

SPACES BY PEOPLE: AN URBAN DESIGN APPROACH TO EVERYDAY LIFE (1)

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1. An initial version of this article was previously presented at the conference titled "Jane Jacobs 100: Her Legacy and Relevancy in the 21st Century" organized by the Delft University of Technology, 24-25 May 2016, Delft, The Netherlands. An updated version was also given as a presentation at the AESOP conference titled "Spaces of Dialogue for Places of Dignity," 11-14 July 2017, Lisbon, Portugal. Furthermore, this study is a significant keystone in the development of the author's on-going Ph.D. thesis that focuses on the spontaneity in urban space. Therefore, for the evolution of thesis content, the review process and the crucial critiques for the article from the reviewers are of high value and deserve a sincere acknowledgment.

INTRODUCTION

Individuals and small groups of people find spatial solutions by not necessarily being exposed or disruptive to the planned environment in altering socio-economic, politic and cultural contexts. To harbor this complex process, urban space has various roles; as a container that is subtle yet revealing; as a channel that is visible and enabling, or as a constraint that is vigorous and oppressive. Consequently, people bring out countless spatial manifestations while searching for a foothold in life. Mostly with the motivations to respond to their practical needs such as shelter, observation, and security, people display an intricate web of design manifestations while interacting with their everyday living environments. Therefore, this intermingled and crucial phenomenon must be at the core of any profession caring about the built environment. Norberg-Schulz (1984, 8) believes that everyday life should be the real concern of architects and planners. Instead of seeing urban spaces as a priori, professions dealing with built environment must embrace its dynamism and fluidity. Because, at the end, even comprehensively designed and implemented urban projects face physical alterations in varying scales through their life course. As Augoyard (1941, 9) asserts: "Now, as it turns out, once the project is fulfilled and built, nothing happens as planned".

If design is defined as the organization of (any) space (Rapoport, 1977) and transforming existing conditions into preferred ones (Simon, 1969), every individual is a decision maker, therefore a designer, producer or transformer of urban space. For instance, in many settlements, we may walk by an elderly man sitting on a chair at a street corner, or two children doing their homework on the outdoor stairs of a building or playing football on the street in front of it. We may then see a sleazily designed front yard of an apartment block. These interventions to the physical and social making of spaces by everyday users are seen as the actions that make an urban space a living entity in any settlement of the world. They are

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realized in the designed physical environments enriching and transforming them through particular social and spatial operations. Despite the ephemerality and complexity, they present a substantial input for urban planning and design for they refer to a common human nature of making space by living. However, they are either taken for granted as the outcome of design, or merely accepted as ordinary actions occurring here and there without disturbing the main structure. Without doubt, urban sociology and urban design appreciate their existence, yet partially. The former focuses more on the social realities forming or being affected by physical tissue, while the latter remains short in conjoining designed and un(der)designed spaces in a relational manner. Therefore, everyday urban life and space is overshadowed by a macroscopic reading of urban life (Augoyard, 1941) or by the aporia of professional discourses (Habraken, 1998).

In this research, the urban spaces that are made by everyday users are studied through an interpretation of socio-spatial dialectics. This is to elaborate the social dimension of urbanism through grasping the concepts of lived space and everyday life in relation to urban design. For this, a design focus has been added into the spatial triad of reproduction of space (Lefebvre, 1991). The moments of spatialization including conceived, perceived and lived spaces have been set as spaces for people, spaces with people and spaces by people. This theorization is developed by observing the real-life urban manifestations which display urban spaces created by their everyday users. An integrated research method that encompasses design ethnography and a basic spatial analysis is pursued to value socialization and living processes in urbanization. In this context, design ethnography helped to gain insight on the living environments of people by descriptions (Gunn et al., 2013). This approach is combined with a spatial analysis method to grasp urban design characteristics; a unique trial contributing both to the fields of urbanism and ethnography. In order to focus on the spaces by individuals and small groups of people within an observation and documentation of the rally of everyday life, this study proposes spatial design ethnography. Having an emphasis on both space and design, the intention is to understand the ordinary users' impacts on urban space. Hence, ethnography as a discovery science that is "concerned with the everyday [...] lives of people" (Angrosino, 2007, 14) will help to reveal the relationship between people and their built environment, while a spatial-designerly approach will contribute to understand how these interactions occur.

As everyday life is concerned, the spaces made-by-living reveal them in any urban context. Therefore, the cases are gathered from different instances and locations, and multiple everyday encounters and observations. They are, mostly, to capture flexible and true-to-life examples of the ordinary and spontaneous spaces. In line with the spatial descriptions of the cases, a further study is conducted by an analysis to extract urban design qualities by tracing the data from the visual material. This is to unfold the qualities in the spaces made-by-living, to present the commonalities and to strengthen the dialectical relation between designed and lived. The examples are selected from different geographies to search for the spatial traces reflecting the interaction between people and their built environment. This is to have a grasp of the similar or differing spatial qualities among spaces made by living in an urban context.

The spaces made by living are studied under three main parameters: actor, scale, and time-frame to answer "What kind of insights can be provided

for urban design thinking by valuing and analyzing urban spaces that are made by people?”. They help to categorize the findings that contain the formations referring to a limited number of daily users instantaneously transforming an urban space, the repetitions embodying a larger group of people and a more perceivable urban scale, and lastly the compositions forming a permanent and more legible built environment. At this point, the preliminary findings of the research indicate that urbanism studies do not need to invent or pre-mediate uses and corresponding urban spaces for people. Instead, everyday life and its spaces are needed to be better observed, understood and valued by the professionals. Being almost unique to each case, the everyday users contribute to the objectives and principles of urban design from a more genuine perspective, with their humble richness for alternative and authentic design ideas.

THE LINK BETWEEN SOCIAL AND SPATIAL

The social production of urban space has been studied extensively by prominent scholars of urban sociology (Castells, 1977; Soja, 1980; Soja, 1996; Shields, 1999; Gottdiener, 1994); however, it still needs an insightful framing by its real-life implications in cities and a better integration into the urbanism studies. It is certain that urban design prioritizes both the (physical) production and (social) reproduction of urban form focusing on the significance of social interaction in public sphere (Cuthbert, 2007, 185-190). As a discipline, it is necessarily part of the production of space (Madanipour, 1996, 117). However, even the pioneering studies establishing the integration between social and physical development tend to prioritize physical development (Madanipour, 1996, 136-7) and only to establish theoretical frameworks (Cuthbert, 2007; Castells 1977).

Instead of seeing the lived spatial practices as “an accident of conceived space” (Augoyard, 1941), as something that will follow the professional design, there is a need for to reconsider the socio-spatial realities. Recently, tactical, Do It Yourself, everyday urbanism approaches start to value self-interventions on already laid-out urban plans in a way to exclude the planning processes or to be trapped in the aesthetics of design (Carmona, 2014, 5). They focus on the inhabitants’ roles and responsibilities in creating physical spaces aside from the formal urban planning schemes. The roles in decision making are altered, the bottom-up approaches are supported by these recent urbanism tendencies. They mostly formulate an oppositionary position of everyday user (grassroots urban planner, insurgent citizen) against the mainstream economic development and planning (Souza 2016, 327; Lydon and Garcia, 2015, Chase et al., 2008, Hou 2010, Oswalt et al., 2013; Bishop and Williams, 2012). Although these approaches stimulate urbanism studies, they still foster a dichotomic understanding between design and life as well as leaving political and economic urban contexts under question.

Nonetheless, the research devotes a special focus on the spontaneous motivations and drives that make people transform urban areas. That is to say that socio-economic, political and cultural context may trigger similar spatial configurations in different levels of time, actor and scale. For instance, when we see children playing football on a street, this might be a consequence of many deficits in a master plan that does not favor socialization spaces (socio-economic, political, legal contexts), as well as a consequence of the sudden need to enjoy a small section of urban space for a couple of minutes without any concrete historical or ideological

motivation (psychological, cultural, socio-economic contexts). Therefore, valuing the control of urban form by everyday user in its pure state of emergence is meaningful since the spatialization goes together with socialization of urban space. This would bring a fresh look into the role and creative capacity of everyday users on transforming by living, making the city design that dialectically goes with the role of technicians as architects, planners, and engineers.

Interpretation of Spatial Dialectics

Dialectical thinking is the opposite of isolation, fixity, and separation. It is in fact defined as the science of relations in nature, history, and ideology (Thalheimer, 1927, 114-5). Spatial dialectics highlights that an urban space is a social space in which everyday perception, spatial theory and lived space merge together (Shields, 1999, 120). This explanation is known as the conceptual triad referring to the perceived, conceived and lived spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). Their togetherness provides a synthesis and a more comprehensive perspective towards space and its production process. Within this perspective, making-by-designing and making-by-living and the spatial practices in between have to be valued equally. In other words, neither the designed nor the lived spaces can be separated as they are configuring the single phenomenon of spatialization. From a physical design oriented standpoint, this togetherness is overlooked as the lived conditions are seen only as fragmented reverberations and subjective conditions.

To elaborate this, a set of concepts are proposed. They emphasize the spatial attributes of Lefebvre's spatial triad. These are spaces by people (lived), spaces with people (perceived) and spaces for people (conceived), establishing a united way of looking at the spatialization, yet from a designerly point of view (Lefebvre, 1991, 33-9) (**Figure 1**). This interpretation points out a synthesis that is the social totality which is the space itself. Spaces by people (unpremeditated) are the emergent uses and forms which are emphasized on the individual and small groups as space makers; while spaces with people (designed) are the collection of unforeseen uses of planned spaces that are in continuous change with the behaviors and needs of people. Finally, by spaces for people (redesigned), an analysis of urbanism approaches that study the social phenomenon in human settlements and use this knowledge to (re)design (**Figure 2**). The indivisibility of these three moments is crucial since they complete the spatialization process in relation (**Table 1**). However, the most understudied, even ignored, moment of spaces by people (lived space) is prioritized in this paper to show its internal dynamics that breathes life into a designed space.

FROM LIVED SPACE TO SPACES BY PEOPLE

Lefebvre makes a significant contribution to integrate life and urban space by formulating the concept of lived space as the connector of spatial practices and representations of space. However, the author discusses this concept as an imagined space that does not have a coherent system (Lefebvre, 1991, 39). Lived space embodies physical traces of everyday social relations in the spatialization process. Some of the urban design scholars try to integrate this process with the designed environment. Bentley et al. (1985, 99) names the conditions that let people express themselves in the urban space as (affirmative and remedial)

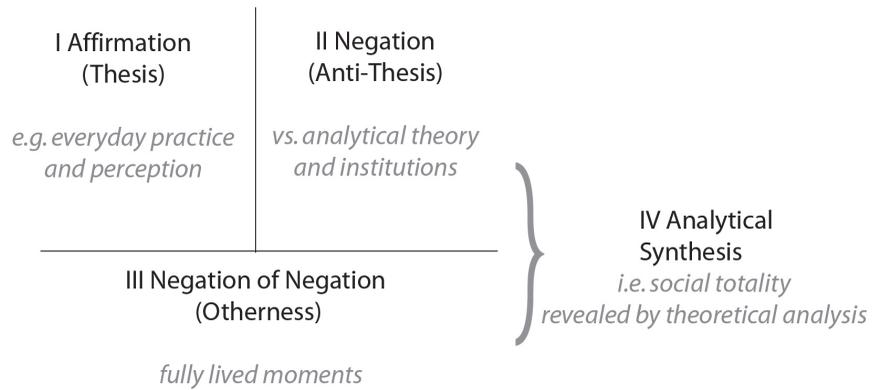


Figure 1. The Implication of Lefebvre’s dialectic of triplexity (Shields, 1999, 120; redrawn by the author).

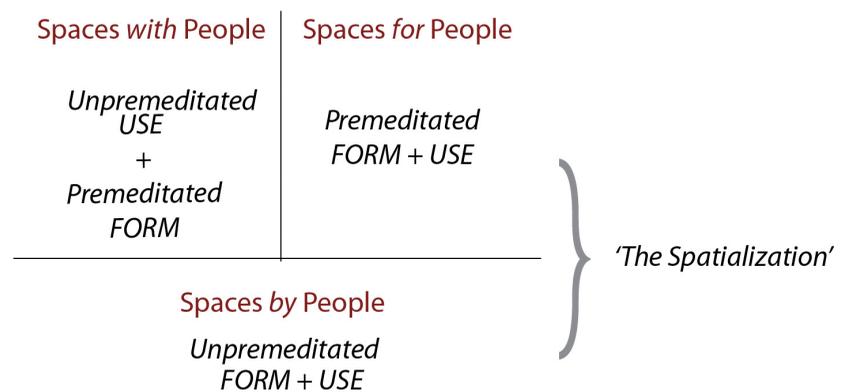


Figure 2. Spatial dialectics re-interpreted through urban design perspective (drawn by the author).

personalization. Similarly, Alexander (1979) puts living patterns as the essentials for a place to gain quality (1979). From a more social and cultural point of view, Habraken (1998, 17) uses vigorous concepts such as inhabitation and live configuration referring to any group of parts entirely under control of a single agent. Although they are noteworthy for pointing out the role of everyday use in spatialization, these approaches are partial and fragmented, as they still fail to elaborate the dialectical relationship

Table 1. The (social) production of (social) space through an urban design perspective.

Moments	Spatial Terms		A Designerly Perspective	
Perceived	Spatial Practice	Practical basis of the perception of the outside world.	Spaces with People (Temporary Urbanism, Everyday Urbanism)	Designed spaces appropriated with an unintentional and temporal use
Conceived	Representations of Space	Space of scientists, planner. Derived from scientific knowledge and ideology	Spaces for People (Human Oriented Design)	Design by professionals with human dimension at the core, using bottom-up and a top-down approaches simultaneously
Lived	Representational Space	The space of inhabitants and users. Overlays the physical space by making symbolic use of its objects.	Spaces by People (People that make space as they live)	Spaces created by their everyday users, almost with no intervention of a professional designer

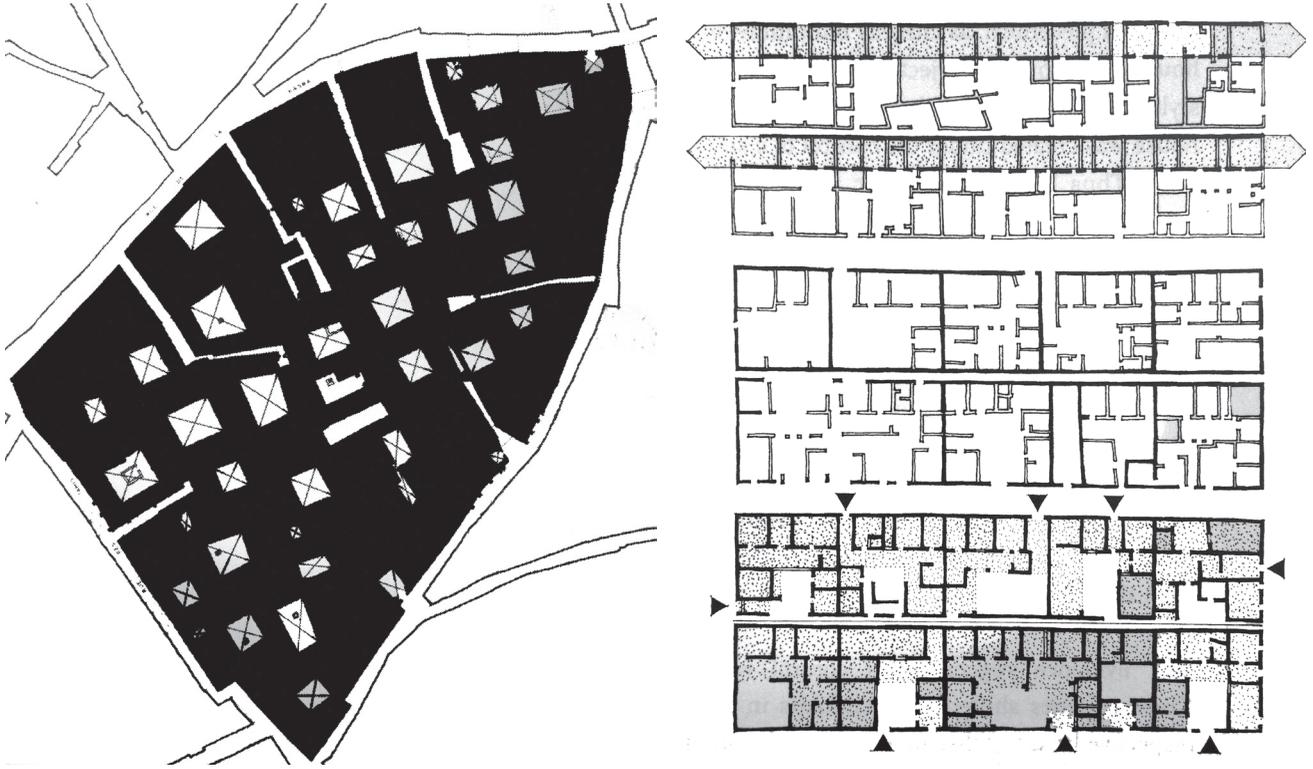


Figure 3. Tunis Medina. Dead end street within the urban fabric which created a combination of many live configurations. "Environmental game is the interaction between forms and human influence." (Habraken, 1998, 45).

Figure 4. "Levels Revealed by Use" inhabitants of Olynthus (destroyed 348 BCE) altered the courtyards and entrances creating variations among the same block. However, the façade and party walls are the same in all of the blocks (Habraken, 1998, 46-7).

between the social and spatial. Therefore, there is a need to get away from the macroscopic reading of urban life through social, economic and political theories.

This close-up perspective aims to bring the social and the spatial together. This is to strengthen the human focus of urban design by departing from the individuals' and small groups' ways of transforming space as well as to bring spatial emphasis on the textual discourses related to the social production of space. The appearance and development of the past cities reveal the real impact of modifications made on the built environment by its inhabitants (**Figure 3**, **Figure 4**). Similarly, this phenomenon can still be observed in different scales and temporalities. Sometimes neglected in the urban corners and niches, they can compose an urban totality as well (**Figure 5**, **Figure 6**). This provides an initial step to form a frame of capturing this social and spatial embeddedness.

For instance, **Figure 7** shows two women sitting adjacent to a sidewalk, almost on the road. Their position and delicate placement of the flower pots created an enclosure, leaving them a nice, self-designed small urban niche. Probably, from where they sit, they are not only feeding the street cats but also able to watch the children playing in front of them. This is a simple illustration of the extraordinary of everyday life and space. It expresses inventiveness, creativity, and spontaneity of people in regard to their built environment. Starting from the impact of an individual on urban space, people's making-by-living gradually shape visible compositions. For a better understanding of this capacity these piecemeal examples should be studied, and in order to extract the particularities of everyday urban spaces, a new approach to document and analyze the similar examples is needed.



Figure 5. Simple additions to balconies in Athens creating a sense of rhythm, emphasizing belonging and diversity in a single urban block (Personal Archive, Athens, 2015).

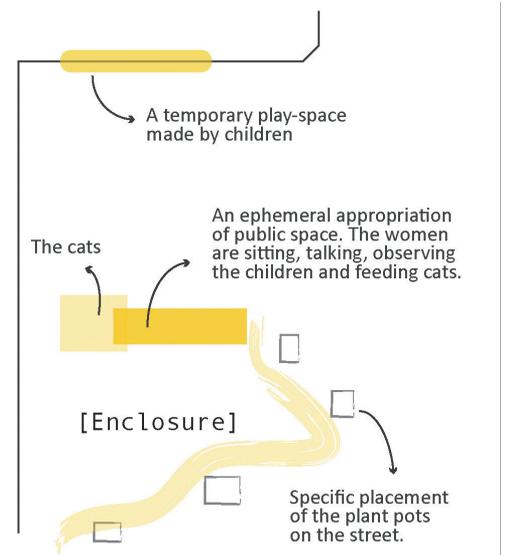
Figure 6. An inhabitant creates a small parcel of garden in the front-yard of an apartment. (Personal Archive, İzmir-2015).

RESEARCH DESIGN

To meet the aim of developing an urbanist perspective for everyday life, ethnography and urban design disciplines are integrated under a novel method applied in this research, named as spatial design ethnography. Ethnography influences many research fields, while urban design, as an encompassing term of many sub-fields, is one of the recent focuses by ethnographers that seek to reconfigure the foundations of the ethnographic method (Murphy and Marcus 2013, 257). Besides being practically and theoretically in line with the aim of this research, this idea is a significant methodological contribution to start dissecting the concept of socio-spatial while initially documenting the everyday spaces and then conducting a spatial survey to creatively develop this ethnographic practice (Murphy and Marcus 2013, 261).

Figure 7. Defining space: women making their space by sitting and placing plants that create an enclosed area (a) Personal Archive of O. Çalışkan, Eskişehir, 2016; b) drawn by the author).

Design ethnography provides an insightful analysis of the relationship between people and the physical environment (Blomberg 1993; Genzuk 2003). However, design ethnography is still an understudied method, especially in terms of urbanism. At this point, the integration of an urban



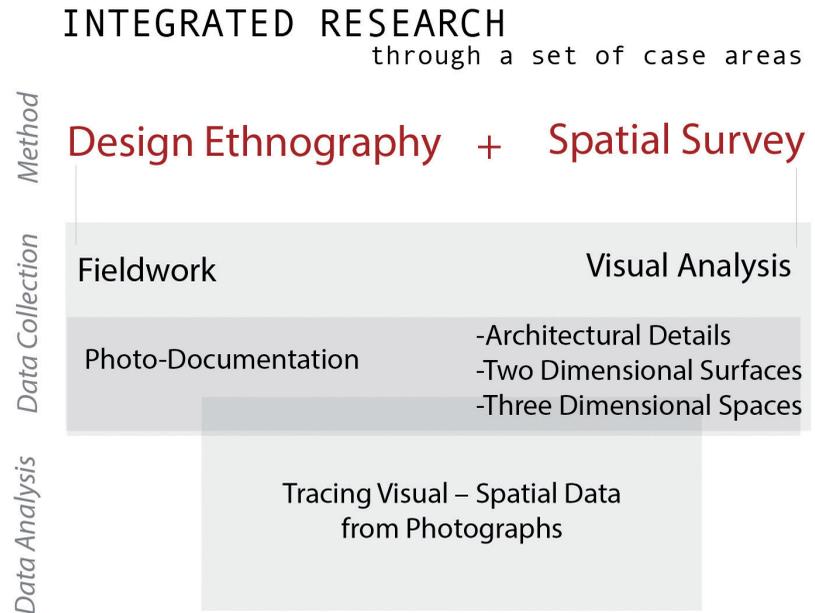


Figure 8. Research design (drawn by the author).

design method is significant to further analyze the material conditions of a social living milieu. Therefore the needed emphasis on the spatial phenomenon brings together the social and spatial into the design perspective. The method is entitled as (spatial) design ethnography merging the contextual realities and social practices with temporal and physical manifestations in urban space. In other words, the ethnographic data collection methods such as fieldwork, observation and documentation are brought together with a spatial survey borrowed from urban design studies.

The research aims to gain insights from the tangible qualities of the everyday spaces documented during the everyday observations. Visual analysis to study the composition of a given urban space is employed on the case-sets (**Figure 8**). They reflect the multiple and examples of everyday urban spaces to gather more capacious data. The photo documentation has been done in multiple cities. However, some corresponding pictures have been requested from the archives of other researchers to strengthen the existence of the frequently observed examples. This variety of urban contexts is favored by this research since the aim is to understand how the motives of people (re)make a space by living reflect comprehensible spatial traces by keeping in mind the various roles of urban space takes throughout these processes of making-by-living.

The data gathered from photo documentation that record everyday life (Murphy and Marcus 2013, 255) present the ephemeral urban spaces formed by their users. Adding the descriptive data of why and how people are creating these urban areas from an ethnographic perspective, a visual analysis is applied to grasp more tangible qualities in ordinary urban spaces. This integrates the descriptive data regarding everyday spaces (ethnography) with a physical design analysis (spatial survey). This analysis is conducted through tracing spatial data from the photographic images. That is the three main parts of visual analysis are applied to discover the architectural details, two-dimensional surfaces and three-dimensional spaces from the photographs (Moughtin et al., 1999, 50).

SPACES by PEOPLE

Actors			
Scale			
Temporality			
Spatial Attribute	FORMATION 	REPETITION 	COMPOSITION 

Table 2. Matrix for analyzing spaces by people (drawn by the author).

The initial data obtained from the theoretical discussions and the observations of everyday spaces are discussed in the second section of this paper. In light of this, the parameters are defined to study and categorize cases in a refined way. These are the actor, scale and time-frame defining the spatial formations of everyday space. The deduction is that, the spaces by people become tangible as the time-frame, actors and scale rise. An individual can modify his/her immediate environment in case of an instant need. If more time and people are involved, it can be argued that the physical structure becomes more visible and permanent. According to the levels, three main parameters for categorizing the spatial manifestation of everyday spaces are defined as formation, repetition, and composition, still keeping in mind the interrelations between micro and macro levels (Lefebvre, 1961, 139-41). Formations reflect the smaller scale self-designed spatial details such as house fronts, while the repetitions refer to a certain increase in scale and continuity in urban space, and finally the compositions explain permanent and persistent form production of habits of everyday users such as squatter areas, slum neighborhoods and most of the villages (Table 2).

Formations

The formations in everyday urban spaces refer to micro scale spatial everyday interventions in urban spaces that are created by users for their immediate needs or motivations. They are created or generated either by an individual or a small group of individuals instantaneously. Some of these may last as long as the user's presence, and in some instances, they are more permanent if there is a fixed urban element. A mother sitting on the stairs of her house waiting for the children to come back home from school, or a group of teenagers enjoying the sun on the stairs of a public building are the most temporary examples of everyday spaces. When non-fixed (Hall, 1969, 108) sitting elements, self-designed urban furniture in the house fronts are of concern, the permanency level rises. Independent from the level of time intervals, the examples show a recreation process of a living

social space for oneself where their private life meets the public. (**Figure 9**, **Figure 10**).

The possession of the in-between place of private (house) and public (street) can be the smallest observable examples for this concept, such as the appropriation of house fronts or street corners. Other than their behavioral impulses that are in a continuous interaction with the physical environment, these details of adding on a physical setting seem to explain deeper characteristics of people for space making even when happening in a very well defined and formally designed environment. On this subject, **Table 3** displays a visual analysis of tracing the spatial data from



Figure 9. The chairs re-define the interface between private and public spheres. (Personal Archive, Köyceğiz, 2017).

Figure 10. A table and set of chairs that are placed on a sidewalk on a sunny day create a sense of urban comfort. (Personal Archive, Belgium, 2016).



A self-designed seat standing on the street in front of a village house.
Eskişehir - 2015



Self -built urban furniture on the sidewalk in a town.
İzmir - 2015



A non-fixed sitting element placed in the front yard of a one story house
İzmir - 2015



A non-fixed sitting element on the sidewalk, placed in front of an apartment block.
İzmir - 2016



A self-designed seat in front of a one-story house, defined by an olive tree.
İzmir - 2015

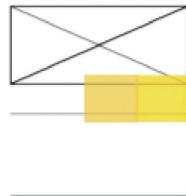


A non-fixed sitting element on the sidewalk in front of an apartment block.
İstanbul - 2015

Table 3. Spontaneous re-appropriation of house fronts by fixed and non-fixed urban furniture. (Personal Archive).

photographs conducted after collecting the similar cases of adding a sitting element in the sidewalks by the inhabitant(s) of the nearby residential unit(s). These architectural details point out that, individuals are inclined to appropriate urban spaces even when the built environment offers limited possibilities. It is visible that urban space acts as a container for people to formulate their everyday motives in space when formations are considered. These examples do not necessarily imply a critical thinking process over obstacles that the built environment dictates. On the contrary, the small-scale spatial solutions reflect the subtle yet significant role of urban space which behaves as a background to respond the immediate motives or everyday routines of people.

A more comprehensive integration of visual and descriptive analysis is presented in **Table 4**. The first row shows the visual analysis as a study



Between Entrance and Public Space



a) Overflowing from private to public space through placing personal elements recreate an urban space.



b) Plant pots on the sidewalk near to a building entrance in Istanbul reminds longing for greenery.



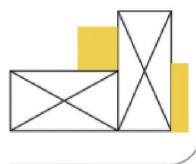
Street Corners



c) Holding a street corner through presence and placing a chair to observe the public space and socialize.



d) Gathering at a street corner. A small group of children form an immediate play-space.



In-between Spaces



e) An in-between space redefined by using some cartoons as a carpet that empowers the sense of public space and life.



f) A leftover space near a building is used as a gathering place. This generates an alternative definition of spatial enclosure.

Table 4. Formations in urban space (a) Personal Archive of Ç. Keskinok, 2002; b) Personal Archive, İstanbul, 2015; c) Personal Archive, İstanbul, 2014; d) Personal Archive, İzmir, 2015; e) Personal Archive of A. Özdemir, Konya, 2017 f) Personal Archive, Eskişehir 2014).

on two-dimensional spatial qualities developed after the descriptive data obtained from the photographs. The second row brings together the similar cases that can be discussed under three main spatial classifications as creative appropriation on the surface of public space, creation of nodes on corners and formation of enclosures by people. The adoption of street corners, leftover spaces by almost insignificant elements such as carpets or game boards, re-purposing a niche and similar examples reveal hidden yet common spatial qualities generated by the everyday users. It seems that formations occur independently of nationality, gender or age although the motivations and the time-frames differ. Here, urban spaces contain the natural needs of individuals and small groups that are spatialized in micro scale. In the light of these findings, new definitions for leftover urban spaces, street corners, entrances of corner buildings should be discussed. The concepts must first refer to the personality and privacy embedded in public spaces, then to a flexible time-frame to respect the ephemerality of everyday life and spaces, and at last to hidden urban qualities in the fractions of cities such as corners, enclosures, niches and in-between spaces. The microscale operations, especially in the architectural surfaces, such as overflowing from the private to public, holding the corners and gathering at the self-determined nodes can be added to the list defining formations.

Repetitions

Repetitions refer to the increase in the actors, urban scale and time-interval in comparison to formations. To talk about them, an individual or a group of people should be detached from their private sphere. This creates an overflow from the private domain to the public. It gradually constructs continuous and relatively visible appropriations in space. Besides the alterations in public visibility, other land uses such as commerce, recreation and agriculture appear in urban space. All in all, the repetitive examples start to present that even pinpoint clues can form a web of space made by people in cities. **Table 5** shows some examples that are repeatedly observed in many cities such as the use of a front-yard of an apartment as a small field, transforming the close surroundings of urban trees as nodes and the overflowing of commercial practices to urban spaces. When the first row of visual analysis is considered, the two dimensional reading of the examples unveils stimulating urban qualities as a variety of interfaces between public and private, nodes defined by trees, niches to harbor commercial uses.

To exemplify the repetitive character of some everyday spaces better, a larger and continuous case area is worth looking at. In *100. Yıl* Neighborhood in Ankara, the front and back yards of apartments are being used for various purposes (Karaağaç, 2015). Despite the variation, it is documented that there are certain repetitions within the plots. The yards are merely the entrances and setbacks of these apartment blocks. However, some residents transformed these spaces into gardens, small-scale urban-farming sites, or cosy meeting spaces. As a result, a certain continuity of these self-made gardens is seen in the neighborhood (**Table 6**). These self-designed gardens and bowers display the human potential to design a semi-public space when given the chance. The repetitions are not only the components fostering the referred designerly qualities but also helping the users to develop a sense of belonging and a legible identity for a given setting.

Repetitions are composed of small scale spaces made-by-living (formations), and they carry the potential to compose a larger environment. The urban context harboring a dynamic and various traits of socio-

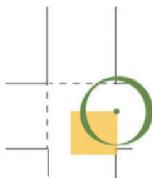
economic, political and cultural contexts has a visible role in the emergence of repetitions in space. They imply a more continuous and even courageous level of intervention on the everyday spatial setting by people. It is evident that the urban context channelizes people either through the physical capacities of the built environment or through the available flexibilities set by planning legislation. Besides, the repetitions seem to be a silent way-out from the socio-economic or political limitations. In other words, their physical setting enables the inhabitants to intervene and sustain those interventions. Repetitions are not as easy to document as the formations yet they are not as complex as the compositions as far as legal planning frames is concerned. Therefore, repetitions are the most meaningful source of data because they are not only so ephemeral as formations, but also



Interfaces



a) Small-scale agriculture enrich the urban interfaces.



Nodes



b) Trees and simple street furniture create urban nodes.



Additions



c) A waiting area and a taxi stop are added on the public sidewalk.

Table 5. Repeated formations in cities
(Personal Archive: a) İzmir, 2015, b1) Ankara, 2015 b2) Edirne, 2015, c)Ankara, 2015).



Table 6. A line of buildings with a set of repetitive interventions by the users (a) Building setbacks are appropriated as gardens. In some cases, there are fences, sleazily built exit doors from the living room to the gardens, ropes to hang laundry and a small depot. b) Balconies are frequently closed to enlarge rooms, control interior climate, to provide security with fences. c) An inhabitant built an additional door to reach the backyard where s/he repurposed as a private garden for practical uses. d) Another subtle intervention to the original layout of the building. Besides the exit door the inhabitant built to reach to the backyard there is a table and a chair maybe to spend outdoor time. (Personal Archive and Drawing, Ankara, 2015).

their specific time-frame and scale make them a better fit for the analysis method, under which, compositions are not as seizable.

Compositions

Most vivid examples appear in the context of spaces made by people when more people are involved in a place-making process with an urgent need within different socio-political contexts. As in the case of unpremeditated formation of villages and informal settlements of different cultures, these spaces present a more meaningful urban form in terms of proximity and permanency of everyday urban life. Furthermore, they are morphologically identifiable due to their geometrically coherent systems with higher legibility in spatial scale (Salingaros, 2000). These emergences may seem to be merely momentous, individualistic and unselfconscious (Alexander, 1964, 46) yet they point out an adaptive approach to one's surrounding through simple solutions, daily tactics instead of instructions by planners and designers. In an urban layout produced by its occupants in time, the physical structure is a social product by itself (**Figure 11, Figure 12, Figure 13**).

In compositions, not only the number of actors, scale and the time-frame increases, but also they become an encompassing built form having the formations and repetitions of urban spaces created by everyday users. They evolve through the implication of repeated rules and cultural codes regarding space design. However, as the scale enlarges they start to become more and more visible. This causes them to be labeled as informal settlements, slums areas, and unplanned sites. Although concerned with current world realities of different political and socio-economic dynamics, it is important to state that the insightful observations of living conditions of these case areas would provide tools for urban policy interventions, leading to socio-economic improvement of living conditions as well.



Figure 11. A squatter settlement with its emergent layout and rich greenery (Personal Archive, 2012, Ankara).

Figure 12. A slum site with its brick building material forming a unique verticality (Personal Archive of Ç.Keskinok, Bogota, 2014).

Figure 13. A laundry creates a pattern with the cloth hangers, colorful clothes and barracks (Personal Archive of Ç.Keskinok, India, 2009).

2. Within the extended version of this discussion in the on-going Ph.D. thesis, the planned and designed urban layouts with dynamic urban life and continuous social interaction are presented as an example of the compositions as well. Together with vernacular architecture, villages, informal settlements, and their physical aspects, the everyday life practices on planned urban settings are discussed as the cases of spaces made-by-people in the context of compositions. In this context, the social activities and spontaneous behavior of people transforming the urban space take place in the discussion.

Figure 14. The emergent pattern of the Yassihöyük Village (Google Earth Satellite Image, drawn by the author).

Figure 15. Details in an unpremeditated urban pattern (A vista point defined by a self-designed bench, looking at the plain from the edge of the village) (Personal Archive, 2015, Eskişehir).

They employ numerous examples of self-designed areas starting from the overall form of a neighborhood or a village, their typo-morphological qualities and the details that their users designed in time. For instance, the Yassihöyük village in Eskişehir (Turkey) shares more or less a similar street and block pattern with its surrounding villages (**Figure 14**). As the visual analysis on its two-dimensional composition refers, the organic pattern seems to develop from an urban square defined by a mosque and a relatively larger open-space in front of it. The block type tends to create courtyards in order for the residents to keep their farming tools and sustain husbandry. Furthermore, the villagers created some public spaces via simple interventions in significant vista or interconnection spaces in the village. These simple actions are a handmade wooden bench facing the plain, two tall trees marking the entrance of the village and some handmade sitting elements in front of the houses. (**Figure 15**).

Within the spatial dialectics discussion, compositions emerged as a consequence of everyday users' gradual interventions in urban space, presenting the most tangible form of lived spaces. That is, due to socio-economic and political constraints, the creation of spaces by living is carried to another level of temporality and visibility (2). Since space is more than a passive locus of social relations (Lefebvre, 1991), it becomes visible and less intangible when urban space embodies socially produced physicality with patterns created by people. Lefebvre also sees slums as localized re-appropriations of space and they can illustrate representational spaces (Shields, 1999, 165). This may be the reason why the related literature on lived space and space as a social product tend to exemplify the urban reality emerged from daily life with respect to informal urbanism



3. Gecekondu is squatter housing in Turkey. They are built in the "...areas which were both close to the city centre and geographically undesirable (steep slopes, river beds)." (Erman, 1997, 92).

focusing on slum settlements, *gecekondu* (3) areas and alike (Demirtaş 2009; Mahmoud and Elrahman, 2016). As a result, even though their irregularity and informality are questioned, it is a fact that they have a coherent social structure (Gosling and Maitland, 1984, 25; Tonkiss, 2013) and their environmental quality is generally better than planned areas (Rapoport, 1977, 106). They are valuable fragments of lived spaces from which those legal institutions may gather new types of urban forms, design principles, an alternative progress for the spatial design and planning approaches and unique socio-spatial solutions for each physical layout.

DISCUSSION: EMBRACING SPONTANEITY IN SPACE

Throughout the process of making-by-living, urban context can act as a container in which immediate human actions are spatialized, or as a channel through which people appropriate designed spaces according to their repeated needs, and lastly it can be a constraint against which people have to struggle and come up with creative spatial interventions. When someone places some plants in the front yard of his/her apartment block, that placing shows where the inhabitant's interest in nature or decoration preferences is materialized (context enables people: container). It can also be defined as an urge to appropriate the immediate public surroundings by slightly overflowing the private domain into the public (context guiding people: channel). Or, finally, it may imply the lack of open-green public spaces in the surroundings (context forces people: constraint). The impact of socio-economic, political and even cultural contexts increases while moving from the context as a container to context as a constraint.

This complex process is unfolded through spatial design ethnography that focuses on the spatial qualities of the lived spaces. The empirical study conducted with respect to the actors, urban scale, and time-periods, revealed the spatial operations performed by everyday users. The findings have been divided into the formations, repetitions, and compositions within space made by living. Each referring to a creative solution that alters the morphology and living patterns of a given space, they exhibit novel design operations and spatial qualities (Table 7). However, these spatial manifestations of everyday life are, without doubt, hard to capture and easy to overlook. This is the reason why the lived space is mostly interpreted as the accident of the conceived space, something that comes after and only due to the existence of the laid-out physical environment.

Categories of Making-by-Living Urban Spaces as a	Formations container	Repetitions channel	Compositions constraint
Everyday Design Operations	-Practicality -Immediacy	-Appropriation -Alteration of public space -Overflowing	-Repetition of rules -Following cultural codes -Re-appropriation of space
Spatial Qualities	-Street-corners -Leftover spaces -Building-fronts	-Nodes -Interfaces -Building block-setbacks	-Pattern visibility -Coherent social life -Legibility and novelty in self-design

Table 7. The spatial insights learned from lived spaces.

This research tries to overcome the dominance of physical and professional design over everyday life. Still, the intricate relation between designed and lived space requires a better ground theory that links space making approach of urbanism and human-oriented focus of sociology within the context of social production of urban space, everyday life and visual analysis. This calls for a new understanding of the idea of planning and design through the inclusion of spontaneity. It can be asserted that spontaneity links the designed and lived spaces. Through unpremeditated decisions and processes influencing actors, time-frame, and urban scale, physical environment is transformed into a living entity. Hence, spontaneity becomes a significant determinant making the dialectical approach more than a theoretical stance of the spatial triad. Although connotes as the opposite of something planned, spontaneity has been referred as the most fundamental characteristics of human beings in Kant's anthropological inquiry (Kant, 1781). However, the concept itself and the spontaneous process in people and its reflection on physical environment require a further evaluation.

Seeing spontaneity as a human character reflected on urban space, the idea is to include this intricate and seemingly oppositional idea into design studies. This calls for an unfolding of the moments that transform a designed space into a lived one. The analytical explorations should focus on grasping the role of actors, urban space, and time-frame within spatialization. When these aspects are related to already existing methods of urban and everyday life studies, the further studies to extend the spatial qualities and design operations found in the formation, repetitions and compositions are listed below:

- Actors of Spontaneity in Space

A network analysis showing the role of urban professionals, decisions makers, everyday users in the process of social and physical formation of urban space.

A comparative analysis showing the different planning legislation and their openness to spontaneity

- Mapping the Everyday

Preparation of a base map to include the unpremeditated spatial formations to reflect spatial details, architectural additions, subtractions in the designed space.

- Rhythmanalysis

A layered spatiotemporal analysis to map instances, routines, continuities of people's actions in urban space and then to distinguish the movement patterns such as punctuation, grouping and variety of actions such as waiting, observing, reading, resting, selling.

Acknowledging spontaneity will creatively improve the urbanism theories that focus on the human dimension. An insightful analysis on the definitions of the concept and its roles within the other fields of research such as philosophy (spontaneity as human quality), psychology (spontaneous acts), economics (spontaneous order) and positive sciences (spontaneous process), will provide a profound approach to dissect the spatialization process from a wide range of different perspectives that can only enrich that process. The time frame, actors and urban scale

determining the spatialization of lived processes offer a significant relation with spontaneity, bringing a manifold set of questions; What happens if the number of the actors increase in a limited urban scale and time-frame? Would spontaneity be higher to resolve a spatial issue in this situation? Similarly it leads us to suppose that when the time frame and scale increase the range of possibilities for spontaneous actions will decrease? Then can we frame the compositions in slums or villages as something spontaneously planned?

According to the questions above, there can be a higher level of spontaneous actions within spaces made by people in comparison to spaces with people. In other words, the latter represents people merely as users of the designed spaces with a lower level of interaction, whereas the former implies a higher level of spontaneity. Nonetheless, the answers to all these questions bring ultimately the question of spontaneity embedded in an urban plan. Moreover, it will also lead to new concepts which will emerge from the relationship between people's spontaneity and the creativity that would open up a sensible perspective for human-centered urban design studies.

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Mekansal diyaletik; yaşanılan mekan; insan odaklı kentsel tasarım; gündelik yaşam; mekansal tasarım etnografyası.

İNSANLARIN ÜRETTİKLERİ MEKANLAR: GÜNDELİK HAYATA KENTSEL TASARIM YAKLAŞIMI

İnsanlarla kentsel mekan arasındaki yaratıcı ve dönüştürücü etkileşim günümüzde insanlar için tercih edilen yaşam ortamlarını öngören şehir plancıları ve kentsel tasarımcılar gibi tanımlı aktörlerin kararlarıyla şekillenmektedir. Ancak her ne kadar bir mekanın fiziksel nitelikleri kasti tasarım aracılığıyla belirlenmiş olsa da, insanlar yaşadıkları çevreleri sürekli olarak dönüştürmeye devam ederler. Bu etkileşimin sonucunda da tasarlanan fiziksel çevre ve yaşanmış mekan biçimlerinin somut ve incelikli örnekleri birlikte varolurlar. Kentsel bağlamlar bu biçimleri birçok yönden sınırlar, zorlar veya gizler. Dolayısıyla, mekândaki bu kendiliğinden oluşmuş detayların görünür kılınması, kent aktörleri, gündelik hayat, tasarım ve yaşam diyaletliğini anlamak adına büyük önem arz etmektedir. Fakat, hakim şehircilik tartışmaları kasti tasarım aracılığıyla üretilen mekanlar ve bunların biçimsel niteliklerini yaşanarak üretilen geçici ve toplumsal mekanların üzerinde tutmaktadır. Bu araştırma ise mekânın toplumsal üretim teorisine gündelik yaşam ve mekanına kentsel tasarım yaklaşımı aracılığıyla güncel ve farklı bir bakış sunmaktadır.

Mekansal diyaletik tartışması (Lefebvre, 1991) algılanan, tasarlanan ve yaşanan anların birikte mekansallaşma sürecini tamamladığı açıklar ve böylece kasti tasarlanmış ve yaşayarak üretilen mekanların birlikteliğini anlamakta kuramsal bir zemin oluşturur. Bu sosyolojik düşünceye şehircilik odağı ile yaklaşarak, sözü geçen üçlü anlar, insanlar için tasarlanan mekanlar (conceived), insanların varlığı ve kullanımı gözetilerek

tasarlanan mekanlar (algılanan) ve son olarak insanların girişimleriyle üretilen mekanlar (yaşayan) olarak yeniden düzenlenmiştir. Yaşayan mekanları, şehircilik açısından daha iyi kavrayabilmek adına, çalışmada mekansal tasarım etnografisi özgün bir metodolojik yaklaşım olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu yaklaşım etnografinin betimleyici doğasını, insanlar tarafından üretilen mekanlardaki olağan görünen, gizil ve değerli fiziksel verilerle bütünleştirmektedir. Bu yöntem, farklı şehirlerden edinilen gözlemleri bir araya getirerek toplumsal, mekansal ve görsel çözümleme araçlarıyla tartışmaktadır. Sonuç olarak ise, yaşayan mekanların biçim ve çeşitleri, bu mekanların üretim süreçlerine dahil olan aktörler, zaman ve ölçekleri gözetilerek oluşum, tekrarlama ve birleştirme olarak üç temel başlık altında değerlendirilmiştir.

Bu kategoriler, ilk bakışta dağınık ve ilgisiz örneklerden oluşmuş olarak görülseler de üretildikleri kentsel bağlamdan bağımsız olarak benzer fiziksel niteliklerin tüm yaşanan mekanlarda olduğunu gün yüzüne çıkarmaktadır. Bu bağımsızlık insanlarda ortak olan kendiliğinden bir takım dürtü ve ihtiyaçların fiziksel mekansa dışavurumunu işaret etmekte olup, bu süreçlerin yaşanmasında katkısı olan sosyo-ekonomik, politik ve kültürel izlerin varlığını reddetmez. Bu makale, insan odaklı bir analiz için öncelikle yaşarak üretilen mekanların da fiziksel görünürlüğü olduğunu, tasarım niteliği taşıdığına kabulü ile bahsi geçen üçlü kategorinin kentsel tasarım düşüncesine dahil edilmesi ihtiyacını savunmaktadır. Şöyle ki, fiziksel çevresiyle sürekli etkileşimde olarak onu kendiliğinden yollarla dönüştüren insanın doğasını anlamak her ne kadar zor olsa da, bu çalışma kasti yollarla tasarlanan mekanlarla yaşanarak üretilen mekanları biraraya getirerek kentsel tasarımın toplumsal bakış açısını zenginleştirmeyi hedeflemektedir. Sonuç olarak, alışılan yöntem ve çıktıların aksine, her hangi bir tasarım rehberi ya da gelecek çalışmalar için bir kaç maddelik tasarım ilkesi verilmemektedir. Bunun başlıca sebebi ise bu araştırmanın, insanların ve mekanlarının kendiliğinden doğasını tamamen kontrol altına alarak ehliştirmeye çalışmaktansa anlaşılması ihtiyacına yönelik duruşudur.

SPACES BY PEOPLE: AN URBAN DESIGN APPROACH TO EVERYDAY LIFE

The creative and transformative interaction between people and urban space is one of the foremost features of history. Along this path, urban design and designers necessarily take the responsibility to anticipate preferable living environments for the general public. However, within an urban context that is initially shaped by making-by-designing processes, people (re)transform their living environments by altering the premeditated built environment. This interaction exhibits concrete yet subtle examples of lived configurations together with the designed physical environment. The urban contexts limit, force or hide these configurations in many ways. Hence, there is an urgent need to understand these spontaneous details that are so evident in urban space, yet still overlooked or controlled by the one-sided urbanism perspectives that emphasize the making-by-designing operations of spatialization over making-by-living processes. Therefore, this research aims to provide an updated look at the theory of social production of space from a designerly perspective which offers a novel approach on everyday life in relation to urban design.

The main theoretical approach that is the spatial triad conceptualization helps to dialectically link the designed and lived spaces. This triad brings

together the moments of conceived, perceived and lived to explain the spatialization process discussed by Lefebvre (1991). In order to present an urbanist emphasis to this sociological notion, these moments have been reformulated as spaces that are designed for people (conceived), the spaces that are transformed with the existence and use of people (perceived), and finally spaces made by the initiatives of people (lived). To further evaluate the lived spaces, a unique methodological approach called spatial design ethnography is defined. This approach integrates the descriptive nature of ethnography with urban studies, in which the ordinary ways of making-by-living are gathered and studied as the main data. The observations in different urban contexts are gathered under the making-by-living frame to understand their modes and variables. Following a set of varying actors, scale and time-frames, these modes are categorized under the titles of formation, repetition, and composition.

These categories will help to unveil the nature of seemingly scattered examples that, in fact, display similar spatial configurations independently from the urban context from which they originate without overlooking the existence of contextualized socio-economic, political and cultural traits. This paper argues that there is a need to include them into the urban design thinking for a more insightful and human-centered analysis. That is, despite the hardships of grasping human nature that spontaneously interacts and alters its physical environment; the article's final argument brings forward a new approach for urban design valuing the space made-by-living as well as the spaces made-by-design. The study attempts to understand this spontaneous nature through the lens of urban design and not to use it to tame spontaneity through toolkits or guidelines. In the theoretical stance, the sociologic concepts of spatial dialectics and everyday life interpreted with an urbanism perspective; in methodological stance, the spatial design ethnography aims at contributing to the future human-centered urban design studies.

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