

THE ROLE OF URBAN SPACE IN SOCIALIZATION AND DISSOCIATION:
DEMYSTIFICATION OF PUBLIC SPACES

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF URBAN SPACE IN SOCIALIZATION AND DISSOCIATION: DEMYSTIFICATION OF PUBLIC SPACES

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The literature related to urban space is full of scholarly writings which praise public spaces as the engenderer of identity, social integrity, and socialization. Within this thesis it is argued that public spaces do not necessarily render socialization possible. With respect to time, the very same public spaces manifest events that both give way to social behaviour which may ends with either socialization and dissociation. For this end, it is utmost important to understand that what socialization really is. The backbone of this thesis is thus structured along the tenets of one earlier psychoanalytical school supported by environmental psychology. The Jungian perspective coupled with a behaviourist approach to environmental psychology suffices to come up with an appropriate understanding of the processes of socialization and dissociation. Since, space is taken as one of the contributors to behaviour, socialization and dissociation are studied under the rubric of behaviour in urban public spaces. It is at this point, one can observe the mystification of urban public places, as an indispensable component of socialization. However, as this thesis shows, this concept must be demystified, because urban public places only reveal possibilities of behaviour and do not determine them.

Keywords: Public Space, Psychic Processes, Socialization, Dissociation

ÖZ

KENT MEKANININ TOPLUMSALLAŞMA VE TOPLUMSAL ÇÖZÜLMEDEKİ ROLÜ: KAMUSAL ALANLARIN DEMİSTİFİKASYONU

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Kentsel mekânla ilgili yazın, kamusal alanları, kimliğin, sosyal bütünlüğün ve sosyalleşmenin yaratıcısı olarak öven bilimsel yazılarla doludur. Bu tez kapsamında kamusal alanların sosyalleşmenin olmazsa olmaz bileşeni olmadığı tartışılmaktadır. Zaman, aynı kamusal alanlarda hem toplumsallaşma hem de toplumsal çözülme ile sonuçlanabilecek sosyal davranışlara yol açan olayları göz önüne serer. Bu amaçla, sosyalleşmenin gerçekte ne olduğunu anlamak çok önemlidir. Bu tezin bel kemiği, bu nedenle, çevresel psikoloji tarafından desteklenen erken dönem psikoanalitik okulun ilkeleri uyarınca yapılandırılmıştır. Jung'cu bakış açısı, çevresel psikolojiye davranışçı bir yaklaşımla birleştiğinde, toplumsallaşma ve toplumsal çözülme süreçlerinin doğru bir şekilde anlaşılmasını sağlamakta yeterlidir. Mekânın davranışa katkıda bulunan bileşenlerden biri olarak ele alınmasından dolayı, toplumsallaşma ve toplumsal çözülme, kentsel kamusal alanlarda davranış başlığı altında ele alınmaktadır. Bu noktada, kentsel kamusal alanların toplumsallaşmanın vazgeçilmez bir parçası olduğu mistifikasyonu görülebilir. Ancak, bu tezin gösterdiği gibi, bu kavramın gizeminden arındırılması gerekir, çünkü kentsel kamusal alanlar sadece davranış olasılıklarını ortaya çıkarır, davranışları belirlemez.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamusal Mekan, Psişik Süreçler, Toplumsallaşma,
Toplumsal Çözülme

To those who could discover their selves...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Definition

Built environment has always been the place where social processes, such as socialization and dissociation, have been lived through; and it has always been the place where social behaviours which are the manifestations of these processes can be observed. Therefore, it has been a subject of many theoretical investigations and discussions related to its role on these processes and the emergent behaviours. To most of the theories, public spaces of built environment are the places where these processes can be observed. And some of the standing and highly referred theories assert that the physical quality of these public spaces has a strong impact on the initiation of these social processes and on the emergence of those behaviours. Specifically, they claim that the forms and configurations which enable people to meet or gather is essential for socialization.

According to Kevin Lynch (1960), for example, *the nodes* are the places where people can construct their identity and meet with the others who has similar *mental images*, thus construct the society. To Gordon Cullen (1961), similarly, *public enclosures*, are the places where people can gather and feel the *hereness* together and construct the community. So, public, nodal and enclosed character of built spaces has become prominent feature of sociable spaces; and have been emphasized as a necessity for built environment to enable socialization. However, to what extent, this is a necessity, is a matter in question.

To be able to evaluate this necessity, the questions, whether public, nodal and enclosed character of built environment can create socialization or not; what is the

role of these qualities of built environment on these social processes, will try to be answered within the scope of this thesis.

If these qualities are inevitable for an environment to enable socialization, and they are capable of directing social processes, then we expect to see that no other place enable socialization, and no other behaviour can take place in these environments than social behaviours.

James Jerome Gibson (1966), has stated that the physical properties of the environment provide people with possibilities of some overt activities, and called those properties as the *affordances* of the environment. According to this concept different physical properties affords several different behaviours. However, whether the affordances will be used or which affordances to be used is a time dependent issue. Roger Barker (1968), on this issue, has offered a concept of *behaviour setting* which, according to him, indicates a specific setting that affords a specific behaviour in a specific time period. This means that, a setting may afford different behaviours in different times (Barker, 1968, cited in Lang, 1987).

So in the light of these information, in order to answer the questions above, some examples of layouts, which have public, nodal and enclosed character, will be analysed in direction with the concept of *behaviour setting*; and the affordances of these settings will be tried to be revealed.

1.2 Hypothesis and Aim

Some other studies which tried to detect the places of socialization have shown us that socialization can occur not only in public places that have nodal or enclosed character, but can also take place in a “small urban space” which is not necessarily a node or an enclosed space, or in a “third place” which is not even public. As to William Whyte (1980; 1988), people are more likely to meet at corners, or at building entrances on streets. To Ray Oldenburg (1989), semi private spaces like *cafes, coffee shops, bookstores, bars, hair salons* can be community spaces as well.

These different approaches show us that built environment does not necessarily have public nodes or enclosures to afford social behaviours, there are many other types of spaces which can afford behaviours that may produce socialization, thus become a behaviour setting of socialization. However, these studies do not offer a definite answer to the question that whether the physical qualities of an environment have a role on the emergence of social behaviours, because they solely focus on the same bright side of the coin. Namely, what these studies have looked for is the social behaviours that take place in the built environment; so what they have found out confirms that public nodes and enclosures are the places where social behaviours take place. Nevertheless, just as most societies are not static and doomed to change, so do the social behaviours of people who constitute the society. Carl Gustav Jung asserts that, in the times of social changes people may not be able to maintain their conscious attitudes and dissociation of society may occur. In such times, until the society establish new attitudes, there may appear anti-social behaviours (Progoff, 1953).

Considering these, it can be said that in the times of dissociation, antisocial behaviours may take place in the places which were formerly associated with prosocial behaviours. So, by revealing these, it can be asserted that public nodes and public enclosures cannot direct the social processes, but can provide a setting for both prosocial and anti-social behaviours.

In order to demonstrate that, some public spaces, which have nodal or enclosed character and are identified as socialization spaces, will be analysed in terms of anti-social behaviours they afford. This description of sociable spaces in theory has grounded on the physical features of the public areas of European cities. Therefore, the analysis will be focussed on the times of depression in European history, when the dissociation of society and the emergence of antisocial behaviours are more likely.

1.3 Method

In this thesis, the *behaviour setting concept* will provide the methodological framework. That is, the congruency between the physical layout of the selected areas and the standing pattern of behaviours within a specific time period will be examined in the scope of the thesis. Since this thesis will focus on the times of depression, the required data will be obtained through the analysis of historical materials.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter provides a general overview of the study. It introduces briefly the problem, hypothesis, aim, and the method.

The second chapter tries to understand the mechanisms of social processes and their relation with the behavioural patterns of societies. In the first part, the social processes and their development are explained from the perspective of Carl Gustav Jung. They are regarded as outcomes of psychic processes and defined accordingly. In the second part, the behaviours which are the manifestations of these processes are set forth in direction with Jung's descriptions about social processes. To this respect, interaction and establishment of face-to-face rituals among people are indicated as a sign of socialization. While doing this, Goffman's descriptions of focussed and unfocussed interaction are benefited in order to understand how interpersonal rituals are formed. On the other hand, the anti-social behaviours such as aggressive behaviours are indicated as a sign of dissociation.

The third chapter gives thought on the relationship between social processes and space. In the first part of the chapter, some widely acknowledged approaches, which see the spaces having physical properties that enable people to meet and gather, as the initiator of social processes, are summarized. The assertions of these approaches, that idealizes some forms or configurations for some social behaviours to take place, are introduced as the problem that the thesis deals with. To this respect, in the second part, the effect of built environment on human behaviour is scrutinized. To this end,

firstly, the components of human behaviour are reviewed to understand how behaviours appear. Then, the affordances of built environment are compiled to gain a sight on the role of the built environment on social processes. Lastly, the concept of behaviour setting, which examines the congruence between the behaviours and physical layouts of environments, is introduced to provide a viewpoint to evaluate that social processes and space relationship.

In direction with the concept of behaviour setting, the fourth chapter aims to give some examples of behaviour settings of socialization and dissociation. By doing this, this chapter demonstrates that spaces which have not physical features, as theory has described, can be behaviour settings of socialization as well. To show this, some other approaches within the literature, which suggest that *small urban places* or *third places* can be sociable spaces, are referred. This chapter also shows that, the public places which are identified in theory as sociable, can be behaviour settings of dissociation. To demonstrate this, some case areas, which fit to the description of sociable areas, are examined in terms of their physical features and the behaviour patterns they afford in a specific time period.

The last chapter is the conclusion part of the thesis. In this chapter the problem and the research questions are summarized and the answers of these questions are revealed in direction with the analysis that was made in the previous chapter.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL PROCESSES AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOURS AS THEIR INDICATORS

Social processes are the overall phases that societies go through, which emerge as a result of co-presence of people. Sociologist Panos Demetrios Bardis (1979) sums these processes under two categories: conjunctive or disjunctive which are the opposites of each other. As for his description, conjunctive processes, such as cooperation, draw people together; while disjunctive processes such as conflict, pull them apart. To him, these two opposite processes occur periodically and ensure social equilibrium by leading social change.

Another sociologist Ernest Watson Burgess (1962) regards social processes as the outcomes of the operation of social order. To him, societies organize, disorganize and reorganize in the direction with the establishment, disestablishment and reestablishment of social order, and thus continue their existence within this cycle.

Both these approaches and many others define social processes through the forms of gatherings of people, and consider these processes as the opposite pairs that appear within a circularity.

Similar to these approaches, a psychologist Carl Gustav Jung explains the emergence of these processes on the basis of the operation of dual forces within the human psyche. To him, these processes occur as a result of whether an equilibrium between these opposite forces can be established. If the equilibrium is achieved, then conjunctive processes emerge; if it cannot be achieved, then the disjunctive ones emerge. That is, both conjunctive and disjunctive processes are outcomes of psychic processes.

Considering these, in the first part of this chapter, in order to understand these phenomena, the development of these social processes will be elaborated mainly

based on Carl Gustav Jung's explanations about the operation of human psyche, benefitting from Ira Progoff (1953).

According to Bardis (1979), social processes can be defined as specific types of social interactions. To him, social interaction can be of numerous degrees from intense to zero and each degree signifies a different social process. So, it can be said that people's social behaviours can indicate specific social processes.

David Clark (2003) divides social behaviours of people into two groups as prosocial and antisocial behaviours. Prosocial behaviours are human actions which look out for one or more people's benefits such as sharing, helping, comforting and cooperation (Batson 1998, cited in Clark, 2003). Antisocial behaviours, on the other hand, are the actions which don't have any concern for the welfare of other people. An example to this can be given as aggressive behaviour.

Thus, in the second part of the thesis, an explanation as regards the type of social behaviour in conjunction with the type of social process, takes place. To be able to identify which types of interaction can be regarded as prosocial, Erving Goffman's explanations on human interaction will suffice. And, to be able to explain antisocial behaviours, Clark's description and Edward T. Hall's *territoriality* concept are sufficiently useful.

2.1 Social Processes as an Outcome of Psychic Processes

Social processes are psychological outcomes of the operation of the human psyche. Carl Gustav Jung, the founder of analytical psychology and one of the three leading founders of depth psychology, identifies psyche as the area where all psychic phenomena occur and he asserts it to be constituted by three different layers which are *objective unconscious*, *personal unconscious* and *consciousness* (Progoff, 1953). Among them, containing all the psychic materials which are common to mankind, objective unconscious also called *collective unconscious* is the source of the rest. The other one, consciousness, by his saying, is the surface level where the materials

of objective unconscious finds their manifestations through experience within existing contextual (cultural) conditions. Personal unconscious, on the other hand, is an in-between area where the repressed materials of consciousness or progressive materials, which are about to reach consciousness, exist. What is important here is the unconscious and the consciousness together constitute the dual forces that bring about the psychic processes.

To Jung, the materials of unconscious generate instinctual urges which contradicts with the dictations of culture, and out of this contradiction emerges the *psychic energy* (Progoff, 1953). It is this energy that moves between layers of the psyche and thus creates the psychic phenomena. If these conflicting opposites from which psychic energy arises can balance each other, this means that consciousness and unconscious have been integrated at a point where the psychic contents can find their expressions in life and turn into *conscious attitudes* (Progoff, 1953). Thus psychic energy can move towards life through these conscious attitudes, representing this integrated personality. This movement is called, by Jung, as the progression of psychic energy and lasts as long as this equilibrium is achieved. Otherwise, to him, if the opposites cannot balance each other, the energy cannot move forward but moves backward towards unconscious, which is called regression (Progoff, 1953).

These psychic phenomena occur within a single person's psyche but have a social nature that needs other people's existence. Both the emergence of psychic energy and finding the expression of psychic contents occur within the society; consequently, social processes that either bind the individual and the society to each other or untie the bond in-between, pursue these psychic processes.

2.1.1 Socialization: Individuation and Construction of Society

The processes that make psychic energy come out and channelize into life, on one hand, enable both the individuality and the society to be formed, on the other hand, bind these two to one another.

Society is both fundamental to psychic processes and, also, is the very first output of them. To Jung, it is formed through *participation* which has been defined as an unconscious process that occurs when human energies have not yet reached to the consciousness and not turned into conscious attitudes (Progoff, 1953). At this stage, as Jung has set forth, the individual cannot differentiate himself from others and defines himself with common beliefs and assumptions of the group, which Jung calls collective representations. Sharing these *collective representations* with others, individual is fused within the group, thus the society is formed (Progoff, 1953).

While the energy generated within and by way of the society is being raised towards consciousness, it is situated somewhere between the unconscious and consciousness when the conflicting pressures balance each other, and consequently they are integrated into a unified personality, which is called by Jung as the *Self*. This process, through which the opposites are united and the Self appears, is called *individuation* (Progoff, 1953).

Through individuation, the Self gains all the energy that is balanced and becomes the centre of the psyche. From now on, this energy is channelized into life and expressed in conscious attitudes. To Jung, this is the stage where this energy has reached to consciousness and archetypes could find their expressions in the realities of social life (Progoff, 1953). So these conscious attitudes are the projections of the unconscious materials on to consciousness and, as it is his saying, the expressions of one's *individuality*. Jung calls this process as *individualization*, and describes it as the differentiation of personal psyche from the collective representations of society and says that it occurs simultaneously with the process of emergence of consciousness out of unconscious. Just as the unconscious is the source of the consciousness, society is the source of individuality but most importantly, the self is the expression of the integration of these two (Progoff, 1953).

All these three entities are the products of the emergence and the progression of psychic energy that is mentioned before. As long as the harmony of the unconscious and consciousness is maintained, the circle is sustained. That is, the energy can keep

channelizing into life with conscious attitudes, so that, it can be let loose and generated again within the same conditions, and as a result, positive feelings are aroused in an individual. Thus, the individual maintains his conscious attitudes and feel affiliated to the society which enables these attitudes to come up and those good feelings to evoke (Progoff, 1953).

2.1.2 Dissociation

The psychic energy may not always move progressively and not be able to create affiliation but may be regressed and eventuated in undesirable situations for both individual and society. The progression, as we have learned, depends on the equilibrium of the psyche and is interrupted when the balance between the opposites breaks down. The balance between the opposites, as Jung has set forth, may be terminated in the case of either the dysfunction of the social symbols or the impracticability of the conscious attitudes (Progoff, 1953).

The symbols, by Jung's definition, are the transformers of the psychic energy and enable that energy to be let loose in social events by conscious attitudes. As to him, if these symbols cease to function in some way, they no longer can transfer psychic energy into life and corresponding conscious attitudes weaken, consequently disharmony between consciousness and unconsciousness occur (Progoff, 1953).

The same disharmony occurs as well when the conscious attitudes are so fixed that the balance is impaired by the overstress of consciousness, thus the unconscious contents can no longer be contacted and the psychic energy cannot channelize into life (Progoff, 1953).

In either case, whether it is because of the broken symbols or the overstressed conscious attitudes, the unconscious contents cannot be expressed, so the energy coming from them cannot find a way towards life. That is, the conscious attitudes cannot evoke any emotions in individuals; they are not meaningful to them anymore. Therefore, it is said that, these individuals withdraw from the social areas of life and

turn into themselves in search of new meanings. Thus the psychic energy changes its direction and moves downwards to get in touch with the psychic contents which are either ignored and repressed or cannot be expressed (Progoff, 1953).

These energies maintain their inward movement until they form new conscious attitudes at the lower levels of consciousness; which is called *regressive restoration* (Progoff, 1953). However, if it is not succeeded, the regression continues towards deeper into unconscious until the inner balance is achieved again. With this regression movement, the psychic energy accumulates in the unconscious and activates some unconscious contents which rise up to the surface of consciousness and create undesirable situations for an individual. This psychological disorder, as Jung has said, is called psychosis but, more importantly, as he adds, it may turn out to be a movement when it occurs in many people at the same time (Progoff, 1953). As Jung has asserted, the times when the social symbols of the society stop functioning and the social values are weakened, are the periods that regression movement of psychic energy occurs simultaneously in many people's psyche. These periods eventually end up with social and historical changes when new ideas are come up and the members of the society once again concur around new values; but until that time, they experience loss of the sense of well-being and lose their attention to life, and finally disengage from the society; consequently, the society dissociates (Progoff, 1953).

2.2 Prosocial and Antisocial Behaviours as Indicators of Social Processes

David Clark (2003), categorizes social behaviours as prosocial and antisocial behaviours. Among them, prosocial behaviours are the ones which are carried out for someone else's good and enable people feel sympathy towards each-other and at the same time indicate the sympathy among them. Antisocial behaviours, on the other hand, are the ones that represent apathy or even antipathy, and may intend to do harm to others.

An anthropologist Edward Twitchell Hall (1966), considers human social behaviour within the frame of *territoriality* concept. To him, social organization of groups can be established by way of territoriality. According to this concept people have four different distances - *intimate, personal, social* and *public* – and people use them in accordance with their feelings towards the others in order to regulate the interaction level that they are involved in (1966, p.114). To him, *close social distance* is the one where people can interact and social relations can be established. Considering these, we can infer that, if people interact with each other within this social distance and relations can be established as a result of that, then people have sympathy towards each other. We can say that these are the times when socialization occurs between people. In other words, interactions which lead to the establishment and maintenance of social relations can be considered as a sign of socialization.

On the other hand, these distances may not always be the places of good feelings and favourable behaviours. If people have hostile feelings, they may use the same close distances to harm or even to eliminate the others. In such times what we see is the aggressive behaviour. That aggressive behaviour, from time to time, can be observed as group behaviour, and denote a disjunctive process in the society. That is, aggressive behaviours can be considered as a sign of dissociation.

2.2.1 Interaction and the Establishment of Interpersonal Rituals as a Sign of Socialization

As Hall has stated, people involve interaction with others who are in their social distance. Likewise, Erving Goffman who is a well-known sociologist and social-psychologist, has said that, people communicate with each other by either verbally or expressive messages when they are at each other's presence. These messages are sent through all the intentional or unintentional interaction behaviours such as glances, gestures, positionings and verbal statements of people (1967). Among them the intentional ones constitute the *focussed interaction* between people, while unintentional ones constitute *unfocused interaction*.

To Goffman, due to being the expression of the Selves of the people, unfocused interactions underlie focussed interactions. Focussed interactions on the other hand, by being perpetual, form behavioural patterns and turn into interpersonal rituals. This occurs when people want to sustain the relationship which is established during the focussed interaction. In this regard, interpersonal rituals are the real signs of socialization. That is, if an interaction can become an interpersonal ritual and the ritual is maintained, then it can be said that people socialize.

2.2.1.1 Focussed and Unfocussed Interaction

Erving Goffman has spoken of two types of interaction: *focussed interaction* and *unfocussed interaction*. He has defined focussed interaction as a kind of interaction occurs when persons gather close together and openly cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention; he has defined unfocussed interaction as a kind of communication that occurs when somebody obtain information about some other just by a momentary glance at them (1963, p.24).

Focussed interactions are composed of our intentional behaviours, or as Jung has stated, of our conscious attitudes. Most of the time, they are conducted in direction to a *line* which is a behavioural pattern predetermined by the social rules, by Goffman's terms by *situational proprieties*. According to him, these rules oblige the participants of an interaction to fit in, so individuals in that focussed interaction guide their behaviours according to their perceived identity (Goffman, 1963). This aspect of focussed interaction causes it to be a kind of communication that heartfelt evaluations may not always be candidly expressed (1967, p.11). That is, focussed interaction is a kind of communication within which we may not express our true selves but our partial individuality.

Our sincere feelings may not be projected in our words through focussed interaction but can be observed through our body idioms. Contrary to focussed interaction, unfocussed interaction is the one with which we share feelings, get an understanding

of each other, and feel sympathy to each other. So, unfocussed interaction is the actual media, through which people can understand that their conscious attitudes are approved and appreciated by the society; through which their psychic energy can channelize into life and turn into positive feelings; through which they can discern “I” and “they”, and thus, can feel themselves safe, affiliated and self-actualized. In that, that is the interaction that we express our Selves and identify others’.

Unfocussed interaction not only occurs between people who are already acquainted, but also occurs between unacquainted, and it is the foundation for focussed interaction to become interpersonal rituals.

2.2.1.2 Interpersonal Rituals

We have already learned from Jung that the development of the self and the society occur through socialization which is the process in which the archetypes find their expressions within social events by conscious attitudes. These attitudes constitute people’s social behaviours, and are repeated over and over again to transform the psychic energy and form a behavioural pattern. And this pattern constitutes interpersonal rituals.

Goffman has named these behavioural patterns as *face rituals*. To him, reflecting the Self, *face* is the keystone of these rituals. Because, through the face, our sincere feelings can be observed. People construct their conscious attitudes in line with what they see in others’ faces and according to how they interpret them (Blumer, 1962). Consequently, they either *save* or *change* the face. To Goffman, one maintains a face because of two reasons: he/she either wants to save his/her own face or wants to protect the other’s. He explains why somebody wants to save face as follows:

He may want to save his own face because of his emotional attachment to the image of self which it expresses, because of his pride of honour, because of the power his presumed status allows him to exert over the other participants, and so on. He may want to save others’ face because of his emotional attachment to an image of them, or because he feels that his co-participants

have a moral right to this protection, or because he wants to avoid the hostility that may be directed toward him if they lose their face. He may feel that an assumption has been made that he is the sort of person who shows compassion and sympathy toward others, so that to retain his own face, he may feel obliged to be considerate of the line taken by the other participants (1967, p.12).

So, it can be said that, people save their faces to sustain the relationships with particular others. Goffman has claimed that, when a person begins an encounter, he already stands in some kind of social relationship to the others concerned, and expects to stand in a given relationship to them after the particular encounter ends, and has estimated that, this is one of the ways in which social contacts are geared into the wider society (1967, p.41). So, when both parts save theirs and protect each other's faces, the focussed interaction between them can give way to ritual behaviours.

These ritual behaviours are actually the manifestations of common understandings or interpretations which enable people to act alike (Blumer, 1962). That is, these ritual behaviours constitute group behaviours by way of this commonality. Goffman, on that issue, has said that "*the understanding of a common body idiom is one reason for calling an aggregate of individuals as society*" (1963, p.35). So, it can be said that, to be able to identify a prosocial behaviour as group behaviour and to observe that it is maintained, testifies the ongoing socialization within the group.

2.2.2 Antisocial Behaviours as a Sign of Dissociation

Antisocial behaviours, as introduced before, consist of any kind of disruptive behaviours which emerge as a result of malicious feelings towards others; and appear due to a conflict within the society.

According to Bardis (1979), there are three principles of conflict within a society: *dominance*, *territoriality* and *bonding*. That is, if disorganization occurs among the members of the society related to these principles, then conflict arises and society

dissociates. Therefore, antisocial behaviours that appear due to a conflict can be considered as the indicators of dissociation of society.

2.2.2.1 Aggressive Behaviour

Aggression is a kind of antisocial behaviour which people display to harm others intentionally. According to Hall (1966), it is a type of territorial behaviour and emerges as a result of situations that people cannot tolerate. To him, due to leading disorganization, crowding is a cause for that. In the case of crowding, one began to have difficulty in staking out his/her claim and become aggressive at the point where he/she can no longer suppress his/her aggression. And, to him, the aggressive behaviour does not disappear until the person finds another way to suppress his/her aggression.

That description of Hall is very much in line with what Jung has stated to explain the regressive movement of psychic energy. As we have learned from Jung, if people's conscious attitudes cannot transform the psychic energy and the energy cannot channelize into life, then it moves backwards towards unconscious. If new attitudes cannot be established, the energy may reach to unconsciousness and activate some unconscious content. This situation manifests itself as neurosis and cause undesirable behaviours such as hostile aggression. Those undesirable behaviours may become group behaviours when neurosis occurs simultaneously in many people's psyche. To Jung, the periods when this collective psychosis occurs are the times of dissociation. Therefore, aggression as group behaviour is an obvious indicator of dissociation.

This chapter was set to issue the social processes -socialization and dissociation- from the view of Carl Gustav Jung and relate them with the social behaviours of people. According to that, interaction behaviours which turn into face-to-face rituals were identified as the signs of socialization, while antisocial behaviours as group behaviour were indicated as the signs of dissociation.

All the social processes and social behaviours take place in the built environment. So, in order to understand the relationship between social processes and space **the next chapter**, will cover the different approaches which examined the social processes and built environment relationship on the basis of human behaviour, and, accordingly, will express the position of the thesis.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL PROCESSES AND SPACE

Our living environments are the places where we organize our daily activities that make up our daily lives, and thus live the social processes. In the course of time, the activities that constitute daily life and the spaces where they occur have drastically changed. In that, it became difficult to make out which induces the other. Consequently, the relationship between social processes that accompany these changes, and environment have begun to be discussed.

Among the ones which contemplate on this relationship, some said that environment is *a receptor of* social processes, while others asserted that it is *a stage*. The ones who have a strong impact on architecture and planning discourse, on the other hand, claimed that the environment is *an instrument* for social processes and that it instigates them through organizing, structuring, shaping and determining behaviour (Heynen, 2013).

Social processes such as socialization and the construction of identity are actually the issues related to the identification of the stranger. Sennet (1992), states that in order one to be sure of his/her identity, he/she should know how to locate the stranger. The stranger here is, to him, not necessarily an outlander, he/she is an unknown. As we have learned before, to identify the unknown is to identify similarities or differences between the self of that unknown and ourselves; and is possible with interaction. Therefore, the environments where that kind of interaction is possible, have always been desirable for socialization.

The approaches that regard environment as an instigator for social processes claim that this function of built environment is the performance of its physical qualities. To them, spatial configurations and design characteristics of an environment may either facilitate or constrain social interactions. Because of that, they consider some

particular physical configurations as essential for socialization. However, to what extent these physical configurations is necessary is open to debate.

In order to present a viewpoint about this topic, in the first part of this chapter, the approaches of Kevin Lynch and Gordon Cullen, who posited the two of the most prominent and commonly accepted approaches, will be summarised. Both assert that the physical quality of built environment enable socialization and construction of identity through directing human actions.

Nevertheless, there are various parameters that shape human behaviour, thus, it can be said that the environment cannot be the only determiner. So, in order to grasp the role of the environment on human behaviour, in the second part of this chapter, the components of human behaviour, and the concepts of affordances and behaviour settings will be scrutinized.

3.1 Meeting and Gathering Spaces as the Initiator of Social Processes

The interaction with the unknown has always been considered to take place in public space. Because most of the social events and social actions have taken place in public spaces.

Agorae and *forums* have been the most prominent examples of these public spaces. *Agorae* of Greek *poleis* were the roofless structures which were home to political, cultural as well as economic activities. Roman forums, inspired by *agorae*, were building complexes where many activities such as elections, public speeches, criminal trials, gladiator matches, business dealings, public meetings, religious ceremonies, educational events, commercial activities were held. With the activities they provided, both structures enable social encounters and social gatherings, so they become the hub of socialization.

The urban squares of European cities, on the other hand, are the follow-ups of *agorae* and forums. Despite being functionally separated, having been used for public

celebrations, state proceedings and exchange of goods, cathedral squares, market squares or secular squares functioned as socialization spaces like their ancestors (Madanipour, 1999).

For the reason that these spaces facilitate socialization, the common characteristics of these spaces have been regarded as necessary for a space to be sociable. They were all accessible places for all the constituents of public. By way of this accessibility, they were all democratic in a way that all the constituents could take a role in public life (Francis, 2016). By taking a role, everybody had some control over the space; and recognising others and other roles everybody felt safe in those spaces and felt attached to those spaces. Because of that, these wide open spaces have been identified as places of socialization and their physical features that enable various social encounters and gathering of crowds, have been accepted as physical requirements.

Kevin Lynch and Gordon Cullen are the two of the theoreticians who think a public space should have specific physical qualities to enable socialization. Between them, Kevin Lynch focusses on the nodal quality which affects the intensity of social encounters, while Gordon Cullen, emphasizes the enclosedness which provides social gatherings.

3.1.1 Public Nodes: Lynch's Approach on Environment and Social Processes

A city planner, Kevin Lynch is one of the very well-known and highly referred theoreticians who think that there is a strong correlation between the physical quality of the environment and our behaviours. He grounded his works on the idea that the knowledge we acquire from our environment guides our behaviour. He thought that, that knowledge can be generalized as a *public image* by analysing cognitive maps of different people, and the problems, strengths of the environment and possibilities for change can be detected from this public image (Lynch 1960). Using this public

image, he believed that, more vivid environment, which provides people with deeper and more intense experience, can be designed and thus not only individual but also common hopes and pleasures can come true and both individual growth and sense of community can be achieved.

According to his theory, orientation and way finding is the most important skill for an organism to survive and having a strong environmental image is indispensable for that.

An environmental image, as he defined, is the generalized mental picture of the exterior physical environment and achieved through both with senses and with experience, and also it is the knowledge that guides our behaviour. So, the quality of the physical environment is important, because development of the mental image depends on that quality which enable images to evoke, which is called by Lynch as *imageability*.

In order one physical environment is imageable, as to Lynch, it is crucial that it be legible. *Legibility*, as he defined, is the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern. In a legible environment one can easily discern the relations and distinctions between the parts of the environment so that built a clear mental image. A legible environment, on the other hand, as asserted by him, can be achieved by well-formed combination of paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks which have distinct and remarkable character.

A clear image acquired by a legible environment, he says, provides people with both the sense of security and harmonious relationship with their environment and also a basis for individual growth. Having a strong mental image of environment, people can easily move within the surrounding and express their preferences and choices with the way they use it, thus construct their identity. Among the components of environment, he noted, the nodes are the places to pause and take decisions. So, they are the places of identity.

A clear mental image is not only important for personal growth but also important for structuring of communities. A legible environment may evoke images that generate similar meanings and memories for people, and this commonality, to him, make them feel sympathy towards each other, thus enable the construction of society. And, nodes, being the meeting places of the ones who have similar images, are also the places of community.

3.1.2 Public Enclosures: Cullen's Approach to Environment and Social Processes

An architect and an urban designer, Gordon Cullen, like Lynch, is one of the highly acknowledged theoreticians who stressed the impact of environment on social processes. He asserted that it is the visual quality of environment that can create emotional reactions by evoking memories and experiences which generates an attachment to a space and enable the sense of identity to appear.

Cullen (1961) claims that there are three aspects of environment that can create emotional reaction. The first one is the contrast between the different elements of the urban form. When an environment is designed to have a vivid contrast, it creates series of jerks and revelations and people associate that environment with the emotions it evokes, thus that environment comes alive in the human mind.

The other thing related to environment that creates emotional reaction, he set forth, is that the position of the body within the environment. The exposure or the enclosure we feel when we are somewhere, he says, creates a sense of place and awareness of being in a place or being out of a place. Being aware of his position within an environment, one can identify the space where he is as *here* and, simultaneously, the rest as *there*. This association of one's self with the space creates a sense of affiliation to a space which is named by him as the sense of identity.

The third aspect of the environment that causes emotional reaction is its content. He suggests that the environment should consist of elements - *this* and *thats*- which

provide variety within the range of what can be considered as tolerable, so that the environment can be freed from the monotony of *conformity* and can evoke the feeling of joy.

A good visual quality of environment, then, can be achieved with an identifiable contrast between the elements of the city, with the exposure or the enclosure that these elements make people feel, and also with the moderate variation of these elements. When this is achieved, to Cullen, a new pattern created by human imagination, that is, a human now knows his environment in his own way. That is, he can now identify his environment as his *heres* and his *theres* which emerge as a result of his emotional reactions. Consequently, creating his own *heres* and *theres*, one can construct and represent his/her identity. Moreover, people who feel attached to the same places, who share the same “*heres*” constitute the society.

To Cullen, in order one to be able to name some place as *here*, he should feel that he is inside of it. So he asserts that in order sense of place and identity to appear, a place should be enclosed. Similar to Lynch’s nodes, public enclosures, to Cullen, are the places where traffic ends. Actually, they are the places to be wished to arrive with the use of traffic, because they are the places that people feel *hereness*. So, those public enclosures, to him, are the places of identity. Like Lynch’s nodes, public enclosures, are the places where people, who have same “*heres*”, gather, so these are, also, the places of community.

3.1.3 Notes on Lynch and Cullen

Although, what Lynch and Cullen have offered provides practical use in planning and design of environments and possibility to achieve beneficial outcomes related to the aesthetic quality and function of the environments, they have some limitations depending on the assumptions behind their approaches.

Both Lynch and Cullen grounded his theories on the idea that the conjunctive social processes like construction of identity and community is the outcome of the physical

qualities of the environment. By doing so, firstly, they both ignore that these conjunctive processes can be observed in environments which don't have nodal quality or enclosed character. For example, all this time, living in Islamic cities, under the impact of Islamic culture, we have been socializing not in large open market squares but in streets, at corners or even at door sills. What we were doing there were, just like Greeks, Romans or Europeans, to develop familiarity, feel sympathy and to approve each-other's self by conducting ritual behaviours. The space was different but what has emerged, the shared feelings and the forming of social organizations, were the same.

Relying on the idea that our perception of space can direct our behaviours and affect our use of environment, they also ignore that our perception may change due to many factors, and that may change our use of environment. The development of technology and the new inventions may be some factors for that change. A study conducted by Şentürk and Barlas (2011), for example, shows us that the use of mobile phones has a strong impact on people's use of environment. With this study, it is revealed that, with the use of mobile phones people have more comprehensive knowledge of the environment. Thus, contrary to what was expected and to what theory has asserted, they began to use an entire urban area for social gatherings in addition to urban centres and nodes so the meeting areas were dispersed. They began to meet at many kinds of places like streets, street corners, underpasses or at bus stops apart from activity spaces. They began to meet indoors rather than outdoors open areas. And they also began to meet at physically insignificant places.

So considering history and further studies on spaces of socialization, we can say that socialization has occurred and may occur in many kinds of physical configurations.

Secondly, with this assumption, they (such as Lynch and Cullen) miss out that the environments that they idealize may not always be the places of good feelings and associations. Our feelings about a space are affected by what we live in that space with other people, so, the time, the events of the time, our experiences, moods all change our attitudes towards a space. History is full of examples of spaces which

have both good and bad associations related to the events occurred in a specific time period. For that reason, we cannot claim that a good physical quality creates good feelings anytime.

Therefore, a more comprehensive approach is needed to examine the relationship between social processes and space. The second part of this chapter aims to offer another way of looking which is considered as more comprehensive.

3.2 The Effect of Built Environment on Human (Social) Behaviour

Our environments have always been part of our daily life. We conduct all our activities within it and by its conditions. It is easier to make an assumption that how far those conditions had effected activity systems of people of old times such as hunters and gatherers can be ignored, but it is not that easy to do the same assumption for more crowded societies of more sophisticated cultures, because, in these societies the relationship between humans and their environment has been evenly sophisticated as well. Therefore, the question that whether we shape our environment or it shapes us, keeps its validity.

Although there is not one commonly accepted answer to that question, there have been some approaches which is grouped into four, in terms of the role of the environment on behaviour. The first of them is *a free-will approach* which has not remarkable influence due to suggesting that environment has no impact on behaviour. The direct opposite of the first one, *a deterministic approach*, claims that environment is the major determinant of behaviour and with this claim it underlies the ideology of Modern Movement. The other one is *a possibilistic approach* which states that environment affords human behaviour but it doesn't guarantee that they will take place. The last is *a probabilistic approach* which assert that environment has much effect on behaviour than the *possibilists* has claimed it to have, because they consider that environment has an impact on the constituents of behaviour such as our motivations (Lang, 1987).

Except the free-will approach the other three have found their reflection on the works of people who deal with built environment. It was introduced above that the modernist architects and planners were influenced by the deterministic approach. That later led the negative reactions caused by the thoughts on the incompatibility of the spaces created in direction with this deterministic approach. Although it suggests that the environment is effective, not determinative, the probabilistic approach has given way to the current critiques - which can be considered as determinist as modernists was - which consider today's environments as not probable socialization spaces due to not having specific physical properties such as nodal quality or enclosed character which enable interaction. The impact of possibilistic approach on the other hand can be observed in the works of environmental psychologists.

We could see in the case of Pruitt-Igoe that the determinist approach of Modernist movement cannot be a feasible attitude in every circumstance, so we can say that the physical configuration of that modern building failed to create the expected or desired behaviour. However, we cannot say as well that the form of the building makes those undesirable behaviours probable to take place when we consider the performance of some practices of the movement such as a refugee housing complex at Alexandras Avenue, in Athens. The complex was built in between 1934-1935, just after the fourth CIAM Congress held in 1933, in Athens, and has become one of the good representatives of Bauhaus movement. Contrary to Pruitt-Igoe, not just “formless” spaces in-between buildings but also doorsills, stairways and terraces have become places where tight bonds between people were established (Stavrides, 2016). Considering these, in order to understand the relationship between built environment and behaviour, we should reconsider why, how, when and where the behaviour emerges.

3.2.1 Components of Human Behaviour: Why, How and When a Behaviour Takes Place?

Humans, as their nature, live together by forming organizations and develop similar behavioural patterns. However, behaviours may not occur anytime as expected due to the fact that human behaviour has many parameters that determines why, how and when it appears. According to Gibson (1966) behaviour occurs to satisfy needs within environmental conditions which constitute *affordances*. It occurs in accordance with people's perception and cognition of these affordances with the guidance of schemata which are innate and that can develop further through experience (Lang, 1987). All these components, needs, motivations, perception, cognition and schemata, are effective on the emergence of behaviour and each one of them cause human-led variation in behaviour. That is, even if the affordances are the same, the same behaviours may not appear. The affordances of the environment, on the other hand, are the external impact on behaviour which we actually question the range of its effectiveness in the scope of this thesis.

Human behaviour is the result of human needs and motivations. Due to their biological nature, people have physiological needs; and because of their social nature they have psychological needs. Maslow (1943) sorted these needs hierarchically from strongest to weakest as follows: physiological needs such as hunger and thirst; safety needs such as security and protection; love and belonging needs such as friendship and family; esteem needs such as confidence, achievement and respect of others; actualization needs and finally cognitive and aesthetic needs (Maslow, 1943, cited in Lang, 1987). People regulate all their behaviours to satisfy these needs, so why people behave is common for all due to their nature.

However, even the needs are common, the given responses to these needs may not appear the same. First of all, the ways of fulfilling needs are shaped within the environmental conditions which include the material conditions of terrestrial environment and values, belief systems or habits within the cultural environment. So, the behaviours to meet needs differ from geography to geography and from

culture to culture. Secondly, the geography and culture define a frame of reference for behaviours of individuals, but cannot determine where and when an individual will locate himself in that frame. So, the differences in individuals' personality and mood not only cause variation in the form of the behaviour, as culture and geography do cause, but also affect whether the behaviour will come out. That is, whether a behaviour takes place and when it takes place are much more affected by personal differences than any other factor.

Perception is another factor that affects both the emergence and the form of behaviour. It is defined as the process of obtaining information from and about one's surroundings. The questions that what we get as a datum from outside and how we turn that into information, has diversified the approaches to the process of perception.

Namely, according to Gestalt theory of perception, people perceive patterns which are constituted by organization of *forms* with the laws of *proximity, similarity, closure, continuance, closedness, area* and *symmetry*. The properties of the form of the object creates physiological forces in the brain centre of vision. These physiological forces have psychological counterparts which are experienced when looking at the object (Arnheim, 1949, cited in Lang, 1987). And the perception occurs by matching of these counterparts which is called as *isomorphism* and defined as the parallelism between the form of neurologic processes and perceptual experience (Köhler, 1929, cited in Lang, 1987).

The transactional theory, on the other hand, claims that what people perceive is something meaningful to them or something evoke emotional responses in them or something stimulates their needs so it is very much based on experience. And this theory also accepts that experiencing shapes constitutes the essential part of perception.

Lastly, the ecological theory of perception asserts that, people perceive the sensory stimulus like light, sound, texture around them by moving their eyes, heads and bodies, that is, through their senses. So movement is essential for perception.

What is important here is that, no matter what the data is as regards the information that people get, that information differs from person to person. If the data is the form then it may create different psychological response for different people; if it is the meaningful relationship of forms they may create different emotional responses based on different experiences; if it is the visual stimuli of one object, the perceived height or length may differ depending on the location of the perceiver. Therefore, all the different personal conditions that we are in, diversify the information we acquire by way of this perception process, and this diversification will likely to project on both the emergence and the form of our behaviours.

The information we obtained through perception is converted to knowledge, when it is processed through cognitive processes- learning, categorising or generalizing- and become useful information. Through learning, individual associates responses to given stimuli (Skinner, 1938, cited in Lang, 1987). The same responses given to different stimuli are grouped by *stimulus generalization*, and different responses given to same stimulus, by *response generalization* and these sameness and differentness is identified by categorization (Lang, 1987).

The emotional responses are also learned, generalized and categorized and constitute people's likes and dislikes. The knowledge including likes and dislikes has an impact on how our behaviour takes place, however, similar to perception, it cannot create behaviour or determine when it happens. It is due to the fact that, not all learned information can be remembered and not all information is categorised in the same way for everyone and not all creates the same emotional response; that is, what is cognized differs from person to person and changes the behaviour.

Beyond perception or cognition, guiding both of these processes, schemata have more effect on the whole process of behaviour. It is said that, schemata are either an innate or a learned template and provides people with algorithms for perceiving, learning, and behaving (Lang, 1987). Most of the time, people can perceive the affordances of their environment to the extent that they recognise the affordances; they can use the affordances in a way that they are familiar with; and they can decide

whether they are good or bad depending on their values, beliefs and habits. These recognised affordances, familiar ways of use or values, beliefs and habits are shaped by schemata. So, it can be said that it has a strong hold on the cultural and personal differences in behaviour.

3.2.1.1 The Emergence of Social Behaviour

Because of the fact that people have a social nature and meet their needs together by cooperating, most of their behaviours include interactions which compose of their social behaviours. Like any behaviour, social behaviours are too emerged following the same schema mentioned above, that is, they are, as well, the outcomes of our needs, motives, perception cognition and schemata.

As we have learned from Jung, the transformation of psychic energy is the basic psychological need of people, and occurs in social life by way of conscious attitudes. With these attitudes, the energy is transformed and turn into feelings. The acceptance of these attitudes by others means the approval of one's self, and evokes, as a result, positive feelings. In this way, people meet their self-esteem and self-actualization needs. So, their conscious attitudes towards others, that is their social behaviours, are emerged to meet these needs; and the reactions of others, and the approval of their selves are the basic motivations behind their behaviours.

People's social behaviours not only evoke emotions in themselves but also in others who is subjected to their behaviours; and one can read the approval of his/her self through the appearance of these emotions. So, it can be said that one's social behaviours take shape in accordance with his/her perception of these emotions of others. The source of the information, in this case, is the other people's reactions. These reactions mostly follow similar patterns and enable people to establish a correlation between behaviours and emotions. So they cognize these correlations and regulate their social behaviours accordingly.

At one side, those learned correlations turn into schemata which may direct people's perception. On the other side, people have innate schemata which enable them to discern the hints of emotions. Both these innate and learned schemata effect the emergence and shape of social behaviours as well.

So, considering these, it can be said that, our social behaviours are effected more by our social environment than our physical environment. Physical environment, on the other hand, provides a space for all the social behaviours.

3.2.2 Environment Factor on Human Behaviour: Where a Behaviour Takes Place?

All the components of human behaviour, the needs and motives, the perception and cognition and schemata, take shape within environmental conditions. The physical conditions of our environment can stimulate our needs and determine the material conditions which are perceived and used; the cultural conditions, on the other hand, are very much effective on schemata we learned, thus the knowledge we gain. So, our behaviours and activity systems are determined within these physical and cultural conditions.

Between them, physical conditions constitute the *affordances of the environment*. By manipulating the physical properties and creating built environments, architects and planners try to enhance or to control the affordances to achieve desired living environments where desired behaviours are observed. Affordances are defined by Gibson (1966) as the physical properties of the configuration of an object or setting that allow it to be used for some overt activity (Lang, 1987). According to this concept, different patterns of the built environment afford different behaviours. Closedness of a canopy of a building, for example, affords shelter or a well illuminated street affords walking by affording safety or cobblestone pavement affords obstacle to fast driving.

Analysing these space and behaviour relationship and taking out inventory of which physical property of space offers which type of behaviour, provides architects and planners with a useful knowledge set for designing. However, this knowledge set would contain a limited information depending on restricted experience.

It would be limited, because it cannot cover all the alternative spaces that afford specific behaviours. Just as the ancient people could not have predicted what would happen to their concentric “City of God”, when it turns into a “City of Men”, which has a different form based on a completely different order (Moholy-Nagy, 1968), we cannot predict what will happen to our cities in the future.

It cannot also cover all the possible activities or behaviours that one space offers. What would an architect who lived in London of 18th Century say, if he saw the cafes of his time - which were used as if the foyer of theatres and functioned as the major interaction places that most of the verbal communication among people occurs (Sennet, 1992) –has turned to a kind of space where people silently turn to themselves and deal with their own business on the screen of their cell-phones or laptops. Should we say that cafes do not afford interaction anymore, or, that they afford other activities beyond what is known? Maybe, we should consider that they also afford privacy. Therefore, observing the behaviours that take place, we can claim that a space affords some particular behaviours but, it may not be correct if we claim that one space does not afford some particular behaviour just because the behaviour has not taken place yet. Because, behaviour does not depend only on the affordances of the environment. It has various components, as we have already introduced, which cause cultural and personal differences. In time, needs of people the ways of satisfaction of needs and the spaces where the satisfactions take place change, but even at the same time in the same space, the perceived affordances may change from person to person. Lang (1987), referring to Lewin (1951) and Gibson (1966), has indicated this as follows:

Lewin believed that the valence of an object was bestowed on it by the needs and values of the perceiver. Thus the valence of an object changes with the needs of the perceiver. While an object does not change and its affordances

do not change, its utility to a person changes with that person's needs. The object, according to Gibson, offers what it does because of what it is. Whether or not an observer recognizes its affordances depends on the nature of the observer, his experience, his competencies, and his needs. People learn the affordances of objects and environments and the culturally appropriate times to use them (p.81)

All in all, the built environment has some affordances arising from its physical properties, however how and when they are perceived or used vary from person to person. As a result of this variation in perception, like it can be observed that numerous different behaviours or activities occur in one space, it can also be observed that the very same behaviours can take place in different spatial configurations.

3.2.2.1 Affordances of Built Environment: Interaction and Territorial Behaviour

Making of built environment is actually a cultural activity. It is the people's act of making arrangements in environments and creating convenient spaces to satisfy their needs, in direction with their knowledge and with the potentiality of their environment. Being a man-made habitat, built environment is always at the centre of discussions of urbanists whose concern is its affordances especially whether it can afford interaction and territorial behaviour through which socialization and development of self can be possible.

Territorial behaviour, as Hall (1966) stated, includes distance regulations of people in accordance with their feelings towards others. With these regulations, they may conduct either prosocial, or asocial, or antisocial behaviours; and built environment provide a space for all type of territorial behaviour.

Built environment is a composition of private, semi-private, semi-public and public spaces (Newman, 1972, cited in Barlas, 2006). When hierarchically organized, these

spaces provide people with areas that they can personalize, that they can control interaction within, thus attain privacy they desire.

Among them the private spaces provide people with the highest level of privacy and most of the opportunity to personalize the space, and thus feel protected. The public spaces, on the other hand, are the spaces that people can achieve the least level of privacy and may be exposed to the highest level of interaction. The others, semi-private and semi-public spaces, provides *intermediary spaces* between public and private in terms of privacy that can be achieved and also the possibility of personalization (Barlas, 2006).

Defining their territory by marking it or making arrangements within it, people can personalize the space and feel attached to it (Barlas, 2006). In these territories, they regulate their co-presence with others in direction with the privacy level they want to achieve, thus fulfil their need for identity which is related with belonging, self-esteem and self-actualization needs. In addition, regulating and stabilizing their social relationship, people can meet their need for social stimulation.

That social stimulation, which occurs in the case of interaction, triggers social processes of development of the self and socialization. With interaction, people develop familiarity to the others so that they locate themselves within the society. That is, they understand their selves and their roles in the society and become part of it, feel affiliated to it. The interaction depends on people's co-presence, for this reason the concerns related to the affordances of built environment concentrate on the intermediary and public spaces where people are co-present.

It is asserted that *functional distance* between units and *functional centrality* of commonly used facilities are major predictors of the interaction patterns of people (Lang, 1987). Functional distance affects the ease of moving, and functional centrality affects the accessibility of facilities. So efficient organization of these is said to be important to enhance interaction patterns of people.

That a space is either *sociopetal* or *sociofugal* is another factor that is claimed to be effective on the occurrence of interaction among people. Sociopetal spaces are defined as the ones where face-to-face contact is easy to maintain, sociofugal spaces, on the other hand, are defined as the ones where interaction is easy to avoid.

Either with the arrangement of functional centrality and functional distance of the units of built environment or with the sociopetality of the environment, what is achieved is the opportunity to see and meet others which is the prerequisite for interaction to take place (Lang, 1987). So, what is common for these spaces that may create opportunity to see or meet others is firstly their public quality. However, it should be kept in mind that, whether interaction takes place in those public spaces depends on people. That is, even if they co-present, they may not interact.

3.2.2.1.1 Public Space as the Afforder of Territorial Behaviour

As mentioned before, people conduct territorial behaviour in line with their feelings towards others and built environment provide a space for that. To the common understanding, by enabling people to meet or gather at social distances, public spaces of built environment are the places of socialization. Because, interactions occur in the cases of co-presence of people, and public spaces enable that. However, interactions that lead to positive social relations are not the only social behaviours that can be observed in those spaces. People may avoid interactions and attain privacy even if they present in close distance to others; or they may behave aggressively in the case of conflict within their social distances. So, public spaces are not only the places of socialization but also dissociation and may afford all types of territorial behaviour.

3.2.2.2 Behaviour Settings

Although the major afforder of interaction and territorial behaviour is the publicness or privateness of the environment, these qualities are not useful because they provide

too broad a frame of reference for the design of urban form. For this reason, analysing the activity systems of people and establishing a correlation between these activities and the spaces they take place has been considered as a more fruitful way (Lang, 1987).

The spaces that afford particular activities are called *activity-spaces* (Haviland, 1967, cited in Lang, 1987). Roger Barker (1968) has added synomorphy and time factor to this definition and has suggested a concept of *behaviour setting*. To him, a behaviour setting has four components: a recurrent activity which forms a *standing pattern of behaviour*; a particular layout of the environment which provides a *milieu* for a behaviour; a congruent relationship between the two which is called *synomorphy*; and a specific *time* period.

According to this concept, one behaviour setting may afford many different behaviours, thus provides multiplicity of satisfactions (Barker, 1968, cited in Lang, 1987). However, in order to ensure the satisfactions of needs, applying to a behaviour setting may not yield the expected results because the setting itself is not the generator of a behaviour. There are other causes that generate behaviour such as mental acts, ideas and concepts which cannot be detected due to not being overt (Barlas, 2006). As Rapoport (2005) has suggested, a setting can either facilitate or inhibit but not generate behaviours. To the contrary, according to Lang (1987), people first want to behave, then select the convenient setting where they think that they can behave. This affirms that the needs come first for behaviour to appear, but also it means that people may choose any other setting for that behaviour in another time in different circumstances. So the setting which have been selected for particular behaviours only gives the information of the convenience of the space to the behaviour under the conditions of the time when the need for behaviour emerges, which provides us with maybe useful, yet limited information to use to design. And the built environment which is designed in line with this information cannot assure a behaviour to take place.

3.2.2.2.1 Public Space as a Behaviour Setting

By enabling people to co-present, public spaces have always been regarded as places of interaction which are believed to turn into positive social relations. However, these interactions are not the only affordances of public spaces. As mentioned above, public spaces can afford all the territorial behaviours.

Territorial behaviours include all levels and types of interactions. Among them, interactions, that lead to construction of close social ties, form a type of behavioural pattern that can be observed in the times of conjunctive social processes. During these social processes, people's conscious attitudes gain others' acceptance, so they can express their selves in the existence of others; or they can see themselves in the expressions of others, and regard them as their alike and feel sympathy towards. In such times, public spaces that enable people to come together can be the activity spaces of these social gatherings, of interactions and of construction of social relations. So, in the times of conjunctive social processes, public spaces can be the behaviour settings of socialization.

Territorial behaviours, however, include destructive behaviours, as well. In the course of disjunctive processes, people cannot see their selves on others' faces, so they began to define them with their differences. When these differences create a conflict between them, they cannot be tolerated anymore. The other people, thus, become the opposites, and the sympathy among them gives its place to antipathy. In such times, with these unfavourable feelings, people may not tolerate the other, and desire to eliminate them, thus apply to aggressive behaviours. And they maintain that behaviour until the conflict ends. Up to that time, the aggressive behaviour becomes the standing pattern of behaviour which they conduct within the social distances, which occurs, most of the time, in public spaces. So, the public spaces, during disjunctive processes can be the behaviour settings of dissociation.

In this chapter, the common understanding that regards physical properties of built environment, which enable crowds to meet or gather, can shape human behaviour was addressed as the problem; and the *concept of behaviour setting* is introduced as an alternative approach to consider the behaviour and environment relationship.

In this regard, **the next chapter** will deal with some spaces within the frame of this concept, and try to demonstrate that behaviour settings of socialization may also be the behaviour settings of dissociation under different circumstances.

CHAPTER 4

BEHAVIOUR SETTINGS OF SOCIAL PROCESSES

Throughout history, towns and cities have been established in accordance with an order which is determined by the prevailing economic and belief system as well as the conditions of terrestrial environment, and the emergent orders have always been following similar patterns that can be grouped under certain headings.

An architectural historian Sibyl Moholy-Nagy (1968) has claimed that despite the scientific developments, there has been no change in man's creation of cities, except the tools he/she uses. According to her, all the different images that man have created are the manifestations of five recurrent design concepts, which she calls as 'archetypes', which can be described as - if we refer to Jung - the fundamental patterns of city formation. She has classified these concepts as: geometric, concentric, orthogonal-connective, orthogonal-modular and clustered orders, and in her book "Matrix of Man: An Illustrated History of Urban Environment" she demonstrated that, no matter what the ideology is, humankind has followed any of these five orders to create their city (Moholy-Nagy, 1968). That is, the very same pattern has been and can be applied in different times, in different spaces, by different cultures. For instance, by allocating the land with respect to the cast system, a modular grid pattern had been used in planning of Hindu cities as a tool to implement hierarchy which strictly divides society. When we came to Modern period which is believed to be a more democratic, egalitarian, libertarian era, we can see that the same tool was offered by CIAM architects to implement equal distribution of facilities among city dwellers; so that the dwellers could live in healthier, orderly and harmonious environment which is believed to be achieved through standardization of plot sizes, and through the restriction and control of building practices and styles.

By presenting fundamental orders and demonstrating how they recur throughout history, Moholy-Nagy shows us that humans have found the physical reflection of

their lives in different forms that are the outcomes of different orders; and the urban form as an outcome of one type of order that has different meanings in different times. So, within the scope of behaviour setting concept, what she has said can be interpreted as follows: different forms may afford same behaviours and meanings, as well as the same form may afford different behaviours and meanings in different times. Namely, people of different times or of different cultures have always found a way, a space to socialize in different spatial configurations; and the same spatial configurations have not always been places that socialization of the same kind can take place. Strikingly those same places have been places of brutal events. That is to say, they have been behaviour settings of both socialization and of dissociation.

4.1 Behaviour Settings of Socialization

Depending on the assumption, that the design of built environment effects the sociability of spaces, some physical configurations were associated with socialization, while some other with dissociation. In this respect, some particular forms or configurations have been regarded as crucial for socialization. Nevertheless, what we need for socialization is face-to-face contacts which can take place in any kind of environment.

Some researchers, who thought that socialization may occur in places other than public nodes or enclosures, have suggested some other approaches and attained a place in theory. One of them is an urbanist William Whyte. He has observed the behavioural patterns of people and suggested that socialization can take place in streets, at corners, on ledges and even in megastructures, and he grouped these spaces under the heading of “small urban places”. The other one of them is an urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg, who has asserted that socialization occurs in places, where people can feel at home away from home. To him, people cannot socialize either in their work places or at their home. By feeling at home and not being the host, people can socialize in these intermediary spaces, which he chose to call “third places”.

4.1.1 “Small Urban Spaces” as Behaviour Settings of Socialization

William Whyte, starting from 1970, carried out a project called “The Street Life Project “. He and his colleagues observed the people’s use patterns of some city spaces, and tried to find an answer to the question why some of them work, while some other don’t. They worked on plazas, streets, as well as leftover spaces, niches and odds, and tried to understand which qualities make them useable, preferable and thus sociable.

As a result of observations, Whyte and his group have found out that there are many factors that affect the use of a space, however some are more prominent. To Whyte (1980; 1988), the other people are the first and the foremost important factor that affect one’s use of a space. To him, contrary to their claim, people always prefer to be in crowded places, because they come across with, greet, talk or solely watch others in these spaces. Any kind of interaction they would possibly be involved is the actual reason why people want to use a space.

To Whyte, the other important factor that affect the use of a space is that the choices that a space can provide people with. To him, the more a space enable people to reflect their preferences, and the less it does not force them to apply a particular behaviour, the more it becomes preferable.

According to Whyte’s observations, streets which have the main pedestrian flow are the places that best meet these two conditions. At one side, that density provide people with the principal attraction which is the other people: People, in these streets, can involve in any level of interaction; on the other side, within the flow, they can also control the level of interaction, thus, in some way exhibit their preferences (Whyte, 1980; 1988). To the observations, the corners and building entrances on these streets are the spots where these encounters and interactions are the most frequent, thus they are the most sociable spaces.

Apart from streets, to Whyte, the plazas which were designed so as to function as meeting and gathering places, can be preferable spaces, as well, to the extent that they fulfil these two conditions. Since they don't have the street flow, in order them to be successful, they should either be fed by a street or they should have their own attractions. Again, the people use the plaza are the main attraction for one; but apart from that, according to observations, the most used plazas are the places that have sittable spaces which are especially socially comfortable (Whyte, 1980; 1988). To Whyte, these sittable spaces are not the fixed benches which somehow dictate a particular behaviour, but the steps, the ledges, moveable chairs and the grass which all provide people with choice. The sun, the wind, the water, trees and the food, on the other hand, are not the main but the complementary attractions on plazas.

The street and the plazas were not the only city spaces that Whyte and his group worked on, they observed also small spaces like bus stops, leftovers, niches and even indoor spaces; and revealed that any of these spaces can be preferable and sociable as long as they fulfil the two conditions (Whyte, 1980).

What Whyte and his colleagues has revealed, therefore, is very much in line with what was introduced about socialization of people in the previous chapters. To Whyte, what makes a space sociable is first its capability to attract people and second are the people it contains. As we have learned before, people need to express their selves; and to demonstrate their choices are the way of this expression. And they also need others to whom they exhibit these choices, so that they can have their selves approved by others. With the choices they contain, the city spaces enable people to express their selves, so the different options perceived become the attractions for people. When they attract people, these spaces become the possible places for the approval of the selves. So, no matter how their form, size and aesthetic qualities are, any space can be sociable; in other words, any city space, where people have the tools through which, or where they have the subjects to whom they can express their selves, can be behaviour settings of socialization.

One last point should be added to these. In addition to the common qualities that make a space sociable, Whyte (1980) also introduced a concept that he called as *triangulation*. As to his explanation, through triangulation, the two strangers may begin to talk to each other in consequence of a common external stimulus. To him, this stimulus can either be an object or a sight and provide a linkage between these two. His concept of triangulation can, as well, be interpreted in accordance with the previous chapters. We know that people's feelings towards each other effect people's social behaviours, for instance, they conduct prosocial behaviours towards others when they perceive that they share the same feelings with them. So, what the common external stimulus causes is to make people share the same feelings. Through this, they see themselves on others' faces and feel sympathy and may begin to talk. Therefore, the triangulation here, may be the process through which some commonalities can be established between people. And the emergence of an external stimulus may set the conditions of the time, thus trigger the occurrence of this process.

Regarding these, it can be said that the external stimulus may not necessarily be a tangible thing like an object or a sight; it can be either an idea, or a belief or a situation, which evoke same feelings in people. Thus, people knit up either by accepting or by rejecting that stimulus. So, it can be either a religious belief which still is an important force that unites huge amounts of people. Or, it can be a population exchange which put many people in a same condition, as happened in the case of exchange between Greece and Turkey after WW1 - which enabled people in Alexandria's complexes to establish close ties. Or, it can be a displeasure towards the regime, as in the case of French Revolution which made people concur around an idea of a better, fairer life.

All in all, a place should supply people with options which provide them with freedom of action; and should gather them with other people to whom they demonstrate their actions. With these two, a place can be a possible setting for socialization. But, occurrence of a socialization needs shared feelings which, as Whyte claimed, appear through triangulation.

4.1.2 “Third Places” as Behaviour Settings of Socialization

Similar to Whyte, Ray Oldenburg (1999) searched the spaces where people can possibly socialize and tried to reveal out the commonalities of those spaces. To him, the socialization of people occurs mostly on *informal public gathering places*. He asserted that, these spaces are different than their both home spaces and work spaces which are the first and the second realms of daily life. Thus, he called them as “third places”. To him, third places are the true places of socialization, and have some common properties.

To Oldenburg, the third places are *natural grounds*, where people feel the comfort of their homes. In third places, they are freed from all the roles which they have to take in other realms of daily life. Relieving from their masks, people can be more themselves and can establish closer relationships.

Another feature of third places introduced by Oldenburg is that they are *levelers*. To him, by relieving from their particular identities, people also get rid of the status differences between them and become equals. In such atmospheres, people have more options of associations.

The main activity in third places, as Oldenburg said, is *conversation*. Freed from their roles and social status, people become equals and become more inclined to get to know each-other and idle talks are tools for that.

Third places, as Oldenburg says, is *accessible* places for its users in terms of time and location. They stay open for long hours, and locate in close distances, so that they accommodate people whenever people need.

The third places have *regulars* who, according to Oldenburg, gives them to their character. These regulars are the familiar faces which make third places become homey spaces.

They are *low profile* places which have plain decorations (Oldenburg, 1999). Thus, they enable people to avoid pretentious behaviours and express their true selves.

The mood, in third places, is *playful*. That is, people are freed from the social norms of other realms and can behave more freely without the pressure of their roles (Oldenburg, 1999).

Finally, to him, third places are the *homes away from home*. They are the home like places which people have regular visits. Like homes, people feel that they have the control over the space. As in homes, people can socially regenerate in third places. They can express their true selves through conversations in third places, and be embraced by others, thus can feel the warmth of their homes.

According to Oldenburg, German beer gardens, French cafes, English pubs, American taverns and classic coffee houses such as the ones in Vienna, in England were the counterparts in different cultures and have set the stereotypes of third places. So, to him, these were the actual places of socialization, and the places of today which have the features of third places can be sociable spaces as well. That is, any setting, which enables people to get away from the burden of the life, and encourages them to be themselves, can be a behaviour setting of socialization.

4.2 Behaviour Settings of Dissociation

For the reason that socialization and the construction of identity is related with the identification of the unknown, these issues have become a matter for crowded cities which have mostly mixed population, especially because of population increase. Since the Industrial revolution, cities have drastically changed in order to cope with the sheltering problem of this huge crowd. Meanwhile, the members of the crowd have been trying to adapt their identity to the new situations. So, the change in the urban form coincided with the change in the social structures and social behaviours, thus it was believed that the first one caused the others. Nevertheless, the change was not only in our social behaviour but in all the other systems that determine our behaviours,

especially in the economic system which has always been the determiner of the activity patterns that constitute daily life of societies.

Economic activities of countries have always had impact on forming of cities. In the concentric settlements, even if the core of the city emphasized the church, it was also a place for trading activities. The life in the merchant cities was predominantly based on economic activities, so these activities were more effective on the form of the cities than they were in concentric cities. The communication patterns of cities have mostly been based on facilitation of economic activities. Both in these cities, the market area functioned as the place where all the inhabitants can be seen. With the Industrial Revolution, economic system has shifted to capitalism which triggered a boom in the production of goods, and thus the social system changed from communal organizations into the masses who were to consume whole nine yards of what is produced. This system impinged the functioning of market areas which were the hub of socialization, but more importantly, it has changed the reason for being in public to a large extent from socialization to consummation. Today's societies have become crowds of people who work, produce, consume, and who regulate their life to sustain this cycle, shoehorn their social life into this cycle and try to feel something within. Because of the fact that there is no more a city centre and city centre function as it used to be, people have become less familiar with each-other and have lost their commonalities, the shared values have differentiated, thus the forms of expressions have varied, and consequently social relations have changed. In such a situation, in such a change in our lives, it is hard to achieve a kind of socialization as it used to be even if we were living in the cities that have the form of concentric medieval towns or orthogonal merchant towns.

The Industrial capitalism may be the predominant factor of what our lives and our social relations have become today, but the changes in the social relations related to changing conditions of life can be observed throughout history. As we have learned from Jung before, when the social symbols began to lose their function and the social values began to weaken, the social bonds between people may thin down. These are

the times that people cannot socialize, that is, they cannot find someone alike themselves, thus cannot maintain their conscious attitudes. In such times, people perceive each-other's differences and define each-other with these. If they consider these differences as a threat to themselves, an aggressive behaviour appears as a result.

History, many times during the periods of social changes, has witnessed that one group was marginalized and attempted to be eliminated by one other group which consisted of the ones who cannot accommodate oneself to the new situations or to the others. In such times even the places that have once associated with favourable feelings, have become the places malicious feelings and hostile behaviours. That is, a behaviour setting of socialization may also be a setting of dissociation. In order to illustrate this, three different periods of remorseless movements which caused the execution and death of numerous people by persecution, will be given as examples.

The "Great Persecution" of Christians in the 4th Century of Roman Empire, massive witch-hunts especially in-between 15th and 18th Centuries and the genocide of Jews during the Second World War shows us that, in the times of crisis, the places of good feelings, such as public squares which have been the milieu for the proliferation of various socializations most of the time throughout history, can become the places of malicious feelings.

4.2.1 Christian Persecution in Roman Empire

Christianity, like any other infant idea, belief or conduct, has faced with suspicion and resistance of the ones who are not quite open up to it, when it first appeared and began to rise. Because of, that the new principles it put forward contradicted with the existing system of values within the Roman Empire, which was also its home, it began to be regarded as a threat for the unity of the Empire. And, the resistance turned into cruelty by the hands of the rulers when they could not cope with the fear generated by this threat.

As a result of this, from the 1st Century to the second decade of the 4th Century, many Christians were intermittently persecuted. The very first of these persecutions was in 64 AD, in the time of Nero's reign. After the great fire in Rome, which ruined more than 7 regions out of 14, Nero needed a scapegoat to blame, because his people suspected him to start the fire. So, in order to get rid of these suspicions, he blamed Christians who were ideal scapegoats because of their attitudes towards the fellows (Gibbon, 1998).

Following the first one, many other persecutions were held, under the reigns of Domitian, of Trajan, of Marcus Aurelius, of Septimus Severus, of Maximinus, of Valerian, of Aurelian and finally under the reign of Diocletian. Among them the most severe one was under the reign of Diocletian, and was called as "The Great Persecution", during which about 500,000 Christians were said to be executed in 9 years (The Spread of Christianity Through Persecutions, n.d.).

4.2.1.1 Underlying Causes of Persecution: The Aspects of Time

As stated before, in the times of social change, if people cannot tolerate each-other's differences, and regard these differences as threat, then they cannot suppress aggression and anti-social acts appear. This is, what happens in the cases of mass movements; and was what happened in the case of Persecution of Christians.

According to a historian Edward Gibbon (1998), at the very beginning, Christianity was regarded as a sect of Judaism which has already end its struggle with the pagan world and has gained toleration within Roman Empire. So, Christianity, as a sect, didn't draw too much reaction. Nevertheless, revealing their differences, Christians themselves began to detach themselves from the rest of the Roman communion.

To Gibbon (1998), the requirements of their belief contradicted with all the religious habits, beliefs, values which held the Empire together. By embracing the gospel, Christians rejected all these habits and consider these beliefs as a superstition and renounced Pagan gods. They also regarded all the manners of their fellows with

abhorrence and renounced their family and city. Unlike pagan population who worship publicly, they worship to their Supreme Being, who they regarded as the ultimate authority, in secrecy. So their deity and the form of worship remained unknown for the rest of the community.

All these contemptuous attitudes and disregard against the commonalities of the empire were perceived by the pagan rulers and people as the animosity towards them, and led the Christians to be marginalized.

As Gibbon has told, the isolation and secrecy of their conduct caused the others think that Christians might have been doing something which should be concealed. So many superstitions came out about their bloody sacrifices or incestuous festivals. Therefore, Christians were regarded as atheists. Being atheists, and rejecting pagan gods, they displeased the gods. So, they were the wicked ones who were assumed as the reason behind every calamity that the empire faced with (Gibbon, 1998).

Each of the persecutions before the great persecution had the same reasons. In order to get rid of calamities and to regain the favour of gods, Christians should have been punished and should be brought under control. The Great Persecution, as well, had the same reasons. However, Diocletian's era was the period that the paganism was in decline and Christianity was not yet an alternative. And the more they tried to restore paganism, the more the fierceness of the measures that have taken to take control of Christians, has risen, thus the persecution of that era became the most severe (Frend, 1965).

As William Frend, a clergyman, a social reformist and a writer, has expressed, when Diocletian came into power, he didn't have hostile feelings towards Christians, on the contrary, there were many of them working at the court or in the provinces or in the armies. However, some disturbances occurred in the army began to change his mind.

As Frend has told, there were some objectors within the army, who were not slanted towards tetrarchy. But, these were thought not to be able to tolerated in the case of a

war. The following happenings reinforced that idea. Syria was invaded by Persians and Achilleus revolted in the Egypt. So the measures that were taken to ensure the unity were, first, to put the army in order.

To Frennd (1965), the pressure that forced the Christians to sacrifice for the pagan gods was first applied to soldiers in the army. But it soon reached out to civilians. Diocletian, in the last months of the year 302, spent some time with Galerius in his court and he was such a superstitious person that, it wasn't that hard for Galerius to incite him against Christians. In their discussions, Galerius, demanded the suppression of Christians by force. Diocletian was, at first, reluctant to upset the peace by bloodshed, however convinced that Christianity should be repressed for the consent of the gods and for the welfare of the empire. And on the 23rd February, 303 the action was taken. The soldiers went to the church in Nicomedia and demolished the building and burnt all the sacred books. The next day, the first edict of persecution was published. According to the addict (Croix, 2006, pp.35-36):

I. (a) All Christian churches (and, it appears, any house in which the Scriptures might be discovered) were to be destroyed. (b) All copies of the Scriptures and other liturgical books were to be surrendered and burnt, and all church plate and other such property was to be confiscated. (c) All meetings for Christian worship were prohibited.

II. Persistent Christians were apparently deprived of the capacity to bring actions in the courts; those who possessed juridical privileges were to lose them; (probably those members of the imperial civil service who were not technically soldiers and would mostly have been imperial freedmen) were to be reduced to slavery.

As Frennd (1965) has told, when the edict was posted up in the forum, a Christian tore it down ragingly saying something, and he was seized and burnt alive. Similar incidents occurred in following days. After a several mysterious fires that broke out in the palace, Diocletian became likeminded with Galerius and showed no mercy. As Croix has explained (2006), after the first one, Diocletian published three more edicts. The second and the third ones were towards the bishops and priests. The second one

issued the arrest of them. Whereas the third, subjected a general amnesty for clergyman on condition that they sacrifice for the pagan gods. The fourth one, on the other hand, ordered all inhabitants to offer a collective sacrifice, or they would be executed. From now on, the persecutions turned into a massacre.

4.2.1.2 The Conduct of Persecution: Standing Pattern of Behaviours

According to Gibbon (1998), during persecutions, Christians were tortured in any kinds of severe ways. They were racked, scourged, hanged with iron hooks or put on red-hot beds and they were burnt alive.



Figure 4.1. Persecution by Emperors Diocletian and Maximus, AD 301

From: <https://www.wikiart.org/en/jan-luyken/persecution-by-emperors-diocletian-and-maximus-ad-301-168>

4.2.1.3 The Places of Persecution: Layout of Activity Areas

The reason behind Christian persecutions, was to regain religious unity, by forcing all Christians to apostatise and to sacrifice for the pagan gods. So, they would either sacrifice in front of the public eye, or would die, right there, to be an example to other Christians. Therefore, the persecutions were carried out in every public area of the city.

It is known that the Diocletian's edicts were carried out largely in north Africa, Palestine, Egypt and Bithynia with Nicomedia (Frend, 1965). The cities of these regions were built in orthogonal-linear order under the impact of Greek culture (Yegül, Favro, 2019). In direction to this order, the intersection of the two main avenues constituted the city centre where the public facilities were located. Among the public facilities, being the hub of most of the encounters, agora had an important position. It was a roofless structure that contained a market place, '*bouleuterion*' which was a senate house, '*prytaneum*' which was a public hall for the high-officials and '*stoa*' which was a colonnaded public walkway. Apart from agora, gymnasium, theatre, baths, and also shops and shop fronts that formed porticoes along the major streets are the other gathering places that should also be taken into account.

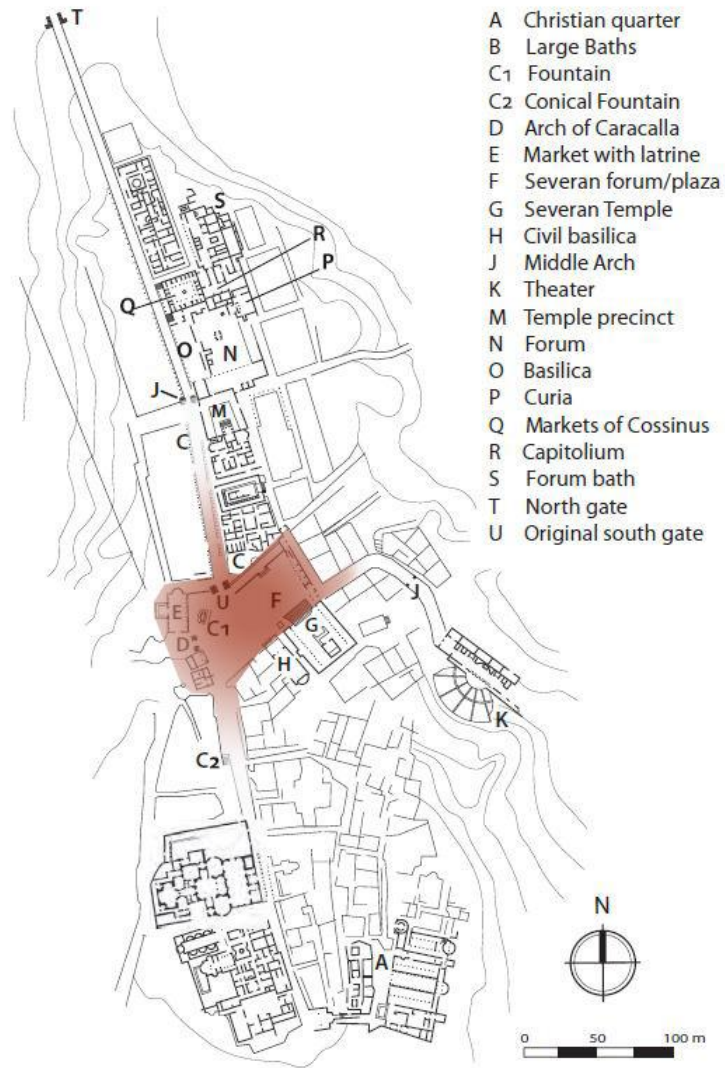


Figure 4.2. Plan of Djemila (A mountain village in Algeria, North Africa); rendered by Rui Xiong and Diane Favro (after MacDonald).

From: Yegül, F.& Favro, D. (2019). p.508.

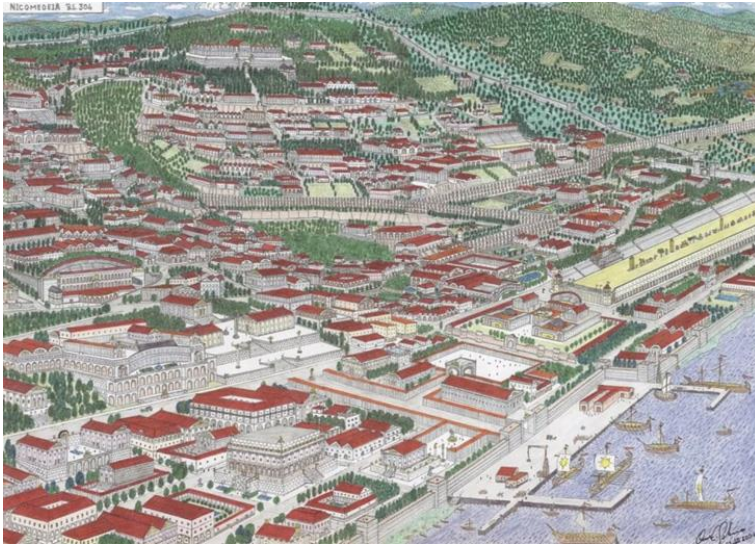


Figure 4.3. Reconstruction of Nicomedia

From: <https://m.arkitera.com/haber/30143/nantes>

However, these meeting and gathering places were also ideal places to browbeat Christians. According to Frened (1965), some of the persecutions were carried out in market areas, some in civil basilicas and there were some others in public baths. To Gibbon (1998), similarly, the courts as well as other places where persecutions were taken place. So, the meeting and gathering places at the centres were said to be the places of persecutions during “The Great Persecution”.



Figure 4.4. The Christian Martyrs' Last Prayer, by Jean-Léon Gérôme

From: <https://www.amazon.com/Christian-Martyrs-Prayer-Jean-Leon-Gerome/dp/B07BFFR62V>

4.2.2 Witch Persecutions in Early Modern Europe

By 15th Century, Christians and Pagans had shifted their roles, however, this time Christians' cruelty was not only towards Pagans, but also towards other Christians from different sects.

4.2.2.1 Underlying Causes of Persecution: The Aspects of Time

Massive witch-hunts that took place between 15th and 18th Centuries can be suggested as one example of collective psychoses as well. Witch hunts, in fact, had been occurring since medieval times, but it became a movement which has become a systematic slaughter in 1450s. A historian, Brian P. Levack (1987) has suggested that there were several factors that render the conditions suitable for this individual act to become a Europe-wide movement.

Among those factors, according to Levack, some were the direct cause of this movement. The first one of these, to him, was *the cumulative concept of witchcraft* which was created by theologians, lawyers and philosophers and pursued and contributed by judges, landlords and clerics. With the works of these intellectuals of the time, the notion of witchcraft has turned from mere magic to a diabolical activity, and the witches has become the collaborator of the devil. And these beliefs have spread not just among the elite but among common people with the works of art, writings and public readings.

The second direct cause of this movement was the legal developments that include the ecclesiastical and secular courts' adoption of an inquisitorial system, their use of torture as a method to get confession and also the secular courts' becoming the judicial authority. With the adoption of inquisitorial system, the judicial authority, who decided whether or not the accused was guilty, has become the court officers instead

of God who had been the authority in the medieval criminal system. This also entailed the definition of crime. With the rising belief that witchcraft was heresy, and heresy becoming crime, it became easier for judges to prosecute people who were accused as witches. However, the courts had also adopted a law of proof, which had been actually Roman law that requires either an eye-witness or the confession of the crime, in order someone to be accused. For the reason that witnessing a witchcraft was not likely or proving heresy was not possible, getting a confession has become a way to acquire a proof, and to torture was the most effective method for it. When it came to 16th Century, witchcraft has become a secular crime and become the issue of secular courts, thus has given way to increase of witch-hunts.

As to Levack, another, not direct but maybe the most important cause of this movement was the impact of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, both of which have sat the religious ground for the intensive witch-hunts especially in 16th Century. Despite being each-other's antagonists, both reformation and counter-reformation was actually the two sides of the same coin in terms of their aim and the consequences they created. The aim of the Protestant Reformation was purifying the religion and the society and promoting the morality among them by declaring war against devil and his works, by eliminating superstitions and pagan practices and standardizing the devotional practices, and by disseminating these ideas by translating Holy Scriptures in line with their aim. Later than the Protestant Reformation, Catholic Reformation as a counter-reformation was developed by the Catholic Church which has similar aims and methods with the Protestant Reformation. These two movement both of whose aim were to get rid of the corruption in religion caused the rise in the fear of the devil, the anxiety about personal piety and morality; as well as creating a conflict between different interpretations, which also promoted the intensification of witch-hunts.

According to Levack, Europe was not only experiencing these intellectual, legal and religious developments in those times, but also many other, which affected the social and economic context and either triggered or gave rise to witch-hunts. He outlines these developments as follows:

During the early modern period, the population of Europe increased dramatically after a long period of stagnation and decline; prices of all commodities rose at an unprecedented pace; towns grew in size and number; and both mercantile and agricultural capitalism were introduced in many areas. To add to all the confusion, there were periodic outbreaks of the plague and other epidemic diseases and many years of bad harvest and famine. During the same period of time, family life was also transformed and new moral values were proclaimed to accommodate a changing world (1987, p.136)

These social and economic changes together with the others, to Levack, both created a mood of anxiety and conflict within the communities. People of those centuries had both material and spiritual concerns. They were, at one side, trying to cope with misfortunes like poverty, diseases and war, and on the other side they felt that their moral and religious values, thus the future of their society were under threat. Under these conditions, to blame someone for all these things that didn't go right, and to wish to purge the society from those 'wicked' ones became more likely.

That movement in history, not only shows us that how destructive a regressive movement of psychic energy can be when it turns into a collective movement, but also shows us that to what extent a human can marginalize and even demonize the 'other', when the contents of the unconscious become active.

4.2.2.2 The Conduct of Persecution: Standing Pattern of Behaviours

In the case of European witch-hunt, the 'other' was an unmarried woman who would more likely to have an affair with the devil or more likely to use the sorcery because being less powerful, or an educated woman who is a threat to social norms; it was a man who would likely to apply sorcery for his political aims; it was a nonconformist who would likely to rebel against the order by collaborating with the devil; it was a Protestant for a Catholic or an Anabaptist for a Protestant, being a threat for the religious values; it was an old beggar or even a child. And in order to resolve the conflict these 'others' should have been swept away. As a result of all of these causes and marginalization, throughout the early modern ages of Europe, about 90,000 people

are said to have been prosecuted of being a witch and about half of them are said to have been executed.

The executions were conducted sometimes by hanging the witches, but mostly, by burning them at a stake.



Figure 4.5. (left) Burning of David van der Leyden and Levina, Ghent, 1554, by Jan Luyken



Figure 4.6. (right) Execution of Anne Hendricks, Amsterdam, 1571, by Jan Luyken

From: Veen, 2014, p.44,49. Both images are the depictions of Anabaptists, who were pious people from a different sect, being burned in front of public eye.

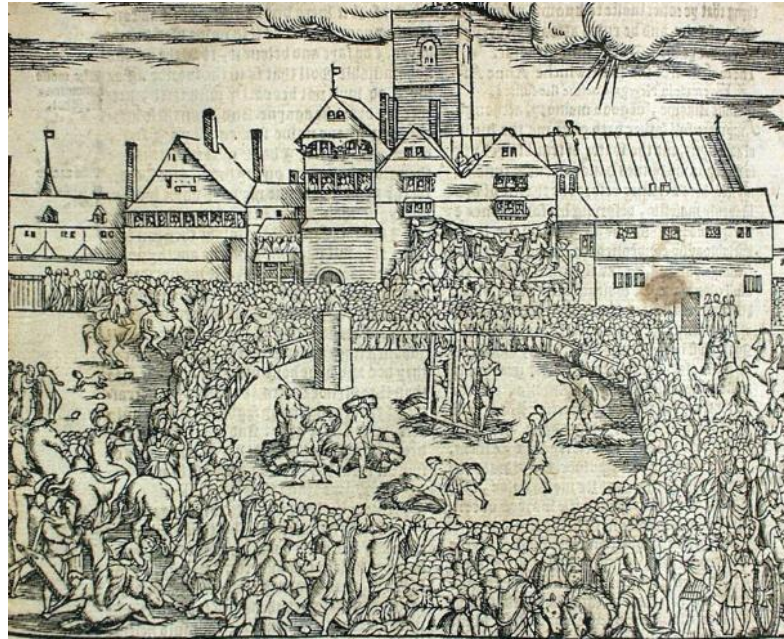


Figure 4.7. The Burning of Anne Askew, John Lascelles, John Adams and Nicholas Belenian, at the stake at Smithfield, London, on the 16th July 1546.

From: <http://www.luminarium.org/encyclopedia/askew.htm> It is known that the people above sentenced to death were the Protestants who were prosecuted for heresy

4.2.2.3 The Places of Persecution: Layout of Activity Areas

The spaces of executions, most of the time, were the public squares in front of the public buildings such as cathedrals or city halls where observation of the execution or the hearing of the public readings could be possible for the crowd. Those spaces can be identified through the background illustrations of the depictions which shows the execution of witches, most of which consists of the public buildings.

Place de Greve, in Paris, was one of the very well-known execution areas. The area was a public square at the north side of the river Seine, and it was also a home to three city halls. The location of it is at the convergence of three main streets: Quai de l'Hôtel de Ville, and Quai de Gesvres, and the rue de Renard. So it was, and still is one of the important nodes of the city.

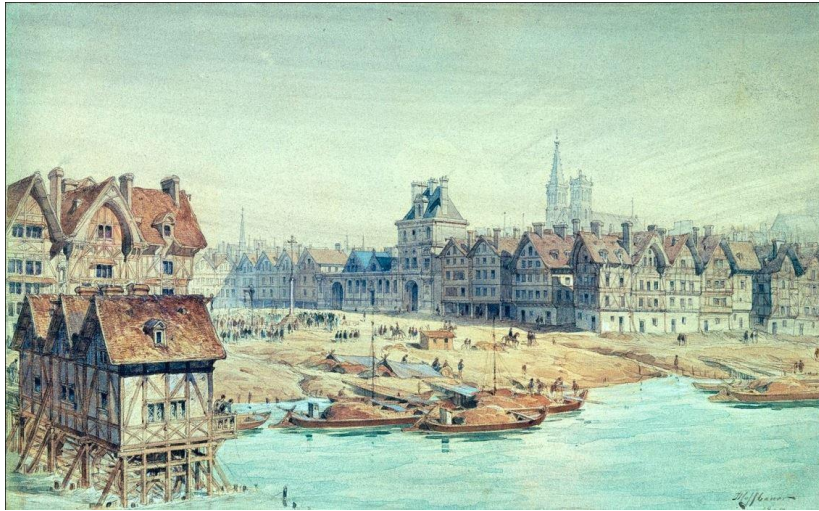


Figure 4.8. Place de Grève. Paris, Middle Ages

From: <https://www.histoire-image.org/fr/etudes/place-greve-place-hotel-ville>

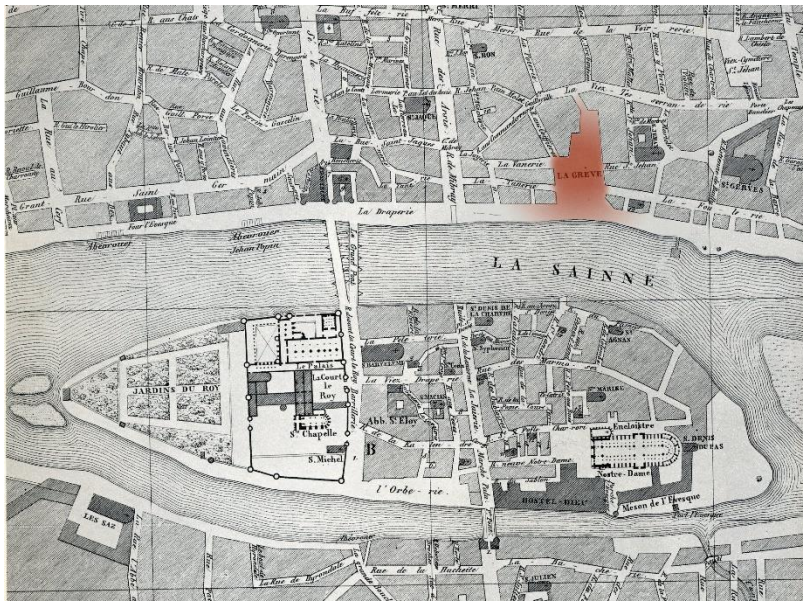


Figure 4.9. The plan of medieval Paris about 1380 created at the Laboratoire de Cartographie Thématique, by Jacqueline Leuridan and Jacques-Albert Mallet. Published in Paris 1400

From: http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/arth214_folder/paris_maps.htm

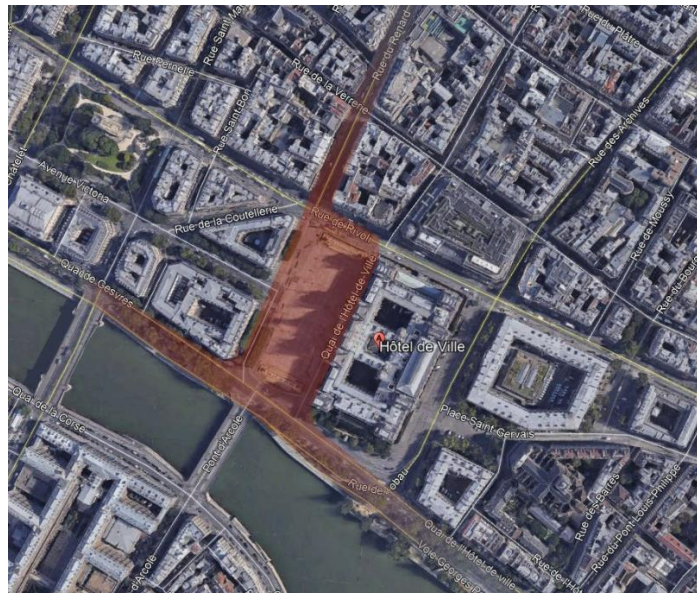


Figure 4.10. Layout of Place de Greve, 2018

From: google earth

The area was the principal port of Paris where dock workers used to gather or look for a job, and have always been a gathering area for demonstrations, strikes as well as festivities. The name of the square was changed to Place l'Hotel de Ville in 1830, from 1310 to 1832, the area was used as the principal place of executions (Hotel de Ville, n.d.).



Figure 4.11. Execution of Robert François Damiens, place de Grève. Paris, on March 28, 1757

From: <https://parisunlocked.com/history-of-paris/paris-city-halls-square-was-once-a-gruesome-public-execution-site/>

The area now functions as an entertainment space with its green area, with the ice rink that is set up in winters, or with public concerts.



Figure 4.12. A view of Hotel de Ville's winter time ice rink.

From: <https://www.parisinsidersguide.com/hotel-de-ville-paris.html> The area now functions as an entertainment space in winters.

4.2.3 Holocaust

Two centuries later than the last witch executions, a similar movement occurred once again in history. The witches, this time, were not guilty of engaging in witchcraft, but of belonging to a different race. Especially after the WWI, Jews were, for Adolf Hitler and his followers, as vicious as the witches in the early modern ages of Europe. And the conditions which paved the way for this movement were quite similar with the ones that caused massive witch-hunts.

4.2.3.1 Underlying Causes of Persecution: The Aspects of Time

After the WWI, like in the early middle ages, Germans were facing several misfortunes. In addition to the losses throughout the war, with the Versailles Treaty, they lost 13% of their territory and forced to pay huge amounts for reparations (Treaty

of Versailles, n.d.). They were already in a poor economic conditions facing high unemployment rates, high prices and inflation rates. There were work and food lines in 1920s and the unemployment rate has reached %22 by 1930 (Aftermath of WWI, n.d.).

In addition to economic problems, Germans were facing political instability as well. There were many different political divisions and frequently held elections. Under these conditions German citizens were not feeling secure and certain about their future and they were inclined to make Jews scapegoats for these misfortunes, such as the Versailles Treaty being signed by a government some of whose members were Jews; and also that Jews had important roles in the economic life of the cities (Webb; Lisciotto, 2010).

Apart from these economic and politic causes there were also social causes of this movement. Because of the problems that economic conditions gave way to people had to adhere to illegal acts to make a living. Thus crime increased among the society (The Nazification of the German People, 2016). On the other hand, women have participated in labour force and gained right to vote. These kinds of changes made people anxious about the social norms and about the survival of their society (Aftermath of WWI, n.d.).

Within such a period which was dominated by the feeling of being lost, Hitler's plights in direction that the country would be back on the feet, have gained the public acceptance as a way out. He believed that the country should be cleared away from the ones who were against the order and who were the obstacle for the improvement. More importantly, he gained the support of both Catholic Church and Lutherans (The Nazification of the German People, 2016), thus German people, due to economic, social and religious reasons, believed that the ones that Hitler pointed out as maleficent were indeed as he said. The communists, gypsies, homosexuals and Jews have become the undesirables; they have become the witches of 20th Century.



Figure 4.13. The supporters of Adolf Hitler, Harvest Festival 1937

From: <https://time.com/3712734/1920-nazi-party-history/>

4.2.3.2 The Conduct of Persecution: Standing Pattern of Behaviours

As a result of all these, in 1933, people gave their support to Hitler by putting his party into power as the largest party in parliament. He, immediately, suspended many liberties and allowed imprisonment without trial (The Holocaust Year by Year, n.d.). He opened up concentration camps outside the cities to imprison those undesirables. The first one of these camps was the Dachau where, at the beginning, he imprisoned political dissidents. However, the ones from who he actually desired to clear the country were the Jews, so he made a law against Jews in 1935 which revoked their right of citizenship and the ones related to it. They could no more be an owner of a business or could perform their profession or even shop for their daily living. After that time, they were forced to leave the city and moved to Jewish ghettos. However, to him, Germany had not been purified yet, there was a need for a final solution. The solution was extermination. The concentration camps for political opponents have, thus, turned into death camps for Jewish people, and between the years 1942 and 1945, 6 million Jews in addition to other undesirables, gypsies, homosexuals and the like, were killed in those camps.

So, the massacre was carried out by the hands of the government out of public places, however, the public gathering places were the settings of gatherings of huge crowds who wanted to display their hatred towards Jews by attending the party rallies or watching parades and showing their support and admiration to their Führer.



Figure 4.14. Supporter of various age and gender, 1938, Munich

From: <https://time.com/3712734/1920-nazi-party-history/>



Figure 4.15. Crowds in front of the Frauenkirche, during the Party Rally of 1933

From: <http://www.thirdreichruins.com/nuernberg.htm>

4.2.3.3 The Places of Persecution: Layout of Activity Areas

Different from the witch-hunting in early modern ages, the actual places of these huge massacres were not the front of public eye. On the contrary, the massacres were kept confidential in order not to face with criticisms. However, the hatred towards Jews has become widespread among non-Jewish Germans. Huge crowds of people of various age and gender gathered in streets, at plazas to see or hear Hitler and share his enthusiasm engendered from his hatred. Public plazas and streets of festivities, once again witnessed the shadowy side of a human; they were once more the behaviour settings of malicious feelings.

Hauptmarkt in Nurnberg was one of these public squares which provided a space for the display of this collective hatred. The area, locating at the heart, was actually the main market square, thus the main meeting area of the city since the medieval times. However, under the reign of the Nazi Party, it became the well-known gathering place of Nazi rallies.



Figure 4.16. Nurnberg Hauptmarkt, 1891

From:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Die_Baudenkm%C3%A4ler_der_Stadt_N%C3%BCrnberg_037_Hauptmarkt.jpg



Figure 4.17. (left) Map of Nurnberg, 1648

From:

<https://www.wikizeroo.org/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly91cGxvYWQud2lraW11ZGhhLm9yZy93aWtpeGVkaWEvY29tbW9ucy8xLzE1L0RlX01lcmlhbl9GcmFua29uaWFlXzA5MC5qcGc>

Figure 4.18. (right) Layout of Nurnberg Hauptmarkt, 2018

From: Google earth

The area has become a gathering place, once again for social events such as open markets or Christmas markets.



Figure 4.19. Nurnberg Hauptmarkt, 1937, 2013

From: <http://www.thirdreichruins.com/nuernberg.htm>

4.2.4 Evaluation: Synomorphy in the Times of Crisis

Considering these different cases in history, we can reach several inferences about the relationship between physical properties of the built environment and dissociation of society.

Firstly, all three periods signify the prevailing conflict within the society during which people define each-other by their differences and regard these differences as a threat to their own well-being. In 4th Century, pagan population regarded Christians as atheists who would rise the fury of gods. Between 15th and 18th Centuries, this time, Christians regarded pagans and any others from different sects as wicked persons who

would cause maleficence. In 19th Century, on the other hand, non-Jewish people saw Jewish as responsible for any kind of misfortune that they were dealing with. So, the social bonds were broken.

Secondly, in each case, one group wanted to eliminate the other. The anti-social behaviour became a collective behaviour. Various kinds of tortures were applied and many people were killed savagely.

Thirdly, either executions or demonstrations of hatred carried out in public places. The very well-known meeting and gathering spaces, the nodes and enclosures, such as agorae, Roman baths, market squares, town hall plazas, and became the places of barbarity.

These vivacious spaces of the times of festivities, as they did before, enabled people to gather, but this time, not for the sake of sharing of good feelings but to display the unfavourable ones. Therefore, it can be said that, the layouts of those are areas also congruent with the anti-social group behaviours. That is, in the times of conflict, they can be behaviour settings of dissociation.

In this chapter, the approaches of William Whyte and Ray Oldenburg were dealt within the frame of behaviour setting concept, and the places, that they pointed out as sociable, are suggested as behaviour settings of socialization. Then, in the second part, it was demonstrated that places such as agorae or squares can be behaviour settings of dissociation in the times of crisis.

In this regard, **the final chapter** will summarize the overall discussion, and will exhibit the answers that are achieved in the scope of this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Within the scope of this thesis, commonly acknowledged approaches which consider some particular physical configurations – nodality, enclosedness - of built environment as essential for socialization, were regarded as the problem. And hypothesis, in this respect, which suggests that physical properties of environment cannot initiate social processes was asserted.

In order to validate this hypothesis, two questions:

- Whether public, nodal, enclosed character of built environment can create socialization or not,
- What is the role of these physical qualities of built environment on social processes?

were aimed to be answered. To be able to answer these questions, firstly, the emergence of social processes was explained in direction to Jung's perspective, and benefiting from Goffman and Hall, social behaviours such as interaction and territorial behaviour, were introduced as the indicators of these processes. Later, the issue of relationship between these behaviours and the spaces that they can be observed, was scrutinized; and Barker's concept of *behaviour settings* was adopted to analyse the case areas in the demonstration part of the thesis. Lastly, some gathering places as case areas were analysed in the frame of Barker's *behaviour settings* concept; and an inference was made that the antisocial behaviours as a group behaviour can take place in those public areas, which have nodal or enclosed character, in the times of crisis.

In accordance with these, this thesis discusses some assumptions of those approaches while answering questions.

Firstly, those approaches regard that crowds should meet or gather to enable construction of society. However, they ignore that crowds may not always come together with favourable feelings. It cannot be denied that those areas can create a great deal of possibility, however, we know that in order people to socialize they should discern each-others selves which is possible through unfocussed interactions. That is, socialization is possible in any kind of place that host social events through which unfocussed interaction is possible. On the other hand, not socialization, but, on the contrary, dissociation may be the reason for crowds to gather.

Secondly, the assertion that considers meeting and gathering places can create socialization depends on the assumption that socialization through interaction occurs when people come side by side. However, interaction that lead to positive social relations may not always be the emergent behaviour in any case. People may not interact when they are at each-others presence, or even if they interact, favourable feelings that lead to face-to-face rituals may not appear. We know that, whether people interact with each-other, when they are at each-other's presence, or not, depends not on the properties of the place but on what people see in other people. They feel either sympathy or antipathy, and act accordingly.

Thirdly, they assume that people feel attached to a place due to its physical properties, and that they express their identities by being there. People may, indeed, express their identities by being in a place; however, what make them feel attached to a place is not the place itself, but is the feelings arise through experiences, that is, the feelings arise through interactions. Through interaction, people both construct their conscious attitudes, and display them to get the approval of others. And this approval makes them feel attached to those experiences, thus to a space.

Regarding the brutal events that took place in meeting and gathering places, we can see that crowds not only gather due to they feel affiliated to each-other, but sometimes, to display their hostility, to do harm or even to destroy each-other. In the times of crisis, anti-social mob behaviours may also be observed in those spaces. If conjunctive social processes were the performance of the physical qualities of the

built environment, then we would see in those spaces, prosocial behaviours only. So, we can say that these spaces cannot generate socialization, but we can also say that, these spaces cannot generate dissociation as well, because it is not the spaces per se that generate social processes.

However, as we know, a space can either facilitate or inhibit human behaviour. So, socialization through interaction is a process that a physical environment may facilitate by providing people with space to meet or gather. But, this also means that, enabling mobs to gather, the very same environment may also facilitate dissociation. The highly emulated spaces like Greek agorae or medieval squares, in the times of crisis, became the places of bloody executions or the demonstration areas of common hatred. So, we can say that these meeting and gathering areas cannot initiate social processes but can facilitate them, providing a setting for both.

Being the producers of these physical environments, both architects and planners should keep in mind that, no matter what our designs are like, what we create will not evoke the emotions that enable us feel self-esteem and self-actualized; but it will provide the milieu where we can feel self-esteem and self-actualized.

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