically the state and the state security forces, the state-funded capital groups may also be.

Censorship in urban areas is applied under different exposure times as to be temporary and permanent. Temporary

ensorship is imposed on public areas in the city showing a variety of reasons by the government. As an example of recent history it can be shown that to block access of citizens to parks and squares multiple times, by the state, citing violence and security concerns. Temporary censorship can also occur at certain times like large investment projects and construction sites, construction works of public spaces. Those constructions sourced temporary restriction leads to environmental problems such as noise, traffic and dust as well as affects the mobility of people in urban areas. In both cases, daily routines and urban spatial perception of citizens are changed by interfering in their spatial use. Self-censorship, different from the censorship in urban areas, is for someone to feel that he has to obey some certain rules without a clear pressure. It makes an individual to restrict his movements based on the past experiences or the collective memory of the area, and use of space by creating unwritten rules. Self-censorship, which can be described as common sense, is to affect the behavior codes by finding the spatial equivalent of general judgments about the urban areas. Since faced censorship in urban areas corresponds to a definite restriction it is possible to examine or eliminate the effects that are to struggle more with the existing restrictions. However, self-censorship is in much more complex structure since it does not include visible constraints and it is directly associated with mental maps of an individual that is individual perception of space. This situation makes it difficult to detect the actions to be implemented to identify the existence of the self-censorship in the area and to eliminate it. Physical and social constraints which could lead to self-censorship in urban areas and disturbance of mental maps are exemplified by case study.

3. Case study – Tahtakale neighborhood

Case study was applied to south eastern part of Tahtakale Neighborhood which is located in İstanbul, Avclar region. Study area is selected big enough to cover residential quarters that resemble with each other.

The fundamental reasons to study Tahtakale district are;

- The current situation of the constructions is unplanned and most of the buildings are without a license,
- The area is established as a high risk area according to 6306 Law,
- The rating of archeological site that is nearby has been changed to 1. Degree,
- The neighborhood is located in a strategically very important position where Canal İstanbul and Küçükçekmece lake meets,
- It has vista points over Küçükçekmece Lake and Marmara Sea.



Figure 1. Photos taken from the site.

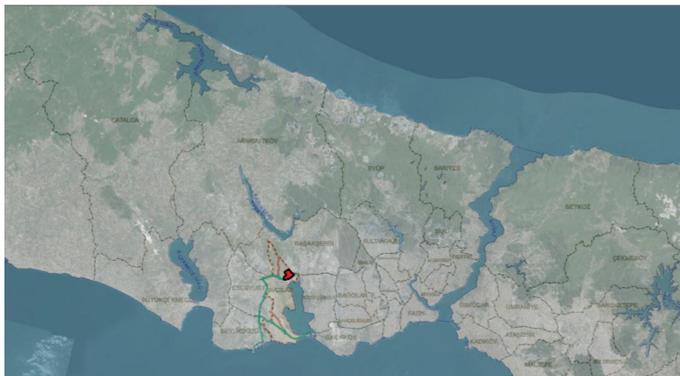


Figure 2. Location of Tahtakale Neighborhood in İstanbul.



Figure 3. Study area and route of Canal İstanbul. Source: İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality.



Figure 4. Topography and vista points.



Figure 5. Nearby luxury housing projects.

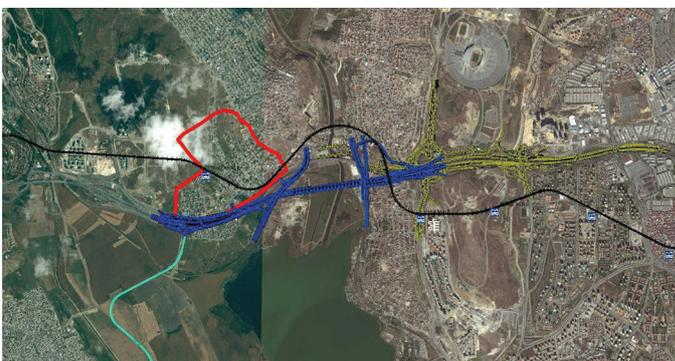


Figure 6. New Highway and rail system that are planned. Source: İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

- Ongoing urban transformation projects held by Housing Development Administration (Toki).

These reasons put Tahtakale neighborhood in a very delicate situation and make it a perfect candidate to observe both spatial and social reconstruction processes.

The northern part of the neighborhood there is another neighborhood called Şahintepe is located with similar conditions, only with legal licenses for the buildings. The highway and new luxury housing projects in Ispartakule which causes more pressure on the neighborhood are located in the south part.

The topography of the study area is generally sloping. The area is steeper on the northern parts. Being a highly speculative project, Canal İstanbul goes just next to the area.

The size of the study area is nearly 153 hectare. Most of the existing houses have a strong view over Marmara Sea. Locational qualities increase the value and the pressure on the neighborhood and trigger the reconstruction processes.

New luxury housing projects in Ispartakule make the area investment wise but also stress the existing houses in Tahtakale. The plans of Housing Development Administration (Toki) shows that construction and new real estate projects will continuous to take place around the neighborhood which makes it for the existing condition almost impossible to remain the same. The analyses from the site show that public services such as hospitals and schools, commercial buildings are insufficient.

The quality of the motorways usually lack in the whole area and does not meet the needs of inhabitants. There is no direct connection European Highway which secures a direct connection with the central parts of the city. İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality is planning to improve the highways and their connections by new cross roads and rail systems as shown below.

The history of the settlement does not go back from the 80's, till that time the neighborhood was an empty land. Around 1980, by land subdivision, the quarter was partly sold to individuals

and so the settlement was established. Fast construction actions were followed by population increase. In the year of 199, the population was 10.557 people. This number has reached 34.722 people in 2013. The land and the property usually belong to the oldest male member of the family. Related families tend to stay in the same buildings and try to keep on their country habits.

The figure ground map of Tahtakale is given below to explain the current situation.

The ownership belongs to individuals who are residents of the neighborhood and the buildings on the lots belong to the stakeholders.

Like Avclar, Most of the inhabitants of Tahtakale are immigrants from eastern cities of Turkey. This creates a friendly environment for those who come from same cities. NGO's help the residents to continue their relations with their home land.

The urban transformation project that is managed by Housing Development Administration (Toki) and Canal İstanbul Project brought more attention to the neighborhood. With the pressure, real estate market has reached its limits with expectations which cannot always reflect the reality.

The uncertainty of upcoming projects like Canal İstanbul causes disturbance among the inhabitants. The archeological site located next to the neighborhood confuses minds and creates new gossips that suggest the archeological site will be used as an excuse to evacuate the area from current residents but legal planning and licenses for the buildings will be allowed for next projects. Like many other urban transformation projects, real estate purchase and sale has stopped. Some of the stake holders have high expectations about the price of their property and want their part of the increasing market. Urban Transformation Law for Risky Areas, 6306 has been used as a market tool to control the reconstruction process of the built environment instead of serving its own purpose.

3.1. Survey and face to face interviews

In addition to studies made in Tahtakale quarter, face to face inter-



Figure 7. Examples of illegal housing in Tahtakale.



Figure 8. Satellite images of Tahtakale from 1982 and 2014. Source: İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality City Guide (<http://sehirrehberi.ibb.gov.tr/map.aspx>).



Figure 9. Figure ground map of Tahtakale. Source: Avclar Municipality and satellite image The empty lots are quite a lot in the total. But the current pattern has been changing due to illegal constructions and density is increasing in the filled lots.

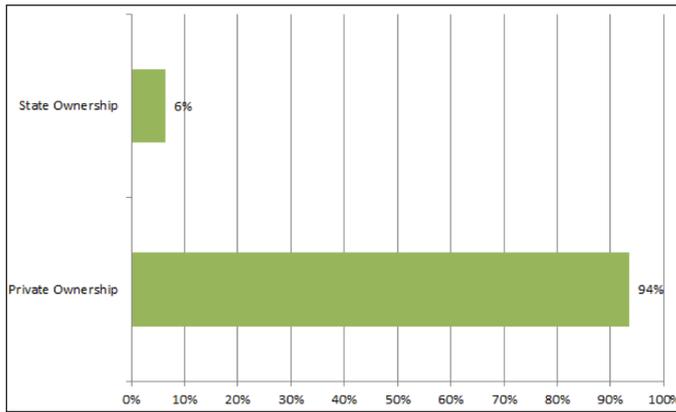


Figure 10. Ownership Division. Source: *Avcilar Land Registry Office.* Source: *Avcilar Land Registry Office.*



Figure 11. Ownership in Tahtakale. Source: *Avcilar Municipality and Avcilar Land Registry Office.*

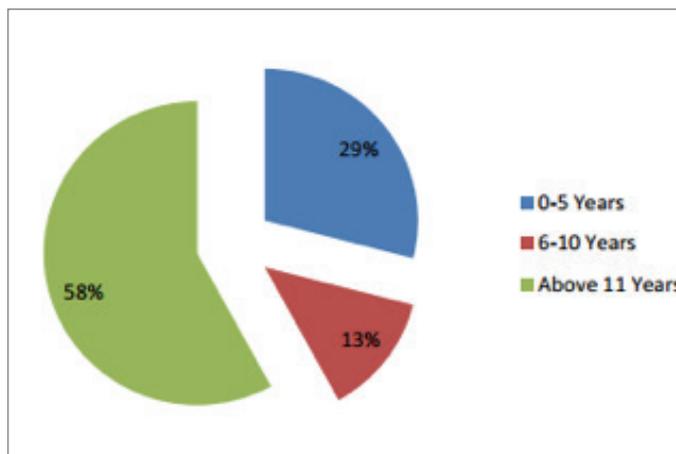


Figure 12. Duration of residency.

views were conducted with the residents. With the help of these interviews, users' daily habits, sense of belonging, their relation of the space and possible changes analysis are aimed to be determined.

Interviews are carried out with 24

people that include 19 female and 5 males. Interviews were conducted outside of households, in the public spaces. 16 of the interviewed person (%67) are mostly between 18-35 year-old and predominantly young adult group. 7 of the interviewed people (%29) are 33-35 years old and 1 person is between 12-18 year-old.

Adult women have at least one child who is having education of the first or secondary level.

Majority of interviewed people (%58) have lived more than 10 years in the same neighborhood. This indicates that majority of the people resided in the same area since the establishment of the neighborhood.

In order to analyze the daily activities of the individuals, the frequency of their mobility outside the house is asked.

Accordingly, during the day the rate of people who leave the house more than once is 62%.

All interviewed adult women leave the house more than once in a day. But the reason of women's leaving house is to take their children to school or pick up their children from school.

It is found out that women carry out their market or similar needs after the school. In this case, it is understood that the daily activities of women inhabitants are depending on the house and family based needs which are priority.

In order to analyze the relationship of participants with their neighborhood as well as nearby districts of Istanbul, their frequency visit of different districts or city center are also asked for examination. Three different frequencies occurred every day, once a week or once a month, amount of person who have never visited or intended to visit different districts or city center observed to be quite high.

The high ratio of people who do not get out of the neighborhood indicates the low mental and physical connection of participants Istanbul-wide. The high out-of-Istanbul birth rates in the Tahtakale indicate that residents are suffering from alienation after starting to live in Tahtakale.

Most of the participants (%87) stated that their children are going out for

playing games in the street. In this case, it should be stated that children are also accepted as user of public spaces. Mobility of the children in the mentioned area is bordered under the supervision of their parents. At this point, participants who only favors their children to play across the street near to their house is %85, though remaining %14, favors children to play around the whole neighborhood. This shows the limits of the public area for children users. Parents mention that their reason of bordering their children's play area is the security concerns. All of the individuals that put limits for play area expressed that they do not make any distinction regarding the gender of their children.

People interviewed In Tahtakale told that stockbreeding and garden works based on rural lifestyle are one of the most important habits that they are unable to sustain due to the spatial or social changes occurring in lifestyle changes.

This case did not occurred during the first years when the neighborhood structuring level was low, rural habitude residents were pushed to a mandatory change as the structuring increased and partially integrated with city life. As other changes, female interviewers' lack of sustaining their premarital habits became evident.

Different leisure time of the participants significantly differs according to their gender. Men define their out-of-home and leisure time activities as going work and mosque. Generally women prefer indoor areas including home and relative visits. Women's urban area usages are identified as front of the doors or gathering in the vacant plots in the Tahtakale residential sites. All these activities are limited for only daytime and can change accordingly weather conditions.

Participants are questioned regarding the physical elements which will describe the environments that they are living, by this way spatial triangulation and apparent mental elements can be identified. In response, it is observed that men mostly take reference as the mosques near their homes. Women take the gas station along the main road and market within the neighbor-

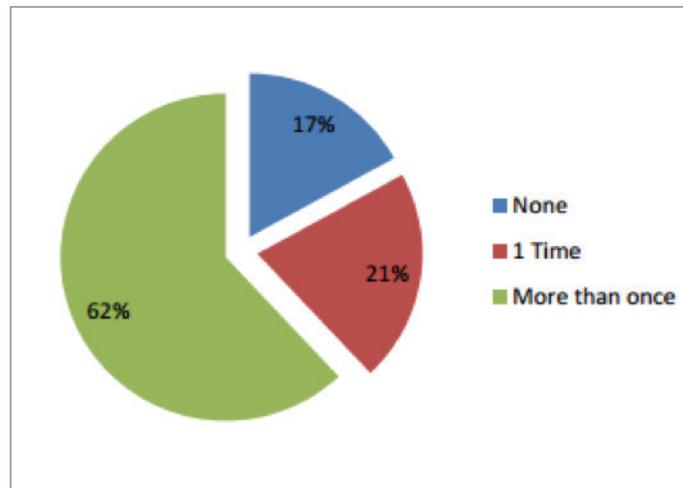


Figure 13. Frequency of mobility.

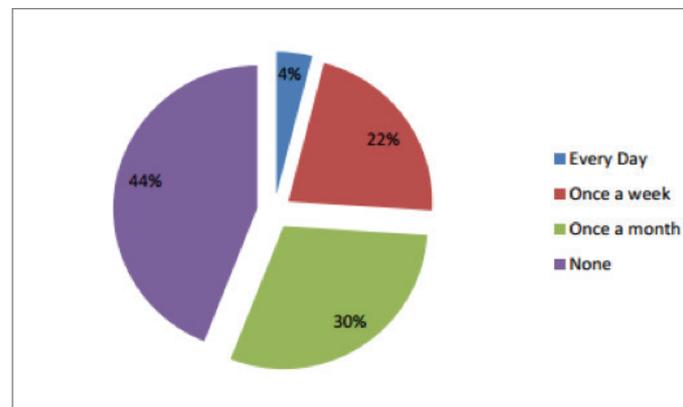


Figure 14. Frequency of city center visits.

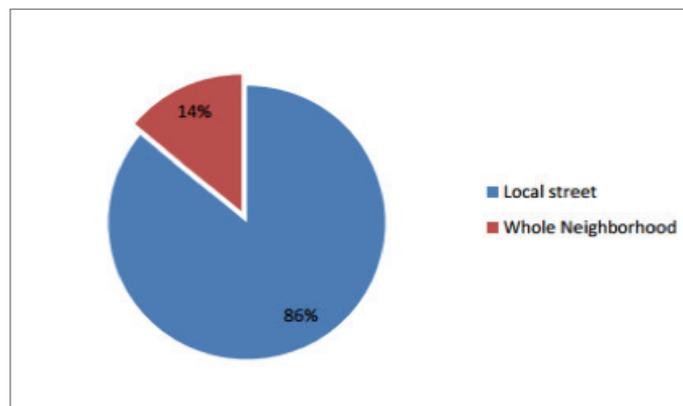


Figure 15. Play area of the children.

hood as reference in order to describe their positions in the space. Women participants whose houses located differently take gas station as a reference point indicates their lack of place domination and current weakness of their mental maps.

Also, due to the rapid structuring of the neighborhood after 1980s, there is lack of natural or historical reference

points for defining the area along with the square or meeting point appealing to collective sense. Using subsequently created commercial units as special determinants shows the lack of historical background of the neighborhood and spatial connection.

There has been general gender-based tendencies emerged regarding the positive and negative dominant catchy aspects of Tahtakale neighborhood. Generally specified negative aspects are higher than the positive aspects. Positive aspects were not defined one by one, described as general satisfaction from the neighborhood.

Family relations, low-story structured housing, stable soil and low risk for earthquake can be counted as positive aspects of the neighborhood where the negative ones are mainly about the security issues. Thievery and restriction of going out at nights are the main problems mostly affect women. More than one participant claimed that drugs and illegal stuff was being sold visibly in the public spaces. Exposition of these illegal activities made the area less safe than before.

Especially in the last few years, events based on political and social background caused violence and increase in urban tension and crime are mentioned by women users. The increase in the number of foreign nationals and immigrants in the neighborhood are a big part of social conflict and tension.

The most important common negative feature is the lack of urban services and infrastructure which are expressed by both women and men individuals. Playgrounds, primary schools and police station are common services that are stated as missing ones by the users.

4. Conclusion

Cross section study of the urban texture samples throughout Istanbul were carried out by the case study conducted in Tahtakale. Accordingly, the rapid construction of spatial change along with the effects of the daily life and mental maps of individuals is targeted to put forward a gender-based approach.

People interviewed in the area of Tahtakale put restriction to their chil-

dren play area due to the safety concerns. At this stage, parents do not make any distinction between girls and boys. Throughout childhood phase, urban open spaces are used within the framework of equality between the sexes. At the end of the childhood phase, gender differences appear related between the social gender roles and spatial usage.

All interviewed people express that they do not have any activity apart from house and unable to go out of the neighborhood without the consent of or companionship of their peers. Front of the doors, small spaces between homes are all within the border of neighborhood and limited available areas defined and used by women.

Gender division becomes very visible in all other areas and women are not accepted as equals, their usage is limited by unwritten rules by the community. Correspondingly, there are some differences emerged regarding the women's use of day and night.

The vast majority of the neighborhood find safety and violence as a big problem preventing women go out at night. Women give up their rights in public areas during nights and leave the front doors, street heads to the men's usage. Male individuals who can use all the neighborhood area freely at day time become the dominant user of the area at nights as women stay at home. Female users claim that this situation creates difference in behaviors of male inhabitants in terms of daytime and nights. According to the observations of neighborhood women, during night men talk louder and behave abusive as compared to daytime, listening loud music. When men users become the dominant users, the change in their behaviors makes the outside more intimidating for women.

Few of the interviewed people expressed that restriction of going out at night turn into more aggressive oppressions such as banning women to look from the window. An individual who is constantly exposed to those constraints starts to internalize this behavior unaware thus shapes the mental map accordingly.

Main residence time in neighborhood is 10 years and more. In this sit-

uation, neighborly relations, spatial dependence and sense of belonging are expected to increase. In Tahtakale example, neighborly relations is increased as expected whereas sense of belonging and spatial dependence decrease. The interviewed residents, do not feel secure in the neighborhood where they resident and founder.

Common answers of both women and men regarding the negative aspects of the neighborhood are urban services and lack of infrastructure. Social based negative features perceived differently in term of different gender and vary order of precedence is to be changed. Time will show if the spatial renewal will follow the traces of past or not, these concerns will either go or add new to the previous ones accordingly.

Spatial restructuring processes' quick and complete break down and rebuild phase cause lack of reminiscence and rootlessness concepts in users. As well as breaking the past relation of one, this situation, also undermines the future envisagement.

Even recently, individual who has a voice in determining the future own has the feeling of losing the planned future due to changing environment. Recent past's recent future provision has changed, replaced by the new and short term actions. Past-disconnected individual, do don't have future aims, or same as in Tahtakale example, desire to be more active. Individual is not part of a rapid spatial change. Thus, previous spatial and social interactions reduce.

Istanbul will have a physical and social changes transition same as the palimpsest cities around the world such as Rome, Paris and Berlin. Tahtakale neighborhood, which is a living organism in Istanbul and case study area, is pushed to a mandatory conversion process. Since the 1980s, carrying the unplanned development concerns, this neighborhood remain under the failed urban renewal applications and speculation pressure of the projects like "Canal Istanbul". These pressures, combined with the transformation of social structure in the neighborhood, define new daily life forms and mental maps especially for women users in the

neighborhood.

Urban development of Istanbul did not occur as planned and foreseen. Assumption of a future that is planned from today is not a realistic point of view. Istanbul has the most of physical variable form than ever and have continuously renewing social dynamic. In this case, it is not wrong to say that future will not fit in today-planned patterns, different spatial and social structure formation shall be applied rather than the previous envisages.

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