

**LEISURE SPACES IN WORKING PLACES OF
EVERYDAY LIFE: EXAMINING SPATIAL
PRODUCTION IN İZMİR CAMPUSES**

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ABSTRACT

LEISURE SPACES IN WORKING PLACES OF EVERYDAY LIFE: EXAMINING SPATIAL PRODUCTION IN İZMİR CAMPUSES

The everyday life cycle consists of working time, leisure time, and some compulsory activities repetition. Although these activities back to ancient times, the fact that everyday life gains a social character is the result of modernity. In the modern world, working time has left home and moved to the public sphere. In this case, leisure time is now 'not work.'

The division of everyday life into different time zones has also divided the spaces into temporal categories. The daily life of the modern world is based on the idea that 'everything has a time and a place.' The campus spaces, which are historically spatial structures belonging to the modern period, also refer to this programmed life order of modernism. However, the transformation processes of modernism in specific breaking periods and the change of leisure time in the historical process have significantly changed the spatial structure of these spaces.

This study aims to discuss the changing relationship between work and leisure time through campus spaces covering both time periods. For this discussion to be concrete in everyday life, three campus structures with different functions that were established in İzmir during similar periods in Turkey's modernization process; Sümerbank, Ege University, and DSİ (State Hydraulic Works) campuses, constitute the study's spatial cases. At the same time, in these campus spaces, which are considered as an idea of designing everyday life, daily life that is taken within defined boundaries, and the reproduction of the space in leisure time are discussed.

Keywords: Modernization, Everyday Life, Working Time, Leisure Time, Campus.

ÖZET

GÜNDELİK YAŞAMIN ÇALIŞMA ALANLARINDA BOŞ ZAMAN MEKÂNLARI: İZMİR KAMPÜSLERİNDE MEKÂNSAL ÜRETİMİN İNCELENMESİ

Gündelik hayat döngüsü, çalışma zamanı, boş zaman ve bu iki temel zamanın dışında gerçekleşen zorunlu birtakım faaliyetlerin birbiri ardına eklenerek devam etmesi ile oluşur. Bu faaliyetler tarihsel olarak çok eski zamanlara dayansalar da gündelik hayatın toplumsal bir karakter kazanması modernitenin sonucudur. Modern dünyada çalışma zamanı evden ayrılarak kamusal alana çıkmıştır. Boş zaman ise artık ‘çalışılmayan zaman’ dır.

Gündelik hayatın farklı zaman dilimlerine ayrılması mekânları da zamansal kategorilere ayrılmıştır. Modern dünyanın gündelik hayatı ‘her şeyin bir zamanı ve mekânı olduğu’ fikri üzerine temellenir. Tarihsel olarak modern döneme ait bir mekânsal kurgu olan kampüs yapıları fikir olarak da modernizmin bu programlı hayat düzenine referans verir. Ancak modernizmin belli kırılma dönemlerinde yaşadığı dönüşüm süreçleri ve boş zamanın tarihsel süreçte geçirdiği değişim bu mekânların mekânsal yapısını önemli oranda değiştirmiştir.

Bu tez çalışması, çalışma ve boş zamanın değişen ilişkisini iki zaman dilimini de kapsayan kampüs mekânları üzerinden tartışmayı amaçlar. Bu tartışmanın gündelik hayatta somutlaşabilmesi için Türkiye modernleşme süreci içinde benzer dönemlerde İzmir’de kurulmuş farklı işlevdeki üç kampüs yapısı, Sümerbank, Ege Üniversitesi ve DSİ (Devlet Su İşleri) kampüsleri, çalışmanın mekânsal örneklerini oluşturur. Aynı zamanda bir gündelik hayat tasarlama fikri olarak değerlendirilen kampüs yapılarında tanımlı sınırlar içine alınan gündelik hayat ve mekânın boş zamandaki yeniden üretimi tartışmaya açılır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernleşme, Gündelik Hayat, Çalışma Zamanı, Boş Zaman, Kampüs.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Statement

In the modern world, everyday life is based on daily routines and habits of individuals, and it continues rhythmically. Everyday life, which consists of similar activities for society, generally has a unifying quality. Although the works they do are different for the workers who start working early in the morning every new day, their daily routines are familiar; everyday life continues in the manner of including labor and the reproduction of labor.

The spatial separation of working time and leisure time refers a historically significant advance. Although this situation brings a wage to labor in the modern capitalist world, separating labor from the house has given it a social identity. Work forms the basis of the individual's existence in the social field. During the working time, the individual establishes relations with the workers outside himself/herself and participates in social production and social life.¹ The thing that enables the individual to continue his/her participation in social production in a healthy way will be the existence of qualified leisure time. However, the distinction between working time and leisure time in the production system of capitalism, which is constantly aiming at accelerates, is getting more and more obscure. With each passing day, working time is shifting to leisure time, and everyday life is shifting more and more to the private sphere of individual.

Today, the metropolitan cities we live in, the globalizing world, scientific and technological developments widen the boundaries of the individual on the one hand, and on the other hand, narrow them that they can carry out all their daily activities in a house. Against the argument of modernism that “every ‘doing’ has its time”², neoliberalism puts the flexible working system that offers people the 'freedom' to work wherever and whenever they want. This timelessness and spacelessness in everyday life give rise to a work style in which individuals are closed to their private spaces, separated from each

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Volume I*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), p. 38.

² Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Greal Moore (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), p. 74.

other, or tend to their own individuality within the community. Working time and leisure time, which modernism separates from each other temporally and spatially, are reunited. However, this merger is a merger where working time absorbs leisure time.

Working time is one of the founding subjects of the individual's existence in the social field, although it has been corrupted in many ways under the domination of capitalism. Work brings together many people from different disciplines, prevents the individual from becoming lonely, and enables people with similar problems to fight against this problem together. In his book, Sennett draws attention to the disconnection between the "producers" scattered worldwide. He deals with the transformation of capitalism in the globalizing world system. People working together in the production cycle are geographically distant from each other. Sennett defines this distanced relationship as the geography of globalization.³ Work is moving away from being the productive power of everyday life and the time that brings people together. The physical distance between the employee and the product he/she produces results in the alienation of the individual from this productive time of everyday life. This alienation has changed the structure of the work that allows the creativity of the individual.

Working time spatially separated from home in the modern world has also changed the meaning of leisure time in everyday life. Leisure is the time remaining from working time, which now occupies an essential part of daily life. People need to reproduce their labor to participate in social production every new day. Leisure time is also required for this. The changing nature of work in the modern world dominated by capitalism has also changed the meaning of leisure time in daily life. While work loses its creative and productive aspect, leisure time stands out as the time period in which the individual gets away from the compulsory activities of everyday life and reveals his/her creative power. However, the mass production system of capitalism needs free time rather than leisure time for the rapid consumption of the products produced. With the change in the meaning of the concept of leisure, leisure spaces where leisure activities occur are increasingly entering the dominance of the consumption sector. Leisure spaces have turned into spaces for acquiring lifestyle. Even the house, which is a private space separate from all production relations, has turned into a large consumption area with developing technologies and transportation opportunities.

³ Richard Sennett, *The Culture of New Capitalism* (New York: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 54-55.

The dominant ideology establishes temporal and spatial rhythms, framing everyday life. Although everyday life, which consists of the unity of many different rhythms, is defined within this framework, it sometimes exceeds these defined limits. These appropriated areas where the borders expand are 'counter spaces.' Leisure spaces that seem to be freed from the controls of the order also appear as counter spaces. In contrast to the planner understanding of modernity that takes everything under control, 'leisure spaces' are the counter spaces of everyday life.⁴ These spaces stand against the commodification of space. Lefebvre described these spaces as spaces where the body emerges, manifests itself, and the individual realizes his own value. In these spaces, use-value comes to life in the face of exchange value.⁵ While the use-value of the space highlights the use and reproduction of that space in everyday life, the exchange value separates the space from the use-value and transforms it into any commodity.

Campus structures are spaces that contain both working and leisure spaces of everyday life within their own defined boundaries. In contrast to the timelessness and placelessness in everyday life's transforming structure today, the spatial constructions of the campuses represent the programmed life idea of modernism. The campuses, which have established a small modern city model inside, offer an everyday life isolated from the outdoor life, where you can meet many of your daily life needs without interfering with the city. While this situation turns into the dominant ideology's control mechanism of everyday life, on the other hand, it provides direct access to the fundamental rights that ensure the reproduction of labor. Whether the spatial organization of campus structures is the capitalist system's way of keeping labor under control or the socialist order's idea of minimizing individual labor and creating a collective everyday life has been the subject of many debates. Either way, however, these spaces result from modernism's quest to rationalize everyday life. On the other hand, everyday life looks for voids where it can transcend the patterns of rational space.

⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014), 383-384.

⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Lukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. 100.

1.2. Aim of the Study

In the literature research I achieved during this thesis study, I witnessed that the spatial studies on the concept of leisure and leisure spaces generally focus on the leisure time of everyday life and do not directly connect with working time. I thought that examining of leisure time, which is defined as 'not work' in the modern world, from the inside of working time would enable us to criticize leisure time better.

To evaluate the concept of leisure time in the whole of daily life, campus structures that include working time and leisure time within the same defined boundaries have been determined as spatial cases of the thesis study. This study aimed to consider the campus space as an idea of designing an everyday life. For this reason, instead of considering a single campus structure as a case, the scope of the case study has been determined to cover three campus structures with different functions. Cases of campus structures with different functions include a production (factory) campus, an education (university) campus, and a public service campus. The fact that different functions of these campus structures change the determinant factors of the spatial organization of the campuses. Leisure spaces also consist of spaces that have been organized according to different spatial needs on campuses and reproduced in everyday life in these spaces.

Campus structures, which bring together the time of social production and the reproduction of labor in the same space, can turn into spaces that programmed daily life while securing many basic rights of everyday life with these features. This programmed life idea is based on the modern idea that 'everything has a time and a place.' At the historical breaking points of capitalism, specific ideas of modernism have been transformed. Like all areas of everyday life, campus spaces have also been affected by this transformation. In this study, I aimed to discuss the transformation in campuses through 'leisure spaces' and how the 'counter' spaces in campus spaces resist social production relations or how they are articulated to social production relations.

In this thesis, by answering the following research questions, I aimed to discuss the everyday life relations and the spatial characteristics of leisure spaces in three cases of campus structures with different functions.

- What are the differences between the leisure spatial organization of three campus structures with different functions (education, production, and service) produced in the same period?
- How are the spatial formations and gains of the leisure time struggle that emerged with modernization observed in different campus cases in İzmir? How did the transformation of the idea of leisure in the historical process transform the campus structures that combine the fragmented time periods of everyday life in one place?
- How has the understanding of everyday life that modernism 'everything has a time and a place' been reflected in the design of campus spaces? How is this spatial organization reproduced in the lived space versus conceived space?

1.3. Methodology

This study examines the spatial production on campuses in leisure time that takes place in campus spaces reflected the programmed life idea of modernism. Spatial production on campuses refers to the existing physical structure of the space, as well as the changing and reproducing space in everyday life. Examination of the spatial production of campuses is a study that directly includes research on the daily life of campus people. Therefore, this study uses qualitative research methods.

In order to achieve this study, the case study method was used. The case study method enables us to research, observe and criticize the spatial production of the campus in the leisure time the individual gets away from the compulsory actions of everyday life. At the same time, to examine the campus structure as an idea of designing a daily life beyond its function, three campus structures with different functions were determined as cases. These three cases are the structures that were established in similar history in İzmir. The first case is Sümerbank Factory Halkapınar Campus, which is a production campus. The second case is Ege University Bornova Campus, which is an education campus. The third case is DSİ Bornova Regional Campus, which is a public service campus.

In order to understand the spatial organization and observe the production of this space in everyday life, first of all, the urban scale plans of the study areas were investigated. Thesis studies on these areas and maps in unrestricted use provided the

source for this preliminary study. Later, field studies were carried out in all three areas to analyze the spatial uses of these structures in everyday life. The fieldwork at the Sümerbank Factory Halkapınar campus, which is now closed, only enabled us to compare the old state of the area and see some of the old buildings. In the field studies carried out at Ege University and DSİ campuses, which continue to work today, both the spatial organization of the campuses and the daily life on the campus could be observed.

After the field studies, open-ended questions were prepared for the campus people, and then interviews were started with people. Snowball method has been used to determine the people to interview, the first few people were reached on each campus and the number of interviewees was increased with their guidance. After the field studies, open-ended questions were prepared for the campus people, and then interviews were started with people. The interviews were carried out in January and February of 2022. The fact that the interviews have occurred in three different institutions increased the time allocated for the interviews.

Table 1. 1. Interview table with information about campus people interviewed within the scope of the study

Interviewee	Gender	Institution	Unit	Employment	Accommodation on the campus
Interviewee 1	Female	Sümerbank Factory	Accounting Unit	Officer	-
Interviewee 2	Male	Sümerbank Factory	Administrative Unit	Manager	in main campus
Interviewee 3	Male	Ege University	Faculty of Engineering	Academician	-
Interviewee 4	Male	Ege University	Faculty of Fisheries	Academician	-
Interviewee 5	Female	Ege University	Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Academician	-
Interviewee 6	Female	Ege University	Faculty of Medicine	Nurse	-
Interviewee 7	Male	Ege University	Faculty of Medicine	Graduate Student	-
Interviewee 8	Male	Ege University	Faculty of Engineering	Student	-
Interviewee 9	Female	Ege University	Faculty of Literature	Student	in Credit Dormitory Institution Dormitory

Cont. on next page

Cont. of Table 1.1

Interviewee	Gender	Institution	Unit	Employment	Accommodation on the campus
Interviewee 10	Male	Ege University	Faculty of Medicine	Student	in Student Village Dormitory
Interviewee 11	Female	DSİ	Geotechnical Services Unit	Officer	in Evka 3 (previously)
Interviewee 12	Male	DSİ	Planning Services Unit	Officer	in main campus
Interviewee 13	Male	DSİ	Social Support Services Unit	Officer	-
Interviewee 14	Male	DSİ	Publicity and Public Services Unit	Officer	-

Since all three areas are campus-shaped structures, fundamental questions about the idea of 'working and spending leisure time on a campus' are common to all three areas. However, since the functions, work-leisure relations, and urban contexts of the three areas are different from each other, questions about spatial uses are different for the three areas. The interview questions aim to understand the daily life rhythms of the campus users, the relationships they establish with the urban environment of the campus, the temporally changing uses of space, the frequency of using the leisure spaces on the campus, and meeting people in these spaces. In addition, the interviews for the interviewees who benefit from the accommodation facilities on the campuses also include questions about the relation of working time, leisure time, and dwelling. Table 1.1 shows the gender, institutions, working units, fields of employment, and accommodation information on the campus of the people interviewed within the scope of the study.

The information and inferences obtained from the field studies and personal interviews carried out in the campuses formed the main structure of the fourth chapter, in which the thesis discusses the relation of leisure time in working spaces in a spatially concrete manner. The conceptual framework, created by the thesis before this chapter, discusses the concept of leisure, its transformation in the historical process, and the spaces for leisure in everyday life. Space, which creates daily life practices, is also the determinant of the actions of daily life. Lefebvre's definition of space production, which includes everyday life⁶, has enabled us to look at the production of space in campus structures, which includes two main time periods of daily life, as multi-layered. The

⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014.

articles reached through the *Journal of Leisure Research, Leisure/Loisir, and Leisure Sciences*, which are encountered in literature reviews on the concept of leisure guided the discussions on leisure and leisure spaces in Chapter 2. After the discussion on leisure time, the temporal and spatial structure of the campus spaces, which includes the work and leisure time of daily life, is discussed within the scope of the programmed life idea of modernism.

After the theoretical discussion in the second chapter, in Chapter 3, it is aimed to establish the infrastructure of the discussion in the fourth chapter through the connection between production, education, and public service campuses with modernization and urbanization. How the spatial cases that constitute the case study were articulated to the ideological structure of the country at the time of their establishment has been opened to discussion. All three structures established in the mid-1950s have changed significantly from the day they were founded to the present day in terms of ideological and spatial aspects. To see the background of this change, the spatial characteristics of the campuses and the everyday life culture they aim to establish are discussed together with the economic and political processes that are transforming in Turkey and the world. Korkut Boratav's book titled *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* helped to form the categorization of the important breaking points in these economic and political processes. The literature study on the city of İzmir, which also combines the three campus structures under the same title, has been discussed together with the functionalist planning understanding of modernism. These discussions aim to understand the space that the structures occupy in Turkey's modernization experience, the titles they share in common, and the ideologies they represent spatially. Then, there are research and inferences about the spatial organizations of the campuses.

In Chapter 4, these three campus structures are discussed over four emerging concepts determined by considering the spatial characteristics of the campus idea they share. Discussions on these concepts consist of observations about the spatial use of campus people in their leisure time. The discussion is supported by the quotations received from the interviews with the campus people. The aim is to see the differences in the reproduction of space on campus in everyday life.

Finally, in Chapter 5, the conclusion chapter, there is an evaluation of the information obtained from the field studies on the cases in the context of the literature research presented in the previous sections.

CHAPTER 2

EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE CYCLE OF PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION OF LABOR

2.1. Everyday Life in Modern World

The studies on everyday life are generally defined over the individual's activities and relationships. While the daily activities include the whole of activities such as feeding, dressing, sheltering, and sleeping, which are carried out in the daily period, relationships include practices such as speaking, reading, and acting as conceptualized by Certeau.⁷

The actions that take place in the periods of time devoted to work and leisure in the individual's daily life are the activities of everyday life. Considering that work, leisure time, and other activities share the everyday life of the individual, it can be said that all these activities form the everyday life of the individual and affect each other; therefore, all of them are included in the scope of everyday life.⁸ These activities take place cyclically and repeat themselves in the daily period.

Lefebvre defined the concept of everyday life as a phenomenon that develops with modernity. He mentions that everyday life becomes "ordinary" as it moves from the traditional world to modern. Everyday life is divided into work, private life, family life, and leisure in the modern world. The fact that the use of time is subject to social order has generalized the everyday life of different groups and lines of work in society.⁹ However, the change of the concept of "everyday" in the modern world did not cause it to disappear; on the contrary, modernity strengthened the everyday one. According to Lefebvre, everyday one becomes stronger by becoming to settle in the center of social life from its position in the center of his/her subjective life.¹⁰

⁷ İlhan Tekeli, *Gündelik Yaşam, Yaşam Kalitesi ve Yerellik Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 2010), p. 18.

⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York: The Penguin Press) 1971, p. 59.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 59.

Becoming ordinary of everyday life has led to the homogenization of everyday objects and actions. However, this homogenization consists of a multiple partnership situation that covers the daily life routine of different individuals independent of each other.¹¹ Multiple common status refers to the daily lives of individuals who are members of a certain group, class brought by the modern world, consisting of the typical routines. In the modern world, while the subjective everyday life of everyone in the society is united, everyday life has become the object of social organization. This organized temporal and spatial structure of modernism provides an opportunity for individuals to socialize in various roles in society. Modernization has brought about radical changes in the spatial and temporal rhythms of the existing social structure and has established a new spatial and temporal structure of its own.¹²

2.1.1. Time and Space Notions in Everyday Life

The radical changes created by modernization in everyday life and social relations refer to the transformation in the experiences of time and space. Before the modern period, people's perception of time had a rather personal and imprecise quality that was determined through space. The concept of time was generally described in relation to place and natural events. Making time calculations with these methods always made the perception of time-dependent on space.¹³ With the invention of the mechanical clock, time became a definite concept as a quantitative measure. The spread of modernity and its gains social existence marked the beginning of standardization in the concept of time through clock and calendar. Giddens evaluates this situation, which he defines as the separation of time from space, rather than an irreversible break, as the formation of different possibilities for their social reunification. Timetables that determine trains' arrival and departure times can be seen as a time-space organizer that shows when trains will be where.¹⁴ Time and space come together again in a programmed structure and on different planes in the modern world. Kofman and Lebas defined space as the inscription

¹¹ İlhan Tekeli, *Gündelik Yaşam, Yaşam Kalitesi ve Yerellik Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), p. 22.

¹² David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p. 216.

¹³ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 17-18.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

of time on earth. Space is the realization of a series of times, the rhythms of the city and the urban population.¹⁵

The concept of a day that continues cyclically in 24 hours physically is a factor that determines the limit of an individual's daily activities. People determine their activities according to the daily time divided into day and night. Despite the determinants of physical conditions, the modern world has led to significant changes in the phenomenon of time in daily life. In the everyday life of the modern world, based on a planned and measurable system, the concept of time has changed according to the requirements of the production style. The fact of time has become determined over the time of daily activities continued in specific spaces. The everyday life structure is divided into programmed time periods such as sleep time, wake up time, mealtime, time devoted to private life, time spent with children, free time, leisure time, and time for other domestic relationships.¹⁶

Lefebvre says that with the transformations in production relations after 1960, everyday life has gained a programmed structure rather than just a fragmented structure. This structure is the programmed everyday life of people in an urban environment, in a social structure where industrial production is determined by capitalist production and property relations.¹⁷ Everyday activities that continue cyclically between certain places can be defined as the totality of the activities in which the individual performs the actions spread over time by moving within the space. Individuals form a movement trace in the time-space equation consisting of different migration lines that will take place over a lifetime, starting from daily movements such as going from home to the factory, shopping, and returning to school.¹⁸ This movement network develops in the urban form.

Lefebvre defines the social structure, which he describes as an urban society, as a society emerged from industrialization.¹⁹ It is urban life that completes the concept of industrialization and includes it in everyday life.²⁰ In this social structure where

¹⁵ Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, "Lost in transposition – time, space and the city," in *Writing on Cities*, Henri Lefebvre, trans. Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p.16.

¹⁶ Henri Lefebvre and Katherine Regulier, "The Rhythmanalytical Project," *Rethinking Marxism*, 11:1 (1999): 5-13, p. 73.

¹⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York: The Penguin Press, 1971), p. 64-65.

¹⁸ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), p. 211.

¹⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *Urban Revolution*, (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 8.

²⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York: The Penguin Press, 1971), p. 47.

agricultural production lost its dominance and became a part of industrial production, the everyday life habits of rural life also transformed. In the rural-based social structure, productive activity spreads to the whole of everyday life. The working space is shaped around the house, so production cannot be separated from the whole of everyday life.²¹ Oldenburg says that work and house spaces, which he defines as the first and second spaces in daily life in the modern world, were a single space in the pre-modern period, and industrialization separated the workplace from home. The concept of work is spatially and mentally separated from family life with modernism.²²

The human body, which makes a movement diagram in everyday life, comes into existence in space. Individuals are in constant interaction with the spaces they are in. Lefebvre mentions that space is a social production. While examining space as a produced phenomenon, it evaluates it within the social context and production processes.²³ Space cannot be defined only as an abstract phenomenon or as a concrete physical reality. Perceived space, conceived space, and lived space are the three founding dimensions of social space production.²⁴ Space is both a concept and a physical reality with these dimensions. Different dimensions of space are in an ongoing relationship, and this relationship shapes the space. The space is alive, fluid, and changeable, not static.²⁵ As a phenomenon that directs the movements of the body and changes with the body's movements, space is in a constant relationship with the daily activities of humans and humans.

Contrary to what we are dealing with today, the concept of space was defining a geometric concept, a dimension. Lefebvre mentions that Descartes' Cartesian understanding of space brings a new perspective to the concept of space. With the Cartesian understanding, the space gains a concrete meaning; the space is now located on an axis on that Cartesian plane. It includes the senses and the body. In the modern sense, the concept of space, as handled by mathematicians, is described with abstract, ambiguous, and categorized definitions.²⁶

²¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Volume I*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), p. 30-31.

²² Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1989), p. 41.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁴ Adile Arslan Avar, "Lefebvre'in Üçlü-Algılanan, Tasarlanan, Yaşanan Mekân-Diyalektiği," *Dosya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayını*, 17 (2009), 7-16, p. 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014), p. 2.

There are different perspectives on the concept of space in sociological texts written on space. In this context, two ways of thinking about the concept of space come to the fore. The first of these is the perspective that considers space as a geometric object, a location, or a point. Smale defined the concept of space as the geometry of a physical location with objectively defined properties, characterized by points, lines or routes, areas, and surfaces.²⁷ On the other hand, Cresswell considered space as a fact of life that has no meaning on its own like time, and produces the primary coordinates for human life.²⁸ These perspectives on space distinguish the concept of space and place. While the concept of space is expressed with more mathematical definitions, the concept of place corresponds to the meaning that space acquires through human experience.

With the increase in sociological studies on the concept of place and space, the point of view that the place cannot exist independently of the space has started to develop. This situation has blurred the distinction between place and space.²⁹ Harvey defines the process of transforming the space into a place, together with the active moments of human action, and emphasizes its dialectical feature. However, the formation of the place cannot be considered separately from the existence of social relations in the space.³⁰

As the distinction between the concept of space and place becomes blurred, space stands out as a lived, socially existing, changing, and transforming structure. Space not only defines an empty volume; human actions are included in the space. One of the important representatives of this perspective on space is Lefebvre. According to Lefebvre, all spaces are the product of human actions, ideologies, social relations, human and collective experiences.³¹ Lefebvre argues that a holistic theory of space can only exist when different dimensions of space are handled dialectically together. This approach, which locates the space in a holistic framework, deals with a triple dialectic relationship as physical, mental, and social space. Social relations, social classifications, hierarchical structures become concrete and come into existence in the spaces of everyday life. Space is always a social entity. Additionally, Puig and Ingham draw attention to the fact that an

²⁷ Bryan Smale, "Critical perspectives on place in leisure research," *Leisure/Loisir*, 30:2 (2006): 369-382, p. 370.

²⁸ Tim Cresswell, *Place a short introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 10.

²⁹ Bryan Smale, "Critical perspectives on place in leisure research," *Leisure/Loisir*, 30:2 (2006): 369-382, p. 371.

³⁰ David Harvey, *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference* (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), p. 29-30.

³¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014).

objective space cannot exist apart from the living beings in the space.³² Moreover, Massey defines space as one of the axes on which we experience and conceptualize the world.³³

While aiming to make spatial observations in the rhythms of daily life and reveal the social relations in the space, this perspective, which deals with the space in social relations, also guides this study. As a social field of the action area, space creates suitable spaces for the realization of social productions, while at the same time, it is reproduced together with the transformations experienced in social relations. For this reason, the phenomenon of space, which we can define as both the founding element and the result of social relations, cannot be considered independently from the social context and social production relations. As social realities change, space is reproduced and reshaped by the existing place. Lefebvre's ideas on 'space production' refer to Marx's theses on commodity production. While focusing on the production process of the commodity, Marx evaluates the concept of production without separating it from the social context that exists within the contradictions of capitalism. From this point of view, Lefebvre also expanded the concept of production to include the production of the concepts of time, space, and nature.³⁴

Each mode of production produces its own space. The thing that brings existence to each mode of production in the social field is again space.³⁵ The changes in the way of organizing the space are one of the most fundamental points emphasizing the role of space in creating the new society and the collective consciousness of the society. Social space includes social reproduction relations, the physiological and biological relations of society, and the organization of the division of labor, that is, production relations.³⁶ All these social activities are rearranged according to the way of organization of the space. Space, which is the result of social production, also determines, establishes, and transforms daily life and social relations in everyday life.

According to Lefebvre, who establishes a three-moment dialectical relationship to define the production of space, space consists of the unity of perceived, conceived, and lived space and the interrelation of these spatial dimensions. The definition of perceived,

³² Núria Puig and Alan Ingham, "Sport and Space: An outline of the Issue" *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 28(2-3), (1993): 101-106, p. 102.

³³ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge, and Malden: Polity Press, 1994), p. 251.

³⁴ Adile Arslan Avar, "Lefebvre'in Üçlü-Algılanan, Tasarlanan, Yaşanan Mekân-Diyalektiği," *Dosya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayını*, 17 (2009), 7-16, p. 9.

³⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014), p. 61.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

conceived, and lived space includes a description that refers to the concrete practices of the human body in the space. Lefebvre identified with this trio to spatial practices, spatial representations, and representation spaces, which refer to the social practice.³⁷ *Spatial practices* are related to perceived space. They are the practices of a particular society that exist in space. Everyday reality and urban reality on a larger scale merge in perceived space. *Representations of space* are associated with the conceived space. Architects, urbanists, and technical experts combine the lived and perceived one in the conceived space. It is the space of the dominant mode of production of society. *Representational spaces* are identified with the lived space. They are the places of the users of the spaces of everyday life. Apart from the dominant production relations in everyday life, these are the spaces that resist abstractions.³⁸ Representational spaces are constantly changing, transforming, fluid, and temporal spaces.

It is not possible to consider the production of space separately from society. Especially for public spaces with a shared life, the social contribution in the production of the space becomes more prominent. The production of the space where we live together will occur with the shared values and participation of the society living there. With the way it is designed and the spatial features it carries, the space can increase the possibility of people coming together, create new encounter possibilities, and create motivation for people to come together. In this sense, the potential of space to bring people together includes all three constituent dimensions of space. Space and the physical environment are designed to realize everyday life practices. Conceived spaces determine the daily practices of individuals in that space. However, on the other hand, many people use these conceived spaces differently and change and transform in daily life.

Bourdieu, who states that human beings belong to a place before belonging to a class or a group, mentions the determination of social space on humans.³⁹ It is possible to define the concept of habitus as a set of integrated, permanent, internalized behaviors formed as a result of individuals' past life habits.⁴⁰ Habitus, the sum of the daily practices acquired from repetitions, can also be described as the mechanism that connects the individual to social objectivity, mentally and physically. The conditions of social

³⁷ Adile Arslan Avar, "Lefebvre'in Üçlü-Algılanan, Tasarlanan, Yaşanan Mekân-Diyalektiği," *Dosya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayını*, 17 (2009), 7-16, p. 10.

³⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014), p. 38-39.

³⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford University Press, 1992)

⁴⁰ İlhan Tekeli, *Gündelik Yaşam, Yaşam Kalitesi ve Yerellik Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010), p. 26.

objectivity determine habitus theory of action. For this reason, it develops directly related to everyday life.⁴¹

In the everyday life of the modern working class that emerged with modernization and industrialization, an ordinary day often consists of similar activities. These everyday activities are divided into specific time periods determined by social objectivity. The lifestyle of a class or group is determined by social objectivity as well as by individual situations. The dominant ideology directs society's habits, behavior patterns, and lifestyles. Habitus, which consists of behavior and habit patterns in the daily life of individuals, cannot be considered independently of production and consumption relations.⁴² Habits and behavioral patterns are formed as a result of social and cultural accumulations and are transferred by society. For this reason, *habitus action theory* can be defined not as individual habits formed by individual actions and behaviors but as a set of collective habits of a specific class or community.

2.1.2. The Rhythm of Everyday Life

The modern world is the beginning of everyday life, where time is measured by the time of labor, and space is reorganized in this labor-time equation. This new way of functioning in everyday life has significantly changed the perception of time and space. A day in the modern world, on the one hand, corresponds to a time period in which nature's own rhythms continue; on the other hand, it is formed by the addition of the fragmented and programmed activities of everyday life one after another. These sequential actions create social habits and everyday routines.

Felski emphasizes above all the temporality of everyday life. Temporality refers not to the singular or the unique but the repetitive, the 'day after day' one. Daily activities such as sleeping, eating, and working are the regular rhythms of everyday life.⁴³ Lefebvre, on the other hand, says that these activities, added one after the other, constitute the linear repetitions of everyday life. The repetitions of everyday life create rhythms. Rhythms can be defined as repetitive movements and differences. There are two types of repetition that make up the rhythm of daily life; cyclical and linear repetitions. Cyclical repetitions

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴² Pierre Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 54-56.

⁴³ Rita Felski, *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture* (NYU Press, 2000), p. 81.

include day, night, days, months, seasons, years, which form the rhythms of nature. On the other hand, Linear repetitions are formed by the succession and reproduction of the same phenomenon. Everyday life activities that continue one after the other are included in this title.⁴⁴ Linear repetitions have been included in the rhythm of everyday life with capitalist modernization. While days, months, and seasons continue in a cyclical, clocks that make time measurable line up linear repetitions in daily life one after another. Lefebvre underlines that this institutionalized structure brought about by modernity establishes everyday life.⁴⁵ Laclau, like Lefebvre, makes a distinction between different types of time. He divides time into two different categories. The first is the big time periods when everything changes by repeating itself. The seasonal cycles, the rotation of the earth, refer to this cyclical time. This is the time when everything changes without really changing. Everyday life continues with the same routines at different times.⁴⁶ Laclau defines the other time as 'embedded time'. This time period is the time that establishes the rhythm of everyday life. It consists of a real dynamism. Laclau defines this type of time as 'space'. Everything in the world is inevitably related to these two temporal structures.⁴⁷

Although it is a situation that capitalism adds to everyday life, 'repetition' also stands out as one of the ways in which individuals relate to and react to their environment.⁴⁸ At this point, Felski's emphasis on the democracy of everyday life is important. Everyday life does not just describe the lives of ordinary people, every life is made up of ordinary elements.⁴⁹ The routines of everyday life that make up the linear rhythm happen in similar ways for many people in a day. Many activities such as going to work, participating in social life, eating and sleeping occur at similar times during the day. Although it is determined by the rules of the modern world, everyday life routines are socially solidaristic and commonize characteristic. Everyday life continues in a similar routine for everyone. The day that starts with working time is spent at working place in similar time intervals for many people. Then the day continues with leisure activities. Similar hours of daily life are reserved for similar activities for everyone.

⁴⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gredal Moore (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), p. 89-90.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁶ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge, and Malden: Polity Press, 1994), p. 252.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 252.

⁴⁸ Rita Felski, *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture* (NYU Press, 2000), p. 84.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

The everyday life that continues in the social production cycle built on time and space consists of the unity of many rhythms. The concept of rhythm includes energy as well as time and space. Lefebvre underlines that there is a rhythm in everything that contains a place, a time, and a consumption of energy.⁵⁰ Energy adds movement to time and space and is embodied in the 'body' in everyday life. The everyday life of many different people in the modern world, which continues in different equations of time and space, intersects in urban space. Urban space brings together many different rhythms without conflict and dissonance⁵¹ and establishes everyday life.⁵²

The city is a time-space system composed of different subsystems and social relations that connect various groups, communities, and actions.⁵³ It is not a solid and static object but is formed by the circulation, combination, and recombination of people and objects.⁵⁴ These circulations, combinations, and recombinations constitute the rhythms of everyday life. Different temporal rhythms come together in urban space. The combination of various rhythms creates polyrhythms. The daily routes of individuals coincidentally intersect in the urban space among many activities such as going to work, coming home, and sleeping, which take place at similar times in everyday life. New encounters occur every day in public transportation networks, workplaces, and different places where social life occurs.

The everyday life, which has moved to the cities, can be seen as the beginning of the break from the life established around the home for the workers. Urban social structure brought about by industrialization has caused the transformation of the features of everyday life. While production gained a social dimension, it began to spread to all cities. In the modern world dominated by capitalism based on continuous production and acceleration, the cities where everyday life continues are the subjects at the center of the system.

The cities of the modern world dominated by capitalism are destructive and compelling spaces for workers in many ways. However, on the other hand, Marx argued that cities have powerful potential for the future of the proletariat, with the view that

⁵⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gredal Moore (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), p. 15.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵³ Doreen Massey, "Space-time, 'science' and the relationship between physical geography and human geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24(3), (2004): 261–276, p. 262.

⁵⁴ Mike Crang, "Rhythms of the City" in *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 190.

workers will bring new hopes out of this darkness. Cities are at the center of commodification, labor alienation, mystification, and existing social relations transformation. However, cities are also symbols of social development, enlightenment, cultural richness, and cohesion. Metropol cities create new spatial situations in which the proletariat is concentrated in masses and gathered around certain commonalities. The partnerships in the everyday life of the workers and the associations formed around common situations gain existence in the urban space. In this sense, cities are carriers of ideas such as partnership and unity.

As a concept brought by the modern world, cities have attracted products and producers, works and workers, activities, and situations. In the modern world, everything that belongs to nature and labor has been incorporated into cities. The city is not the creator of a new product but the unifier of all these productions. It creates situations that enable these productions. In the city, different things create each other by preserving their differences. What sustains this production by combining them is the urban phenomenon. In this sense, it is possible to say that cities form and build the essence of social relations.⁵⁵ Lefebvre states that it is possible to define the city as a form, emptiness and fullness, super object and non-object, superconsciousness, and the sum of consciousnesses. However, this definition does not define the city as a 'system.' Since urban space is not a system, it cannot be defined as an object or a subject. A city is a form. Lefebvre defines this form as a meeting point, junction, simultaneity.⁵⁶

For individuals who move from space to another space in the urban space everyday, the city becomes a network of encounters established through synchronicities. Something always happens in urban space. Everyday actions situations take place in urban space. Social relations change, transform, differences and oppositions come together. Every new day, workers leave their homes, come into contact with workers like themselves, and become involved in the urban space. From the moment he/she leaves his/her house until the moment that he/she returns home, the city creates many different encountering opportunities and establishes different relationship situations for this individual. In this sense, say we can cities have turned into spaces of togetherness in the modern world. Modernism, which led to the separation of work and leisure time, also changed the structure of cities. In cities scattered around the periphery and suburbs, the center is getting stronger. With the expansion of the city, the functions were also

⁵⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 116.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 117-119.

separated. As workers come from their homes to their working places (from the periphery to the center), they leave their area behind. The everyday is separated from the non-everyday, leisure from work.⁵⁷

The concept of time-geography, conceptualized by Hagerstrand, is an important study that examines at the relationship between time and space through the daily movements of the body. This concept is based on the routinized character of everyday life, so it establishes a direct connection with the human body. He tried to describe the typical movement patterns and the cycles of routine activities performed by individuals over days, months, or longer time intervals. He discusses the 'constraints' that the individual encounters while performing these daily activities.⁵⁸

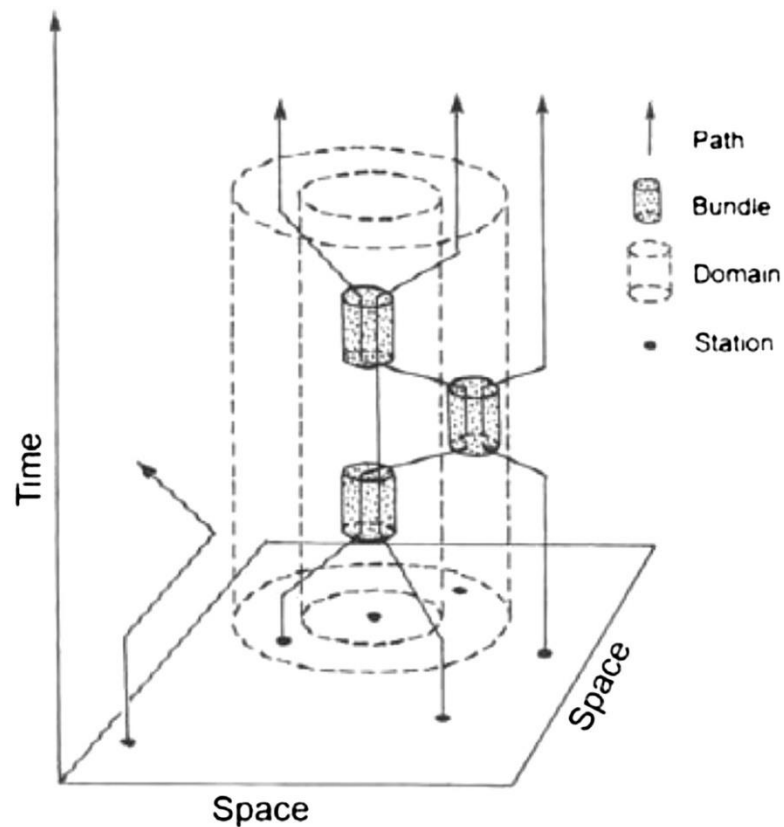


Figure 2.1. According to Hagerstrand, the daily paths of time and space of individuals
(Source: URL-1)

In Hagerstrand's time and space paths diagram, individuals establish different paths between stations and bundles. In daily life, the paths of individuals who pass

⁵⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Lukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. 99.

⁵⁸ Anthony Giddens, "Time, Space and Regionalisation" in *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, ed. Derek Gregory (London: Macmillan Press, 1985), p.266-267.

through different stations to an urban area intersect in public spaces where specific social interactions take place. On the other hand, Domain describes the large-scale spatialities where all these encounters occur in urban field.

Giddens says that the concept of time-geography is an essential tool in terms of showing the intersection of Hagerstrand's daily body movements in time and space trajectories. However, he stated that both the bodies circulating in the space and the interaction areas should be reinterpreted with a contextual perspective. Based on this, Giddens proposes a time-space graph representing the repetitive character of daily social life, emphasizing that daily time-space paths contain some repetitions, instead of the graph that Hagerstrand usually depicts time-space paths as having a 'linear' movement throughout the day. The arrows represent the paths in the time-space equation, and the lengths of arrows represent the time that covers in everyday life.⁵⁹

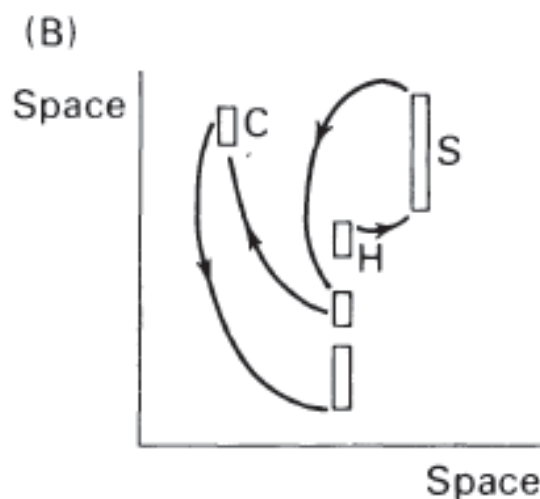


Figure 2.2. According to Giddens, the daily paths of time and space of individuals
(Source: Giddens 1985, 267)

Giddens draws attention to the function of the stations he represents in the graphic with letters (C: Cinema, S: School and H: Home) and the repetitive structure of the movements between them. Because the functioning of social structures can have a structure that directs the time-space paths that a community or society members follow in their daily activities, and time-space movements can turn into tools that reveal these relationships. Time-space paths are strongly influenced by the basic functioning systems of the social structures in which they are located, and at the same time reproduce them.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.283-285.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.293.

According to Certeau, these paths that individuals create between spaces create urban space. The intersecting paths of individuals in daily life shape spaces, bring them together and weave the city. The steps in the city become spatial.⁶¹

Continuously intersecting rhythms in the complex structure of everyday life produce space and specific temporal patterns. The institutional arrangements condition these different kinds of rhythms in everyday life and the physical possibilities of the space that surrounds the bodies in certain places at certain times.⁶² Therefore, it is possible to mention the existence of a triple relationship between the time-space-body trio. This relationship is the founder of the rhythm of everyday life.

Individuals are in constant interaction with other beings in everyday life. In this interaction, common rhythms are established. Living together requires synchronization with different structures. This situation, which Mauss calls 'techniques of the body', is a tool for common living.⁶³ Lefebvre said that societies contain rhythms. These rhythms consist of the rhythms of the beings and groups living in it.⁶⁴ For this reason, the everyday life rhythms of society are also a means of making inferences about that society. The lifestyles of the society, the social production relations, that is, the rationality of the society determine the rhythms of everyday life. Rhythms are a part of everyday life, social interactions, and the meaning formations of society. It is dependent on the space, which is in constant change, at the same time, it is one of the founding elements of the space.⁶⁵ Rhythms are tools that make time and space concretely observable in everyday life. It is the area we need to turn our attention to to understand everyday life.

2.2. Everyday Life: Work and Leisure

Modernity determines the rhythm of daily life with the rational life organization in every aspect of everyday life. Rational, numerical, quantitative, and qualitative

⁶¹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (London: University of California Press, 1988).

⁶² Tim Edensor, "Walking in rhythms: place, regulation, style and the flow of experience," *Visual Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (April 2010), p. 69.

⁶³ Andrea Mubi Brighenti and Mattias Kärrholm, "Beyond rhythmanalysis: Towards a territorialology of rhythms and melodies in everyday spatial activities," *City Territ Archit* (2018) 5:4, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Greal Moore (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), p. 42.

⁶⁵ Andrea Mubi Brighenti and Mattias Kärrholm, "Beyond rhythmanalysis: Towards a territorialology of rhythms and melodies in everyday spatial activities," *City Territ Archit* (2018) 5:4, p. 10.

rhythms settle on the body's natural rhythms.⁶⁶ Work and leisure are rooted in human daily natural rhythms. These actions now determine everyday life. With the separation of working time and leisure time, the places where these times will be spent and the actions to be taken during these times are all separated from each other. All everyday life activities such as sleeping, waking up, eating, dressing, and sheltering are determined according to these time periods and their necessities.

2.2.1. Working Time and Leisure Time in Everyday Life

The concept of space constitutes the primary source of gaining existence in society for every mode of production. With modernism making time a measurable concept, time also paved the way for the use of knowledge for wealth and power. Domination over space and time has been the most fundamental element of any pursuit of profit.⁶⁷ Therefore, while social labor time corresponds to money in capitalist modernization, the characteristics of time and space have changed radically. Social labor time has transformed into a temporal concept within the hours that coincide with the currency, and it corresponded to the concept of working hours. While money, which corresponds to social labor time, cannot be handled independently of time and space, capital has increased the search for profit day by day by changing time and space usage.

Spatial and temporal dominance is one of the essential elements by which every social power defines its existence. Along with modernism, the measurable nature of time represented crucial scientific progress; on the other hand, it became a tool and catalyst for using knowledge for wealth and power.⁶⁸ The trade network, which is based on the material exchange of commodities, is based on displacement and spatial movement.⁶⁹ Trade and exchange involve spatial movement. This geographic movement corresponding to a specific time converts the working time into currency.⁷⁰ This shows that changing the way the space is organized can turn into a method that reduces the use

⁶⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gredal Moore (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), p. 9.

⁶⁷ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p.226.

⁶⁸ David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time* (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 12.

⁶⁹ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p. 229.

⁷⁰ David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time* (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 72.

of time. The "capital turnover period" concept will emerge when the production and circulation times are considered together. The faster the capital put into circulation can be recovered, the higher the profit will be.⁷¹ For these reasons, capitalist modernization was built on a system aiming to accelerate economic processes and social life.

The modern period, when industrialization and mechanization accelerated production and heavy migration to cities was experienced, is also a period in which social relations were upset and uncertainty prevailed. In this age of uncertainty, all fixed, frozen relations, the ideas and thoughts that carry them disappear, while the newly formed ones become faded before they can ossify, all that is solid thing melt.⁷² In a world under the domination of capitalism, speed is used to ensure the system's production and continuity and move it constantly forward. According to this approach, the fact of productive work is at the center of the system, and all other activities serve this. Under capitalism, people's leisure time is organized so that they can return to productive work time and continue to work productively.⁷³ For capitalism, leisure time is also the time period during which consumption, which promotes the continuity of the production of objects, will occur. The development of consumption as an element of everyday life can be described as a strategy created by capitalism towards the leisure.⁷⁴

In the modern world where production and consumption are shifting to the cities, capitalism has started to search for a more rationalized, modernist, and populist system to manage labor and leisure time in the mass production system. At this point, Fordism stands out as the constitutive element of the modern world industrial production system. The Fordist production system was basically aimed at setting a daily work schedule for workers on the assembly line for eight hours while at the same time creating a society with sufficient income and leisure time to consume the mass-produced products of large corporations.⁷⁵ The new production system excluded workers from controlling matters such as design and planning the production process only kept them in the production cycle.⁷⁶ It would take a while to realize this transformation for the new world order passed

⁷¹ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p. 229.

⁷² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, trans. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (New York: International Publishers, 2007), p. 12.

⁷³ H. F. Moorhouse, "Models of Work, Models of Leisure" in *Leisure for Leisure*, ed. Chris Rojek (London: The Macmillan Press, 1989), p. 29.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁷⁵ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p. 126.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

from the agricultural-based social structure to the industrial-based social structure. In the post-war period, Fordism began to manifest itself in society as a holistic way of life, not just a mass-production system.⁷⁷

Capitalism continued until 1973 with the Fordist production system, whose transformation into a sufficiently mature accumulation regime was found in 1945.⁷⁸ Starting from the 1970s with the transformation processes the world has gone through, a new system has replaced the Fordist production system. The new system is based on more flexible patterns in the fields of production styles, labor processes, and labor market against the rigidity of Fordism. It called flexible accumulation had revealed a significant acceleration in the commercial, technological and organizational fields with the emergence of new production sectors and new methods in financial services.⁷⁹ This acceleration has also significantly affected the use of labor in the industry. With the changing market movements and intensifying competition, employers implemented more flexible working hours and heavier work contracts in daily life by taking advantage of the excess workforce.⁸⁰ It is possible to say that this situation, together with circumstances such as production relations and market movements, causes significant changes in the daily life of the workers.

Capitalist modernization, based on a system based on pace and acceleration in economic processes and social life, gradually stretches the limits, depending on time, of everyday activities. In the system based on continuous production and acceleration, the programmed time periods in everyday life of the individuals are intertwined. Social production has started to penetrate not only the working time of individuals but also their resting time. Modernization, globalization, and technological developments increase the number of everyday life activities that occur in the 24 hours of daily time. With the flexible working system, working time leaks into the time period reserved as leisure time in the individual's daily life. While the worker's working hours become uncertain, the time devoted to rest time is fragmented.

In the modern world, working time stands out as the time period that creates the conditions in which the individual establishes relationships with laborers outside himself,

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 135.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 147.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 150.

accesses knowledge, participates in social production and social life.⁸¹ The change in the way of working around the house of the rural-based social structure created by industrialization has brought along a form of production in which the individual gets out of a socially limited area and relates to more laborers during the day. Working spaces that gather individuals from many different places, different professions and different social environments in everyday life can be seen as encountering points. Despite all the fragmented and functionalized nature of work in the modern world, working time is also when the individual interacts with the workers outside themselves and participates in social production and social life. The social relations established during the working time, which has a sizeable temporal share in the individual's everyday life, make the individual a part of different communities. Participating in production and being a part of a whole is one of the basic daily needs for the human who are social beings. Work is the essential element that connects the individual to other workers and knowledge.⁸² On the other hand, the rural-urban conflict that emerged with industrialization and the changing population due to worker migration created a new structuring in everyday life. In the rational and functionally organized structure of the everyday life of the new city-based social structure, many daily activities have turned into routines.

The routine series of actions of everyday life takes place in many different spaces, and these spaces provide many opportunities for people to encounter. The spaces determine the frequency and quality of these encounters. There are working and leisure spaces in the middle of this spatial network most of the time. Working spaces allow many spatial encounters and sharing since they are spaces where the individual participates in social production and establishes relations with laborers and the people outside himself. Marx sees work as the most important dynamic, driving, and productive force. Human realizes his/her own power and potential only through the production of things. If people do not appropriate their production with productive activities and processes in the social production process, they will become alienated from their own production. Through appropriating and participating in social production (work), a human develops his/her human abilities, influences the outside world, and realizes his potential.⁸³

⁸¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Volume I*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), p. 38.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸³ Nuri Bilgin, "Fiziksel Mekândan İnsani ya da İnsanlı Mekâna" *Mimarlık Dergisi*. 3 (1990): 62-65, p. 63.

As working time occupies a significant part of everyday life, the rest of the time has made leisure time required, enabling people to reproduce their labor to participate in social production every new day. Leisure contains a whole set of activities that can be characterized by a sense of freedom, separated from work and other compulsory time periods in everyday life.⁸⁴ These activities are actions by which the individual can satisfy the needs of amusements, distractions, and relaxation in the stressful cycle of modern life.⁸⁵ The concept of leisure differs from a general free time perception; it defines free time separated from work and other compulsory tasks. Leisure defines the whole set of actions that fill the free time and are formed around the idea of leisure time. Based on this, it is possible to say that leisure corresponds to the concept of evaluable free time.⁸⁶

Leisure time is initially defined as time freed from productive work. However, this approach considers leisure time as a free time. It is unclear how much of this free time is reserved for leisure.⁸⁷ Dumazedier evaluates the functions that distinguish leisure from a general free time in three categories. Its first function is rest. It heals physical or nervous deterioration from the tension caused by various duties of everyday life. Its second function, entertainment, relieves the boredom of repetitive daily pursuits. The third is the personality development function of leisure time. It provides an escape from the routine and stereotypical set of behaviors that result from the automation and specialization of everyday tasks.⁸⁸ Dumazedier defined leisure time as activities that maintain beyond the needs and obligations of daily life. He mentions four features that he defines as leisure time features. These are liberating (*libératoire*), disinterested (*désintéressé*), hedonistic (*hédonistique*) and personal (*personnel*) features.⁸⁹ Of these four leisure features, the liberated feature refers to the fact that it is free from the disagreeable obligations of daily life. The disinterested feature refers to it does not serve

⁸⁴ H. F. Moorhouse, "Models of Work, Models of Leisure," in *Leisure for Leisure*, ed. Chris Rojek (London: The Macmillan Press, 1989), p. 30.

⁸⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York: The Penguin Press, 1971), p. 53.

⁸⁶ Berna Göl, "Leisure as Criticism in Architectural Texts" The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2017), p. 21.

⁸⁷ Joffre Dumazedier, "Current problems in the sociology of leisure," *International Social Science Journal*, 12(4) (1960): 522–533, p. 526.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 526-527.

⁸⁹ Joffre Dumazedier, *Sociologie empirique du loisir* (Paris: Seuil, 1974).

a utilitarian purpose. The hedonic feature refers to it results in satisfaction. Finally, the personal feature refers to it serves to realize one's potential.⁹⁰

Leisure has an essential place in the worker's everyday life as a period of time that allows the activities that realize the creative and productive potential of the worker.⁹¹ The usage style of the leisure concept had become different from how it was used when it emerged. This situation shows that the need for the use of leisure time, which covers the time period in which labor is reproduced in everyday life, is different from the 20th century today. The transformation of the leisure time concept has also changed the way people perceive activities and spaces in everyday life.⁹² While the meanings of old values change, the concept of leisure time now appears as a generalized image by television, cinema, and tourism, apart from being a festival, a prize for labor, a freely chosen event time.⁹³ The everyday life of people from different segments of society has become composed of generalized activities.⁹⁴ Lefebvre underlines that leisure activity that takes place around mass vehicles, in which the individual is in a passive position, has an alienating character.

The alienation concept that emerged in the relations of work, labor, and production with the development of the modern world has spread to the whole of everyday life. The fact that the product produced by the worker is not his own property, wage labor conditions have led to changes in everyday life of people. While work moves away from being a field where people practice their creative activities and turn them into a routine, leisure time has the potential to be a time period where people can reveal their creative identities. However, leisure time has also acquired a commercial character in capitalism. In capitalism, the economic system functions as the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities. In this economic process, the production of the commodity will take place in the working time of everyday life, while the consumption of the commodity will occur in leisure time. Accordingly, there is economic alienation in

⁹⁰ Joffre Dumazedier, *Sociology of leisure* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1974), quoted in Robert A. Stebbins, "Dumazedier, the serious leisure perspective, and leisure in Brazil," *World Leisure Journal*, Vol. 58, no. 3 (2016), 151–162, p. 151-152.

⁹¹ Berna Göl, "Leisure as Criticism in Architectural Texts" The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2017), p. 25.

⁹² Ibid., p. 3.

⁹³ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York: The Penguin Press, 1971), p. 54.

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 59.

the production of the commodity and social alienation in its distribution and consumption.⁹⁵

2.2.2. Historical Progress of Leisure Time

Although the fragmented structure of everyday life in the form of work and leisure time is identified with modernism, the origins of leisure time historically go back to the past. In this historical period, many definitions of leisure have revealed the contrast of leisure time with work. These two main areas of action of everyday life have historically developed together. As the concept of work has changed form, leisure has also changed. For this reason, a definition of leisure that is not explained through the work is insufficient.⁹⁶

The emergence of the concept of 'leisure' points to Greek Civilization, while historically older definitions for 'work', including definitions such as the control of humans by other people, are encountered. Traces of leisure can be found in Greek society, such as people's characterization of leisure as an open cultural space, attributing a cultural meaning to it, contrasting it with 'work', and building institutional structures such as school around it. It is possible to say that leisure time has come to the fore as a cultural area since the Greek society.⁹⁷ Leisure is the area where people can interact with each other in the public sphere, participate in various artistic and social activities, play sports, produce politics, and chat. Leisure is a social communication area, a tool that brings individuals together and keeps them together.⁹⁸

Contrary to Greek society, the concept of leisure in the Roman period corresponds to the definition of time required to rest, recreate, and heal to return to work. So, leisure was not a social status or a way of life, but a time after productive activities. Unlike the Greek society, it is possible to say that the character of leisure time was transformed in this period and became a tool to support work.⁹⁹ In this sense, it is possible to say that

⁹⁵ Halil Öztürk, *Yabancılaşma, İdeoloji, Katılım: Fiziksel Çevrenin Oluşumuna Halk Katılımının Yabancılaşma ve İdeoloji Kavramlarıyla İrdelenmesi* (Ankara: ODTÜ Faculty of Architecture Ara Publishing, 1980), p.21.

⁹⁶ Benjamin K. Hunnicutt, "The History of Western Leisure," in *A Handbook of Leisure Studies*, ed. Chris Rojek et al. (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2006), 55–74, p. 56.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 57.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 59.

⁹⁹ Susana Juniu, "Downshifting: Regaining the Essence of Leisure," *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2000): 69-73, p. 69.

leisure time refers to its character in the modern period. In the Middle Ages, leisure began to gain a character for vanity, luxury, pleasure, and waste. Having gained a class character, leisure has become a sign of nobility. It is possible to say that this period refers to the consumption-oriented perception of leisure time in the modern world.¹⁰⁰

When we come to the modern period, the increase in working time for the increase of production has paved the way for the concept of leisure to turn into a struggling area. In the capitalist world, which is based on continuous production and competition, working hours have started to cover almost 16 hours of everyday life. While the city has turned into a field of competition for the workers who migrated from the countryside to the city with industrialization, working has become a necessary part of this competition. Workers' movements in which workers demand less working time and more wages against the increased working hours have started.

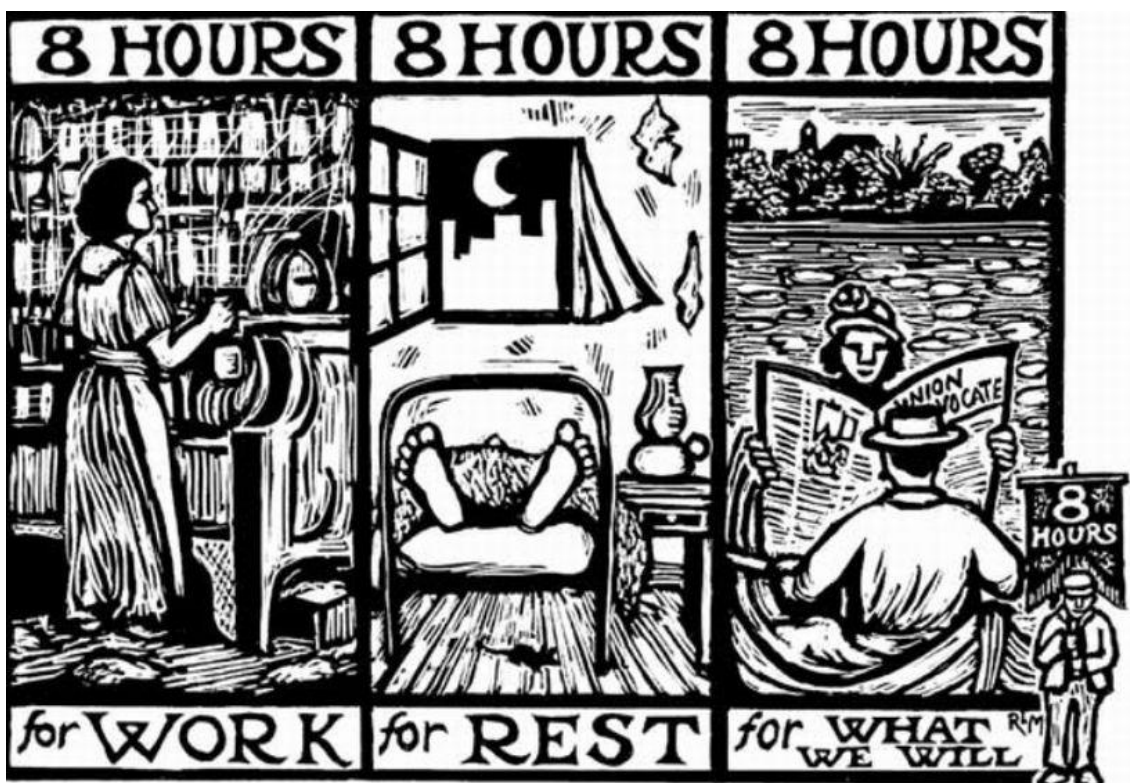


Figure 2.3. The illustration of "Eight hours' labor, Eight hours' recreation, Eight hours' rest," slogan
(Source: URL-2)

The end of the 1700s was a period when the capital exceeded the upper limit and increased the working hours to over 12 hours, pushing the natural boundaries of the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 70.

day.¹⁰¹ The eight-hour work movement, initiated by Robert Owen and John Fielden in the early 1800s, did not find its social counterpart in these years.¹⁰² The slogan of this movement, "Eight hours' labor, Eight hours' recreation, Eight hours' rest," was one of the essential steps toward making leisure time a struggle in the modern world. The industrial revolution has brought with it an increase in working hours. According to this objective, increasing production was the main objective, and labor exploitation was growing. Exploitation started workers' movements demanding fewer hours and more wages. A 'leisure time' would be created that was gradually removed from working time by the workers' demands.¹⁰³

The 1800s was the period when the struggle began for the working class lost in the production cycle. England is at the center of the struggle.¹⁰⁴ As a result of the ongoing efforts, on May 1, 1848, the "Ten Hours Act" came into effect. However, in 1850, with the counter moves of capital, the laws were changed again to abolish the ten-hour law.¹⁰⁵ Even though the struggle was led in England, the British factory workers represented not only the British working class but also the modern working class. Working-class struggles began to increase in France and America in the 1860s. The struggle in the general Labor Congress convened in Baltimore in 1866 aimed at 8 hours working hours in all states of the American Union. At the International Workers' Congress convened in Geneva in the same period, the eight-hour working time was proposed as the legal limit. With the acceptance of this request, the 8-hour working time gained an international dimension.¹⁰⁶ However, although this practice has found a response in certain fields, it has not been implemented in all areas. The struggle for the 8-hour day was revived in the 1880s. On May 1, 1886, the Chicago-based demonstrations that occur in multiple cities in the United States demanded an 8-hour workday. These demonstrations, which united around the demand for an 8-hour day, continued in the following years.

After the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union, the changes made in the law on work and leisure time are also essential gains in the struggle for leisure. Moskoff emphasizes that economic plans control how individuals divide their everyday life

¹⁰¹ Karl Marx, *Kapital I* (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2011): p. 270.

¹⁰² Stephan Bauer and Alfred Maylander, "The Road to the Eight-Hour Day," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (August 1919), 41-65, p. 42.

¹⁰³ Susana Juniu, "Downshifting: Regaining the Essence of Leisure," *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2000): 69-73, p. 70.

¹⁰⁴ Karl Marx, *Kapital I* (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2011): p. 271.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 278-284.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 291-293.

between work and leisure and control their leisure activities. However, he draws attention to the increased efficiency in the leisure use of workers, who achieved a combination of more leisure time and higher income with the economic planning studies carried out after the revolution in the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁷ Figure 2.4 shows the rate of Soviet workers' leisure activities in daily time and temporal transformation from the early 1920s to the 1970s.¹⁰⁸ The table shows the decrease in the time devoted to housework over the years. There is an increase in daily social and cultural leisure activities.

	1923–4	1936	1963	1965–8	1967–70
1. Housework and work in the private plot (excluding care of children)	35.0	24.0	21.2	19.5	18.5
2. Daily cultural life					
(a) leisure, including	6.7	5.5	12.4	16.0	17.3
reading books and magazines	2.1	1.0	2.3	2.1	3.3
Reading newspapers	2.9	1.8	1.4	1.6	2.5
TV, radio	—	1.0	5.1	6.2	7.5
Movies, theatre & other public performances	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.3	1.3
(b) Studying		1.0	2.6	4.0	2.3
(c) Amateur talent activities and other kinds of non-professional creative works	1.1	—	0.1	0.8	0.4
3. Physical culture, sports, hunting, fishing, going to the country	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.7	1.6
4. Meeting with friends, guests, dances	6.2	7.6	5.8	5.2	5.8
5. Occupied with children	5.6	4.3	3.0	5.0	3.1
caring for children	5.0	—	1.9	2.9	1.5
upbringing of children	0.6	—	1.1	3.0	1.6

Figure 2.4. Table showing the rate and temporal transformation of Soviet workers' leisure activities in daily time between 1920 and 1970
(Source: Moskoff 1984, 83)

¹⁰⁷ William Moskoff, *Labour and Leisure in the Soviet Union: The Conflict between Public and Private Decision-Making in a Planned Economy* (London, and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1984), p. 81.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Working hours, which were in the range of 10-12 hours per day, decreased to eight hours per day, six days a week, after the revolution. Between the years of 1927-1933, the transition to the seven hour working style was made. In 1929, working order of 5 days a week was introduced, but this practice was implemented during the Second World War. It lasted until World War II. Between 1961 and 1967, the working period of 5 days a week was reinstated.¹⁰⁹

In the modern world, leisure time is a right that has been won as a result of struggles. This time has been removed from the working time of everyday life, and leisure time is now 'not-work'.¹¹⁰ However, this right gained as a result of specific struggles has been transformed due to the nature of the world dominated by capitalism. Hemingway listed the historical processes that caused the deformation of leisure time as follows; structural changes of work, fear of capital for worker welfare, the constant search for new markets, and desire for capital to dominate social and economic life.¹¹¹ These transformations are reflected in the concept of leisure in different ways. First, like everything else in the modern capitalist world, leisure has become a commodity. Second, it has shifted towards an individualistic realm within the fragmented temporal divisions of everyday life. Thirdly, leisure has been both a threat and a dominance area for the capitalist order in the modern world.¹¹²

In the modern world, leisure time corresponds to 'blank time', and 'meaningless time', time for everything or nothing. The sense of freedom in the field of leisure has brought with it a perception of leisure towards consumption. Leisure is no longer a time for cultural development or social use; it is stuck in a consumption culture.¹¹³ While the technological systems that have developed in the globalizing world system have changed the way of working, the mass-scale production system has made consumption, like production, a necessity for capitalism. The expansion of leisure time corresponds to the time required to consume the products produced in working time for capitalism. In this period, consumption has become a means of creating status and a lifestyle in people's lives. In this period, when the consumption-based life culture was on the rise in Europe

¹⁰⁹ "The Soviet Union: Work and Retirement," 2016, <https://nintil.com/the-soviet-union-working-hours>.

¹¹⁰ Susana Juniu, "Downshifting: Regaining the Essence of Leisure," *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2000): 69-73, p. 70.

¹¹¹ J.L. Hemingway, "Emancipating Leisure: The Recovery of Freedom in Leisure," *Journal of Leisure Research*, 28:1, (1996), 27-43, p. 31.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 34.

¹¹³ Susana Juniu, "Downshifting: Regaining the Essence of Leisure," *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2000): 69-73, p. 70.

and America, the middle classes in North America were defined as the 'leisure class' by Thomas Veblen.¹¹⁴ For the reproduction of labor, leisure, which is the distance from work and the mental and physical liberation area, has turned into the dominant area of capitalism, just like work. Capitalism has started to use the increase of leisure time to ensure its own continuity. This time period, which is struggled as an area for rest, socialization, and self-development outside of work, is now time to rest to return to work and consume to ensure the continuity of capitalism. Chaney draws attention to the fact that although working time is the area that determines the individual's social life in the traditional sense, after the second half of the twentieth century, leisure activities and consumption habits form the basis of individuals' lives.¹¹⁵

While the consumption culture creates dominance over leisure time, it also creates a leisure industry. In this industrialized area, leisure time is now stuck in experiential activities, which are defined by similar activities by everyone, formed around the standards of mass taste, and presented within specific patterns. Leisure has also turned into a programmed and organized space like work. And this removes leisure time from the time definition that reveals the individual's creative and productive characteristics. The individual's existence in the social sphere is restricted and causes individuals to be imprisoned in defined identity forms and lifestyles.¹¹⁶

The dominance of capitalism on leisure also paved the way for new forms of work. This new system, which has more flexible working hours, and where one's working and leisure time shifts to more undefined time intervals, becomes increasingly popular with developing technological systems and globalized capital. Although this system, called flexible working, allows employees to organize their social lives according to their own needs, it separates them from other working life elements. While the working life is squeezed into a more individual and isolated area, the employee is deprived of the common feelings and solidarity relations established among the employees in this individual area.¹¹⁷ While undefined working hours are 'liberating' for some situations, they turn into working hours that steal leisure time in some cases.

¹¹⁴ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of Leisure Class* (Oxford: University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁵ David Chaney, *Lifestyles* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 112.

¹¹⁶ Ömer Aytaç, "Kapitalizm ve Boş Zaman," *Eskişehir Osmangazi University Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 1 (2005), p. 12.

¹¹⁷ David Hesmondhalgh, "User-generated content, free labour and the cultural industries," *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization*, Volume 10(3/4) (2010), 267-284, p. 281.

2.3. Space and Leisure

*“Discover the countryside! Enjoy nature! Take a break from the daily grind!”*¹¹⁸

The historical development of leisure time shows that leisure time includes social relations, just like working time/social production time. The historical development of leisure time shows the social relations that leisure time includes, just like work/social production time. In the historical process, leisure time has been the determinant of social relations as much as working time. Ways of thinking that include space enable us to see the realities of the ever-changing structure of social relations.¹¹⁹ Examining the everyday life with a spatial way of thinking will help us to read the complex social relations. For this reason, criticizing the leisure time, which is the reproduction time of labor, through space, observing the routines and temporal actions that take place in the space will enable us to read the social relations in leisure time.

In the pre-modern period, the community was established as relational, and the place relationship was established geographically, include intersecting situations in general. Individuals who had a common interest, kinship, partnership with each other lived in the same or close places and continued their livelihood. In the rural-based social structure, productive activity has spread to the whole of everyday life. Work is an activity organized around the home and cannot be separated from the family's daily life.¹²⁰ The big cities that modernism established with the existence of industrialization formed the basis of the transformation of this relationship and the interaction of individuals with larger environments in everyday life. Lefebvre says that in modern society, individuals' everyday lives are separated from each other, but on the other hand, they are united as a whole.¹²¹ Leisure, which takes place in a smaller environment or in individual space, has spread to the city. This is also the beginning of the shift of leisure time towards public spaces.

Modernism has brought with it a radical break from the historical process in every aspect of everyday life. Studies on everyday life and conceptual definitions have also changed, as have the transformations experienced in everyday life itself. The concept of

¹¹⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Lukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. 100.

¹¹⁹ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge, and Malden: Polity Press, 1994), p. 4.

¹²⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Volume I*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), p. 30-31.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

space is no longer just a geometric object, a location, or a point. Space definitions include human actions, and space is produced in everyday life. The daily routes of the individuals in the community that constantly intersect throughout everyday life embody the space in everyday life. The daily routes of the individuals in the community that constantly intersect throughout daily life embody the space in everyday life. Space turns into a living, changing, transforming organism. All spaces that connect everyday routines in the modern world belong to urban space. The urban establishes the rhythm of everyday life. Working spaces, leisure spaces, and the transportation systems that connect them are the essential spatial elements of the modern city. Each of them creates different possibilities of encounters in everyday life.

2.3.1. Modernism and Programmed Everyday Life

The measurement of labor with time is the beginning of the division of everyday life into temporally defined parts. Modernism, like everything else, has taken the time periods in everyday life and the actions of daily life into a defined framework and has divided everyday life into fragments such as work, family life, private life, and leisure time. This situation has brought about the separation of spatial uses in everyday life into their functions. The place where we read this fragmented structure most clearly is the urban space.

All-time periods of everyday life pass in specific spaces. The fragmented structure of everyday life in the modern world continues in a way that ‘everything has a time and a place’, but all these parts are connected in a rhythm. This process constitutes defined behaviors and habits of different groups in society. Spatial and temporal rhythms established by the dominant ideology represent individuals with their roles in society. When, where, and how individuals will make their movements are determined within the framework of this defined fiction.¹²²

The urban organization of modernism has a language that physically reflects the break with the traditional language created by modernity in every field. The modernist planning approach is basically based on the idea of creating a healthy physical environment. Houses are designed according to light, air, and sun criteria. The necessity

¹²² David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p. 216.

of separating working places and dwellings was developed in this period to provide healthy living conditions for individuals and distribute living spaces.¹²³ Gehl underlines that this functionalist understanding is a planning ideology designed only physically and materially. The disconnection of new buildings and city plans between streets, squares, and human relations draw attention.¹²⁴ Streets and squares, which are a social focus and meeting place, have been replaced by highways, pathways, and void spaces that connect the fragmented functions of the city. The zoning approach that separates residential neighborhoods from commercial activities necessitates the use of automobiles even to carry out household chores.¹²⁵ This planning approach, in which automobiles have become widespread and residential areas are separated from urban life, has supported the spatially home-centered development of individualized leisure time in the modern world.

In the functionalist design approach, the city is a whole of parts divided into functions. Districts are identified with different functional features and designed within that function. Different parts of the city began to be defined with different functions. Functions such as administrative areas, central business areas, industrial zones, residential areas, leisure areas form the character of different urban parts. These differentiated urban parts gave rise to functionally specialized and socially segregated modern industrial metropolises. Railway lines coming out of the city center have turned into industrial corridors. Large enterprises have established their own satellite cities outside the cities.¹²⁶ Workspaces, residential areas, and urban public spaces, which have become urban parts, move all people in the society between different parts of the city to realize everyday activities. Economic, social, environmental, and cultural components determine supply and demand for geographically distributed leisure spaces. Many leisure spaces such as parks, restaurants, bars, houses, tennis courts, stadiums, pathways, theme parks, and cinemas are geographically located in the city.¹²⁷

The idea that the society of the future would be defined through leisure time was widely debated in France in the 1960s, especially by Joffre Dumazedier, under the argument of "leisure civilization." Dumazedier argued for the increasing importance of

¹²³ Jan Gehl, *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*, trans. Jo Koch, Washington (Covelo, and London: Island Press, 2011), p. 43-44.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 44.

¹²⁵ Daphne Spain, "What happened to Gender Relations on the way from Chicago to Los Angeles?" in *City Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 200.

¹²⁶ Sam Bass Warner, "Evolution and Transformation: The American Industrial Metropolis, 1840–1940," in *City Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 68.

¹²⁷ David Crouch, "Geographies of Leisure," in *A Handbook of Leisure Studies*, ed. Chris Rojek et al. (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2006), 125-139., p. 125.

this time period, until then defined as functionally (as recreation, entertainment) or negatively (in opposition to professional and domestic work). In these years, leisure spaces became a part of French urbanism in the planning of all scales.¹²⁸

While modernism was spatially located in the cities, capitalism, which aimed to accelerate constantly, also aimed to control leisure time apart from the time of everyday life devoted to social production. The order planned to control everyday life through consumption aimed at the temporal and spatial restructuring of daily life.¹²⁹ To achieve this, the spaces are divided into functional and controllable parts. The time zones of everyday life organize which time will be spent in which space and body movements in the space. This has resulted in the fact that leisure time, like working time, enters into a defined framework.

2.3.2. Space for Leisure

Wearing defines space for leisure as physical spaces that distract people from their daily compulsory duties. Since the industrial revolution, these spaces have been the spaces that cover the release and enjoyment area of everyday life for workers.¹³⁰ Watson preferred to use the concept of 'space for leisure' instead of the definition of 'leisure space', which is seen only as spaces where leisure time takes place. 'Space for leisure' describes a space that is negotiated, discussed, created, and experienced both individually and socially.¹³¹

As leisure time moves out of the individual space and towards the city, many leisure time activities have come to take place in the spaces defined for that activity. Many leisure activities such as theatre, cinema, concerts, and talks take place in spaces designed for these activities. For this reason, the physical structure of the space is one of the defining elements of leisure spaces. Johnson and Glover stated that studies on leisure spaces generally focus on the empirical aspects of spaces. These studies deal with the physical properties of spaces such as location and distance, their spatial qualities, and

¹²⁸ Lukasz Stanek, "Introduction," in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Lukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. xxix.

¹²⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York: The Penguin Press, 1971), p. 58-59.

¹³⁰ Betsy Wearing, *Leisure and Feminist Theory* (London: Sage, 1998), p. 63.

¹³¹ Beccy Watson and Aarti Ratna, "Bollywood in the park: thinking intersectionally about public leisure space," *Leisure/Loisir*, 35:1 (2011), 71-86, p. 72.

functional properties.¹³² The production and consumption of leisure time take place in space. Space is influential in shaping and contextualizing leisure time.¹³³ The physical characteristics of these spaces directly affect the ability of employees to perform quality activities in their leisure time and to participate in social production again and in a healthy way with adequate and qualified rest.

However, the concept of space is a multidimensional, hierarchical phenomenon. All human actions take place in space, and space is reproduced with these actions. Space is a social and cultural phenomenon apart from its physical counterpart. While each space offers a function created by physical qualities, it is also a product of the social organization connected to that place and individuals and society's social, political, and economic structure.¹³⁴ Therefore, it is not only the physical qualities of the space that are decisive in the relationship between leisure time and space. Leisure and leisure spaces are also widely discussed concepts from a sociocultural perspective. Feminist studies, studies on place, space, the symbolic meanings of space, and research on the publicity of leisure spaces have paved the way for conceptual discussions on leisure spaces.¹³⁵ In these studies, which are based on the relationship of space with human actions and everyday life, attention is drawn to the political potential of leisure spaces for social resistance. Leisure spaces that bring people together outside of working time turn into spaces where individuals can express their ideas together outside the dominant social areas.

Lefebvre defines leisure spaces as a transition space between labor and non-labor time. Like all other transitional spaces, these spaces are also spaces that contain hidden contradictions and conflicts. Sometimes the leisure time that lasts between defined places where social labor occurs, and sometimes it creates potential spaces of pleasure and joy in everyday life. For this reason, leisure spaces directly reflect the contradictions of everyday life.¹³⁶ At some points, while they continue the usual functioning of the planned, programmed structure of the daily life of the modern world, they diverge sharply from this functioning.

¹³² Amanda J. Johnson and Troy D. Glover, "Understanding Urban Public Space in a Leisure Context," *Leisure Sciences*, 35:2, (2013), 190-197, p. 191.

¹³³ David Crouch, "Geographies of Leisure," in *A Handbook of Leisure Studies*, ed. Chris Rojek et al. (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2006), 125-139, p. 127.

¹³⁴ Kevin Fitzpatrick and Mark LaGory, *Unhealthy Spaces* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 17.

¹³⁵ Beccy Watson and Aarti Ratna, "Bollywood in the park: thinking intersectionally about public leisure space," *Leisure/Loisir*, 35:1, (2011), 71-86, p. 72-73.

¹³⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Lukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. 100.

Space is, in many ways, a part of the dominant ideology. However, in some cases, it is part of appropriation and the creator of a social life. Appropriation defines a concept opposed to the dominant ideology and property. The appropriated area no longer belongs to political power or an institution. The use-value of these spaces has priority over the exchange value.¹³⁷ Lefebvre connects leisure spaces with appropriated space. The conflict between the areas of domination and the appropriated areas began with modernism. Dominated space is defined as homogeneous areas consisting of individual components and private property, where natural space is destroyed. On the other hand, appropriated space prioritizes the use-value of the space itself. It is created and managed by the community, not individual components.¹³⁸

Leisure spaces should be spaces where the individual liberates his mind and reveals his creative aspects. For this reason, besides the physical characteristics of the space, the social space dimension also comes to the fore. Lefebvre evaluates leisure spaces under the title of spaces that he defines as counter spaces, against quantity and homogeneity, power, expansion of the boundaries of the private, tightly programmed functions.¹³⁹ Leisure spaces that seem to be freed from the controls of the order appear as 'counter spaces'. Lefebvre described these spaces as spaces where the body emerges, manifests itself, and the individual realizes his own worth. Use value comes to life in the face of exchange value.¹⁴⁰ However, leisure time, which was a struggle right, in the beginning, has gradually turned into a product whose industry is developing. The transformation of the leisure concept in the historical process has also been directly reflected in the production styles of the spaces where leisure time is lived.

In the modern world, capitalism has spread to all areas of everyday life, all elements of order have expanded to leisure spaces.¹⁴¹ This time, which has been out of compulsory everyday activities since the industrial revolution, is also the time that positively encourages workers to participate in production again the next day. Wearing draws attention to the feature of this situation encourages workers to adapt to the capitalist order. The dominance of the consumption culture on leisure time is reflected in all spaces,

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 93-94.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 95.

¹³⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014), p. 382.

¹⁴⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Lukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. 100.

¹⁴¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014), p. 383.

starting from the urban scale. Apart from being a spatial interaction area, the urban is now also the culture and entertainment industry venue. Leisure products are now products of the universal market. Produced products reach people through mass distribution ways. Leisure time has been rearranged so that individuals have access to these products and have an artificial need for these products. Leisure products have turned into organized and standardized recreation and entertainment products.¹⁴² The commodity has completely occupied everyday life. Debord defines this moment as the 'spectacle' when the commodity completely spreads to social life.¹⁴³

Like everything that is divided into functions in the modern world, spaces are also divided into functions and started to be defined with their own functional features. Spaces are defined by their functional characteristics; they become areas where certain roles are fulfilled in the mind of the individual.¹⁴⁴ Information about a person's presence in a place corresponds to the questions 'what for' and 'where'. The expression of where a place is for an individual or community becomes identified with the action performed there over time.¹⁴⁵ Göregenli underlines that the identity of place is formed through routine experiences that exist in our everyday life, in places where human activities take place.¹⁴⁶ The spaces where we perform our daily actions become integrated with those actions.

It is possible to evaluate the places where the leisure time of everyday life is spent, which we define as space for leisure time, under two main headings. The first of these titles is 'housing', which is seen as a more individual space of leisure time, and the second is the public spaces that we define as 'social interaction spaces' where leisure time is spent with more people, and there is a social sharing.

2.3.2.1. Dwelling

The everyday life of the modern world, divided into time zones, has given birth to large cities consisting of parts divided into functions. All the actions of daily life take place independently of each other in different parts of the urban space and at different times. The concept of housing, which gathered different time periods of daily life in a

¹⁴² Ray Hibbins, "Global Leisure," *Social Alternatives*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 1996), 22-25, p. 22.

¹⁴³ Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Canberra: Hobgoblin Press, 2002), p. 13.

¹⁴⁴ Marc Fried, "Continuities and Discontinuities of Place," *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20 (2000), 193-205, p. 197.

¹⁴⁵ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the city* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960), p. 65-69.

¹⁴⁶ Melek Göregenli. *Çevre Psikolojisi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2021), p. 179.

single space in the pre-modern period, has changed its identity. In the modern world, dwelling has turned into an area entirely focused on reproduction apart from production.¹⁴⁷ Dwelling is both one of the constituent elements of leisure and its most individual space.

Modernism has adopted rational design principles in housing production to solve the housing problems of the increasing population density in cities with industrialization. First, the temporal patterns in the working life and the public sphere, then the home that is the center of the private sphere became rationalized and acquired an objective character.¹⁴⁸ The rationalization of the space objectifies the daily routines and bodily rhythms in the space. All means of everyday life lose their subjectivity and gain an objective character. Objectivity is the most defining feature of modernization and urban life.¹⁴⁹ One of the essential representatives of modernism, Le Corbusier's universal measure of the human body, called Modulor, brought a mathematical perspective to space and standardized the production of space. This standardization also facilitated the provision of adequate healthy housing for the growing population in cities. Rationalist housing production developed by Taylorist and Fordist modes of production in industrial production, based on time and space-based efficiency, and the Soviet Union's communal housing approach, which aims to disconnect the individual from domestic ties, are essential steps in the removal of leisure spaces from the individual space.¹⁵⁰ Similar cases of housing production in Turkey can be seen in the lodging spaces connected to modern institutions and industrial structures established in the early years of the Republic.

The working style of the urban-based social structure is the beginning of a system based on wage labor, where the product produced is not the worker's property. In the modern world, which has turned into a complex network of social relations, individuals, on the one hand, are part of a social whole, and on the other hand, they have become parts that have been lost in the whole. Individual consciousness is divided into private and social consciousness within the structure of the new working style divided into

¹⁴⁷ Pier Vittorio Aureli and Martino Tattara, "Production/Reproduction: Housing beyond the Family" *Harvard Design Magazine*, No. 41, 2015, <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/41/production-reproduction-housing-beyond-the-family>.

¹⁴⁸ Nilüfer Talu, "Bir Arzu Nesnesi Olarak Ev," in *Arzu Mimarlığı: Mimarlığı Düşünme ve Düşlemek*, ed. Nur Altınyıldız Artun and Roysi Ojalvo (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), p. 73.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75

¹⁵⁰ Sıla Karataş Başoğlu, "Rasyonalist ve Konstrüktivist Yaklaşımlar Başlarken Konut Özgürleştirir mi?" *Arredamento Mimarlık* 339 (2020), 73-78., p. 73-74.

specializations and fields of activity.¹⁵¹ Individuals tend to live in focused on themselves, their techniques and expertise the capitalist production chain. Lefebvre defines this individualistic field as 'private consciousness', which separates man from the conditions of social progress, development and existence in society. This consciousness makes people believe that they are self-sufficient and degenerate them. It causes individuals in the social structure to construct their everyday life centered on 'private life'.¹⁵²

The development of leisure time centered on private life causes the role of housing spaces, which is one of the founding elements of leisure time, to change in everyday life. Capitalism and consumption culture have created a myth of an 'ideal house' by removing the house from being only a place of reproduction of labor.¹⁵³ Home has become the most defining and discriminating element of urban middle-class culture and lifestyle by being identified with consumption.¹⁵⁴ The material environment that creates this lifestyle is embodied in the home. The search for the ideal home is also the individual's quest to create a lifestyle. Today, with the globalizing world and developing technological systems, the distinction between work and leisure time is blurred, and working time is shifting towards housing. Along with leisure time, working time is also drawn towards the individual space, and the search for the 'ideal home' is getting stronger. The relationship of leisure time with the city and public spaces falls back.

2.3.2.2. Social Interaction Spaces

The transformations created by modernism in everyday life have carried the bond that individuals establish with the society and city they live into a different level. As in all areas, modernity has brought about a break with the traditional in the individual's relationship with society. Individuals have become part of different groups and communities by breaking away from their traditional social ties. Individuals, who are in the whole of relations of a large society, have started to be involved in social life with different duties and responsibilities. The industrialization has brought with it a world in which the individual's bond with society is strengthened in many ways, and production

¹⁵¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Volume I*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), p. 31.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁵³ Ayşe Öncü, ““İdealinizdeki Ev” Mitolojisi Kültürel Sınırları Aşarak İstanbul’a Ulaştı*,” in *Mekân, Kültür, İktidar: Küreselleşen Kentlerde Yeni Kimlikler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

turns into social action. In the social structure where everyday life shifts towards big cities, individuals be in a continuous interaction network with other elements of the society. In this interaction network, individuals are found in spaces where they come together and establish relationships outside of their working time. In researches on social interaction and leisure spaces, social interaction is shown among the most frequently reported reasons for participation in leisure activities.¹⁵⁵ In their research on social exchange theory and explaining leisure behavior, Auld and Case reached that interpersonal interaction is higher in leisure time social interaction.¹⁵⁶

The realization of leisure time in the public sphere, which historically represents a struggle, is essential for creating the urban culture and social interaction between individuals. Leisure spaces are spaces that encourage social interaction and, therefore, the development of social skills.¹⁵⁷ Even though leisure spaces are places hidden under social ideologies in the modern world, they contrast strongly with the exchange value of space. For this strong conflict to emerge, it is necessary for individuals to come together and form a community. Public spaces with different functions in the city are the leading places where people come together in their leisure time, share, and reproduce labor together. Hou said that public spaces are an important facet of cities and urban culture. Urban areas are the centers of civic life, in other words, leisure time for the citizens.¹⁵⁸

Public spaces continue to be the most effective spaces in forming urban culture and social interaction between citizens. However, the change in public and private space ideas created by industrial capitalism in cities has changed our current definition of public space. Sennett points to the transformation of the contradictory relationship between capitalism and public culture that manifested itself in the 19th century. Privatization pressures on the public sphere emerged in this period. At the same time, the mass production and distribution system of capitalism is the beginning of the strengthening of material life in the public sphere.¹⁵⁹ The public sphere is transforming to deliver the products of the mass production system of capitalism to the people. In the distribution network of capitalism after production, there is leisure time.

¹⁵⁵ Christopher J. Auld and Alan J. Case. "Social Exchange Processes in Leisure and Non-leisure Settings: A Review and Exploratory Investigation," *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1997), 183-200, p. 183.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁵⁷ Karin Peters, "Being Together in Urban Parks: Connecting Public Space, Leisure, and Diversity," *Leisure Sciences*, 32:5 (2010), p. 421.

¹⁵⁸ Jeffrey Hou, "(Not) your everyday public space" in *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla urbanism and the remaking of contemporary cities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 1-17, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹ Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), p. 19-20.

Habermas connects the transformation of the public sphere with the transformation of leisure activities. The transformation of leisure time in the modern world is associated with the articulated structure of leisure time with working time. As long as leisure remains a complement to working time, it will only be a space for private things and prevent the establishment of public relations between private individuals. Even if mass activities in the public sphere solve the needs, these activities will not turn into public communication between individuals. With the intervention of capital in the private sphere, leisure tends to turn into a consumption activity.¹⁶⁰ The fact that leisure time has become an area serving the consumption culture is also related to the changing cultural structure. As cultural activities in the public space have become massive, leisure time has turned to low-standard activities based on entertainment and relaxation. Today, most leisure uses that involve a spatial action take place in spaces commodified by capital or regulated by the state.¹⁶¹ The shift of leisure time towards a consumption area has also transformed the use of leisure spaces. Leisure spaces based on entertainment and eating and drinking activities, shopping malls, and gyms reflect the intervention of the consumption sector in leisure time.

While Johnson and Glover discussed urban public spaces in the context of leisure, they reconsidered the definition of public space and its relationship with leisure. Focusing on the relationship of the definition of public space with ownership and accessibility, they opened the discussion of the use of the definition of the concept of urban public space in everyday life.¹⁶² In the urban space where daily life occurs, leisure spaces where individuals spend time as a community are not only 'public' spaces. Many people experience these privately owned spaces as public spaces and perform similar activities in these spaces as they do in the public space. However, the essential feature that distinguishes the definition of public space from other places where daily life takes place is that it is 'accessible to everyone'.¹⁶³ Although we consider spaces with different functions that bring individuals together in the leisure time of everyday life under the title

¹⁶⁰ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), p. 277.

¹⁶¹ Kathleen Lloyd & Christopher Auld, "Leisure, public space, and quality of life in the urban environment," *Urban Policy and Research*, 21:4 (2003), 339-356, p. 344.

¹⁶² Amanda J. Johnson & Troy D. Glover, "Understanding Urban Public Space in a Leisure Context," *Leisure Sciences*, 35:2 (2013).

¹⁶³ Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 240.

of social interaction spaces, the most fundamental issue we discuss in spaces that enable this interaction is that everyone can access the space equally.

The campus structures, which we in embody the discussion of the study, are spatial structures within the city but with defined boundaries between them and the city. For this reason, the publicity concept of spaces in these urban spaces can be differentiated from the definition of another urban space publicity. While some areas in these places with defined borders are open to citizens' use, some are open to the use of campus people only. In some cases, spatial boundaries restrict not only the citizens but also the use of different people on campus. These spatial divisions sometimes include rules determined by the administration and sometimes social norms. However, in both cases, the social interaction or separation in the space is produced in everyday life.

2.4. Campus Spaces

Campus structures are urban spaces that establish a small city model and where a significant part of everyday life passes. In these spaces, functions belonging to different time periods of everyday life are gathered. Individuals constitute routes to meet their different daily needs in different places in urban. Everyday life on campus also develops in a similar way. Individuals, who move on campus for many needs such as education, eating, drinking, rest, cultural and social activities, sports activities, health needs, and shelter, establish their everyday life in these spaces.

In this study, campus structures are considered as spaces that include the actions of 'production and self-reproduction.' In addition to the spaces where the time of allocated to the social production of everyday life passes, these urban spaces, which also contain leisure spaces, can be the spaces of productions with different functions. The structures belonging to social production are the structures where the individuals on the campus spend their working time in their everyday routines. Leisure spaces on campuses are social and cultural structures that indirectly feed production and units that serve essential basic needs such as housing, health, and education.

Working spaces are the places where the time devoted to social production of everyday life is spent. These spaces are places where are abandoned until the next working day, generally. However, the functioning of everyday life in campus places is structured differently. Campuses' spatial organizations are designed in such a way that

individuals also can spend time here after the working time. Campuses are at the center of everyday life for individuals who carry out their social and cultural activities in some cases, their needs such as education and health in some cases, and the most basic function of daily life, such as accommodation, in these defined spaces. This study discusses the concept of leisure through campus spaces, which cover a crucial time period of everyday life. Although the selected campus spaces have different functions, they are in common in terms of physically carrying campus features.

The campuses which are the case studies are industry structure, university structure, and public service campuses. These three structures are spaces directly related to modernization and urbanization. Industrial buildings that represent the producing state model in the rapid urbanization process in Turkey and public service structures that represent the new regime in the public sphere are the structures that carry modernism to various cities of Anatolia. In response to the increasing housing shortage in cities as a result of rapid urbanization, one of the government's solutions is the lodgings (*lojman*) established in the areas where these buildings are located. The 1930s in Turkey were the years when the new regime established tried to exist in the social arena and to create a new, urban and modern person. Industrialization is at the forefront of these moves for the state, which takes necessary steps towards this target. It is possible to see traces of post-revolutionary Soviet experiences in the campuses, the first examples of which are spatially seen in the industry area.¹⁶⁴ The 1920s were when the Soviet Union sought rationalization and standardization in construction techniques to establish its new everyday life based on industrial production and accommodation spaces. Everyday life experience, which is based on the minimization of labor-time in all areas from the factory to the residence, aims to rationalize housing production, minimize the individual's labor in the private sphere, and strengthen collective labor.¹⁶⁵ All these targets aimed to liberate the new human and make him/her “efficient in the factory, pleasant in everyday life.”¹⁶⁶ The design of these spaces in the form of campus structures is for the realization of this purpose.

With modernism, big cities have become places where the population is concentrated in masses. The masses have made it necessary to grow, develop and

¹⁶⁴ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası* (İstanbul: Metis, 2012), p. 141.

¹⁶⁵ Sıla Karataş Başoğlu, “Rasyonalist ve Konstrüktivist Yaklaşımlar Başlarken Konut Özgürleştirir mi?” *Arredamento Mimarlık* 339 (2020), 73-78., p. 74.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.77.

transform in every aspect of daily life. In this sense, a mass education model was formed in the USA, which became an important actor in the world at the end of the Second World War. It is possible to say that the spatial representation of this mass education model corresponds to the concept of campus. Campuses have created the opportunity to meet the education and many basic needs of a dense young population in locations far from the city center of big cities. University campuses are seen as essential tools for the creation of a qualified and educated workforce for big cities with rapidly developing industry.

The physical environment, that is, places produce a series of 'settings' for the people living in them. 'Setting,' as Rapoport uses it, consists of a combination of 'behavior setting' and 'role setting' ideas. A 'setting' includes the rules about what is appropriate and expected in that space and the activities going on in that environment. The physical features of the place and the environment offer clues that serve as reminders to people about the situation and therefore, the appropriate behavior in that environment.¹⁶⁷ Together with the built environment, all the material culture, signs, furniture, landscape and plants, decorations, art objects belonging to the place are the founders of the cultural environment.¹⁶⁸ Campus structures create a life 'setting' with the borders they establish with the city and the physical organization within these borders. The norms determined by the physical environment and cultural structure on campuses shape the daily life of individuals.

Rapoport states that the built environment includes the organization of space, time, meaning, and communication. It is impossible to analyze the organization of space without considering the organization of time. Constraints that affect body movement are based on meaning and therefore affect interpersonal communication.¹⁶⁹ The interaction system between these four elements creates an ecological system.¹⁷⁰ Physical boundaries between the campuses and the external environment determine everyday life and body movements. The fact that a large part of everyday life is spent in the same place, together with the people who work with him/her, affects the individual and the society in many ways. Working, living, and studying in these spaces defined with certain boundaries creates a new 'identity' in the everyday life of individuals. When this new 'identity' turns

¹⁶⁷ Amos Rapoport, "Spatial Organization, and the Build Environment" in *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology: Humanity, Culture and Social Life* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 461-462.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 464.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

into routine life, it is inevitable to create a community culture among individuals.¹⁷¹ While this identity ensures the formation of a community culture inside, it can also cause the individual to be isolated from the outside world.

Having defined boundaries and including many time periods of everyday life in the same place, campus structures have also started the discussions that they control the individual's daily life. Foucault emphasized the similarity of the disciplinary space organization, which he dealt with through prisons, with structures such as factories, barracks, hospitals, and schools.¹⁷² Since these places, like prisons, can organize the individual's behavior and actions by creating daily timelines for the individual.¹⁷³ These spatial structures may turn into tools that reproduce the state in the social sphere.¹⁷⁴

Goffman conceptualized spaces, where many activities of everyday life take place in an environment with defined boundaries and within the body of an official institution, where the same things are done together, and where all time periods of the day continue in a programmed framework, as 'total institutions'.¹⁷⁵ Although Goffman discusses this spatial organization in terms of nursing homes and prison spaces, he underlines that these characteristics of total institutions are also found in various commercial, industrial, and educational institutions that cover all time periods of everyday life. However, the fact that the use of the facilities of these institutions, which includes leisure time, depends on the people's desire distinguishes these places from total institutions.¹⁷⁶

On the other hand, to easily reach social activities and their daily needs are important issues for people, at least as essential as working. The existence of these social services enables the employee to contribute efficiently to social production. Campus spaces provide a space for a series of activities of everyday life in a common area. Spaces with different functions such as study spaces, residences, and other leisure spaces are located within the boundaries defined by the campus. This situation is similar to the 'heterotopia' spaces conceptualized by Foucault. Heterotopias have the ability to bring

¹⁷¹ Ali Cengizkan, "Sonuç Yerine... İşçi Konutları'nda Barınma: Yaşam, Kültür ve Kentleşme," in *Fabrikada Barınmak* (Ankara: Arkadaş, 2009), p. 270.

¹⁷² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), p. 227-228.

¹⁷³ Darla Fortune and Colleen Whyte, "Re-imagining institutional spaces: the communitizing potential of leisure," *Leisure/Loisir*. 35(1) (2011), 19-35, p. 24.

¹⁷⁴ Catherine Alexander, "The Factory: Fabricating the State," *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 5(2) (July 2000), 177-195, p. 183.

¹⁷⁵ Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), p. 6.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

together many incompatible spaces in one real place.¹⁷⁷ These spaces are different spaces from each other in terms of time, space and action. The rhythms in daily life create an environment in which these spaces and the lives in these spaces are influenced by each other. Just as Lefebvre defines leisure spaces as counter spaces, Foucault defines heterotopias as counter spaces. Heterotopias are real spaces in everyday life. These spaces are represented, contested, and inverted in everyday life.

The rational space understanding of modernism define which action will take place in which space, the style of doing the action, and its boundaries with the boundaries of the conceived space. Campus spaces are spaces that directly reflect the rational space understanding of modernism with their spatial organization. People, who come to these spaces to participate in social production, can also spend their leisure time in these spaces. However, like the cities in which the modernist planning approach divides into zones and establishes the rhythm of daily life, these spaces also reflect a fragmented planning approach spatially. This fragmented space understanding points to a design that programs which action will take place in which space.

Leisure spaces of everyday life are defined as counter spaces, in contrast to modernism's programmed and regular lifestyle. This time period, which is historically very old, is defined as a phenomenon belonging to the upper classes of society until the modern period. However, with the transformation of the concept of work in the modern period, the meaning of leisure time is also transformed. Leisure time becomes an integrated structure into working time. This situation also corresponds to the socialization of leisure time. On the one hand, modernism spreads leisure time throughout society; on the other hand, it draws the boundaries of leisure time.

Campus spaces, which are spatial representations of leisure time integrated into working time, relate to all-time periods of everyday life. The spatial boundaries of this structure, which include all-time periods of daily life, establish the rhythm of everyday life. Leisure time separated from the obligatory actions of daily life will either reproduce the space by trying to create a space for itself in these spaces or will be articulated to the programmed structure of the conceived space.

¹⁷⁷ Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), 22-27, p. 25, 26.

CHAPTER 3

DIFFERENT CAMPUS STRUCTURES IN İZMİR

Campuses are spatial formations that provide many functions of daily life such as work, accommodation, entertainment, sports, health, and recreation within certain limits. The campus concept can define university institutions, housing estates, industrial establishments, or defined areas of certain institutions and organizations that contain many different functions.

This thesis focuses on the leisure activities of individuals who spend their working time, which covers a significant part of everyday life, on campuses that include a specific defined space, and the role of these actions in the production of space. In this context, three campus cases with different functions, namely education, industry, and state institutions campus, will be examined in the next chapter of the study. The case of Ege University Bornova Campus under the title of education campus, Sümerbank Basma Industry Factory-Halkapınar Campus under the title of industrial campus, and State Hydraulic Works (DSİ) İzmir-Bornova Campus under the title of state institutions campus will be discussed. In this chapter of the study, firstly, the effects of modernization, which unites the three campus cases, on the economic policies and everyday life in the country will be discussed. Afterward, the connection established by the campuses with the changing production relations in Turkey from the establishment period to today and their changing physical structures will be discussed.

3.1. Changing Economic Policies in Turkey's Modernization Experience and Effects on Everyday Life

Changing economic policies in specific periods throughout the history of the Republic of Turkey is an essential determinant in changing the course of urbanization in the country. After establishing the new regime in 1923, the period starting with 1930 is shown as the date when the first steps of the state-controlled national industrialization experiment. The First Five-Year Industrial Plan, designed in 1934, is one of the first

planning experiences in the world after Soviet planning.¹⁷⁸ It can be said that the industrialization initiative began by the state in this period was one of the fundamentals of the transformation rural-based social structure of the country. The changing in the rural-based social structure will cause the everyday life of the society to change along with it.

The 1950s were a significant turning point for the country in the transition process to an industrial society. Between 1927 and 1950, the urban population increased from 2.2 million to 3.9 million, while the rural population increased from 11.4 million to 17.1 million. While the agricultural labor force was 78 percent higher in 1950, the industrial labor force increased from only 9 percent to 10 percent between 1927 and 1950.¹⁷⁹ However, in the years 1950-1955 following these years, the industrial labor force increased significantly. In this context, the urban population has increased by 3.3 percent in five years and has reached 28.5 percent. This rate increased to 31.9 percent in 1960. As the country's three largest cities, the population of Istanbul, İzmir, and Ankara has increased by more than one million. While the population of Istanbul was 860,000 in 1945, the population of the city increased to 1.47 million in 1960.¹⁸⁰ During this period, the industrial enterprises which are established by the state industrial plans can be seen as the beginning of the creation of modern industry and the modern working class in Turkey.

Although Turkey did not actually participate in World War II, which was going on during the period between 1939 and 1945, the country was significantly affected by the devastating traces of the war. The post-war period is a period in which essential transformations took place in the capitalist system, and the positions of the actors in the world differ. In Turkey, the protectionist statist economic policies which continued to this period were replaced by private capital priority policies. Boratav describes the year 1946, which can be defined as a turning point in terms of economy, as the period in which protectionist, introverted economic policies that have continued uninterrupted for 16 years were stretched step by step, imports increased gradually, and external deficits started to become chronic. For this reason, this period can be described as a period the economic structure that could not stand without foreign aid began to settle. The economic

¹⁷⁸ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998), p. 54.

¹⁷⁹ Barış Alp Özden, "Health, Morality, and Housing: The Politics of Working Class Housing in Turkey, 1945-1960," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 49 (2013), 91-120, p. 94.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

structure that has become dependent on foreign in this period will become a permanent feature of the economy of Turkey.¹⁸¹ The Five-Year Industrial Plan, prepared in 1946, is a plan that continues to see the leadership of the state compulsory in the development and industrialization moves and aims at economic independence in foreign economic relations. But in the foreign aid recruiting process, a result of the fact that the power of this period saw this plan as an obstacle, in 1947, the Turkey Development Plan, which increased the role of private enterprise, was prepared. Boratav underlined that this plan is a plan that documents that the statist-protectionist understanding of industrialization has been completely eliminated.¹⁸²

After the foundation of the Republic, the process towards an industrial society started to occur in 1930, but after 1950, the country's economy became completely industrial-based. The population of the country, whose economy has become entirely industrial-based, has started to move towards cities. While there was an intense migration from the rural to the city, the state chose to follow a policy that everyone solves their own housing need instead of providing housing for those who migrate from rural to urban. Since the rents of the detached houses are too high for the laborers and the ordinary-regular housing types are not available enough, housing has turned into a problem for the newcomer to the city in this period. This situation has created the demand for low-wage housing in cities to be provided by the state or private sector.¹⁸³

The 1950s were the years when the housing problem intensified and spread to the whole country as a result of increasing urbanization.¹⁸⁴ The issue of social housing has come to the fore for the state, which is trying to cope with the economic investments required by both industrialization and urbanization. This period was the period when the issue of worker housing was opened to discussion, and innovations in housing production were investigated in Turkey.¹⁸⁵ In the *Arkitekt* magazine, the issue of workers' housing was frequently discussed, and cases made abroad with the understanding of "Bahçeşehir" were examined.¹⁸⁶ In the 1950s when urbanization accelerated, many state institutions and organizations began to operate, and industrial structures increased their presence in

¹⁸¹ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998), p. 74.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁸³ Barış Alp Özden, "Health, Morality, and Housing: The Politics of Working Class Housing in Turkey, 1945-1960," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 49 (2013), 91-120, p. 95.

¹⁸⁴ İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi* (Ankara: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1992-1993), p. 62.

¹⁸⁵ Nilay Ünsal Gülmez, "Ege Taşrasında "Modern" in Mitleşmesi: Kemer ve Demirköprü Baraj Siteleri ve Lojmanları," *METU JFA* (32:2) (2015/2), 19-43, p. 25.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

the provinces. In structures conceived in the form of campus in general, there are dwelling-houses along with working or production spaces. However, since the solutions found could not meet the burden of industrialization, the number of slums in the cities increased rapidly.

1980 can be defined as the beginning of a period in which significant changes will be experienced in social life in Turkey. With the decisions put into effect on January 24, 1980, the free market has become the only determinant in the economy and social life decision processes. With the implementation of neoliberal policies, the state began to withdraw from its active role in the economy and social life. Boratav points out the critical role of bourgeois ideology in accepting the economic policies implemented in this period in society. Boratav mentions that the ideological attack carried out in this period achieved its purpose in many areas. Class consciousness and culture, which had begun to take root among the urban workers in the preceding period, began to erode rapidly. This erosion shows itself in topics such as individualization, adherence to religion, and the shift of the focus of social life from the workplace and production to the family. Boratav draws attention to the direct connection of these transformations with the cultural degeneration that emerged most clearly in the 1980s.¹⁸⁷

3.2. İzmir City

After the establishment of the Republic in Turkey, one of the most important images of a modern state symbol was the development of the urban figure. The creation of a physical urban environment, the establishment of transportation networks, and adequate equipment in the city have been seen as one of the essential tools to support modern society. Modern urbanism and planning experiences developed in the west provided a model for this purpose.¹⁸⁸ Comprehensive zoning studies for İzmir city, which is seen as a significant facet of the country opening to the west due to being a port city, started right after the establishment of the republic.¹⁸⁹ The first master plan designed by Rene and Raymond Danger and Henri Prost in 1924 is a holistic master plan based on the city's future development. In the 1930s, the spatial character of the central districts was

¹⁸⁷ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998), p. 127.

¹⁸⁸ F. Cana Bilisel, "Ideology and Urbanism During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization," *METU JFA*, (16:1-2) (1996), 13-30, p. 13.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

largely formed within this plan.¹⁹⁰ This plan reflects the French planning approach applied in many parts of the world. Considering that the plan is implemented especially in the central districts, the geometric design concept of this planning approach can be read in the streets and symmetrically designed squares that cut each other perpendicularly.¹⁹¹

The modern development plans that spatially reflect the urban perspective of the Republic were first made in İzmir is not only related to the great fire in 1922 that changed the spatial existence of the city, but also to the existence of the city in the world and in Turkey. The first Turkish National Economy Congress, in which the foundations of a national economy understanding were laid, was held in İzmir in 1923, a product of a conscious choice. The city of İzmir, which stood at the center of economic relations in Western Anatolia even before the War of Independence, has the capacity to rebuild the economy. İzmir's zoning plan constitutes a model that reflects this nationalist and anti-imperialist ideology of the Republic.¹⁹² In the Prost-Danger plan, 'hygiene' is the principle of primary importance in determining the location of the port, industrial zones, and residential areas. It is aimed to separate the industrial zone from the city with green insulation roads. Due to the high population density in residential areas, workers' residences in the garden-city model have been proposed in Eşrefpaşa and Kadifekale districts and in the east of the port and industrial zone.¹⁹³ With its zoning approach, principles such as low densities, 'hygiene', new functions, equipment, and large green spaces, the plan spatially reflects many ideas pioneered by modernism.¹⁹⁴

Le Corbusier, one of the representatives of modernism, was invited to prepare a new master plan for the city in 1938, as the interventions of the Prost and Danger plan to the historical parts of the city were deemed insufficient. Le Corbusier bases his understanding of urban planning on 'the four basic principles of urbanism'. The framework of this design approach based on *habiter* (sitting), *travailler* (working), *cultiver* (developing the body and spirit), and *circuler* (wandering) functions.¹⁹⁵ However, the master plan is also based on a modernist zoning approach, where the regions are separated

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁹¹ Uğur Tanyeli, "Çağdaş İzmir'in Mimarlık Serüveni," in *Üç İzmir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1992), 327-338, p. 333.

¹⁹² F. Cana Bilsel, "Ideology and Urbanism During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization," *METU JFA*, (16:1-2) (1996), 13-30, p. 15.

¹⁹³ F. Cana Bilsel, "İzmir'de Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlaması (1923-1965): 20. Yüzyıl Kentsel Mirası," *Ege Mimarlık*, vol. 71 (2009), 12-17, p. 13.

¹⁹⁴ F. Cana Bilsel, "Ideology and Urbanism During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization," *METU JFA*, (16:1-2) (1996), 13-30, p. 17.

¹⁹⁵ F. Cana Bilsel, "Le Corbusier'nin İzmir Nazım Planı ve "Yeşil Endüstri Sitesi" Önerisi," *Ege Mimarlık*, vol. 31:3 (1999), 13-17, p. 14.

from each other. Industrial zones, residential areas, and rural areas were created. Urban functions are clearly separated from each other. It is suggested that transportation networks connect these regions.¹⁹⁶ In this spatial organization, where work and leisure spaces are clearly separated, schools, social centers, and sports facilities are proposed around the residential areas for the cultural and physical development of the workers.¹⁹⁷

Between four principles (habiter, travailler, cultiver and circuler) that constitute Le Corbusier's urban design approach 'travailler' emphasizes working time, and the other principles refer to leisure activities. The leisure actions that Corbusier bases on while designing the urban space remain outside the obligations of everyday life. Leisure activities include occupations that the individual chooses to in of his own free will.¹⁹⁸ These actions, apart from necessities, overlap with the concepts of liberating, disinterested, hedonic, and personal, which Dumazedier emphasizes as the defining characteristics of leisure time.¹⁹⁹ This conceptual overlap strongly emphasizes the role of leisure time in the design of space.

As the implementation of the master plan produced by Le Corbusier was deemed impossible, a planning competition was held in 1951 with the theme of "İzmir City Development Plan International Project Competition." The project prepared by Kemal Ahmet Aru and his team describes the city's development area as a linear line extending from Karataş to Üçkuyular. In this area, residential groups separated from each other by green corridors have been proposed. Social facilities and commercial units are designed to be integrated with these green areas. Workers' quarters associated with industrial zones were created in Tepecik and Bayraklı districts.²⁰⁰ The zoning principle of functionalist planning also shows itself in this plan. City is divided into functional zones such as residential, commercial, business center, industry, and port area. While the port and storage areas are located in Alsancak, the industrial zone is located in the east of Bornova Bay, similar to Corbusier's plan.²⁰¹ The city of İzmir took its current urban form as a result of different planning experiences.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁹⁸ Joffre Dumazedier, "Current problems in the sociology of leisure," *International Social Science Journal*, 12(4) (1960), 522–533, p. 527.

¹⁹⁹ Joffre Dumazedier, *Sociologie empirique du loisir* (Paris: Seuil, 1974).

²⁰⁰ F. Cana Bilsel, "İzmir'de Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlaması (1923-1965): 20. Yüzyıl Kentsel Mirası," *Ege Mimarlık*, vol. 71 (2009), 12-17, p. 16.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 16.

In İzmir, which is a coastal city, it is seen that the central districts have a high relationship with the coastline. Lefebvre connects leisure time and shore space. The shore is the only place of pleasure that people discover in nature.²⁰² In these spaces, the body goes beyond the framework determined by the division of labor, labor, and programmed spaces.²⁰³ Akış draws attention to the multi-layered dimension of the city of İzmir's relationship with the sea. The relationship with the sea is beyond just a trade and economic relationship like a port city.²⁰⁴ The sea is an essential part of everyday life and urban culture. Leisure and public space use in İzmir is identified with the city's identity.

When we come to the city's present-day as a result of different planning experiences, we see that different functional roles of different districts are intertwined. Konak district is the city's administrative center, and Alsancak and Bayraklı districts are the centers where the central business areas are concentrated. Alsancak district is one of the districts where both business areas and the leisure time spaces of the city are concentrated with the intense use of the coast and the presence of the entertainment sector. Kültürpark, an important leisure time and green area of the city, is also located in Alsancak. Karsiyaka, which has intense leisure time use, stands out with its intense public space and coastal use. In this district, the residential areas and the use of public spaces are intertwined. Bornova district is an essential focus of the city with its close location to industrial areas and the presence of hospitals, university campuses, and public campuses. The district also has a dense dwellings texture and leisure spaces that develop with the university's presence.

3.3. Three Cases of Campuses with Different Functions

The spatial cases examined in this title of the study unite when individuals spend a certain part of their daily life rhythms, which continue in the cycle of work and rest, together and in a certain area with defined boundaries.

The period of 1923-1950 can be defined as the period in which the ideology and worldview of the Republic of Turkey were determined and began to settle in the social sphere. This period ideologically represents the continuation of the Westernization

²⁰² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014).

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.

²⁰⁴ Tonguç Akış, "İzmir'de Yeşil Alan Kullanımı: Karşıyaka Sahilinde Gündelik Hayat," *Dosya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayını*, 27 (2011), 63-70, p. 63.

process that started in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, the break with the imperial ideology, and the establishment of the nation-state ideology.²⁰⁵ Spatial elements have an important place in the social settlement of the ideology of the Republic, which we can describe as the modernization project. For the newly established nation-state to be formed at the level of social consciousness, the Republican regime established spatial strategies. However, the Republic, which is identified with modernity in Turkey, has gone through transformation processes with the country's changing economic policies and ideological understanding. These transformations have led to the differentiation of the spatial strategies of the periods.

While the spaces in which our everyday life passes are constantly transforming, the structure of everyday life is also changing and transforming. From the establishment of the Republic in Turkey to the present day, the spaces where the series of actions that we define as leisure time took place have undergone transformation processes with different spatial strategies of different periods. The campus cases that constitute the case study of this thesis were also affected by this transforming structure. Figure 3.1 shows the locations of the campus cases in the city of İzmir.

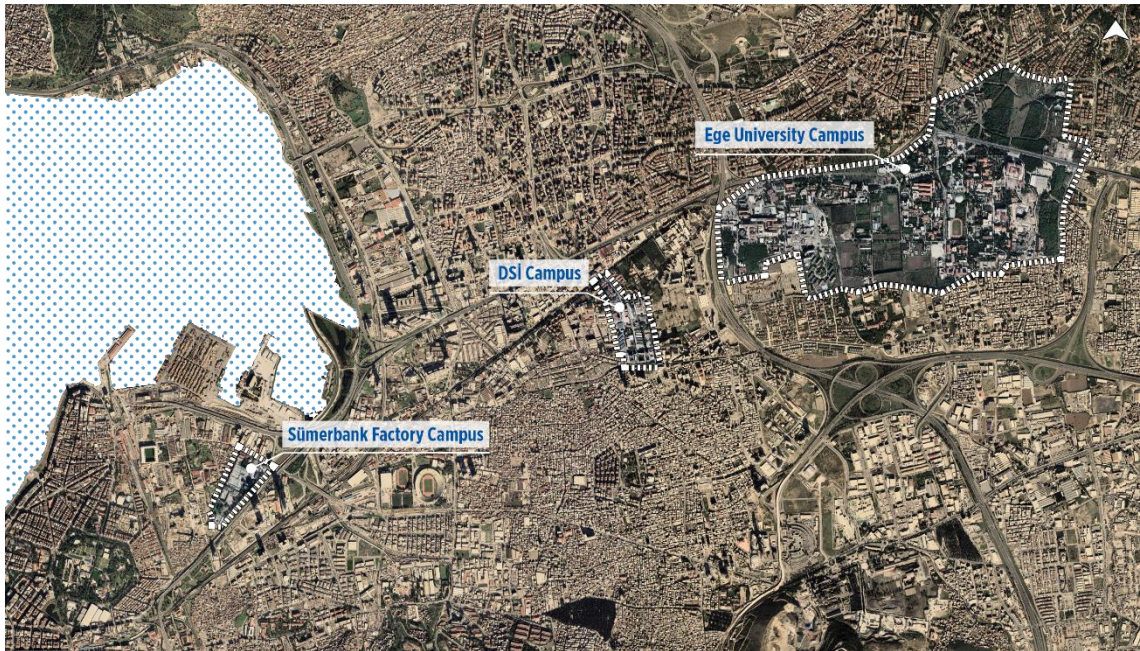


Figure 3.1. Location of three campus cases in İzmir city
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

²⁰⁵ İlhan Tekeli, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması* (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2001), p. 59.

3.3.1. The Case of Industry Campus: Sümerbank Textile Factory Halkapınar Campus

The modernization of Turkey, which started with the process from the last periods of the Ottoman Empire to the establishment of the Republic, developed in parallel with the industrialization moves that were put into practice with the proclamation of the Republic. The 1920s was the period when the government went to a new structure both politically and culturally with the ideology of creating a new nation-state. The identity of modern individuals and society targeted in every aspect of everyday life has also been supported by spatial innovations. The 1930s were the beginning of the years when the goal of industrialization became concrete with the large industrial campuses opened by the state throughout the country.²⁰⁶ The industrial campuses that emerged as a product of the ideological structure of the period became the spatial representations of the period.

Industrialization is the initiator of a significant transformation process in the country in social and spatial terms. In the Republican Period, the country, which moved from an agriculture-oriented social structure to an industry-oriented one, gained an urban social structure in this direction. In the new structuring, which envisages a transformation not only in the working times but also in the whole daily life of the individuals working in the factories, the spatial organization of the factory structures is in quality that confirms this. The new industrial facilities established in many Anatolian cities until the end of the 1930s included the buildings where production was carried out and spaces with different functions that meet many other needs in the daily lives of the employees.

The most critical step of the republic to radically change the habits of the regime it left behind about everyday life is the innovations made in the field of industrialization. The entry into force of the First Five-Year Industrial Plan in 1934 and the establishment of the institutions of Sümerbank (1933) and Etibank (1935), two prominent state enterprises in the same years, formed the basis of the progress of the state in the field of modernization. While settling in the social area for the newly established regime, these improvements, which had significant representative power, were conveyed to the public through images such as magazines, newspaper posters, and wall posters. In particular, Sümerbank factories have turned into icons that symbolize the nationalist

²⁰⁶ Burak Asiliskender, "Anadolu'da Modern Bir Yaşam Kurmak: Sümerbank Kayseri Bez Fabrikası ve Lojmanları," in *Fabrikada Barınmak*, ed. Ali Cengizkan (Ankara: Arkadaş, 2009), p. 111-112.

industrialization ideals of the 1930s and are widely used in the official publications of the period.²⁰⁷



Figure 3.2. A poster of Sümerbank Factory from period publications
(Source: URL-3)



Figure 3.3. Another poster of Sümerbank Factory from period publications
(Source: Şumnu, URL-4)

After the five-year industrial plan put into practice in 1934, the Bakırköy (1934), Kayseri (1935), Bursa (1935), Ereğli (1937), Nazilli (1937), and Malatya (1937) factories were the first Sümerbank factories to open. Bozdoğan stated that especially the cotton cloth factory in Kayseri reminded the post-revolutionary Soviet effects. In addition to the main production structure, there are worker lodgings, social club, cinema, swimming pool, kindergarten, sports facilities, and infirmary in the campus. With this spatial organization, the campus resembles a small factory city pattern.²⁰⁸ The same spatial organization constitutes the general character of the campus buildings that reflect the spatial strategies of this period. The campus structures, which include facilities such as housing, social, cultural activities, sports, education, and health, along with structures in the main production function, offer a small urban structure for the people working and living in them.

²⁰⁷ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası* (İstanbul: Metis, 2012), p. 141.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.141.

The steps taken in the field of industrialization aimed to embody the new way of thinking of the Republic from two different perspectives. On the one hand, these buildings represented the power and productivity of the state with their architectural features. On the other hand, creating a social and economic transformation in their location was seen as one of the primary goals.²⁰⁹ The industrial campuses implemented by the state are not only industrial facilities but also establishments that constitute the modern working class in Turkey. These initiatives by the state aimed to train workers with expert knowledge and skills and to create a new, modern individual. The state, which tries to establish a productive and secular state model, has established industrial campuses in many cities of Anatolia. These campuses are not just factory buildings but are places where all daily life activities occur. The campuses have been instrumental in experiencing essential transformations in the cities where they were founded. Over time, living spaces have been formed around them, and transportation systems have developed to strengthen the city center's connection. It is possible to say that these structures, which are at the center of production, shape the city around itself and create the image of the new modern city.

The industrial campuses, where the aim of the changing regime to build a new social structure was reflected in the space, established the everyday life of the new human model to be created by the modernization project of the Republic, with the opportunities offered to the employees, their families, and the citizens. In addition to the industrial buildings, campuses contained many functions such as cinema, theatre, sports-activity halls, market, lodgings, school, infirmary. With these features, the industry campuses were seen as models of the modern city structure that the Republic aimed to establish. Alexander indicates that industrial settlements were used as a tool for the adoption and spread of a new community life and urban culture during the establishment of a new state in her examinations on Sugar Factories. Community consciousness is also a very important tool for the continuation of the new human model built by the regime.²¹⁰

The spatial structure of the industrial settlements, which we can see as the spatial reflection of the national industrialization movement in the 1930s, which brought a new culture of life to the workers, reflects the state policies of the period. This spatial structure has been transformed by the state policies that started to change in 1946, which we define as the beginning of a new era. Then, the state followed policies that were oriented to find

²⁰⁹ Catherine Alexander, "The Factory: Fabricating the State," *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 5(2) (July 2000), 177-195, p. 181.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

individual solutions to the basic spatial needs against the rapidly increasing urban population in the 1950s. It is possible to say that while the number of industrial settlements established by private capitals increased after this period in which economic policies have gone through a transformation process, these settlements have different spatial characters than in previous periods.

In the 1930s, Sümerbank factories were established in many different regions of Anatolia. In the 1940s, with the entry into force of the Second Five-Year Industrial Plan, the second wave of industrialization begins. Textile campuses in Kastamonu, İzmir, Denizli, Bergama, Manisa, and Antalya are established in this second wave.²¹¹ The Halkapınar Campus, which is a late example of Sümerbank factories, started to be built in 1947 and was put into operation in 1949. In these years, when the Second World War continued, there was a shortage of labor force due to the conscription of many of the employees at the Sümerbank Nazilli factory. It is planned to keep an old factory structure in İzmir, which is close to Nazilli, and to send the weaving looms there. Later, the production problem in Nazilli was solved, but a facility with 140 benches was put into service in İzmir in 1949. The factory made production under the factory in Nazilli from 1949 to 1953 and became an autonomous facility in 1953.²¹² Yarn and weaving factories were opened in 1953, and printing factories were opened in 1955. The factory continues production for many years under the name of “Sümerbank İzmir Basma Sanayi Müessesesi”.

Sümerbank İzmir Campus became operational in 1949 in the area defined as the industrial zone behind the harbor in İzmir. The industrial development of this region, which we now know as Alsancak, formerly known as Punta, started with the construction of the train station in the region in 1860. The station has attracted the development of the city over time. Apart from residential and commercial areas, factories and storage units have also started to be located in this area.²¹³ In the city plan prepared by Dangers and Prost in 1925, it was envisaged that the new port would be located in Alsancak and that the large swamp on the seaside would be drained, and an area with warehouses would be created in the rear area of the port. The region, which has already started to develop as an

²¹¹ Özlem Arıtan and Yasemin Sayar, “İzmir Sümerbank Basma Sanayi Yerleşkesi ve Dönüşüm Süreçleri,” *Ege Mimarlık*, 70 (2009), 20-25, p. 21.

²¹² Erdal Uzunoğlu, “The Constitution of Power Relation in Spaces of Industrial Production: The Case of Four Sümerbank Campuses in the Aegean Region” The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss., İzmir Institute of Technology, 2008), p. 107-108.

²¹³ İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı, *İzmir Industrial Heritage Inventory* (İzmir: İzmir Development Agency – İZKA, 2021) p. 16.

industrial area, has turned into a defined industrial area that continues from the train station to the port.²¹⁴

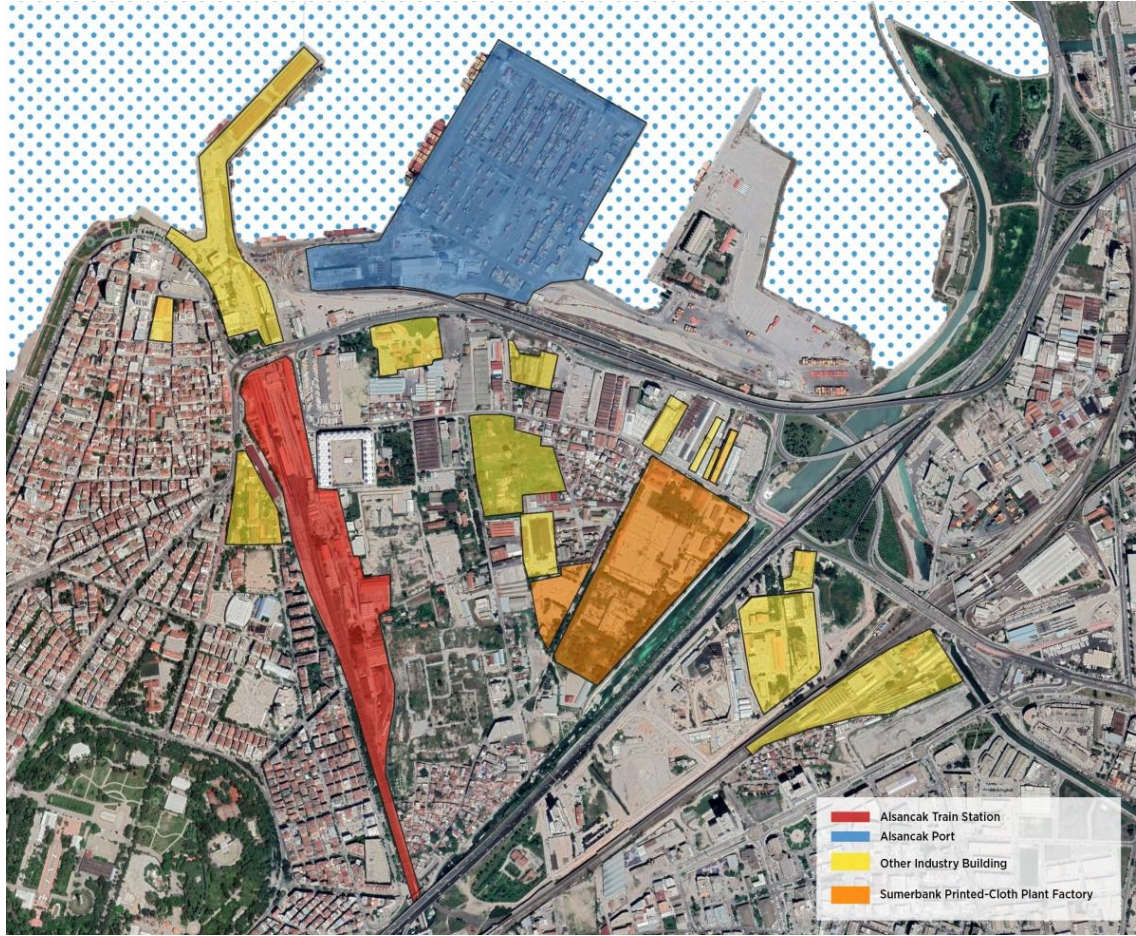


Figure 3.4. Industrial buildings/campuses in the back port area
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

It is seen that the facility, which started its activities with a single production structure at the beginning, has gained the form of a campus with the addition of structures with different functions to the parcel where the building is located. The building which is located at the intersection of Şehitler Street, and 1525 Street is seen as the production building in the first drawings of the factory. (Figure 3.5) When the industrial facility expanded and became a campus, it was seen that this building was used as a social facility

²¹⁴ Eylem Şimşek, “Endüstri Yapılarının Kültürel Miras Olarak İrdelenmesi ve Değerlendirilmesi: İzmir Liman Arkası Bölgesi Örneği” The Department of Architecture, (MSc Thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, 2006), p. 89.

structure.²¹⁵ Apart from the production structures, there are lodgings, dining halls, social center, and recreation areas, kindergarten, sports fields, and parks on the campus.

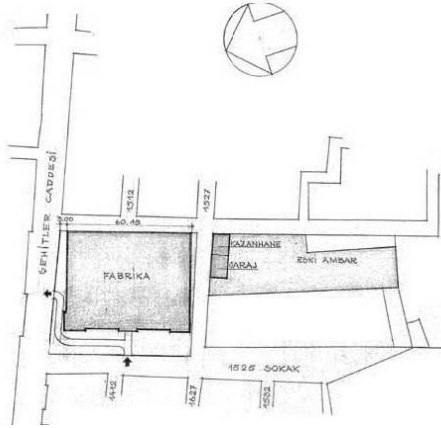


Figure 3.5. The first building in Sumerbank Campus
(Source: Uzunoğlu, 2008)

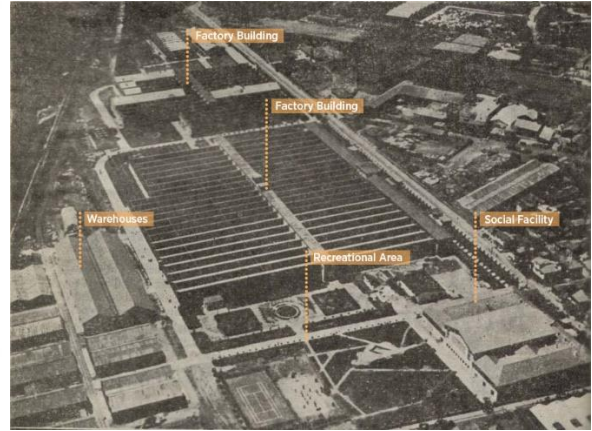


Figure 3.6. General view of the campus
(Source: Uzunoğlu, 2008. Edited by the author.)

The campus is located on the corner parcel at the intersection of Şehitler Caddesi and 1525 Street. 1525 Street divides into two parts the campus structure. The main campus, where production and warehouses are concentrated, is located east of 1525 Street and has four different entrances. The second area, where the kindergarten, lodgings, and dining hall units are located, is located on the west of 1525 Street. This area also has two different entrances from this street.

"There was a ready-made clothes section on one side of the road in İzmir Basma. On one side of the road was the fabric part of the textile. The total area was 165 thousand square meters. The part of 20 thousand square meters was the clothing part, and the part of 145 thousand square meters was the fabric part. Dwelling houses were on both sides. However, it was more in the small part. Workers' dining halls, which we call restaurants, and guesthouses were located in the main part." (Interviewee 2, Sümerbank Factory, January 2022)

²¹⁵ Erdal Uzunoğlu, "The Constitution of Power Relation in Spaces of Industrial Production: The Case of Four Sümerbank Campuses in the Aegean Region" The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss., İzmir Institute of Technology, 2008), p. 109.



Figure 3.7. Sumerbank İzmir land use map
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Uğursal, 2011)

The social facility building, located at the intersection of Şehitler Street and 1525 Street, was used as a production structure in the first years of the factory. With the expansion of the campus area, a larger production area was needed. For this reason, new production buildings were built, and the old building was started to be used as a social facility structure. The use of the building, which was originally designed as a production building, was used as a social facility brought along certain difficulties in terms of space. The lighting problem inside the space prevented the building from being used efficiently as a social facility structure.²¹⁶ For this reason, later, different structures, including units such as the cafeteria, restrooms for white-collar workers, a multi-purpose activity hall, and a guest room, were added to the campus.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 113.

It has been one of the main principles of the company that the factory employees should be educated as people who are socially and culturally knowledgeable and will be role models for society. In line with this purpose, the employees and their families were given importance to spend their leisure time in a qualified manner. Leisure activities within the institution are divided into social needs at the workplace and during working hours and social needs outside the workplace and working hours. Social facilities in Sümerbank İzmir Institution are dwelling houses, kindergarten, infirmary, workers and officers dining halls and cafeterias, local and football fields.

“When establishing these factories of ours, socialist republics were taken as cases, and they were made like them. For example, the factory sent me to a free English course. I went for two years. We were going to the course at the end of the working hours. I still see the benefits. We would have training. Computers came to accounting in 1993. They sent us to Bursa Merinos Factory for training, two officers. We took training there for 15 days. We stayed there in our facilities at the factory, and we toured the factories. It was a great service. Bursa Factory was a training place. The training of engineers and administrative staff took place there. Sümerbank was like a real school for us.” (Interviewee 1, Sümerbank Factory, January 2022)

The density of female personnel in the factory, which works on textile and printed fabric production, is higher than in other sectors. The obligation to have a kindergarten in the factories with a certain number of female employees determined by the laws of the period was applied in the factory. The existence of kindergarten both supported the place of women in social production and enabled the children of the employees to establish relationships. In addition, access to qualified education, which is a critical basic need, was guaranteed by the factory. Another essential need space like the kindergarten on campus was the infirmary. An infirmary was a place where employees and their families could get free examination services in case of illness.

“Employees used to go to their children during lunch breaks. If they got sick, the news would come immediately, their parents could go to them. The factory also had a doctor, dentist, and nurse. They were constantly working in the infirmary. The nurse and the infirmary staff stayed in the dwelling houses. The infirmary was open to everyone, workers and officers, it was like a hospital. The kindergarten was also very close to the factory. There was no charge for the kindergarten.” (Interviewee 1, Sümerbank Factory, January 2022)



Figure 3.8. Kindergarten in Sumerbank Campus
(Source: Uzunoglu, 2008.)

Another leisure space that factory employees can benefit from is the resting facility, which employees from all institutions gathered under the umbrella of Sümerbank can benefit from. In 1956, a facility affiliated with the Nazilli Press Factory was established in Kuşadası for all personnel to rest. The facility, which was renamed as "Kuşadası Education and Recreation Center" in 1976, served all Sümerbank employees until the 2000s.²¹⁷

The Sümerbank institution, to which the facility is affiliated, was privatized in 1987 within the scope of the "Law No. 3291 on the Privatization of State Economic Enterprises". İzmir Halkapınar Factory was renamed Sümer Holding AŞ after privatization and continued production within the company until 2000. Then, with the decision of the Privatization High Council dated 2000, the factory was closed. Today, the land transferred to the Special Provincial Administration in 2003 is used as Nevvar Salih İşgören Vocational High School and Education Campus.²¹⁸ However, the main production structure of the factory, some of the warehouses, and administrative structures were destroyed. Other buildings in the main production section continue to be used as educational buildings today. Building renovations have removed the structures from their

²¹⁷ Hulusi Doğan, Serpil Kocaman, Neşe Çakır and Engin Üngüren, "Çağdaş işletmelerin Sosyal Sorumluluk Anlayışı Ekseninde Sümerbank Nazilli Basma Fabrikası Örneği ve Cumhuriyet Kültürünün Yerleşmesindeki Rolü" *Uluslararası Alanya İşletme Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3-1 (2011), p. 193, 194.

²¹⁸ İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı, *İzmir Industrial Heritage Inventory* (İzmir: İzmir Development Agency – İZKA, 2021) p. 62.

original characters. The lodging structures in the factory continue to be used by the employees of the National Education.²¹⁹

3.3.2. The Case of Education Campus: Ege University Campus

With the establishment of the Republic, the new regime started to take essential steps in terms of industrialization in the country and identified modernization with industrialization. These steps taken by the state in terms of modernization are based on the creation of an intelligent, urban, modern individual and society. Universities, like industrial buildings, are significant spatial tools that represent the country in this field for a state that desires to modernize. For a regime that aims to advance historically, to create modern cities, modern individuals, and modern society, the production of knowledge, like industrial production, is a significant issue. Universities, where public knowledge is produced, and urban, modern, and educated individuals are grown, can be seen as one of the ideologically significant carriers of the Republican regime.

After the Second World War, there was a critical economic, social and political transformation process all over the world. It is possible to mention about a similar situation for Turkey. It is possible to see the transformation process experienced in the 1950s as a second moment in the modernization experience of Turkey after the 1930s. The new strategies produced to counter the devastating effects of the war began to separate from the policies implemented until that day. With the country's transition to the multi-party regime in 1946, the dual political situation in the country, liberal economic policies that started to replace the protectionist-statist policies, and the dense population migration to the big cities laid the groundwork for the crucial transformations. These factors have brought many problems such as housing shortage, unemployment, spatial and cultural differences.

These transformations, which affect the whole of everyday life, have also caused significant changes in the functioning of universities, education methods, and spatial configurations. The USA, which increased its production capacity to a great extent in the period between the First and Second World War, became an important actor both economically and ideologically all over the world. It puts the foreign aid project into

²¹⁹ Seçil Uğursal, "Tarihi Yapıların Yeniden İşlevlendirilmesi: İzmir Sümerbank Basma Sanayi Yerleşkesi Örneği" The Department of Architecture, (MSc Thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, 2011), p. 115.

practice in the European countries that have been hit hard by the war. Turkey also participates in this foreign aid plan called Marshall Aids. Agreements with the USA such as Marshall Aids, military-technical support packages, and then Turkey's full membership to NATO in 1952 paved the way for the USA to be fully effective in many cultural and social policies that affect daily life in Turkey.²²⁰

Universities have been one of the most critical tools for modernity to gain a presence in the social field all over the world. They played a significant role in cultural rationalization and in the transfer of many ideas that emerged with modernity to society. Especially in the 20th century, universities have been areas where many currents of ideas led by modernity emerged, developed, and spread.²²¹ According to this view, which sees universities as a field where cultural knowledge emerges along with scientific knowledge, universities are places where many views and contradictions that have emerged with modernity are expressed and discussed. Delanty, in his article on the relationship between social knowledge and university, underlined that the university has more significant meanings socially than a place of knowledge production. Universities are also spaces that feed the dominant cultural models in society.²²²

Founded in a similar period with Ege University, METU has a significant spatial and ideological place in Turkey's modernization experience. Sargın and Savaş draw attention to the economic and political transformation of the period, the connection between the campus-form structure and the American education system, and the fact that METU is a "project of showing itself" for Turkey in terms of modernization, in their historical reading of the founding years of METU.²²³ Although METU has a different representation power from other universities that were established in a similar period in terms of campus, a similar economic-political historical analysis can also be achievable for Ege University, which started its education life in the same years.

The fact that university buildings, whose primary function is education, are built as campuses ensures that the daily life in this place is not limited to education hours only. The continuation of education outside of the training hours is one of the main reasons that make up this spatial structure. This structure form should encourage the continuation of

²²⁰ Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş, "‘A University is a society’: an environmental history of the METU ‘campus’," *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.18 No.1 (2012), 79-106, p. 85.

²²¹ Gerard Delanty, "The University in the Knowledge Society," *Organization*, Vol 8:2 (2001), 149-153, p. 150.

²²² *Ibid.*, p.2.

²²³ Güven Arif Sargın and Ayşen Savaş, "‘A University is a society’: an environmental history of the METU ‘campus’," *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.18 No.1 (2012), 79-106, p. 84.

daily life in academicians' lodgings, students' dormitories, sports facilities, cultural event venues, and cafeterias. Campus structures resemble a micro-scale urban space that contains many functions that a city provides to the citizens within its borders.

University structures, which have the characteristics of a campus, contain many faculties, study units from different departments, non-working spaces, social and cultural facilities, primary vital functions such as accommodation, eating, drinking, cleaning and health, are spaces where a significant part of daily life is spent together. Like in cities, public spaces that allow academics, employees, and students from different university fields to come together are essential elements of campus design. The university is not only a space in the education function but also corresponds to the everyday life itself for individuals who carry on the daily activities on campus.

As in urban-scale public spaces, in campus buildings with educational functions where everyday life is intensely shared, space stands out with its founding role in social relations. The physical features of the spaces, the way they come together, and the spatial organization are the spatial features that determine everyday life. The existence of public spaces in the space and the spatial construction of these spaces affect the participation of individuals in the public space in their leisure time. On the other hand, these spatial characteristics can change and transform together with the social situations in everyday life that make the space a lived space.

Although there are colleges and vocational schools in certain districts of İzmir, Ege University, whose central units are located in a shared place, in an area with defined boundaries, is a campus university. In 1956, it started to provide education as Turkey's fourth and Aegean Region's first state university.²²⁴ The university is located in the Bornova district of İzmir. In the university campus, which gained a large and living campus structure over time, Faculties of Medicine and Agriculture and the School of Nursing started to provide education primarily. These faculties used the existing buildings on the land in the first step. After these faculties, the campus area expanded to include Atatürk Neighborhood.²²⁵ The campus has reached an open area of 345 hectares together with the development area. Later, with the budget received from the Ministry of National Education, in the first step, single-story barracks-type structures began to be built. Two

²²⁴ “Dünden Bugüne Ege Üniversitesi,” https://ege.edu.tr/tr/1/dunden_bugune_ege_universitesi.html.

²²⁵ Hasan Mert, “Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yönleriyle Bornova,” (2002), p. 201.

of these structures are still used as club rooms, academic staff offices, and laboratories of the Faculty of Agriculture.²²⁶

An Urban Planning Project Competition was opened in 1958 for the holistic design of the university campus. The campus design competition covers the design of the faculties of Medicine, Agriculture, Science, Pharmacy, Dentistry, Law, Social Sciences, the rectorate building, sports facilities, student dormitories, and the general areas of use on the campus. In the project, where Perran Doğancı and her team won the first prize, it was suggested that the health units are located in the western part of the campus. Care has been taken to ensure that these spaces, which the citizens will heavily use, contact the city. Classrooms and faculties are generally located in the east part of the campus and are separated from the hospital structure by a green texture and agricultural field. To the east of the faculties are leisure spaces such as stadiums and sports halls. It is seen that academicians lodgings and student dormitories are separated from the general campus settlement and are located in the northeast. The sheltering units are designed to be associated with sports facilities. The campus has developed around the idea of human scale and balanced squares.²²⁷

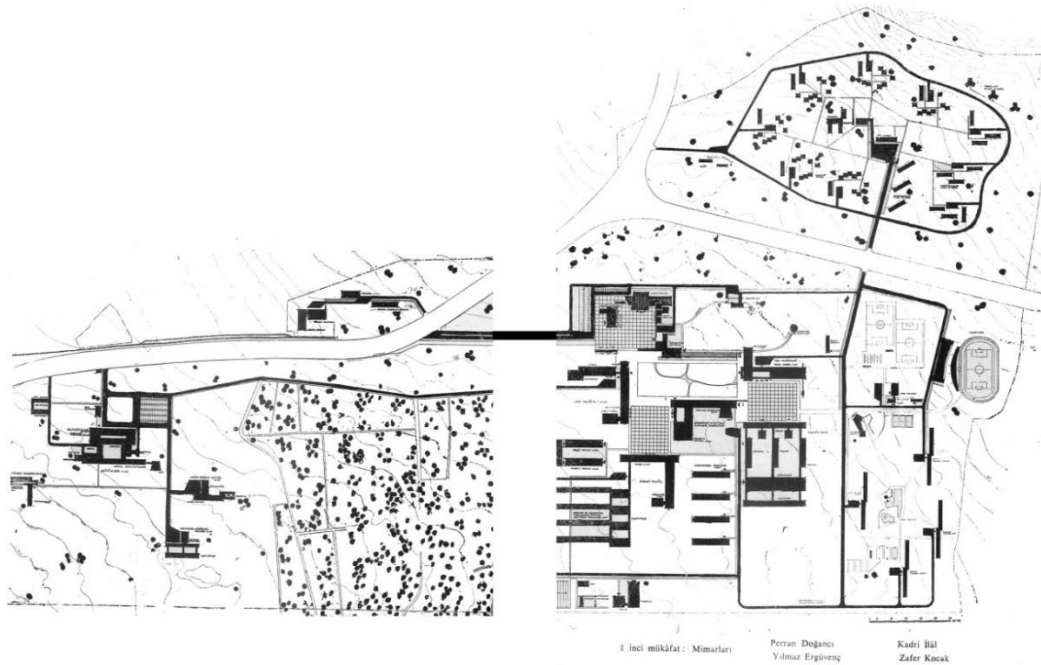


Figure 3.9. Ege University Project Competition 1st Project – Site Plan
(Source: Arkitekt 3, 1959)

²²⁶ Berna Yaylalı Yıldız, “University Campuses as Places of Potential Publicness: Exploring the Political, Social, and Cultural Practices in Ege University” The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss., İzmir Institute of Technology, 2014), p. 128.

²²⁷ “Ege Üniversitesi Şehircilik Proje Müsabakası Jüri Raporu Özeti,” *Arkitekt. 3* (1959), 101-109.

The winning project in the Ege University Urban Planning Project Competition has not been implemented. Although it was decided to make a master plan for the design decisions of the university after the competition, the master plan could not be prepared due to the lack of financial resources. It is possible to say that the campus, which did not have a holistic urban design at the master plan scale, developed and took its current form with the addition of spaces designed according to the needs of the campus.

Faculty of Science was added to existing faculties in 1961, and Faculties of Dentistry and Engineering in 1969. From 1975 to 1981, the number of faculties at the university reached twenty. With the closure of some faculties, the number of faculties on campus decreased to seventeen in 1982. However, with a law that came into force in 1982, the units of İzmir Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Fine Arts, Faculty of Business and Economics, Faculty of Civil Engineering, Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and Earth Sciences of Ege University were connected at Dokuz Eylül University which is newly established in İzmir. Although the departments of Dokuz Eylül University continued to provide education on the campus of Ege University for a while, they were later moved to the new DEU Campus established in Buca. This situation has led to the evacuation of the buildings and to become derelict in Ege University.²²⁸ This situation significantly affected the university campus in terms of spatial quality. After the faculties left the university, new faculties, institutes, departments, and college units were added to the campus over time.²²⁹

Individuals who move from one place to another on campus to perform their everyday actions create their spatial routines around these actions. On the other hand, the public use spaces on the campus constitute the meeting points of the daily spatial routines of the individuals. For education campuses, these places can be dormitories, academician lodgings, dining halls and cafeterias, sports halls, cultural centers, classrooms, libraries, open recreation areas. These spaces are the spaces that determine life on campus and give direction to daily routines. For this reason, the design and implementation of urban campus buildings with a holistic approach to cover all these spaces is a significant issue that determines everyday life here. However, Ege University gained its current form with the addition of new buildings to the campus or the transformation of existing ones

²²⁸ Berna Yaylalı Yıldız, "University Campuses as Places of Potential Publicness: Exploring the Political, Social, and Cultural Practices in Ege University" The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss., İzmir Institute of Technology, 2014), p. 133.

²²⁹ Bilgehan Hakkı, İsmet Ertaş, and Birol Akşit, *Kuruluşundan Günümüze Ege Üniversitesi* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2005), p. 19-31.

according to the budget and spatial needs of the university rather than a holistic urban design approach. The relationship between the campus buildings as well as the faculty buildings themselves, the public open spaces, and voids, which shape this relationship, have an important place in the design of public spaces of this scale. In the case of Ege University, when the buildings in the campus are considered one by one, there are qualified examples, but the disconnections arising from the absence of a holistic design in the life of the campus stand out.

The fact that the project's design decisions, which was determined as the winner as a result of the urbanism project competition, were not implemented in the campus design and the construction of the campus buildings, caused the campus to develop in a periodical manner with different spatial characteristics. The principles based on the relationship between open and closed spaces that existed in the Faculty of Agriculture, Science, and Engineering buildings, which were first built on the campus, were not considered in the same way in other buildings added to the campus later on. The changing university administration and the changing political structure of the country have been the determining factors in the planning of the campus over time.²³⁰

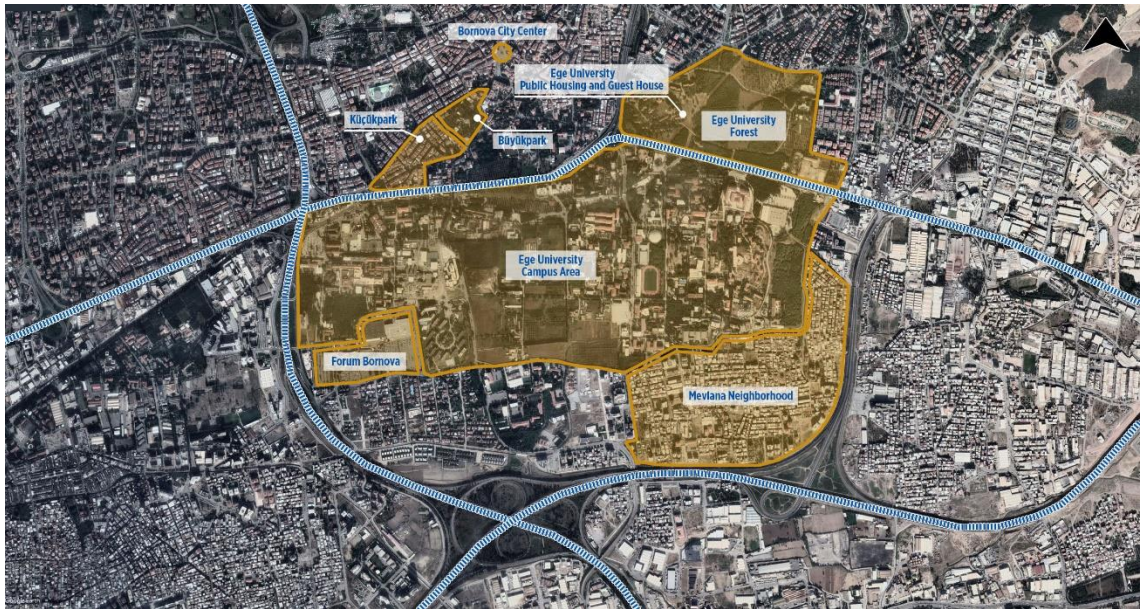


Figure 3.10. The urban context of the Ege University
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

²³⁰ Berna Yaylalı Yıldız, “University Campuses as Places of Potential Publicness: Exploring the Political, Social, and Cultural Practices in Ege University” The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss., İzmir Institute of Technology, 2014), p. 134.

Ege University, located in the Bornova district of İzmir, has developed the district around itself. The fact that the health units are on the same campus with other faculties increases the university's contact with the citizens. Important transportation networks have been established around the campus. The essential transportation network that provides access to the university is the metro. Bornova district, located in the northeast of the city, also forms the border of İzmir central districts. For this reason, the campus is surrounded by various ring roads and highway connections. Due to being a university campus, an important urban public area has formed around the campus, with a very young population. Küçükpark and Büyükpark areas are important public areas of the region. These regions are also areas where there are leisure places such as cafeterias. Cafeterias are heavily used during breaks and outside working hours on campus. The Mevlana neighborhood, located just south of the campus, is a neighborhood where university students live intensely.

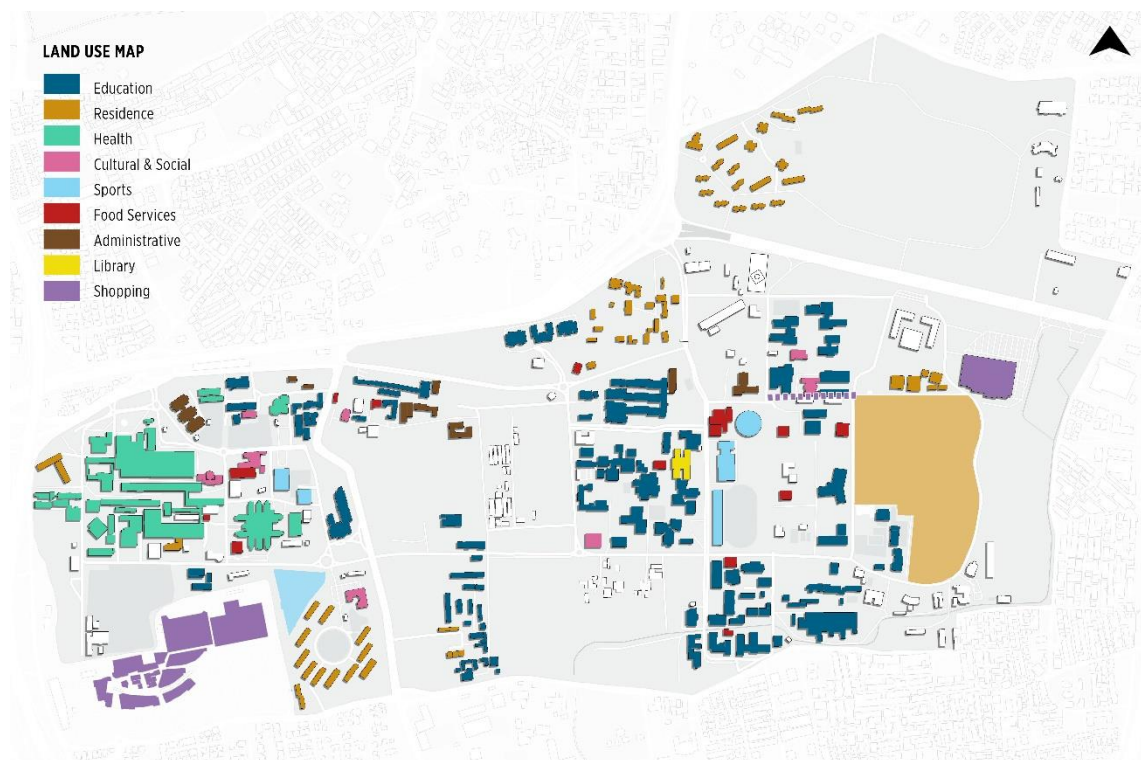


Figure 3.11. Ege University land use map
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Mapbox.)

Figure 3.11 shows the functions of the buildings on the campus in everyday life. The university campus has several different entrances. Bornova Metro Station is mainly used to reach the western part where health units are concentrated. To reach the western part of the university, where the other units of the university are located, the main entrance

and the entrance to which the Ege University Metro is connected are used. Axes continuing from these two entrances connect to the area where the common use areas of the campus such as the library, social facilities, sports units, cafeteria are concentrated. Therefore, the spaces in this area are the places used by many people on the campus, both with their functions and their use in pedestrian transportation to the campus.

Neoliberal policies, which determined the country's economic policies in the 1980s, showed themselves clearly in the social and cultural fields. Chambers, associations and foundations, academia, professional groups, media organs have played a very influential role in reflecting neoliberal policies to the society as an indicator of development. The liberal view, which tries to settle in all areas of everyday life socially, has been unidimensionally transferred to the younger generations in primary and secondary education and universities under the control of YÖK (The Council of Higher Education).²³¹

The campus structures, which shape the social existence of the individual with the everyday life that continues during and outside the education hours, have been affected by this cultural degeneration in every sense. The social and cultural structure on the campus, which is an important factor shaping the life of the individual outside of formal education hours, has been the area that is most affected by this cultural degeneration. The effects of the activities performed together during the non-working hours on the campus have weakened the individual's cultural development, and the meaning of the concept of leisure has begun to change. The existence and spatial structure of the spaces that shape the non-working hours on the campus, the quality and publicness of these spaces' social and cultural activities have transformed.

3.3.3. The Case of Public Service Campus: DSİ (State Hydraulic Works) Bornova Campus

The 1950s, when many state institutions were opened and urbanization accelerated, were the years when state institutions such as the Turkish Industrial Development Bank (1950), DSİ (1954), and the Turkish Dams Department (1954) became active. Urbanization, which is a product of modernism, is also a work of 'taming nature.' For Turkey, which entered a rapid urbanization process in the 1930s, the concept

²³¹ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998), p. 126-127.

of 'taming nature' became a part of the Republican ideology.²³² As an organization, DSİ aims to increase the efficiency obtained from nature in the use of water and to manage water. On the other hand, this understanding reflected in the state's urbanization decisions also carries the idea of framing the norms and standards of public life. DSİ was established in the 1950s when the urbanization was felt most intensely in Turkey. Its spatial characteristics establish a strong connection with modernization and rationalization, as in other cases. In this sense, it is possible to say that it is one of the essential establishments representing the modernization experience of Turkey.



Figure 3.12. DSİ (State Hydraulic Works) campuses and facilities in Turkey
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author.)

From the institution's establishment until the 1990s, many regional directorate campuses were established. All regional directorates have the characteristics of campuses, and besides offices, there are dwelling-houses, dining halls, social facilities, sports facilities, and open areas. In addition to the regional directorates, there are guesthouses in many provinces where branches are also located. DSİ employees and their families can stay in cheaper and better facilities in many cities. Apart from this, there are educational and recreational facilities in 12 regions that can be described as summer resorts. These summer resorts are where there are camping areas and recreational facilities of many different public service institutions such as DSİ. It is seen that the facilities are generally

²³² Güven Arif Sargin and Aysen Savaş, "‘A University is a society’: an environmental history of the METU ‘campus’," *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol.18 No.1 (2012), 79-106, p. 81.

located in regions such as sea coasts, lake shores, or in specific areas of cities with unique natural environmental assets. After the establishment of the institution in 1954 and the opening of regional directorates, dam constructions started in many parts of the country. The lodgings and social facilities built around the dams helped to bring the modern to the Anatolian countryside.²³³

For instance, after the first facility built by Etibank in 1945 around Hazar Lake, State Railways in 1953, State Hydraulic Works in 1959, and Turkish Petroleum Enterprises in 1960 established recreational facilities on the shore of the lake. After than that, Directorate of Forestry, Scouting Establishment, Turkey Fertilizer Industry, Elazig Cement Factory, Elazig Sugar Factory, 8th Corps Command, Ministry of Finance, Sümerbank, Dicle University, Elazig Municipality, Air Force Command, PTT, Ministry of Health, and General Directorate of Rural Services were around the lake established their facilities.²³⁴ Yurtdaş stated that the total number of people who benefit from these camps in two-week cycles is around 20 thousand.²³⁵

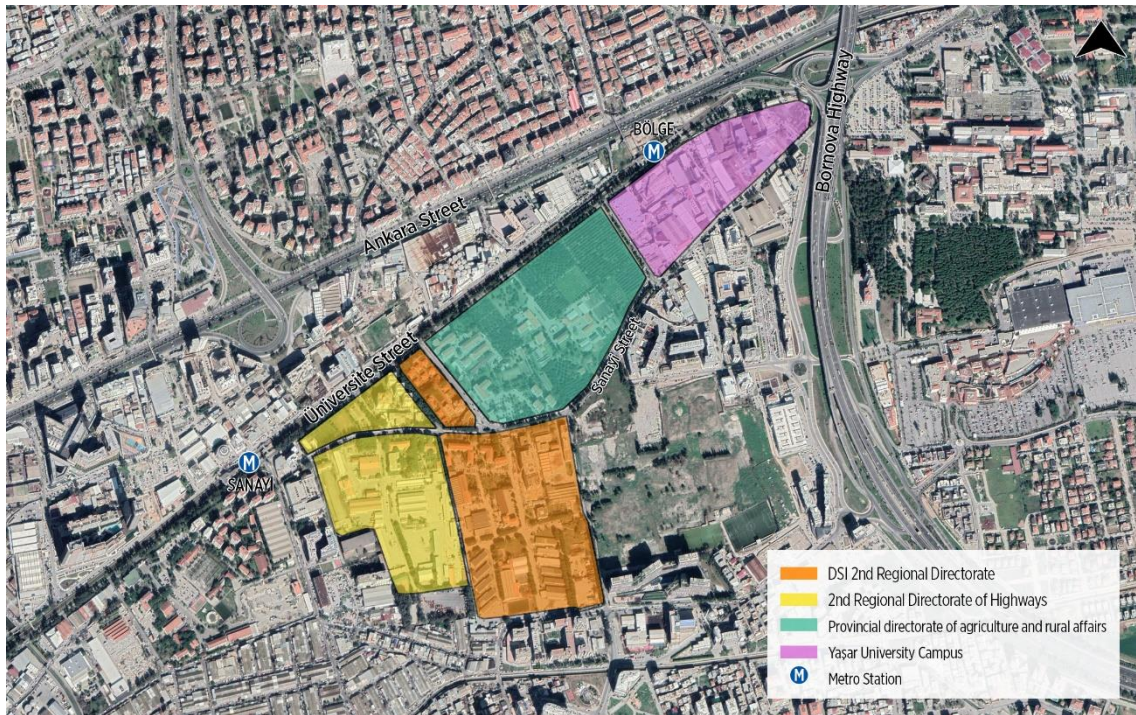


Figure 3.13. DSİ Campus location in İzmir
(Source: Google Earth, Edited by the author.)

²³³ Nilay Ünsal Gülmez, “Ege Taşrasında “Modern”in Mitleşmesi: Kemer ve Demirköprü Baraj Siteleri ve Lojmanları,” *METU JFA* 32:2 (2015/2), 19-43, p. 34.

²³⁴ Sedat Yurtdaş, ““Göl olmasa buralarda yaşayamam”” in *Sayfiye: Hafiflik Hayali*, ed. Tanıl Bora (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2014), p. 159.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

İzmir campus, named as DSİ 2nd Regional Directorate, was established in 1954.²³⁶ It is located on Sanayi Street in the Bornova district of İzmir. The campus consists of two parts, north and south of the street. There are dwelling houses and social facilities in the northern region, working units, guesthouse structure, social facilities, and sports facilities in the southern region. The campus is also located between the campuses of the 2nd Regional Directorate of Highways and the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Affairs. (Figure 3.13) Yaşar University also has a campus in the same region. The region has turned into an area where campuses such as public service buildings and universities are densely located.



Figure 3.14. DSİ Bornova Campus land use map and main campus path
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Mapbox.)

²³⁶ Devlet Su İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü, “Görev Alanı ve Tarihçe,” <https://bolge02.DSI.gov.tr/Sayfa/Detay/858>.

The entrance to the zone where the main working units are located is provided from Sanayi Street. The main axis starts from the entrance and continues throughout the area. In the site plan, it is seen that the working units are concentrated in the entrance part of the campus, northeast. There is a guest house in the entrance section, northwest of the campus.



Figure 3.15. The dining hall structure in the DSİ Campus
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)



Figure 3.16. The cafeteria (Su Cafe) in the DSİ Campus
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Starting from the main entrance and continuing in the southeast direction, the axis first reaches the dining hall, then the social units such as sports facilities and cafeteria. Leisure spaces in the area where office sections are located consist of a dining hall, cafeteria, and sports facilities.



Figure 3.17. Old office structure in DSİ İzmir Campus
(Source: URL-5)



Figure 3.18. New office structure in DSİ İzmir Campus
(Source: URL-6)

The main building, where the offices are located, was demolished, and renovated in 2018. The building is distinctly different from the character of the existing buildings on the campus. A new guesthouse and restaurant (dining hall) building are under

construction across the main office building. It is seen that these two buildings, which are connected to each other, have a similar building character with the new office building but are distinctly different from the other buildings on the campus.



Figure 3.19. The guesthouse structure in the DSİ Campus
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Figure 3.20. New guesthouse structure in the DSİ Campus
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Another campus of the institution in İzmir is a training facility and a camping area. Located in the Gümüldür District of Menderes district of İzmir, the facility is the campus where the annual leave, which employees generally prefer to use in summer, is spent and where collective activities such as training and seminars take place. These facilities, which DSİ employees and their relatives can benefit from, and where people who work together can come together in the summer and have a holiday together under suitable conditions, serve as extensions of the main campuses. There are seminar hall, restaurant, cafeteria, sports units, small summer houses in the summer resort campus which is located by the sea. Just like in the Bornova campus, there are campsites and educational facilities of other public service institutions in this region. Apart from the campus, the town itself has become associated with these institutions.

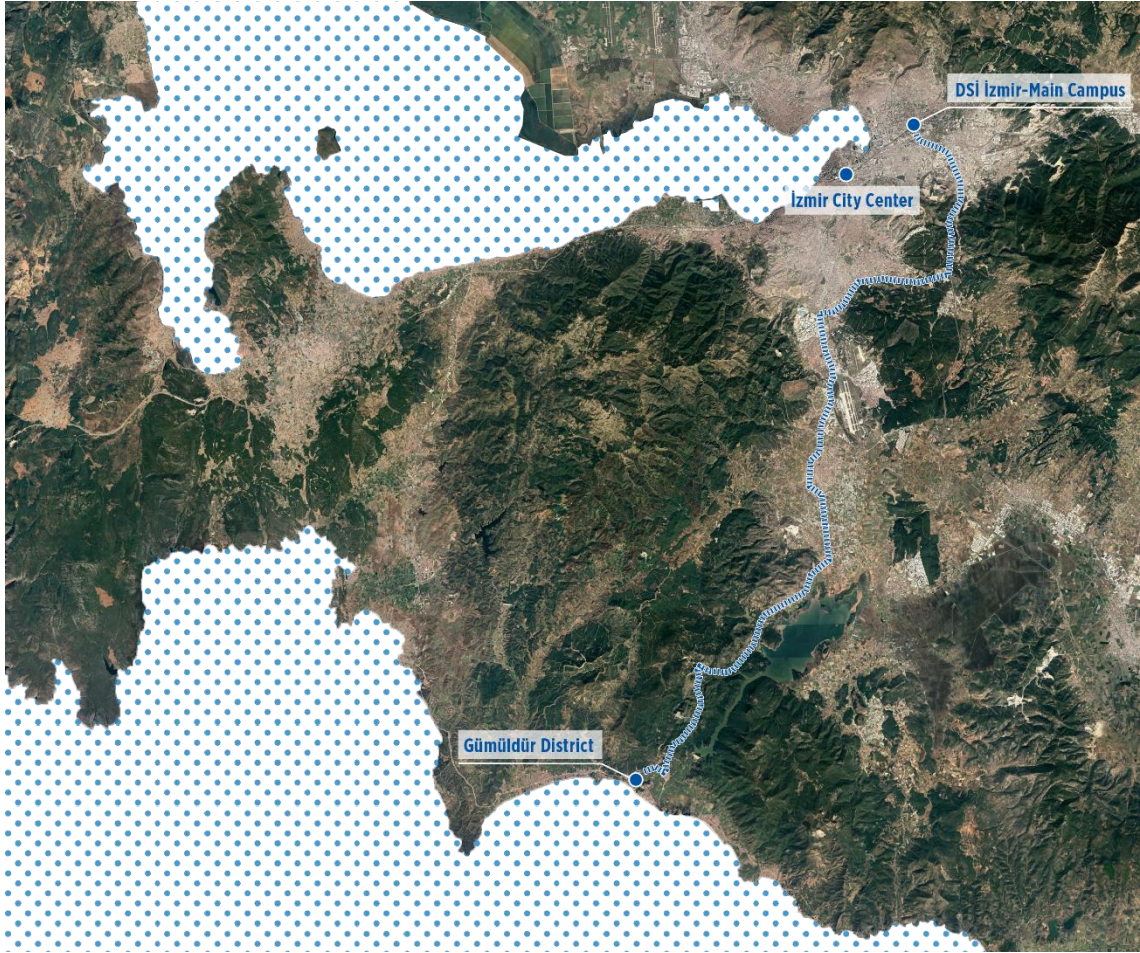


Figure 3.21. DSI Gümüldür camp and training facility urban context
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

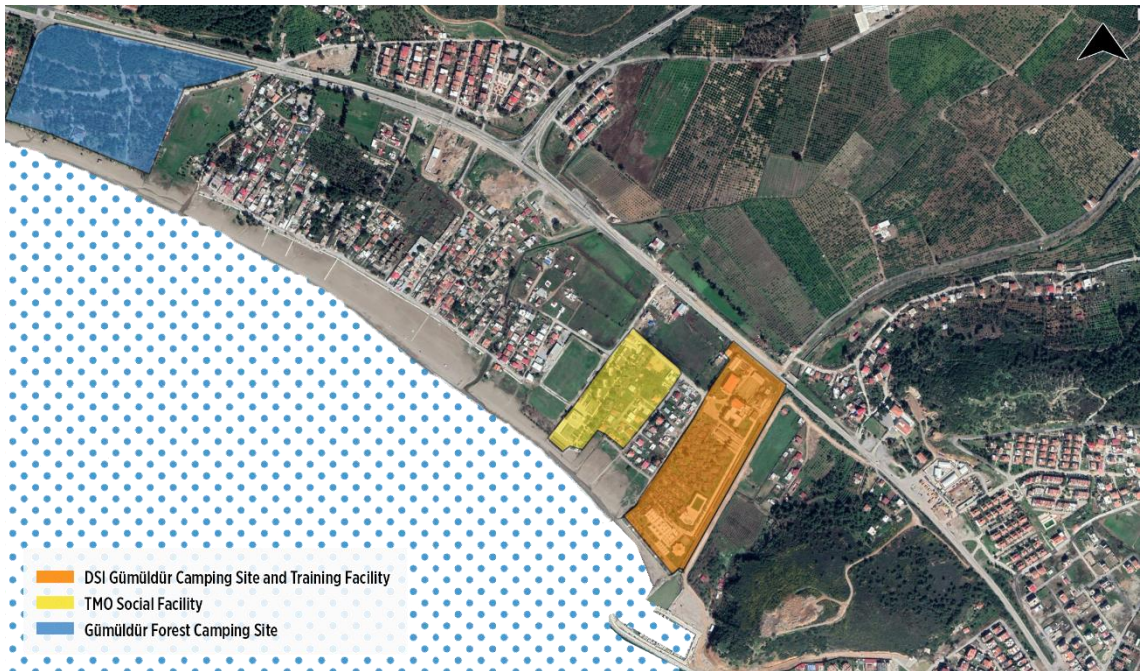


Figure 3.22. DSI Gümüldür camping site and training facility
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

CHAPTER 4

THE SPATIAL PRODUCTION OF CAMPUSES IN LEISURE TIME

Campus structures are places where individuals perform many daily activities, including their leisure time, apart from their working time. For this reason, the places where essential needs such as residential buildings (lodging), dining hall, cafeteria, social facilities, education, and health units are met are the common spaces in all campus structures. The leisure time part of daily life is spent in these places. On the one hand, these spaces are directly connected to the relations of production because they are located within the work campuses, and on the other hand, they are the leisure spaces where social life takes place, and the use-value precedes the exchange value. These spaces, which we can describe as spaces that are directly experienced within the campus and that resist complex production relations²³⁷, are used in many different ways in everyday life, and the conceived space changes in everyday life. Avar defines such spaces as experience areas. On the other hand, the conceived and organized space tries to rationalize these spaces and put them in order. However, representational spaces contain spatial practices that resist abstraction. The relations between conceived, perceived, and lived spaces are not fixed and static but lively and fluid.²³⁸

Three campus structures, which were produced in similar periods and transformed into spatial representations of modernism in Turkey, contain different production relations. This section discusses campus structures under four headings that are common to all three campuses but differ in the way they are conceived and their use/meanings in everyday life. These four titles are *Campus and Urban Relation*, *Time and Space in the Campus*, *Dwelling in the Campus*, and *Social Interaction Spaces in the Campus*. The titles aim to show the factors affecting the production of the designed and perceived space and, accordingly, the role of production relations in transforming space in everyday use.

²³⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Lukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. 93-94.

²³⁸ A dile Arslan Avar, "Lefebvre'in Üçlü-Algılanan, Tasarlanan, Yaşanan Mekân-Diyalektiği," *Dosya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayını*, 17 (2009), 7-16, p. 13.

4.1. Campus and Urban Relation

When we look at the current positions of the three campus structures established in similar periods in the city, we see that highways, different transportation vehicles, business areas, leisure spaces, and residential areas have developed around the campuses. These campuses, which are closely related to the modernization experience in Turkey, are the spatial products of a period in which urbanization has increased rapidly. They have developed the city in its own environment. However, although these campuses have turned into central areas in the city's development process, they have physical and perceptual boundaries with the city and the citizens.

The everyday life on campus establishes a two-way relationship with the city. The first of these forms of relationship is the relationship that the people on the campus establish with the environment of the campus and the leisure spaces in the vicinity. Although campus people spend most of their everyday life in campus spaces that contain many different spaces, they are also in constant contact with the environment of the campus. The second relationship is the relationship that the citizen establishes with the campus. The citizens' access to the opportunities produced within the boundaries of the campuses is sometimes possible, but sometimes it is limited.

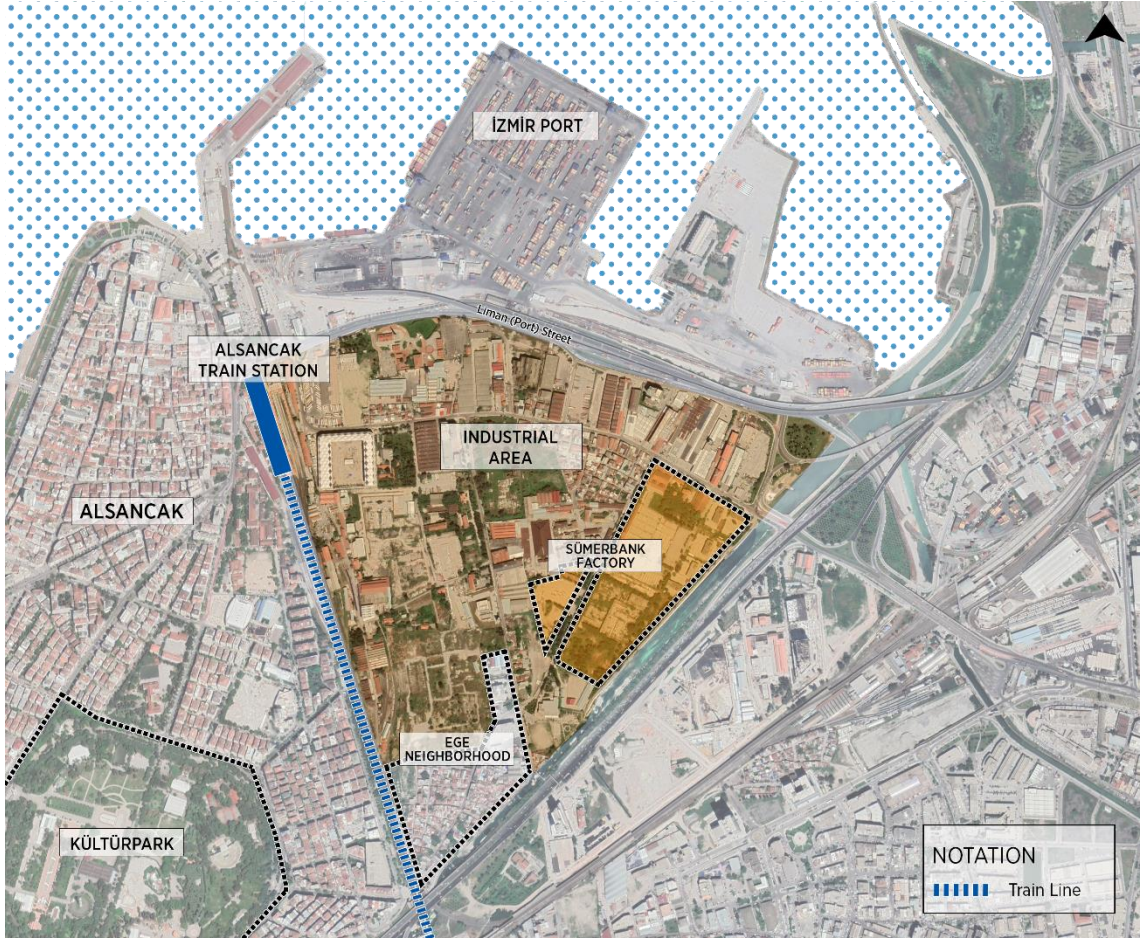


Figure 4.1. Urban context and boundaries of Sümerbank Campus
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

Sümerbank İzmir Campus is located in the district of Alsancak, which is a central district of İzmir in both the trade and everyday life of the citizens. In the Danger-Prost master plan prepared in 1925, the back of the harbor area, where the campus is located, was designed as an industrial area. Along with the Sümerbank campus, there are other industrial campuses such as Tekel, Tariş, Şark Industry, Coal Gas, and Electric Factories in the region. Despite its central location in the district of Alsancak, the region differs from the general spatial use of the district as an industrial area. The industrial area is also like a campus in itself. Campus employees are also in contact with the employees of other factories around. The railway line passing between the Alsancak district and the industrial area physically separates the two perceptually separated regions.

One of the significant urban central points around the region is Kültürpark. The establishment of Kültürpark is one of the most critical spatial initiatives carried out in İzmir during the Republican period. During the construction of Kültürpark, which is located on an area of 60 thousand square meters in the Danger and Prost master plan, it

was thought that this area would be insufficient and the area reached a size of 360 thousand square meters. Kulturpark has been described as the largest-scale green fieldwork ever carried out in Turkey.²³⁹ The area is designed as a green space as well as a place that hosts cultural functions. It is possible to say that Kltrpark, which is located in a central part of the city as a public focal point, is an important leisure space for the workers and citizens working in the industrial area around the port. Behet Uz, the mayor of the period, stated that a Kltrpark should be a "public university" and serve citizens' physical and intellectual development.²⁴⁰

“We were able to go to the fair (Kltrpark) very easily on foot. For example, if there were an event there, we would go on lunch break for 1 hour. We used to walk through the Ege District and go to the fair.” (Interviewee 1, Smerbank Factory, January 2022)

Social and cultural activities and sports activities that occur on campus are generally only available to employees. The conversion of the movie theater into a wedding hall in the later years of the factory opened this space to citizens' use. One of the points where the Smerbank campus, a textile factory, comes into contact with the citizens is the spaces where the productions meet the citizens. The interviewee mentions the existence of a retail store on campus. Citizen use on campus is generally limited to these activities.

“There was a store where the city citizens and we could reach Smerbank products on the campus. Everything was sold in these stores. Until recent years, such businesses were only businesses that served inside the factory. However, if permission was obtained from the administration and it seemed appropriate, the citizen used the services within the campus. Smerbank was a very attractive place for the environment. There were workers from all parts of the city. Employees would come to the factory by service. This region, including İzmir Basma, was in the very center of İzmir.” (Interviewee 2, Smerbank Factory, January 2022)

²³⁹ Uğur Tanyeli, “Çağdaş İzmir’in Mimarlık Serüveni,” in *Üç İzmir* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1992), 327-338, p. 334.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 335.



Figure 4.2. Urban context and boundaries of Ege University Campus
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

The most densely populated users on the Ege University campus are students. The spaces around the campus have been determined according to the student density on the campus. In the interviews held on the campus, interviewees stated that the leisure areas used extensively around the campus are the Küçükpark and Büyükpark areas, the cafeterias in these areas and the Forum Bornova Shopping Center. The transformation of the concept of leisure in the historical process has led to the transformation of the spaces where leisure time is spent in the urban space. On the ground floors of the buildings in these areas, there are generally spaces belonging to the food and beverage and entertainment sector.

One of the significant changes around the campus is Forum Bornova Shopping Center, which was opened to the southwest of the campus in 2006. Shopping centers have a spatial organization that encourages their users to shop by keeping in this place as much as possible.²⁴¹ However, nowadays, these spaces are becoming to contain many activities aimed at spending leisure time apart from shopping spaces. It is organized so that an individual or a community can spend the whole day in the same place.²⁴²

²⁴¹ Tugay Önbilgin and İnci Uzun, "Alışveriş Merkezleri ve Atriumlar," *Ege Mimarlık*, 40 (2002/1), 23-26, p. 23

²⁴² Sibel Ecemiş Kılıç and Muhammed Aydoğan, "Alışveriş Merkezleri-Kent" İlişkisinde Kronikleşen Sorunlar, Toplu Ulaşım ve Yaya Ulaşımı İlişkileri: Forum (Bornova) Alışveriş Merkezi Örneği," *Planlama* (2006/3), p. 91.

Forum Bornova Shopping Center, leaning on the boundaries of the Ege University campus, is the continuation of the campus with its open circulation spatial structure. It was established on an area of 45 thousand square meters located behind the hospital. In the protocol regarding the arrangement of the area as a 'student village' in 1997, it is stated that the area was rented for 49 years. In the village to be established in the area, it is planned to have social facilities such as a cinema and a library where students can spend their leisure time, and shops to meet various needs. However, in the process, the space moved away from the idea of a youth village to turned to the idea of establishing an 'attraction center.'²⁴³ Even though the area is a place that is used extensively by the citizens, it has been observed that it has become a place preferred by the campus people in their leisure time due to its physical proximity to the campus. This spatial proximity has transformed the shopping center into a leisure space within the campus for the campus user. It is possible to say that the shopping center, which is directly related to the student dormitories, especially the Student Village, is included in the whole of everyday life on the campus. The existence of the shopping center strengthens the leisure time perception of the individuals on the university campus, which is turned into consumption.

"Due to the large population of the university, needs such as accommodation, food, and beverage are naturally concentrated around the campus. However, it is obvious that this area is a great 'free' time spending area beyond necessity. Eating and drinking, entertainment, etc., spaces are used similarly to the use of shopping malls. Leisure use is going outside of the campus." (Interviewee 7, Ege University, Hospital Staff and Graduate Student, February 2022)

"The fact that Forum Bornova is within walking distance caused the social life habits of the campus to be moved to this area. Areas such as Küçükpark and Büyükpark generally offer various options for students. However, the point to be noted is that the time the student should spend in the campus areas has moved to these areas. Regionally, there is a development in Bornova and these regions. There should be more qualified areas other than the food and beverage sector." (Interviewee 4, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

"University students began to spend their time between classes outside of the campus. I prefer to spend time in Forum Bornova rather than on campus when I have time. Computer Engineering students, which are very close to the Bornova metro exit, spend most of their leisure time in Küçükpark. In fact, instead of the library, they go to the cafes in Küçükpark to study." (Interviewee 8, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 92.

“Students usually prefer to meet Forum Bornova to eat and shop. Especially the students who are new to the school generally prefer here for shopping.” (Interviewee 9, Ege University, Student)

Education campuses are spaces that produce knowledge and disseminate it to society. Social and cultural events, scientific meetings, and symposiums held at the university are the times when these productions meet with the university and the citizens. However, the activities taking place at the university are generally limited to the participation of campus people only. Security applications and turnstiles at the entrance of the campus prevent the entrance of the citizens to the campus. The campus is only open to citizens for specific situations and days. Some of the interviewees think that these practices at the campus entrances are correct in terms of security, while others think they negatively affect campus life.

“In terms of students and employees, I can say that the physical boundaries between the campus and the city and the security practices at the campus entrance contribute positively to the spatial use of the campus. In large campuses such as Ege University, I think that limiting campus entrances is important for security.” (Interviewee 3, Ege University, Academician, February 2022))

“All citizens could enter from the campus entrance on the Bornova Metro side in the past. From here, he/she could walk around the campus and go to Forum Bornova. The campus was much more full and colorful. There are turnstiles and security at this entrance now. No one can enter except Ege University students. A person entering through the hospital entrance has to pass through the security again while passing to the other part where the faculties are located. In other words, it is almost impossible to see the citizens on campus, except for the hospital entrance. These practices also emptied the campus spaces. There are very few people now on campus.” (Interviewee 8, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

“I think universities and university students should influence and transform their cities culturally and politically. However, at the moment, it requires many procedures for students to enter the campus even for library use.” (Interviewee 5, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

“Since the campus has been closed to non-student visits, people from outside cannot participate in any activities. There has been a serious decrease in the use of spaces open to visitors, such as the Botanical Garden, Natural History Museum, and theater halls. Since the campus has been isolated from the city, participation has come to a standstill.” (Interviewee 7, Ege University, Graduate Student and Hospital Staff February 2022)

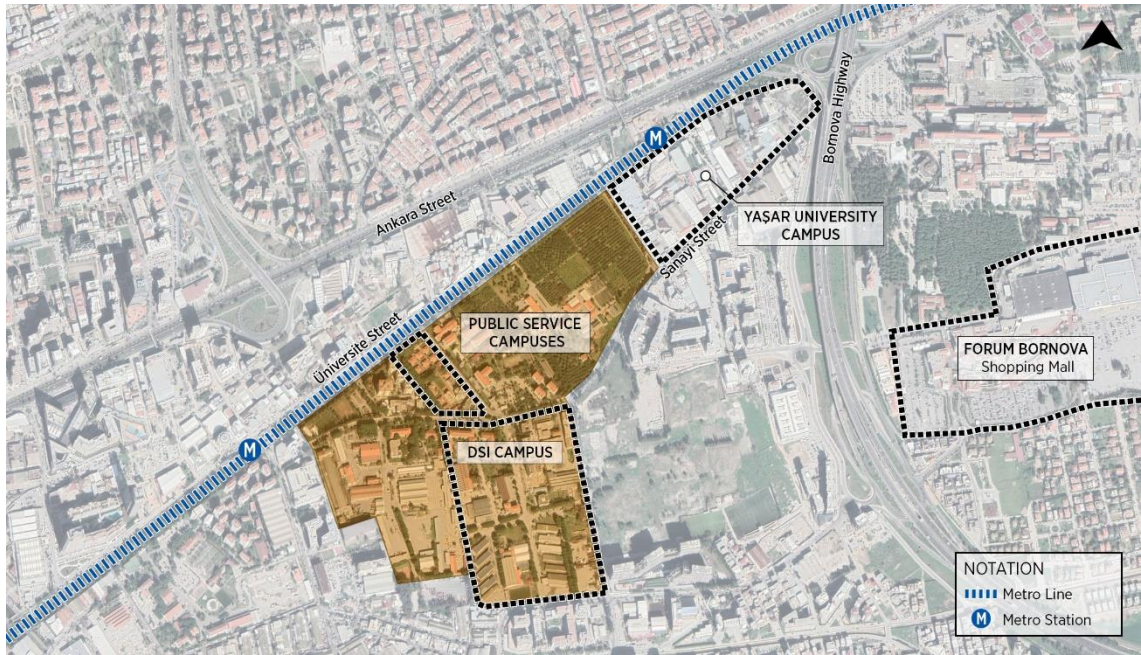


Figure 4.3. Urban context and boundaries of DSİ Campus
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

DSİ Campus is located between important vehicles and public transportation axes. While these transportation networks strengthen access to the campus, they also create physical boundaries between the city and the campus. Like the Sümerbank campus, the DSİ campus is located in an area where there are different public service campuses apart from itself. The fact that Yaşar University campus is in this region also has opened the campus environment to new urban development areas. It is seen that the leisure time spaces in the vicinity have been transformed for the use of university students. DSİ campus is located close to Forum Bornova Shopping Center, just like Ege University. However, the physical separators between the two areas restrict the campus people from using this space in their leisure time. Although the campus is located in a central area, employees usually spend their free time on campus due to various physical elements such as intensive transportation networks.

“With the new residential areas developing around the campus and the presence of university campuses in the surrounding, many new leisure spaces are opening. We sometimes go to these spaces in our free time. We mostly go out for lunch or a drink.” (Interviewee 11, DSİ, February 2022)

Ongoing social activities on campus generally include sports activities. DSİ Spor, which is a part of DSİ, is open to the use of campus employees and citizens of the city.

Interviewers say that there is a demand for sports activities on campus from the new residential districts that are developing in the surrounding area. The fact that as it is a public institution, these activities are more economical than private spaces stand out as a factor affecting the participation of the citizens.

“The area where the campus is located is a rapidly developing area physically and socially. At the same time, the campus is a safe area. For this reason, people besides DSI personnel want to benefit from DSI Sports activities.” (Interviewee 12, DSI, February 2022)

“The physical boundaries of the campuses are strict, but the sports facilities and various social activities are open to all public personnel, so we have the opportunity to come together with the surrounding campuses. I think that the defined boundaries of the campus positively affect our everyday life here. We stay away from many external factors such as traffic, noise and pollution.” (Interviewee 14, DSI, February 2022)

4.2. Time and Space in the Campus

Workspaces, where the time of everyday life reserved for social production is spent, are usually abandoned at the end of the work hour and reactivated the next day with the start of the work hour. Therefore, these spaces are spaces whose daily spatial use is limited to certain time intervals. In the spatial cases discussed in this study, while individuals come together for work, they also perform leisure time activities within the same defined boundaries. However, although these spaces include a significant time period of everyday life, the usage patterns and users of the campuses in different time zones change.

In Sümerbank, which is a production structure, the use of temporal space varies in different ways. Shift workers are the first case where spatial use goes beyond standard working hours. However, shift workers use workplaces during these time periods also. The other usage areas of the factory outside the working hours are the leisure areas. Figure 4.4 shows the spatial uses of the factory in and out of working hours and the daily routes of workers and officers on campus. The fact that the people living in the lodgings at the Sümerbank Factory are only officers determines the use of the factory outside of working hours. Spaces used out of working hours, namely leisure spaces, are shown in Figure 4.4. It is seen that the daily route of the workers passed only the dining hall on the main campus among these places.

“Since there was no worker's lodging, only officers used to use the facilities in the campus. Workers would come to work in the morning and go home in the evening when the work was done. There were no social areas in the factory to handle such a crowd. Dining halls were also separate for workers and officers.” (Interviewee 2, Sümerbank, January 2022)

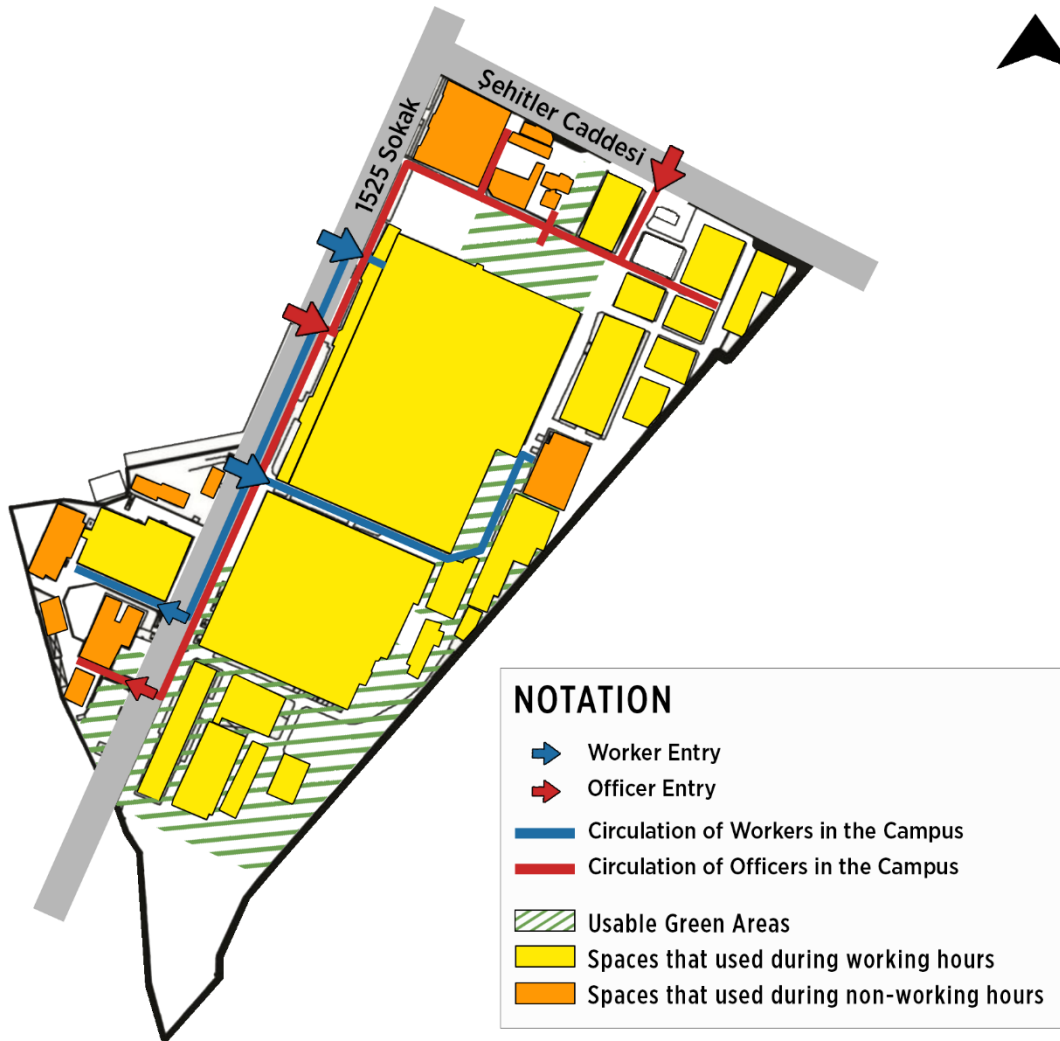


Figure 4.4. Overlapping the temporal use of the campus spaces with the daily routes of workers and officers (Sümerbank)
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Uğursal, 2011.)

The factories of the Sümerbank institution, which is one of the first state enterprises established in Turkey, are not only building groups built for industrial purposes, but also vehicles where a new lifestyle and culture is introduced and spread to the society. Factory campuses aim to create orderly living environments, which are seen

as a symbol of modern and contemporary societies of the new regime.²⁴⁴ It is aimed to support this orderly life in everyday life as well as in the spatial organization of the factory. In interviews with former factory employees, the interviewees talk about various routine activities that continue after working hours. Apart from the working time of everyday life, leisure time periods also include routines and certain scheduled activities.

"We also had a dining night once a week, on Fridays. I would not go home; my husband and children would come too. In the evening, we went to the local. Friday was special for everyone. Everyone brought their families. It would be very crowded. We all knew each other too. Friday was a special day. Retirement was realized at night." (Interviewee 1, Sumerbank, January 2022)

"On special days, the residents of the lodgings would come together. Families would come together on New Year's Eve and holidays. For example, there would be concerts in the movie theater. It would have been attractive as well since such things were not common in those years." (Interviewee 2, Sümerbank, January 2022)

Summer months are the periods when employees use their annual leave to take a vacation. The educational and recreational facilities of the institution in Kuşadası were also a preferred holiday location by employees due to its physical proximity to İzmir. These resort areas are also used as educational facilities.

"These facilities were also used as training facilities. They were generally used for educational purposes in winter and spring. Before the camp period, lists would come to the administration in the form of a circuit. There would be people coming from all over Turkey to camp. In this way, there would be socialization between all factories. Children grew up together. Friends were made from every city. Afterward, a facility was built in Hazar Lake as well." (Interviewee 2, Sümerbank, January 2022)

"The factories were given specific quotas. According to its, a certain number of people could go. We used to apply to the same period with our intimate friends. We used to go with the same people every time. We used to organize nights there too. There would be music nights. There is no manager or employee relationship there; it is a holiday." (Interviewee 1, Sumerbank, January 2022)

University campuses are places where education continues outside of educational hours. Since Ege University is a campus university, it has a spatial organization that physically supports this idea. One of the most determining factors in the time-dependent

²⁴⁴ Çağatay Emre Doğan, "Nazilli Basma Fabrikası Yerleşimi: Tarihçe ve Yaşantı," in *Fabrikada Barınmak*, ed. Ali Cengizkan (Ankara: Arkadaş, 2009), p. 77-78.

use of space on campus is the lunch break, which is a common leisure time for all faculties. Interviews with campus people showed that the routine movements of everyone on campus during lunch breaks were similar. Lunchtime, which creates a common situation for everyone, is a 'recreation' time for the whole campus. Dining halls and cafes are the spaces most frequently used by campus people during lunch breaks on campus. According to the weather conditions, the green areas on the campus are also the spaces used to relax, study and chat with friends during these hours.



Figure 4.5. The temporal use of the campus spaces (Ege University)
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Mapbox)

Figure 4.5 shows the leisure spaces used outside of the education hours on the campus. According to the interviews held at Ege University, other factors that determine the use of the spaces on the campus temporally are social and cultural events and exam periods. Social and cultural activity times are the times when they go out of the daily routine on campus. These activities create situations that simultaneously bring many different individuals to the same space. In May, festivities are held on campus with the participation of theater groups from many universities. The events, which last about ten days, are held at the Culture and Art House. The groups coming to the university can stay in tents in the green area of the Culture and Art House. Another event that takes place on

campus in May is the Spring Festival. The area used as the Ege University Rectorate Health, Culture, and Sports Department parking during the festival turns into a concert/activity area. Such activities, which take place on campus at specific times, redefine the spatial use of the campus.

Exam periods that start at similar times, as they occur depending on the university's academic calendar, are also a situation that changes the spatial use of the campus. The library, which offers a shared space for students to work together, remains open 24 hours during these periods. In this period, the most used place of students in their extracurricular time is the library. For students who spend 24 hours here, the daily use of the space also changes.

“Especially during exam times, the most popular place is the Library Building. The library provides 24-hour service during these periods. It is a more popular area than it has ever been in the last three years.” (Interviewee 4, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

One of the time intervals in which significant changes occur in the spatial use of the campus is the summer months. The decrease in the use of the campus during the summer months by the students, who constitute a significant part of the university population, affects the spatial use of the campus.

“In the summer, there are usually summer school students on campus. They only go in and out of their classes. All the cafes on campus are empty.” (Interviewee 8, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

“The density of administrative and academic staff draws attention, but as it coincides with the leave times, an empty campus area remains.” (Interviewee 4, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

“Students come to universities more to use the sports fields on campus.” (Interviewee 5, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

“The use of leisure time in the summer goes outside of the campus.” (Interviewee 7, Ege University, Graduate Student and Hospital Staff, February 2022)

Time is the most decisive element of the use of space. Spatial uses in DSİ Campus also change depending on time. This physical formation also determines the spatial use in the campus structure, which is divided into two by a street as in the Sümerbank Campus. On the campus where the lodgings are located, the density of people during the

daytime is low, but it increases at the end of the working day. Figure 4.6 shows the temporally differentiated spaces in spatial use in the DSİ Campus. Leisure time on the main campus is carried out in DSİ Sports, Su Cafe, and Local units. These spaces are the spaces that employees can use outside of working hours. In the interviews held with the campus people, the interviewees mentioned that they used to take advantage of sports activities during lunch breaks while emphasizing that nowadays, leisure spaces are limited to non-working hours. DSİ sports and music course activities offered by the institution to employees and citizens include weekend and end-of-work hours.



Figure 4.6. The temporal use of the campus spaces (DSİ)
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Mapbox.)

DSİ, an institution representing Turkey's modernization process, such as Sümerbank enterprises, has established social facilities around many dam constructions

that its employees can benefit from. One of the facilities located on the shores of the sea or near the dams in many provinces of Turkey is located in the Menderes district of İzmir. The training and recreational facilities in Gümüldür Neighborhood are open to the use of all employees and their relatives. The facility is used by employees and their families for two-week vacation plans or daily activities during the summer months. All interviewees say that they benefit from these facilities at certain intervals.

"We can take advantage of our recreation facilities at very affordable prices compared to private sector tourism facilities." (Interviewee 14, DSİ, February 2022)

"I can say that taking advantage of the summer facilities of the institution increases the loyalty of the employees to the institution. However, other than that, I think the first choice reason is economic reasons." (Interviewee 13, DSİ, February 2022)

4.3. Dwelling in the Campus

One of the most basic needs of the individual within social objectivity, in order to reproduce his/her labor, is to provide a healthy accommodation condition. In this sense, housing is the essential element of leisure, the time period in which the individual reproduces his labor. Campuses enable employees to reach their most basic needs in more convenient and healthy conditions, with facilities such as dwelling-houses and dormitories provided for the employees and their families. Facilities such as lodging and dormitories provided for the employees and their families on the campuses enable the employees to reach their most basic needs in more convenient and healthy conditions. Dwelling is the most basic need of daily life, but it is also the most individual leisure time area. For individuals who meet their accommodation needs on the campuses where they spend their working time, the campus space is integrated with the concept of home. Like people who follow different routes in the city to go from their homes to their workplaces every day, these individuals also draw specific routes within the campus.

Today, developing technology and globalizing production relations lead to an increase in the time spent by the individual in residence and the transformation of the residences into places where working time is spent apart from leisure time. The individual's existence in the public space is possible by planning the working time outside

the house, minimizing the individual's labor in the house, and constructing the relationship that the houses establish with the public space in a qualified manner.

Sümerbank İzmir Campus, which was active in the 1950s, is the product of the second-wave industrialization movement. This period, unlike the 1930s, is a period in which the secular structure of the Republic also changed. For example, it is seen that the industrial settlements built after 1950 contain structures such as masjids and mosques, and these structures were added to the old ones also.²⁴⁵ The absence of dwelling-house in some of the settlements built after 1950 can be considered as one of the important results of transformations of this period. At the Sümerbank İzmir Factory, dwelling houses are only for technical personnel who must stay on campus and officers. The number of dwelling houses is insufficient for the number of workers working in the factory. Figure 4.7 which shows the ten-year working population starting from 1963, shows a significant increase in the number of workers working in the factory, especially in 1964. However, there are not enough houses for workers.

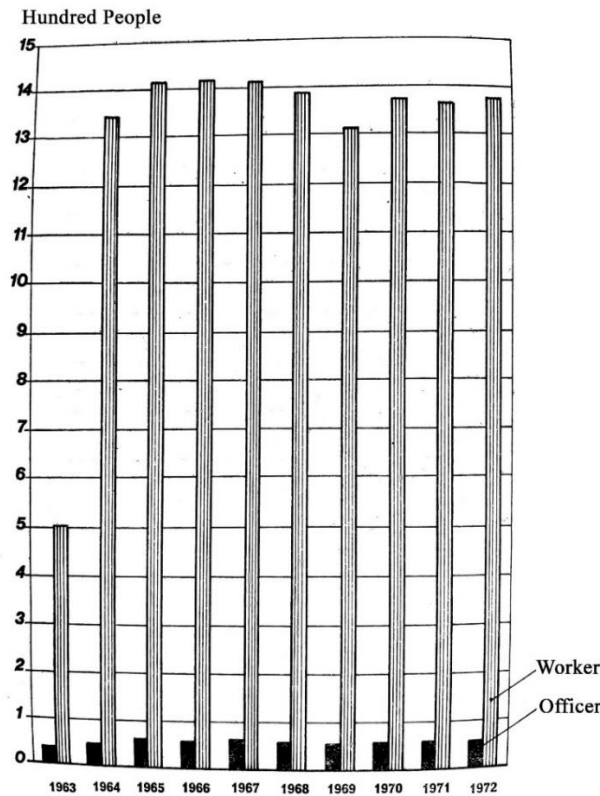


Figure 4.7. Number of employees at Sümerbank İzmir Campus between 1963-1972
(Source: Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Sümerbank, 1973)

²⁴⁵ Özlem Arıtan and Müjgan Karatosun, "1950 Öncesi ve Sonrası Cumhuriyet Sanayileşmesi Işığında Aydın Tekstil Yerleşkesi," *Mimarlık Dergisi*, 355 (2010).

It is seen that there is a class segregation in the dwelling opportunities provided to the workers. The dwelling in the campus is reserved for the use of only administrative staff, officers, and responsible personnel. In particular, the fact that the responsible technical personnel stays in the lodging makes it difficult to separate the leisure and working time of the worker clearly. The task of solving any malfunction that may occur in the production process makes every moment of the day dependent on the factory.²⁴⁶



Figure 4. 8. Manager residence
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Figure 4. 9. Administrators Residences
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Even in the lodgings where only a limited number of officers stay, it is seen that the dwellings have different physical characteristics. The reflection of the class distinction on the space can also be read on a small number of houses. The usage areas of the workers in the factory are largely separated from the section where the lodgings are located. Administrative personnel stays in the lodgings on the main production structure's side. The factory manager's house is in the form of a two-story detached building, separate from the other dwellings. The number of residences in the second region is higher. Other officers such as technicians and engineers live on this side.

“There were both internal and external lodgings in the factory. Managers, assistant managers and factory manager generally stayed in the inner lodgings. The factory manager's house was completely separate. It was a duplex and single house. The other principals' houses were also apartments. Technicians and engineers lived in the outer lodgings. There were two types of flats. Normal

²⁴⁶ Mehmet Saner and Yücel Can Severcan, “Fabrikada Zorunlu Sorumlu Olarak Barınmak: Ankara Maltepe Elektrik ve Havagazı Fabrikası Konutları,” in *Fabrikada Barınmak*, ed. Ali Cengizkan, (Ankara: Arkadaş, 2009), p. 47.

officers remained in this section. Chiefs and officers.” (Interviewee 1, Sümerbank, January 2022)

“Since the number of lodgings in İzmir is low, those who stayed in the lodgings were only officers. Apart from the lodgings, there was also a guesthouse of the factory.” (Interviewee 2, Sumerbank, January 2022)

Industrialization was able to accelerate time by accelerating the turnover time in production through the organization of spatial arrangement. Time was transcended through the organization of space.²⁴⁷ In a world where time is money in a sense, positioning the residences of the workers who produce in close proximity to the factory means minimizing the time lost in transportation. However, on the other hand, today's growing metropolitan cities, increasing population and transportation problems, economic concerns, undefined working hours are gradually destroying the leisure time that allows the worker to reproduce himself for the next day. The time lost in transportation can turn into 'quality leisure time'.

For individuals who reside in the area where they spend their working time, which covers an essential part of everyday life, campuses are spaces where all daily routine activities take place. Discussions on spaces that host many functions of everyday life in the same space, such as campus spaces, focus on the daily life-controlling feature of these spaces. This situation in working spaces can lead to a situation that makes the workforce dependent on the place. Mobility areas of workers in everyday life are defined by campus boundaries.²⁴⁸

“It wasn't suitable for everyone (staying in lodging). For example, I liked to walk around on the way home, it was not for me. Of course, this does not happen in the lodging, they come directly from the factory to the house. There was a local and a summer garden in the campus. It was social place. However I like to be more social. We had our meetings, once a month among women. These meetings took place in the factory's local. The spouses of the employees used to meet during the day, but we, the employees, attended at the end of the working hours.” (Interviewee 1, Sümerbank, January 2022)

“It's not very positive that you become too dependent in my opinion. I used to work in İzmir Basma, but I had many friends around. I didn't necessarily stick to my life in lodgings. Being an athlete had great advantages in my social life. There

²⁴⁷ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p. 266.

²⁴⁸ Ali Cengizkan, “İstanbul Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali Yerleşme ve Konut Yaşam Çevreleri,” in *Fabrikada Barınmak* (Ankara: Arkadaş, 2009), p. 17.

were Tariş, Tekel Factories, and State Railways around our factory. Our relations with the managers were developing.” (Interviewee 2, Sumerbank, January 2022)

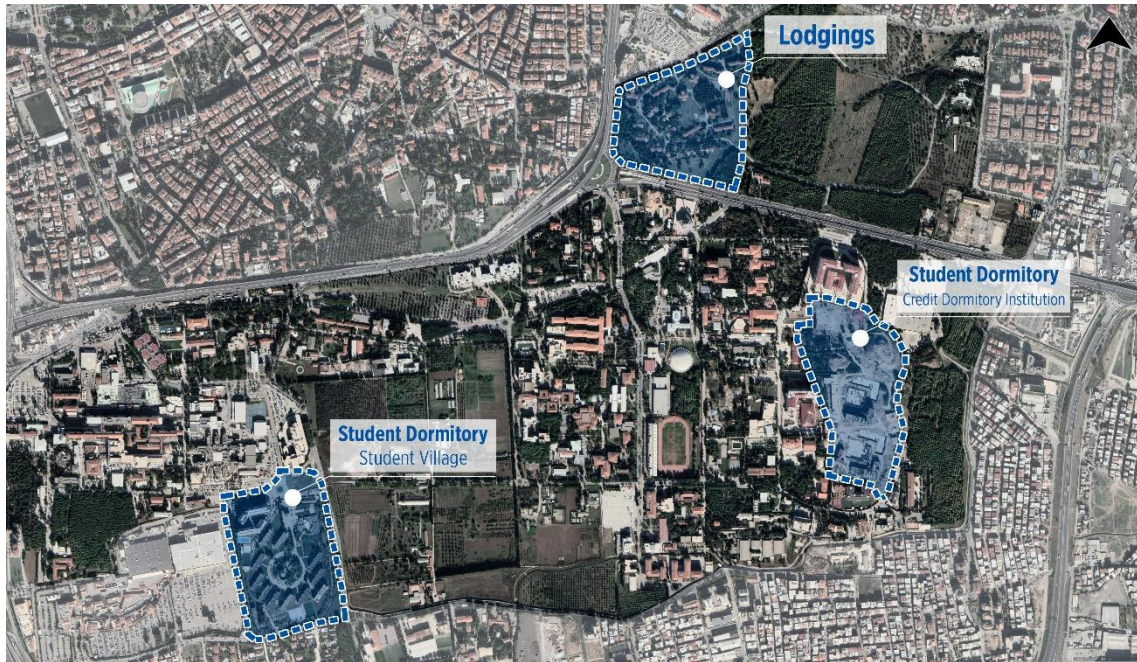


Figure 4.10. The locations of the sheltering units on the Ege University campus (Personnel lodgings and student dormitories)
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

The dwellings, which are separated from the other spaces on the campus in terms of publicity, but which are one of the important determinants of leisure time in this limited area, are divided into student dormitories, academic and officer lodgings, and guesthouses on the Ege University campus. Apart from the other campus, the concept of sheltering on campus also includes student dormitories. The first of the student dormitories concentrated in two main regions is KYK dormitories located in the southeastern part of the campus, and the second is the Student Village dormitory located behind the Faculty of Medicine. Lodging and guesthouse structures located in the north of the main entrance of the campus can be used by academicians, officers, and guests. This area, which is outside the main region of the campus, is associated with the Ege University Forest in the east. Students staying in dormitories and employees staying in lodging spend almost all of their everyday life in and around the Ege University Campus.

The dormitory affiliated with the Credit Dormitory Institution is used only as a girls' dormitory. This dormitory is located east of the campus. The dormitory located inside the campus is separated from the campus by a physical limiting structural element. The wall that forms the border of the dormitory puts a physical boundary between the campus and the dormitory. Another boundary between the dormitory and the city is the

restriction on entry times. The latest entrance time to the dormitory is 23.00, which prevents students from participating in activities in the city.



Figure 4.11. State Dormitory affiliated with the Credit Dormitories Institution
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)



Figure 4.12. Student Village Dormitories
(Source: URL-7)

“Being close to the school provides convenience for my doings, I can also benefit from the services within the school. Living in the school also makes me feel safe. Even though I don’t think it has a lot of negativities, it sometimes causes an isolated life from the outside.” (Interviewee 9, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

“We save time. In the evening, we chat with friends living on campus. At the same time, I work intensively in the library in the evenings. These are positive effects that living in the dormitory. On the negative side, I can say that we are far from the outside life.” (Interviewee 10, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

The Student Village is located on the western part of the campus where health units are concentrated. The dormitory, which consists of 12 blocks, was designed with a central plan scheme. It is seen that the area constituted between the blocks is planned as a green courtyard. There are Radio Ege and sports units such as swimming pools and carpet pitches in the north of the dormitories. The dormitory is very intertwined with the Forum Bornova Shopping Center on the west of the campus. Especially for the students staying in this dormitory, Forum Bornova is one of the leisure spaces where students spend the most time.



Figure 4.13. The collage shows the structure typologies in Ege University lodging area
(Source: The photos taken by the author.)

There are university lodgings and guesthouses in the west of the region, where the Ege University Forest is located, which is located northeast of the university campus. The lodgings consist of 146 households. This area is open to the citizens' use due to the presence of a guest house in it. However, there is a security unit at the area entrance, and entrances are carried out in a controlled manner. In addition, it was observed that private security guards were walking around at regular intervals. The general typology of the buildings in the area consists of low-rise row houses, detached houses, and apartment typologies. Since the Aegean University Forest is located in the same area, the lodgings within a dense green texture are quite isolated from the city and the main campus section. There are spaces such as social facilities and football fields in the area, but it has been observed that these spaces are not used intensively daily.

DSİ Bornova Campus is located on both sides of the road just like Sümerbank Campus. The area where the lodgings and social facility are located is in the north of Sanayi Street. The entrance to the campus, where the lodgings are located, is provided from 362 Street. The security at the entrance ensures that the entrance to the area is

controlled. The main entrance opens into a courtyard is located between low-rise buildings. There is a carpet pitch and a children's playground in the courtyard.



Figure 4.14. Football field in DSİ main campus lodgings
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Figure 4.15. Children's playground in DSİ main campus lodgings
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Lodging structures are generally low-rise. There are twelve single-story, three two-story, and one apartment buildings in the area. The houses were conceived in a gridal scheme. It has been observed that the courtyard allows the use of everyday social activities due to the location of the green area, social units, and surrounding structures. There is a social facility structure in the southeast of this region. The entrance to the social facility structure can also be provided from the street. This situation also shows that the social facilities are not only for the use of the residents.



Figure 4.16. DSİ main campus lodging, spatial uses
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)



Figure 4.17. DSİ main campus lodgings, single-story manager lodgings
 (Source: The photo taken by the author.)



Figure 4.18. DSİ main campus lodgings, two-story apartment officer lodgings
 (Source: The photo taken by the author.)

The total number of houses in the area is 42. Considering the total number of people working on the campus, it is seen that the rate of employees benefiting from the lodgings is quite low. For this reason, the duration of accommodation in the lodgings is determined as five years. At the end of five years, the families staying in the lodgings leave here. The single-story buildings in the lodging are for the use of the managers, and the two-story and four-flat dwellings are for the use of senior personnel. Two-story dwellings are designed separately from a classical apartment structure. All apartments are accessed from the outside. The five-story apartment is used by the officers in turn. However, it was evacuated nowadays due to its vulnerability to earthquakes.



Figure 4.19. DSİ main campus lodgings, dwelling types
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)

“The positive aspect of the lodgings is that we are able to intervene more quickly in case of negativities at home because they are close to the workplace, and we can come to work on time. There are no delays due to road conditions or adverse weather conditions. The downside is that it's a restricted environment. For these, we prefer off-campus spaces” (Interviewee 12, DSİ, February 2022)

Aiming to make sense of the concepts of space and place through social relations, Massey underlines that class relations are one of the determinants of this relation. However, another focus of spatial relations is gender relations. The link between gender relations and space is intertwined and deep. Space is essential for the construction of gender. On the other hand, gender relations also affect the production of space.²⁴⁹ With industrialization, the separation of work from home has identified the public space with men and the house with women. Marxist feminist thought saw the separation of work from home as a reflection of the gendered division of labor into space.²⁵⁰ This division of labor has spread a situation in the social sphere where household chores belong to women.

On the other hand, the functional design approach of modernism, identified with industrialization, is also reflected in the residential space design. In the 19th century, rapid industrialization and urbanization created its spatial design perspective on the concepts of health and hygiene and aimed to design the residential space like a 'machine'. While modern industrial cities were being established, mass housing and workers' housing in industrial areas, on the one hand, controlled the everyday life of the worker but also ensured that individual domestic labor was minimized, and thus collective labor increased. The presence of dining halls, laundry, kindergartens, social and cultural areas in factories apart from the lodgings is a spatial organization that significantly reduces domestic labor. However, today, the lack of spaces that support the lodgings functionally and the spatial proximity of the lodgings to the factory have begun to increase individual labor rather than reduce it. Spatial proximity fills even the smallest leisure time in working time with chores.

“When I consider a friend of mine who lives in a nearby residence, unfortunately, I cannot talk about a very positive effect. Because I see that she goes to her house and does household chores such as cleaning and cooking, even during lunch breaks. Of course, this is also a matter of perspective.” (Interviewee 11, DSI, February 2022)

²⁴⁹ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge, and Malden: Polity Press, 1994), p. 2.

²⁵⁰ Daphne Spain, “Gender and Urban Space,” *The Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 40 (2014), 581-598, p. 585.



Figure 4.20. DSİ upper part lodgings (Erzene Neighborhood), spatial uses
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Google Earth.)



Figure 4.21. DSİ upper part lodgings, view from the street
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Figure 4.22. DSİ upper part lodgings, view from the apartment main entrance part
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

The institution has another lodging group within the city but is physically further away from the campus. These lodgings consist of two blocks and there are 40 flats. It is located in Evka-3 district, where Bornova district has newer constructions. They have a more classical form of apartment building compared to the dwelling units near the campus. Although it is located in a residential area in the city and away from the campus, the security implementations and physical borders are remarkable on this campus as well.

Controller tools in everyday life such as security cameras and wire fences are also available here, just like the lodging near the campus. There is a football field, seating units, and a children's playground as a social area within the physical boundaries. The structures around the lodging are generally detached and low-rise houses. There is a park and kindergarten around, but these spaces are independent of the institution. Employees residing in this lodging can reach the campus by service. As distinguished from the other lodging unit, all flats on this campus are the same. The lodging residents say that there is no hierarchical spatial separation in this area since managers don't reside in this lodging.

“I think that the nearby lodgings are more formal, especially because of the residence of the managers. However, Erzene Neighborhood lodgings were much more comfortable in this sense. Living in close quarters can be an advantage for families with children. Because it allows us to go home during the lunch break and as needed.” (Interviewee 11, DSI, February 2022)

4.4. Social Interaction Spaces in the Campus

The purposes of gathering in the social space in the leisure time period, where individuals are mentally separated from the daily compulsory activities, are also separated from the obligations. Getting together in leisure is a desire to overcome the mental and physical fatigue of the individual's daily activities. Samdahl emphasizes that leisure time is a social phenomenon, and social interactions, in which the individual moves away from negative judgments and limiting expectations in the environment, determine the quality of leisure time.²⁵¹ Iso-Ahola states that social interaction is the main component of leisure time.²⁵² In their research on social exchange/interaction theory and explaining leisure behavior, Auld and Case found that interpersonal interaction is higher in leisure time social interaction.²⁵³

Social interaction spaces include many spaces with different uses. The interaction areas in the examples discussed in this thesis will be discussed under four different headings. These titles are as follows; *Spatial Segregation in Leisure Spaces, Conversation*

²⁵¹ Diane M. Samdahl, “Leisure in Our Lives: Exploring the Common Leisure Occasion,” *Journal of Leisure Research*, 24:1 (1992), 19-32, p. 30.

²⁵² Seppo E. Iso-Ahola, *The Social Psychology of Leisure and Recreation* (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co. Publishers, 1980), p. 7.

²⁵³ Christopher J. Auld and Alan J. Case. “Social Exchange Processes in Leisure and Non-leisure Settings: A Review and Exploratory Investigation,” *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 29, No. 2, (1997), 183-200, p. 198.

Spaces: Cafeterias and Locals, Activity Areas: Social, Cultural and Sports Units and Unprogrammed Spaces of Everyday Life: Green Areas.

4.4.1. Spatial Segregation in Leisure Spaces

Leisure is not independent of the social relations of production that prevail in working time. Social relations of production reproduce and reorganize space in everyday life. Mainly in production structures such as factories, the depth and complexity of production relations are reflected in the way the space is organized and determines its use in daily life. Apart from the boundaries established by the campus with the city, physical or perceptual boundaries are formed between the spaces within the campus. Rules regarding which spaces can be used when or by whom are produced and maintained in everyday life.

In the Sümerbank campus, as in the lodgings, class distinction is also reflected in the interaction spaces. This distinction, which is reflected in the interaction areas, negatively affects the unifying function of these areas. The distinction between blue-collar and white-collar in terms of work in the factory continues in leisure areas such as cafeterias, dining halls, recreation areas, and sports units. The spatial organization separates the daily route of the workers from the entrance to the campus. (Figure 4.23) Located in the north of the main campus structure, the 'summer garden' is an area where white-collar employees play cards, chat and spend time after work.²⁵⁴ However, it has been stated that the blue-collar does not use this space. Leisure time activities are usually get-togethers, social events, gaming activities. Employees staying in the dwelling-houses participate in these activities, which are mostly held in the evenings.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ Erdal Uzunoğlu, "The Constitution of Power Relation in Spaces of Industrial Production: The Case of Four Sümerbank Campuses in the Aegean Region" The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss., İzmir Institute of Technology, 2008), p. 261.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 270.

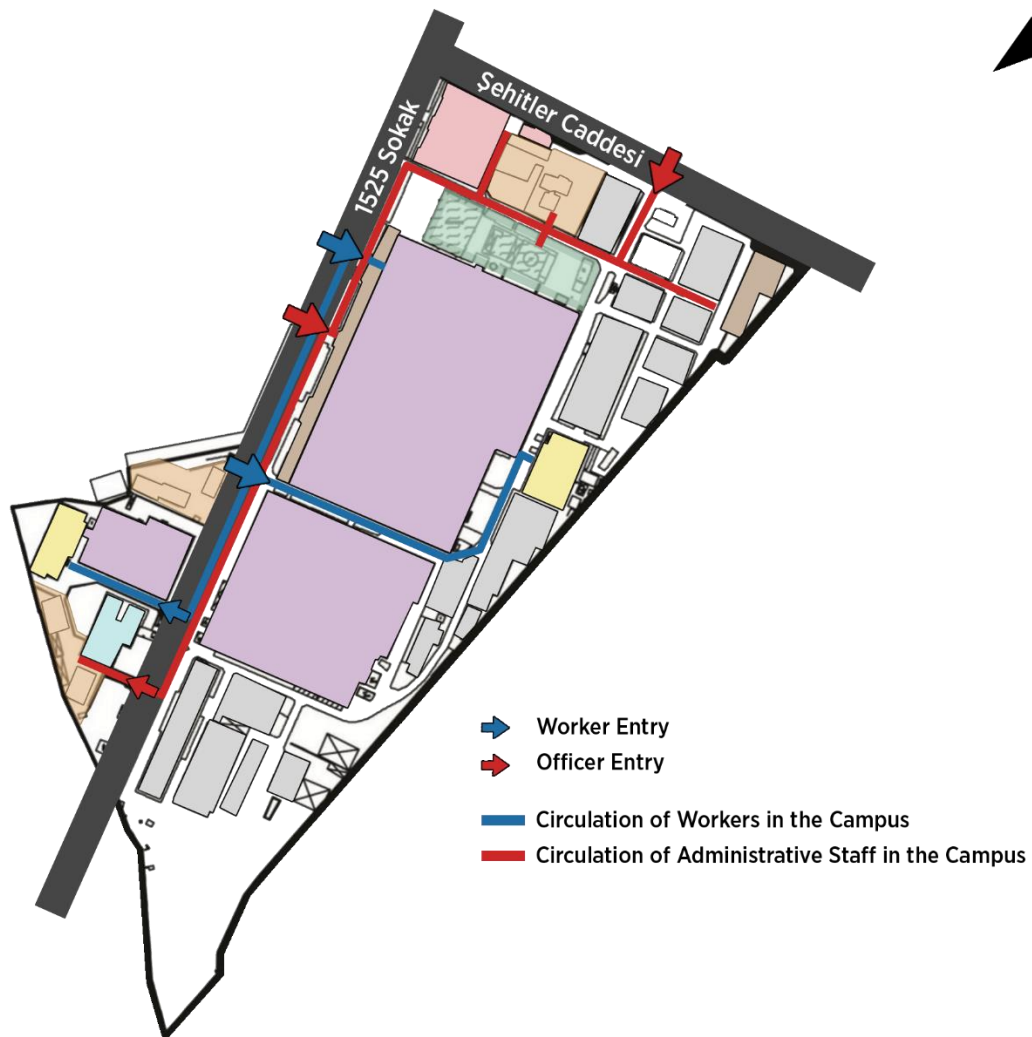


Figure 4.23. Overlapping the campus land use map with the daily routes of workers and officers (Sümerbank)

(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Uğursal, 2011.)

"I used to go to the workers' dining halls as well. There are white tablecloths, plates, and bowls in our officer's section. I was going there; there is no tablecloth, this is a factory where cloth is produced, there was no tablecloth. There are tin glasses and jugs in there. However, there are glass glasses in our officer's hall. I always conveyed this to the union president. The gardens used by the workers and officers were different. Sports activities were also mixed, there were also workers. Workers could also get food at events on Fridays, but they have not attended the event." (Interviewee 1, Sümerbank, January 2022)

In Ege University, an education campus, the separations in social interaction spaces are mainly established through the physical distances of the faculties. It is seen that those working in the medical faculty units concentrated in the western part of the university use the western part of the campus. In contrast, the students and employees in other faculties mostly use the eastern part. The road passing between the two parts of the

campus strengthens the separation between these parts in everyday life. Another spatial separation is between students and university staff, such as academics and officers. The dining halls on the campus are divided both according to their physical locations and as staff and student dining halls. Dining Halls 1 and 3 are located in the western part of the campus. While the students use no. 1, the staff uses no. 3. The dining hall no. 2 serves the medical units in the western part of the campus.

"Everyone comes to the dining hall to eat at lunchtime, and it gets bustling. Here we have the chance to meet and chat with many people. However, we cannot see any different users other than students in there." (Interviewee 8, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

"There are many people from different departments in the dining halls and library. Here we can meet people from different departments. There are separate dining halls for academics and staff, and academics spend more time in rooms or lounges reserved for them." (Interviewee 9, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

"There is no spatial segregation in the areas where different faculties spend their leisure time on campus. People from different faculties usually gather in dining halls and cafeterias. However, I think that physical distance significantly affects the gatherings on campus. Due to the time restriction in leisure time, the spaces where time is spent may change according to physical distance." (Interviewee 3, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

"The Ege University campus is divided into two the Faculty of Medicine and the main campus. People are more likely to socialize on the main campus. The Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences is located on the same campus as the Faculty of Medicine. For this reason, the spaces we will use for socializing are generally limited. Because the relatives of the patients also use the cafes on the side of the medical faculty." (Interviewee 5, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

Interviews with the employees at the DSİ campus indicate that the hierarchical structure in working life does not directly affect the use of leisure spaces. However, it has been observed that the meetings and holidays in the recreational facilities of the organization reflect the hierarchical relations in the working life to the space. There is a single dining hall and cafeteria structure on campus. The fact that the spaces on the campus are not very diverse also prevents segregation.

"Especially when there are official relations in the facilities in the holiday regions, I think that being together can prevent the holiday from reaching its purpose." (Interviewee 11, DSİ, February 2022)

4.4.2. Conversation Spaces: Cafeterias and Locals

Oldenburg categorized the spaces that allow everyday life to continue in its own routine under three main headings according to different usage patterns. The first of these is the domestic (house), the second is the productive part of everyday life, the working space (gainful or productive), and the third is the social spaces that form the basis of the community. Each of these spaces is based on different human experiences and relationships. According to Oldenburg, third spaces are equalitarian, inclusive, and accessible to all. The routine activity of these spaces is 'conversations.'²⁵⁶ Conversations refer to the social relations established in the space. The function of the spaces, the degree of publicity, and their physical qualities are decisive in establishing social interaction. The spaces where mutual conversations come to the fore on campuses are usually cafeterias and locals.

Locals are the spaces on the Sümerbank campus where the meeting is based on 'conversations'. The local is one of the important meeting places on campus. It is possible to say that these areas are third spaces as defined by Oldenburg. Mutual conversations are also actions that bring individuals together around a common situation, have it argued, and develop a sense of community.

"After we ate lunch, we went out to the garden or the local. In one hour, we would at least relieve our stress. Especially in summer, we would not return home immediately after working hours. We used to drink tea and chat in the garden, by the pool." (Interviewee 1, Sümerbank, January 2022)

The 'conversation' spaces are usually cafeterias on the Ege University campus. The spaces that appeared as canteens in the establishment of the university turned into cafeterias that were transferred to different private enterprises due to the privatizations in many areas in the 1980s. These transformations started in the 1980s and continued until recently. Yaylalı described the privatization of faculty canteens as an important event that changed the daily spatial use in faculty life in her study. She evaluated how publicity was formed on the Ege University campus and the impact of the spatial organization on the campus on public practices.²⁵⁷ Faculty canteens, which everyone on university campuses

²⁵⁶ Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place* (New York: Da Copa Press, 1989).

²⁵⁷ Berna Yaylalı Yıldız, "University Campuses as Places of Potential Publicness: Exploring the Political, Social, and Cultural Practices in Ege University" The Department of Architecture, (PhD diss, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2014), p. 134.

frequently uses, are one of the spaces where employees from different units, academicians, and students from different faculties come together in their daily routines.

The spatial transformations experienced by the cafeterias, one of the essential social areas of the faculty, in the 1990s also changed the form of social relations and social activities established in the space. Before this transformation, various publications such as newspapers and magazines were kept in the faculty canteens. Canteens are not only spaces where 'free' time is spent but also spaces for reading and discussion. The spatial arrangements of the spaces also serve these activities. With the beginning of the privatization period, the changes that took place on the campus transformed the canteens into spaces where people could only eat, listen to loud music, and spend 'free' time.²⁵⁸

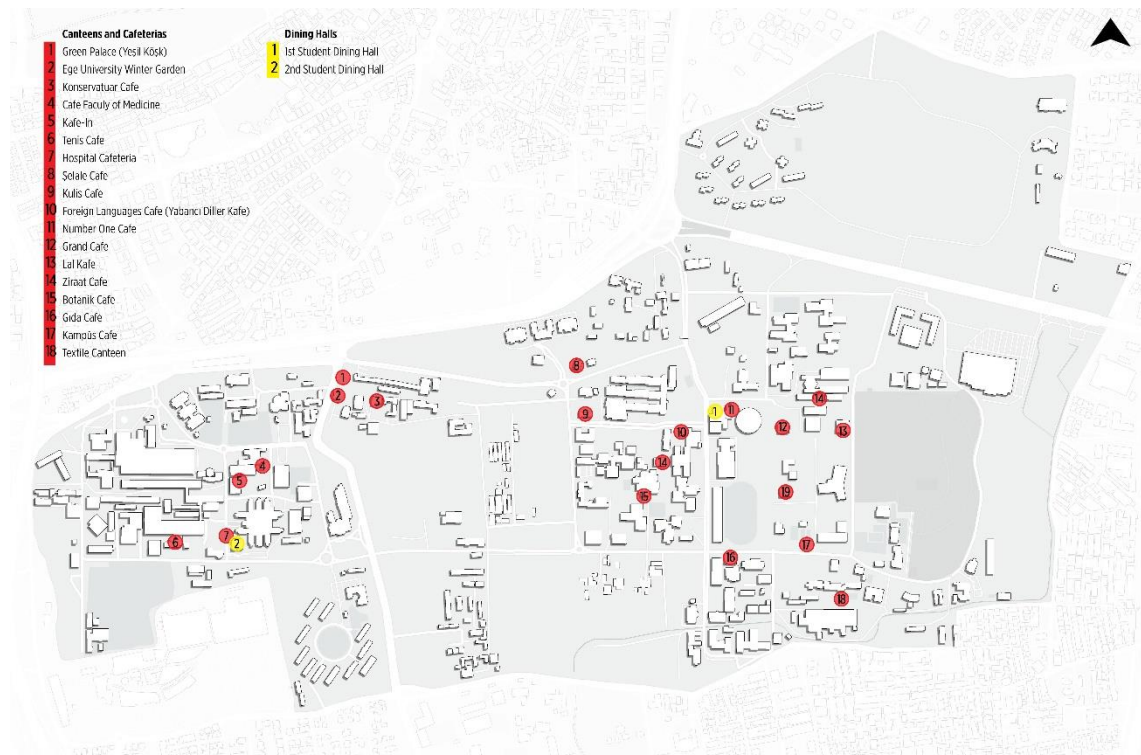


Figure 4.24. Conversation spaces (cafeterias and dining halls) on Ege University campus (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Mapbox.)

Cafeterias are used for many activities such as eating, drinking tea/coffee, chatting, especially during lunch breaks. Spending time in cafeterias does not need a defined time frame like many other social activities on campus. It is a field of activity shaped by instant, unscheduled decisions. For this reason, they are the most preferred leisure spaces by campus people. Especially for students, cafeterias can be places with

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 134-135.

different usage areas. While these are meeting spaces for some students, some students also use these places as study spaces. The most important criteria that determine the spatial use in cafeterias is the physical distance due to the size of the campus.

"I usually spend my time in the cafe closest to my faculty. I sit in this cafe every lunchtime, after dinner or between classes." (Interviewee 8, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

"Although the issue of distance creates an inevitable spatial separation because it is a large campus, the use of common areas is concentrated in the center due to the central library, dining hall, and the location of the metro station. Of course, people from different faculties come together most intensely in cafes and on the lawns. Canteens, cafes, and green areas are spaces where usage is not limited to certain profiles. These types of space provide more opportunities than museums and conference halls." (Interviewee 7, Ege University, Graduate Student and Hospital Staff, February 2022)

"There are different cafeterias around each faculty. Generally, students prefer the closest cafes. If the faculties are far from each other, it is preferred to meet in Küçükpark. I usually use cafes to spend time with my friends. I frequently use the cafes in the student bazaar and the Kulis Cafe near the Faculty of Literature." (Interviewee 9, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

"In my opinion, dining halls and cafeterias are the leisure places where gathering on campus is realized most intensely." (Interviewee 3, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

It is possible to say that the cafeteria structure on the DSİ campus, where 'mutual conversations' take place, is the most used space of leisure time. In the interviews, the common answers of the employees about the leisure spaces are Su Cafe on the campus. The employees see the presence of both indoor and outdoor seating in the cafeteria as an essential detail. Especially during the pandemic period, employees in a closed office all day emphasize their desire to spend their lunch breaks outdoors. Since this space is the only cafeteria on campus, it is included almost all employees' daily life rhythms. The use of cafeteria is closed to personnel during working hours.

Employees living in nearby lodgings prefer to go to their homes instead of spending their lunch breaks in the main campus area. Especially during the pandemic period, individuals who turn to the family and home emphasize that they want to spend their leisure time at home, in a safe area. This situation shows that the lodgings are used as separating spaces rather than unifying ones on campus.



Figure 4.25. The collage shows the cafeteria on the DSİ campus (Su Cafe), its garden, and the poster indicating the temporal use of the cafeteria structure.
(Source: The photos were taken by the author and made into a collage.)

“If I’m not out on the field, I usually have my lunch in the dining hall. In the spring and summer seasons, we sit and chat at the Su Cafe after the lunch meal. Here, we have the opportunity to meet and talk with our friends in the open area. There are other sports facilities that we can use in leisure time, but it is not possible to use these spaces during the lunch break.” (Interviewee 11, DSİ, February 2022)

4.4.3. Activity Areas: Social, Cultural and Sports Units

Social and cultural activities are one of the essential activities that ensure the continuation of daily life on campuses outside of working time. These events are special times that go beyond the daily routine of campus life. What distinguishes the definition of leisure time from a classical definition of free time is that this time period is the time that provides the social and cultural development of the individual.

The understanding of modernism to produce spaces based on health and hygiene in the architectural field also considers the physical health of the modern individual. It is possible to say that the sports facilities, which are frequently seen in the campus spaces of the period, are not only a discipline mechanism but also a part of the public health

policy. Sports facilities are places organized for the health of the employees and the use of leisure time.²⁵⁹

Social and cultural activities on the Sümerbank campus are based on the development of modern people in many different areas, which the Republican regime in Turkey is trying to create. Employees of Sümerbank, a state-owned enterprise, are individuals who make up the institution's identity. The campus social and cultural structures and sports units aim to ensure that the employees' leisure time is fulfilled in a qualified manner. Factory campuses are the leading places for creating a modern urban identity, and they also play a leading role in the formation of modern individuals and society. Just like the working time, the workers' leisure time is planned to encourage their personal development. Although the İzmir Basma Factory, a late Sümerbank establishment, was established in the years when these ideological approaches of public institutions were transformed, it is seen that republican ideology is reflected in the space in the interviews. However, the interviewees state that the leisure spaces in the factory have undergone a transformation from the establishment of the factory to the closing process. At the same time, the privatization of the institution in 1987 is another time period in which this effort to create the modern individual and thus the space was transformed.

"When we were working, we organized events with our colleagues. As I said, we used to go to training. We used to have music nights. We used to organize nights at the local with women until 1 a.m. For the first time in my life, I made the theater in the factory." (Interviewee 1, Sumerbank, January 2022)

"There was a football team, Sümer Spor. We had a football field in the factory. The group was playing in there. In every factory, its name was Sümer Spor. We also had a gym; it's closed. We had showers. There was a sports program for women there. Our teacher was coming; we were doing sports together." (Interviewee 1, Sumerbank, January 2022)

"We had sports activities. There were also cinema activities in the past. However, when the television culture became very common in the last years of the factory, those halls started to be used as wedding halls. It was the building before the entrance of the factory. It was a 600-seat hall." (Interviewee 2, Sümerbank, January 2022)

²⁵⁹ Ekim Deniz Ayhan, "Workers' Health and Architecture: A Reading on Eskişehir Sugar Factory Within Turkish Modernization" The Department of Architecture, (MSc thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2006), p. 38.

The places where social and cultural activities and sports activities take place on the Ege University campus are one of the founding spaces of leisure time. As an education campus, university campuses are places where education continues outside of education hours. These spaces, which allow discussion environments such as seminars, conferences, and conversations and cultural activities such as theatre and cinema, are essential for campus structures designed to continue education outside of lecture hours. Apart from this, it is possible to say that these spaces are the most extensive public meeting points on campuses in the process of 'reproducing of labor' in non-working time. Muhittin Erel Amphitheater, 50th Anniversary Art Gallery, Culture and Art House, MÖTBE Cultural Center, and Ceremonial-Feast Area are the places cultural and artistic events, congresses, conferences, and conversations realize on the campus of Ege University. Event times such as congresses, conferences, festivals organized at the university are the times when going out of daily routine life on campus. Organized by student societies or the school, these events bring together the everyday life of different areas of the campus. These events are events that the citizens of the city participate in as well as the people on the campus.

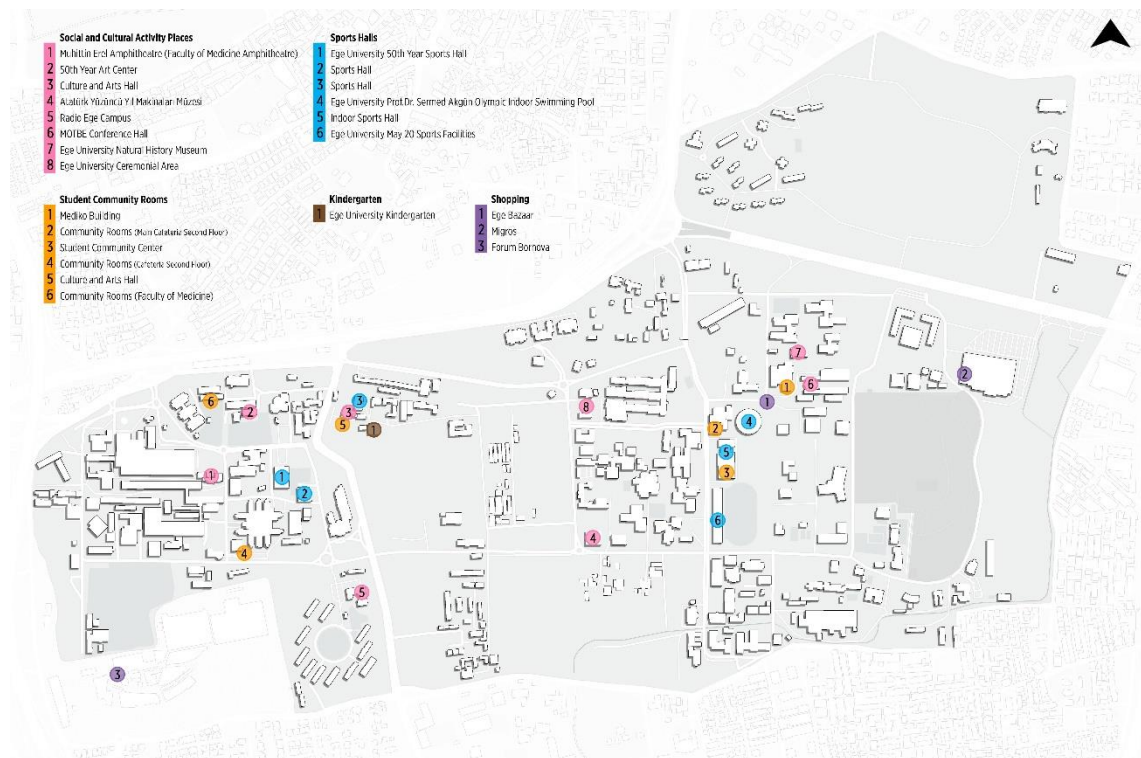


Figure 4.26. Social and cultural spaces and sports halls in Ege University campus (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Mapbox.)



Figure 4.27. Ege University Ceremonial Feast Area
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Figure 4.28. Cinema Club activity
(Source: The photo taken from Ege University Cinema Club archive.)

Cultural centers within the campus provide the stage for plays and performances organized by the university student communities or coming from outside the university. In particular, the performances they prepared together during the period by student communities, which were established based on activities such as theater, drama, and dance, meet with the audience in the cultural centers on the campus, enabling the university to share its productions with people.

"Events such as congresses, seminars, exhibitions, and theaters are constantly realized on campus. Every year, our university has spring festivals. There are many theaters and seminars for one week. Musicians and musical groups come and perform on our campus. Apart from this festival, university clubs often organize such events. The participation of the citizens in the activities is generally low or not at all." (Interviewee 8, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

"When I was a student, I lived in the dormitory on campus. As a result of this situation, I spent most of my time on campus. At that time, there was more socializing area on campus. There has been no change in exhibitions, theaters, and concerts, but there has been a significant decrease in the number of congresses and seminars." (Interviewee 5, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

"Since major changes have been made in the last few years in the main region of the campus, where almost all the faculties are located, there are no places that can bring people together. Almost all places such as basketball, volleyball courts, open grass areas, cafes, and stationery were closed, and the campus was turned into a large construction site. It was isolated by constructing wire walls and security cabins around it. The campus has ceased to be a gathering place and has turned into a place where students and employees leave after completing their tasks." (Interviewer 7, Ege University, Graduate Student and Hospital Staff, February 2022)

Leisure activities on the DSİ campus generally include sports activities. The interviewees stated that there are not many social and cultural activities on campus. The courses such as painting and music are social activities realized on campus. However, activities about sports are quite common on campus. There are a basketball court, various sports equipment, changing rooms, and showers in the DSİ Sports structure located next to the cafeteria unit on the campus. Employees' families and citizens can also benefit from these services. Employees stated that sports activities are widely used mainly by families with children.



Figure 4.29. DSİ music course poster, DSİ Sports structure and football field of sports facility
(Source: The photos were taken by the author and made into a collage.)

Sports and music courses are available on campus. These spaces are being used as part of social activities. Although I do not use it myself, my children use it effectively. (Interviewee 12, DSİ, February 2022)

“Courses such as sports and music which can be benefited by all personnel and family members, are held on campus.” (Interviewee 14, DSİ, February 2022)

Social facilities, sports activities, and tournaments held under the control of DSİ before the pandemic were among the essential activities. In the past, during lunch breaks, employees could benefit from DSİ gym activities and football fields. This service has not been implemented for about five years. These areas are currently

closed for lunch breaks and rest periods. We can use it in certain sizes outside of working hours and days. (Interviewee 13, DSI, February 2022)

4.4.4. Unprogrammed Spaces of Everyday Life: Green Areas

Public open spaces and green spaces are at the forefront of 'accessible to everyone' urban spaces. The public green spaces in the urban space are separated from the property ties and are at the forefront of the social interaction areas accessible to everyone. The link Lefebvre established between leisure and appropriated space comes to the fore in these spaces. Akış and Batuman also establish a connection between open public spaces, defined as recreation areas, and the reproduction of the human body. They draw attention to the first meaning of 're-creation' in the word recreation. This concept, which can be defined as the mental and spiritual renewal necessary for the development of human existence, brings to mind the definition of 'reproduction of labor'.²⁶⁰ These voids in the city refer to a spontaneous life form. These are spaces that remind the attraction of the free to the modern individual in the rational order. Although we are talking about a constructed urban void, these spaces realize the unplanned uses of everyday life.²⁶¹ These public voids, green spaces, and paths connecting the structures, with their use without a program within the programmed structure of working life, are the essential leisure spaces of the campuses.

In the interview with Sümerbank campus employees, the interviewees say that they use the green areas for socializing or walking during lunch breaks. Leisure time spent indoors in winter is moved to open spaces in summer. The interviewees mention that the segregation between workers and officers continues even in places that are not defined by these physical boundaries and are distinguished from the programmed structure of production. In Figure 4.30, the green areas on the campus and the circulation schemes of the workers and officers on the campus are overlapped. The green area in the entrance area of Şehitler Caddesi is the 'summer garden' space. It is seen that the workers do not use this area in their everyday life in the campus.

²⁶⁰ Tonguç Akış and Bülent Batuman, "Kentsel Mekân Olarak Doğa," *Mimarlık Dergisi*, Vol. 291. (2000), 23-25, p. 23.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.



Figure 4.30. Overlapping the green spaces in daily use and the daily routes of workers and officers on the Sümerbank campus

(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Uğursal, 2011.)

"There was much green space on campus. There were such trees that it was forbidden to cut them. For example, pine trees. It was an amazing green factory. We used to take a walk around the factory. After lunch, we would take a walk with my colleagues. We used to talk to those we encountered. If we wanted to sit, we would sit in the garden. Workers started to use the same garden for a while, but the gardens were usually separate." (Interviewee 1, Sümerbank, January 2022)

"We usually used to sit in the garden in the summer; we had a garden. There was a summer garden; there was a winter club. In the evening, there would not be many people there. These areas were more preferred at noon." (Interviewee 2, Sümerbank, January 2022)

Green areas on the Ege University campus are one of the founding elements of everyday life on campus. Established on an area of 345 hectares, the Ege University campus has green areas with different uses. For example, the green area spread over a

wide-scale around the Faculty of Agriculture, one of the most established faculties of the university is used not only by the Faculty of Agriculture but also by all campus people with its location in the center of the university. The green areas actively used on the campus are located around the Student Village, KYK dormitories, the library building, and various faculties. Green areas with active use are at the forefront of the spaces with a uniting function within the campus. These spaces, which have equal access for every individual on the campus, can be used for many activities such as resting, eating, chatting together, and doing sports during non-educational hours. Unlike many other gathering places, these spaces, which do not have a defined function, enable many activities, are reshaped and reproduced with each action.



Figure 4.31. The green spaces in Ege University Campus
(Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Mapbox.)

"I use the public open spaces on campus for walking in my leisure time. On the other hand, I see that the spatial use of these areas can also vary according to the desired physical activity such as basketball, football, etc." (Interviewee 3, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

"Green Metrics values on campus have been increasing year by year. The increase in green areas and the daily approach of 10,000 steps are a phenomenon that we have adopted by the academic and administrative staff." (Interviewee 4, Ege University, Academician, February 2022)

"Although there are scattered many open green areas on the campus, it cannot be considered sufficient in terms of suitability for use. These areas, which we mostly use for rest and communication, are also used for student activities." (Interviewee 7, Ege University, Graduate Student and Hospital Staff, February 2022)

"In my leisure time, I take for a walk or bike around campus. I use the entire campus when hiking or biking. However, the green areas on campus are decreasing day by day. Sometimes during lunch, I sit on the grass. However, the green space is not enough; the grass is full. We do not find a place." (Interviewee 8, Ege University, Student, February 2022)



Figure 4.32. Green spaces between faculties in Ege University
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Figure 4.33. Green spaces between faculties in Ege University
(Source: The photo taken by the author.)

In interviews with campus people, some users find the number of green areas on campus sufficient, while others say that they are insufficient for everyday use. In addition to the green areas that are actively used on the campus, there are also forested areas. The Ege University Forest, located to the north of the main campus, is one of the important green areas of the campus. Ege University Forest, which has a total area of approximately 545 thousand square meters, meets the green space needs of the university and the Bornova district. The forest is known as the oxygen source of the district. The area, which came to the fore with the news of the construction of a "Nation Garden" on the part of 290 thousand square meters in 2019, is in the same region as Ege University Lodgings. In this part of the campus, which covers an area of 545 square meters, there are Ege University Guest House, Solar Energy Institute, and staff dwelling houses, as well as the Ege University Forest, which includes a pine grove and olive groves. The 2.200-meter-long hiking trail on the campus is open to the public as well as university staff. The

walking, jogging, and cycling track in the area is an area that is actively used every day of the week.²⁶² While some of the interviewees state that this area is an isolated area from daily use, others state that they use it in their everyday lives.

"This area is not open to our daily use. As we walk through a part of the campus, we see that two sides are surrounded by wires. It is said that this big grove will be the 'Nation Garden'. I think it is incorrect to have such a structure open to the public on a university campus. Many things can be done for the benefit of the campus instead of the 'Nation Garden'." (Interviewee 8, Ege University, Student, February 2022)

"It is not a place that I use as daily. However, such a change should not be accepted in this important area for researchers visiting the university for research. It cannot be appropriate that the spaces belonging to a university are not evaluated for its own population. The arboretum belonging to the Ege University Botanical Garden has recently undergone a similar change." (Interviewee 7, Ege University, Graduate Student and Hospital Staff, February 2022)

"I think this area is the most beautiful area of the campus and the most comfortable area where we can come as a family. It is an open and green space for everyday use, and it is an enjoyable area. I think anything done to this region could affect the region badly." (Interviewee 6, Ege University, Hospital Staff, February 2022)

The green areas in the main area of the DSİ campus are mostly shaped around the cafeteria and sports facilities. These areas are used for activities such as socializing during lunch breaks, chatting with friends, and taking a walk-in daily use. On the other hand, there is a dense green texture between the houses and in the northwest of the houses in the area where the lodgings are located. The green area in the northwest transforms into an area where the residents spend time together during the summer months.

"Compared to our surroundings, it seems like there are green spaces on campus. However, it could be better. For example, there may be walking paths around green areas." (Interviewee 11, DSİ, February 2022)

"We usually use green spaces during lunch breaks. We are sitting and chatting with colleagues or taking a walk in these areas. Due to the new structuring process, the green areas have narrowed a little. However, it is planned to increase with new social facilities." (Interviewee 13, DSİ, February 2022)

²⁶² "Ege Üniversitesi AKP işgalinde: Önce cami, şimdi 'Millet Bahçesi,'" <https://haber.sol.org.tr/toplum/ege-universitesi-akp-isgalinde-once-cami-simdi-millet-bahcesi-254375>.



Figure 4.34. The green spaces in DSİ Campus
 (Source: The graphic is produced by the author on the base taken from Mapbox.)



Figure 4.35. The green space in DSİ Campus
 (Source: The photo taken by the author.)

Figure 4.36. Summer garden in DSİ main campus lodging area
 (Source: The photo taken by the author.)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In the modern world, everyday life has moved out of the center of the subjective and settled into the center of social life. The work is moved out of the house. Everyone's one day takes place with similar activities at the same time intervals. Lefebvre defined this 'sameness' brought by modernity as the generalization of everyday life.²⁶³ At the center of this homogenizing everyday life is the social production time, the working time. Working time is the time period in which the individual establishes relations with people and participates in social production and social life in everyday life. Working is the essential element that connects the individual to other people and social knowledge.²⁶⁴ The changing structure of the work in the modern world has also changed the structure of time periods of daily life other than work. Leisure, the most fundamental time of daily life other than work, has begun to be defined through work in the modern world.

On the other hand, the development of modernism in a world dominated by capitalism has significantly affected the structure of daily life. The understanding of production based on the continuous acceleration of capitalism has gradually increased the area occupied by working time in everyday life. Increasing working hours and the structure of leisure time combined with working time have turned leisure time into a field of struggle. Leisure time has reproduced itself by removing it from working time in the modern world. Leisure is now 'not-work.'²⁶⁵ However, on the other hand, leisure time has meanings beyond the meaning of 'non-work' gained in the modern capitalist world. This time, separated from the obligatory tasks of everyday life, is the area for the individual to discover his/her creative and productive potential in everyday life. In the modern capitalist world, unlike working time, where the individual is alienated from his/her own production, the individual creates his/her area in this time. Working time of everyday life is the area of social production, and leisure time is the area of self-reproduction of the individual.

²⁶³ Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York: The Penguin Press, 1971), p. 59.

²⁶⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Volume I*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), p. 38.

²⁶⁵ Susana Juniu, "Downshifting: Regaining the Essence of Leisure," *Journal of Leisure Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2000), 69-73, p. 70.

The spatial discussion of leisure time, which we cannot separate from working time with modernism, necessitates a discussion that encompasses the whole of everyday life. The campus structures, the first spatial experiments of which were encountered in the modern period, have formed the spatial cases of this thesis, with the containing of working and leisure time of everyday life within a specific spatial boundary. The campuses, which refer to the programmed life structure of modernity as an idea, consist of the unity of spaces divided into certain zones, like the functionalist planned cities of modernity. In campus structures, where there are spaces of many different time periods of daily life within a certain boundary, leisure spaces create a potential for the reproduction of campus space with their roles that emphasize the use-value of the space. However, on the other hand, the programmed structure of everyday life within certain boundaries turns into a tool to discipline leisure time, which is the reproduction area of daily life.

The production of space is also the production of a new everyday life form. Campuses, which are the spatial productions of modernism, are also based on the idea of creating a new daily life with their structures that contain an extensive time period of daily life. In Turkey's modernization experience, campus structures of different functions have turned into spatial representatives of the Republican regime, starting from the 1930s. The campus structures determined as cases in this study (Sümerbank Halkapınar Factory Campus, Ege University Campus, and DSİ İzmir Campus) also reference Turkey's modernization experience both functionally and periodically.

In this thesis study, which uses qualitative research methods and aims to embody this research with a case study, it is aimed to discuss the definition of 'leisure spaces in working places' in a way that includes the everyday life experiences of campus users. For this reason, questions have been prepared to be answered by campus people that will size the discussion I will open in Chapter 4. These open-ended questions aim to understand campus life, leisure time on campus, and its transformation in the historical process. Within the scope of the questions prepared, interviews were realized with two people from the Sümerbank Factory Halkapınar campus, eight people from the Ege University campus, three of whom were academics, two of the hospital staff, and three of the students, and four people from the DSİ İzmir campus.

The fact that Sümerbank Factories is currently closed has led to a limited number of interviewees. However, the association building of the institution, which is still in İzmir Karşıyaka, allowed me to reach former employees. The division of Ege University

campus users into students and employees increased the number of interviewees on this campus. On the DSI campus, interviews were held with four different people working in different units. The isolated structure of the campuses, which does not include people from outside to the spatial organization inside, has been one of the crucial topics that made it difficult to carry out field studies. The common point that limited field studies and interviews in all campuses in certain respects was the pandemic conditions. At this point, I would like to thank all the interviewees who made real these interviews with me by spending their time under the pandemic conditions for their contribution to this thesis.

In this study, we aimed to deal with the fragmented time periods of everyday life in the modern world as a whole. Examining campus structures, where we can evaluate leisure time together with working time, as the idea of 'creating a new everyday life' enabled us to discuss campus spaces with different functions together under the title of 'campus'. While these campus structures with different functions are spatially combined under the campus title, they differ from each other by the way they are connected to social production relations. Discussing the spatial uses of leisure time in the campuses under different titles enabled us to see the common and divergent features of these spaces. These four titles making up the main structure of Chapter 4 are *Campus and Urban Relation*, *Time and Space in the Campus*, *Dwelling in the Campus*, and *Social Interaction Spaces in the Campus*. In the *Campus and Urban Relation* title, we discussed the connection that the everyday life in these places, which includes different time periods within certain boundaries, establishes with the city and its inhabitants. In the title of *Time and Space in the Campus*, we aimed to discuss how the idea of modernism that 'everything has a place and time' in campus structures is spatially constructed and how the use of different spaces in the flow of everyday life changes temporally. In the title of *Dwelling in the Campus*, we aimed to discuss the situation that the most vital element of the time period in which the individual reproduces his/her labor, the house, is connected to the institution and the spatial proximity of the place of work and the house. Under the title of *Social Interaction Spaces in the Campus*, we discussed the spatial organization of leisure spaces on campuses and their role in bringing individuals together.

The campus spaces have existed in the spatial experiences of both socialist and capitalist modernization. This spatial organization, which socialist modernization sees as a collective search for life, is a means of keeping employees connected to the workplace in capitalist modernization. Boratav mentions a modernization process that started in 1908 in Turkey. 1923 is the starting point of the transition from an empire to a modern

capitalist society.²⁶⁶ Although the modernist planning understanding of the early Republican period in Turkey carries traces of the spatial experiences of socialist regimes, it is possible to say that the country has eventually turned its face to the capitalist world. This situation has led to the transformation of everyday life based on the cycle of labor and reproduction of labor. Leisure spaces, which Lefebvre defines as a transition space²⁶⁷ between labor and non-labor time, have also been significantly affected by this transformation.

Lefebvre defines the dominant spaces of capitalist societies as abstract spaces. These spaces depend on the relations of production and the order, signs, and codes that these relations necessitate.²⁶⁸ These signs and codes refer to the digitization of space. The digitization of space and the commodification of space are the same.²⁶⁹ The commodification highlights the conceived dimension of the space. The conceived space tries to control the movements, to put the body into certain definitions and programs. These spaces use certain patterns to abstract the everyday life in the space. On the other hand, everyday life settles on this abstract conceived space. Contrary to abstract spaces, concrete spaces are spaces that resist the dominant abstractions of everyday life and include their implicit criticism.²⁷⁰

Lefebvre says that leisure spaces reveal the contradictions between abstract space and its other possibility.²⁷¹ Leisure spaces refer to concrete spaces with these features. Campus spaces, including the leisure spaces of everyday life, place the different time periods of daily life into certain programs within the boundaries defined by the conceived space. The temporal and spatial idea of modernism that 'everything has a place and a time' constitutes the spatial organization of campus spaces. Field studies on campuses and interviews with campus people have shown that the leisure spaces, which we define as counter spaces outside the compulsory daily activities, are also integrated into this programmed daily life. In these structures, which combine different time periods of daily life, it is seen that which space can be used at which times is defined by certain rules. This

²⁶⁶ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998), p. 46.

²⁶⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. Lukasz Stanek, trans. Robert Bononno (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. 100.

²⁶⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, and Cambridge: Blackwell, 2014), p. 126.

²⁶⁹ Adile Arslan Avar, "Lefebvre'in Üçlü-Algılanan, Tasarlanan, Yaşanan Mekân-Diyalektiği," *Dosya: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayını*, 17 (2009), 7-16, p. 11.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁷¹ Robert Bononno, "Translator's Note," in *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, Henri Lefebvre, ed. Lukasz Stanek (London: University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, 2014), p. xxxi.

temporal and spatial programming is also a factor that shapes the spatial organization of the campus. Where the different working groups on campus will work and where they will spend their leisure time have been determined by spatial or perceptual boundaries. In Sümerbank, which is the production campus, this segregation is established between officers and workers. Spatial segregation at Ege University is mainly determined by the spatial organization of the campus space. The physical distance between faculties is the defining feature of spatial separation. On the DSİ campus, spatial segregation is observed among employees and managers.

All three campus structures, which were established in the 1950s and developed the city around itself, are located in the city's central areas. However, they have spatial structures that aim to establish an isolated life apart from the environment they are located in. In all three campus structures, it is necessary to fulfill various procedures for the citizens to benefit from the leisure activities on the campus. However, this isolated life is broken by the fact that campus people go out from the campus in their leisure time. Especially at Ege University, it is seen that leisure time mostly moves out to the spaces around the campus. Leisure time outside the campus is generally for consumption. The campus spaces, which have a large population within their defined boundaries, are surrounded by consumption-oriented places where this dense population will spend their leisure time. Eating, drinking, and shopping activities have become the most basic form of leisure time. Capitalism's pursuit of continuous acceleration in social production has made the non-working time dependent on social production. Leisure time, which is the 'reproduction time of labor,' has turned into the 'consumption time' of the products produced in working time.

The year 1980, which was a vital breaking period in the transformation of economic policies in the country, was the beginning of a period that included the liquidation and privatization of public institutions. Boratav underlines that this economic change has turned into an ideological attack in the social sense. This transformation, which has spread to social life, has shifted the focus of daily life from the workplace and production to the family. Cultural degenerations, which manifested themselves in the 1980s, are also the social reflection of this ideological attack.²⁷² Different components of everyday life on campuses, each of which is a public institution, have also been significantly affected by this situation.

²⁷² Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1998), p. 217.

Separation of work from home enables the individual to participate in new social environments and socialize. However, the capitalism-centered development of the modern world has divided work into individual specializations and fields of activity. Wage labor conditions alienated the worker from the product and transformed the sociality of working time. The changing structure of work has shifted the everyday life of individuals within the social structure to more and more private spheres.²⁷³ This idea of everyday life based on 'private life is embodied in the residential space. The fact that the most individual area of this leisure time is connected to the institution can minimize individual labor, remove leisure time from individual space, and regard housing as a fundamental right. However, in the field studies and interviews carried out on the campuses, it is seen that living in the houses attached to the institution detracts the leisure time from the definition of time away from the obligatory actions of daily life.

The public leisure areas of the campuses have also been significantly affected by the transforming socio-cultural structure. It has been observed that the most gathered places of the campus people are cafeterias or locales, which are defined as third spaces by Oldenburg²⁷⁴, in all three campuses. These places have been included in the privatization processes to a great extent as a result of the reflections of the economic transformations that started in 1980 on the social sphere. On the other hand, social and cultural activities on campuses continue in a decreasing trend due to technological developments, leisure time outside the campus, and increased security practices on campuses. Connecting spatial elements in the campuses, which contain many buildings with different functions in the same area, green spaces are distinguished from other spaces on campus with their undefined and unscheduled spatial structures. However, even the use of these spaces, which stand out with their unscheduled features on campuses, are either limited to certain hours or divided into zones.

Modernism seeks to reorganize time through space design, construct everyday life like a machine, and create a rational space organization. However, the space does not remain in its conceived dimension. It changes in everyday life, and it is reproduced every day. The conceived space on campuses also tries to program the fluid structure of daily life. Leisure spaces on campuses seem to be the fragile side of this spatial organization. However, it is seen that these spaces are also framed in many ways today.

²⁷³ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: Volume I*. trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), p. 149.

²⁷⁴ Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place* (New York: Da Copa Press, 1989).

Today, time and space relations continue to change rapidly so that we do not need to be in the same time zone or in the same place, and perhaps never will. The shift of work towards private areas changes the daily life structure where working time takes place in a defined time interval. This transformation of working time, which modernism moved away from the house into the public sphere, indicates that the temporal and spatial modes of production are transforming. This situation changes the definition of leisure time in everyday life besides working.

This study aimed to critically examine the cases that have been tried in the historical process in the presence of the changing nature of work and leisure time. The spatial contents, including work and leisure time, of the campus structures, which reflect the ideas of modernism on everyday life spatially, have been the subject of this critical study. The fact that campus structures have different functions enabled us to debate the idea of everyday life they offer apart from the functions of campus spaces. The discussion of this structure of everyday life is also the discussion of the programmed life structure of modernism, the leisure time integrated into this programmed life, the fragmented planning approach in campuses, the isolated structure of daily life in these places, and the spatial transformations brought about by changing economic relations. These discussions also enable us to examine our existing ways of designing and producing spaces. Since there is no direct word equivalent in the Turkish language, we think that this lack of the definition of leisure, which we use as the same word as 'free time', directly affects the way we design these spaces. Spatial discussions on the concept of leisure also enable us to question the spatial production of leisure time in everyday life.

Although working time has acquired an alienating character in the modern world under capitalism, it is the productive time of everyday life. On the other hand, leisure time is the time of self-reproduction for individuals who realize this productive time. The critique of spatial experiences that bring these two times together has a strong potential for discussions and suggestions for our new ways of producing space. I think that this study, in which we discuss the transformation of leisure and leisure spaces through the idea of campus, can be a starting point for different research topics. Both leisure and leisure spaces that transform within the rapidly changing structure of our everyday life and campus spaces that bring together different time periods of daily life in the same space have the potential to be the subject of new spatial discussions.

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APPENDIX A

SÜMERBANK İZMİR CAMPUS

- **Lojmanların kampüs içindeki mekânsal kurgusu ve kampüsteki gündelik yaşam ile ilişkisi nasıldı? (Uzaklık, fiziksel sınırlar)**

Görüşmeci 1: Fabrikada bir iç bir de dış lojmanlar vardı. İç lojmanlarda genelde müdürler, müdür muavinleri ve fabrika müdürü kalıyordu. Fabrika müdürünün evi tamamen ayrıydı. Dupleks, tek bir evdi. Diğer müdürlerin evleri de apartman dairesiydi. Dış lojmanlar da teknisyenler, mühendisler oturuyordu. İki tip daire vardı. Bu kısımda da normal memurlar kalıyordu. Şefler, memurlar.

Görüşmeci 2: İzmir Basma'da yolun bir tarafında konfeksiyon kısmı vardı. Yolun bir tarafında da tekstilin kumaş kısmı vardı. Toplam alan 165 bin metre kareydi. 20 bin metre karelik olan kısmı konfeksiyon kısmıydı, 145 bin metre karelik olan kısım da kumaş kısmıydı. Lojman her iki tarafta da vardı. Ama küçük olan kısımda daha fazlaydı. Misafirhane ve restoran dediğimiz işçi yemekhaneleri ana kısımdaydı.

- **Kampüsteki lojmanlarda konaklamak gündelik hayatın neredeyse tamamını kampüste geçirmek anlamına geliyor. Sizin için bu durumun olumlu ve olumsuz yönleri neler?**

Görüşmeci 1: Herkese uygun bir şey değildi. Örneğin ben eve giderken gezmeyi severdim, bana göre değildi. Lojmanda bu olay olmuyor tabi, fabrikadan direkt eve geliyorlar. Sadece lokal ve yazın da bahçe vardı. Ben daha sosyal olmayı seviyordum. Ancak orası da sosyalı. Günlerimiz oluyordu kadınlar arasında ayda bir şeklinde. Bu buluşmalar fabrikanın lokalinde oluyordu. Çalışanların eşleri gündüz buluşuyordu ama biz, çalışanlar mesai saati bitiminde katılıyorduk.

Görüşmeci 2: Çok bağımlı olursan bana göre pek olumlu değil. Ben İzmir Basma'da çalışırdım ama çevrede çok arkadaşım vardı. İlla da lojmanlardaki hayatıma bağlı kalmadım. Sporcu olmamın bu sosyal hayatımda çok büyük avantajları vardı. Bölge Halkapınar olarak geçiyordu. Tariş, Tekel Fabrikaları, Devlet Demiryolları vardı. Yöneticiler bazında ilişkilerimiz geliyordu.

- **Kampüsteki diğer insanlardan farklı olarak lojmanlarda kalan insanlar akşam saatlerini de çalıştıkları mekânda geçiriyordu. Çalışma zamanı dışındaki bu saatlerde kampüsün mekânsal kullanımını nasıl değişiyordu?**

Görüşmeci 2: Spor faaliyetlerimiz vardı. Genelde yazın bahçede otururduk, bahçemiz vardı. Yazlık bahçe vardı, kışlık lokal vardı. Belli saatten sonra orada çok kişi olmazdı. Öğlen saatleri daha çok tercih edilirdi. Eskiden sinema faaliyetleri de vardı. Ancak son yıllarda televizyon kültürü çok yaygın hale gelince o salonlar düğün salonu olarak kullanılmaya başlandı. Fabrikanın girişinden önceki binaydı. 600 kişilik bir salondur.

- **Gününüzün büyük bir bölümünü bu tezin de çalışma ve boş zaman kavramını mekânsal olarak ele aldığı kampüs yapılarında geçiriyordunuz. Bu mekânlar çalışma zamanı dışında boş zaman eylemlerini de karşılayan mekânları içinde barındırıyor. Sınırları fiziksel olarak belirlenmiş bu mekânlarda gündelik rutininiz nasıl geçiyordu?**

Görüşmeci 1: Yemeği yedikten sonra ya bahçeye ya lokale çıkardık. 1 saatte en azından stresimizi atardık. Özellikle yazın mesai saatleri bitiminde hemen eve dönmezdik. Bahçede çay içer, sohbet ederdik, havuz kenarında. Haftanın bir günü de döner gecemiz vardı, cuma günleri. Ben eve gitmezdim, eşim ve çocuklarım da gelirdi. Akşam da lokale çıkardık. Cuma herkes için özeldi. Bütün herkes ailelerini getirirdi. Çok kalabalık olurdu. Hepimiz de birbirimizi tanırdık. Cuma özel bir gündü. Emeklilik geceleri yapılırdı.

- **Kampüste bir araya gelmenin dolayısıyla kamusalığın en yoğun biçimde hissedildiği boş zaman mekânları sizce hangileriydi?**

Görüşmeci 1: Yeşil alanlar önemliydi. Bir dönem aynı bahçeyi işçiler de kullanmaya başladı, ayrıydı çünkü bahçeler de.

Görüşmeci 2: Spor faaliyetleri. Artı sosyal faaliyetler vardı. Özel günlerde lojmandakiler bir araya gelirdi. yılbaşında, bayramlarda aileler bir araya gelirdi. Örneğin sinema salonunda konserler olurdu. O yıllarda bu tür şeyler fazla olmadığı için cazip de olurdu. Müsamereler yapılırdı. Sosyal faaliyetler biraz da yöneticilere bağlıydı. Gelen yönetici futbolu seviyordu spor faaliyetleri öne çıkıyordu gibi. Yöneticiler bu tür şeylerde etkiliydi.

- **Özellikle içinden geçtiğimiz pandemi sürecinde kamusal açık alanların önemi giderek arttı. Kampüste yeterli derecede yeşil alan var mıydı?**

Görüşmeci 1: Oldukça çoktu. Öyle ağaçlar vardı ki, onları kesmek yasaktı. Çam ağaçları mesela. İnanılmaz yeşil bir fabrikaydı.

- **Kampüsteki yeşil alanlar tanımlı bir aktivite sunmaması ile de diğer boş zaman mekânlarından ayrılıyor. Boş zamanlarınızda kampüsteki kamusal açık alan kullanımlarınız genelde hangi eylemleri kapsıyordu? Bu alanların mekânsal kullanımı nasıl çeşitleniyordu?**

Görüşmeci 1: Mesela biz yürüyüş yapardık fabrikanın etrafında. Öğlen yemekten sonra yürüyüş yapardık mesai arkadaşlarımla. Karşılaştıklarımızla konuşurduk. Oturmak istersek bahçede otururduk.

- **İşçinin boş zamanını nitelikli bir şekilde geçirmesi aynı zamanda toplumsal üretimde daha verimli olmasını da sağlıyor ve boş zaman tarihsel olarak işçi sınıfı için kazanılmış önemli bir hak. Fabrikada çalıştığınız dönemlerde bu hakkınızı ne derecede nitelikli bir şekilde kullanabiliyordunuz? Sizce bugünün Türkiye'sinde boş zamanın mekânsal varlığı nasıl değişti/dönüştü?**

Görüşmeci 1: Çalıştığımız dönemde mesai arkadaşlarımızla organizasyonlar düzenlerdik. Eğitimlere giderdik dediğim gibi. Müzik geceleri yapardık. Gece saat 1'e kadar kadınlar lokalde geceler düzenlerdik. Hayatımda ilk defa tiyatroyu fabrikada yaptım doğaçlama, hiç çalışmadan.

- **Özellikle spor faaliyetleri çalışan bireylerin fiziksel sağlığı için önemli görülen gündelik faaliyetlerinden biri olarak görülüyor. Kampüsteki boş zamanlarınızda spor faaliyetlerini gerçekleştirebileceğiniz açık ve kapalı mekânlar var mıydı?**

Görüşmeci 1: Sümer Spor vardı. Fabrika içinde sahamız vardı. Grup maçlara çıkıyordu. Her fabrikada da adı Sümer Spor'du. Spor salonumuz da vardı, kapalı. Duşlarımız vardı. Orada kadınlara özel bir spor programı vardı. Hocamız geliyordu, birlikte spor yapıyorduk.

- **Gündelik hayatınızın büyük bir bölümünü geçirdiğiniz kampüste sosyal ve kültürel ihtiyaçlarınızı karşılayabiliyor muydunuz? Hangi sosyal faaliyetleri kampüslerde gerçekleştiriyordunuz? Boş zaman mekânları sosyal ve kültürel açıdan gelişiminize katkı sunan mekânlar mıydı?**

Görüşmeci 1: Bizim bu fabrikalarımızı kurarken sosyalist cumhuriyetlerden örnek alınmış, onlar gibi yapılmış. Örneğin fabrika beni ücretsiz İngilizce kursuna gönderdi. İki yıl boyunca gittim. Fabrika İngilizce kursuna gitmek isteyenleri gönderdi. Mesai bitimlerinde kursa gidiyorduk. Hala faydasını görürüm. Eğitimlerimiz olurdu. Muhasebeye 1993 yılında bilgisayar geldi. Bizi Bursa Merinos Fabrikası'na eğitime gönderdiler, iki memur. Orada biz 15 gün eğitim aldık. Orada fabrikada kendi tesislerimizde kaldık, fabrikaları gezdik. Bu da büyük bir hizmetti. Bursa Fabrikası eğitim yeri idi. Mühendislerin, idari çalışanların eğitimleri orada olurdu. Gerçek bir okul gibiydi Sümerbank bizim için.

- **Kampüsün kente arasındaki fiziksel sınırlar kampüsteki mekânların kullanımını nasıl etkiliyordu?**

Görüşmeci 1: Yürüyerek fuara çok rahat gidebiliyorduk. Orada bir etkinlik olsa mesela öğle aralarında gidiyorduk 1 saat. Ege Mahallesi'nden yürüyerek geçip fuara giderdik. Alsancak'a yemeğe giderdik. Akşam çıkışlarında programlar yapardık. Mesai arkadaşları birlikte geziler düzenlerdik.

Görüşmeci 2: Kentlinin ve bizim Sümerbank ürünlerine ulaştığımız satış mağazası vardı. Bu mağazalarda her şey satılırdı. Son yıllara kadar bu tür işletmeler içe kapalı işletmelerdi. Yönetimden izin alınır, uygun görünürse bu tür şeyler olabilirdi. Ancak Sümerbank çevre için çok cazibeli bir yerdi. Vardiyalı çalışanlar da vardı. Çalışanlar servisle gelirdi. Her bölgeden, her yerden işçiler vardı. Otogar çok yakınımızdaydı. Çevrede Tekel'e ait fabrikalar vardı. Tariş'e ait fabrikalar vardı. İzmir Basma'nın da olduğu bu bölge İzmir'in tam merkezindeydi.

- **Fabrika yapıları üretim ilişkilerinin, alt-üst yapısının yoğun olarak var olduğu/hissedildiği mekânlar. Kampüsteki boş zaman mekânlarında bu üretim ilişkileri hangi mekânlarda, nasıl hissediliyordu?**

Görüşmeci 1: Ben işçilerin de yemekhanesine giderdim. Bizim memur kısmında beyaz masa örtüleri, tabaklar, çanaklar var. Oraya gidiyordum ne bir masa örtüsü var, bez üretilen bir fabrika burası, masa örtüsü yoktu. Teneke bardaklar, sürahiler bizde cam bardaklar. Bunu sendika başkanına iletirdim hep. İşçi ve memurların yararlandıkları bahçeler farklıydı. Spor faaliyetleri de karışıktı, işçiler de oluyordu. İşçiler de Cuma günleri yemek alabiliyordu ama etkinliğe katılmıyordu.

Görüşmeci 2: İzmir'de lojman sayısı az olduğu için lojmanlarda kalanlar sadece memurlardı. İşçi lojmanı olmadığı için içerideki tesislerden memur arkadaşlar faydalanırdı. İşçi arkadaşlar sabah işe gelirlerdi akşam iş bitince eve giderlerdi. Fabrikada bu kadar kalabalığı kaldıracak sosyal alanlar yoktu. Yemekhaneler de işçi ve memur olarak ayrıydı.

- **Fabrikalardaki çalışan kadın sayısının yoğunluğuna göre o dönemde varlığı zorunlu tutulan kreş yapısı Sümerbank İzmir Kampüsü'nde de görülüyor. Kadın çalışanların çalışma hayatına katılması ya da kendilerine ait tanımlı bir boş zamanlarının olması için kreşin fabrikadaki varlığının önemli olduğunu söyleyebiliriz değil mi? Siz nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?**

Görüşmeci 1: Çok önemliydi. Mesela çalışanlar öğle aralarında çocuklarının yanlarına giderlerdi. Hasta olurlarsa hemen haber gelirdi, ebeveynleri yanlarına gidebilirdi. Kreşler başlangıçta tamamen işçi çocukları için açılmış. Kreşler sendikacıların sözleşmelerinde bulunuyormuş. Daha sonra memurların da çocukları da alınmaya başlandı. Fabrikanın doktoru, dişçisi, hemşiresi de vardı. Revirde devamlı çalışanlardı. Hemşire ve revir çalışanı lojmanda kalırdı. İşçiler, memurlar herkese açıktı, hastane gibiydi. Kreş de fabrikaya çok yakındı. Kreş için ücret ödenmiyordu.

- **Çalıştığımız kurumun üretim yapıları dışındaki sayfiye alanları olarak nitelendirebileceğimiz tesislerinden yararlandınız mı? (Kuşadası Sümerbank Yaz Kampı)**

Görüşmeci 1: Fabrikalara belli kontenjanlar veriliyordu. Ona göre belli sayıda kişi gidebiliyordu. Samimi arkadaşlarımızla aynı döneme başvururduk. Aynı kişilerle her dönem giderdik. Geceler düzenlerdik. Müzik geceleri olurdu. Orada ne müdür ne çalışan ilişkisi yok, orası tatil.

Görüşmeci 2: Bu tesislerden yararlanılıyordu. Son zamanlarda Hazar Gölü'nde de tesis yapılmıştı. Bu tesisler aynı zamanda eğitim tesisi olarak da kullanılırdı. Genelde kış ve bahar aylarında eğitim amaçlı kullanılırlardı. Kamp döneminde yönetime devre şeklinde listeler gelirdi. Türkiye çapında her yerden gelenler olurdu. O sayede tüm fabrikalar arasında bir sosyalleşme olurdu. Çocuklar birlikte büyüdü. Her şehirden arkadaşlar edinilirdi.

APPENDIX B

EGE UNIVERSITY INTERVIEWS

- **Kampüsteki yurtlarda konaklamak gündelik hayatın neredeyse tamamını kampüste geçirmek anlamına geliyor. Sizin için bu durumun olumlu ve olumsuz yönleri neler?**

Görüşmeci 9: Okula yakın olmak işlerim için kolaylık sağlıyor, okulun içindeki hizmetlerden de faydalanabiliyorum. Okulun içinde yaşamak bir yandan güvende hissetmemi de sağlıyor. Çok bir olumsuzluğu olduğunu düşünmesem de dışarıdan izoleli bir yaşam da sağlıyor bazen.

Görüşmeci 10: Olumlu olarak vakitten kazanç sağlıyoruz. Olumsuz tarafı ise dışarıdaki yaşıntıdan uzak kalmamız.

- **Gününüzün büyük bir bölümünü bu tezde çalışma ve boş zaman kavramını mekânsal olarak ele aldığı kampüs yapılarında geçiriyorsunuz. Bu mekânlar çalışma zamanı dışında boş zaman eylemlerini de karşılayan mekânları içinde barındırıyor. Sınırları fiziksel olarak belirlenmiş bu mekânlarda gündelik rutininiz nasıl geçiyor?**

Görüşmeci 5: Çalışma saatleri dışında kampüste vakit geçirmiyorum. Genellikle saat 10:00 gibi okula gidiyorum, bana tahsis edilmiş odada çalışmalarına devam ediyorum.

Görüşmeci 8: Genelde derslerim olmadığı zaman kampüste vakit geçirmiyorum. Sabah derse gidip, öğle arasında yemekhaneye gidiyorum. Sonra tekrar derse girip, saat 4-5 gibi dersim bittiğinde kampüsü terk ediyorum.

- **Çalışma saatleri dışında kampüs içinde zamanınızı en çok hangi mekânlarda geçiriyorsunuz? Hangi mekânları ne sıklıkta kullanıyorsunuz?**

Görüşmeci 3: Çalışma saatleri dışında kampüs içinde zamanımı en çok yemekhanede geçiriyorum. Bir saatlik bir süre olması sebebi ile diğer mekânlardan daha az yararlanıyorum.

Görüşmeci 7: Molalar ve öğle araları gibi boş zamanlarda kampüsün hastaneyi içeren kanadındaki kafe, kantin gibi işletmelerde veya yine aynı sınırlarda yer alan Forum Bornova AVM’de yemek, kahve veya dinlenme gibi ihtiyaçlarımız için zaman geçiriyoruz. Yine kampüs sınırları içinde hala otoparka dönüştürülmemiş ağaçlık yürüyüş alanlarında da kısa yürüyüşler yapıyoruz.

- **Sizce kampüsteki boş zaman mekânları bireylerin bir araya gelmesine, bireyler arasında etkileşim kurulmasına olanak sağlıyor mu, bu etkileşimi sağlayacak mekânsal kurguya sahip mi?**

Görüşmeci 7: Kampüsün neredeyse tüm fakültelerinin bulunduğu ana kanadında son birkaç yıldır büyük değişiklikler yapıldığı için insanları bir araya getirebilir nitelikte mekânlar yok denecek kadar az. Basketbol, voleybol sahaları, açık çim alanlar da kafeler, kırtasiyeler gibi mekânların tamamına yakını kapatıldı ve kampüs büyük bir şantiyeye dönüştürüldü. Etrafına telden duvarlar ve güvenlik kulüpleri dikilerek izole edildi. Kampüs bir araya getiren bir mekân olmaktan çıktı ve öğrencilerden çalışanlara kadar görev tamamlayıp terk edilen bir mekâna dönüştü.

- **Kampüste bir araya gelmenin dolayısıyla kamusallığın en yoğun biçimde hissedildiği boş zaman mekânları sizce hangileri?**

Görüşmeci 3: Bence yemekhane ve kafeler kampüste bir araya gelmenin ve kamusallığın en yoğun biçimde hissedildiği boş zaman mekânları.

Görüşmeci 8: Yemekhane olabilir. Öğle arasında herkes yemek yemek için yemekhaneye geliyor ve çok yoğun oluyor. Burada birçok insanla karşılaşmış sohbet etme şansımız oluyor.

- **Kampüste farklı fakültelerin boş zamanlarını geçirdiği alanlarda mekânsal bir ayrışma var mı? Farklı fakültelerden insanlar hangi mekânlarda bir araya geliyor? Fakülteler arasındaki fiziksel uzaklık kampüsteki bir araya gelişleri nasıl etkiliyor?**

Görüşmeci 3: Kampüste farklı fakültelerin boş zamanlarını geçirdiği alanlarda mekânsal bir ayrışma bulunmuyor. Farklı fakültelerden insanlar genellikle yemekhane ve kafelerde bir araya geliyor. Fiziksel uzaklığın kampüsteki bir araya gelişleri önemli düzeyde etkilediğini düşünüyorum. Boş zamanlardaki süre kısıtlaması sebebi ile fiziksel uzaklığa göre zamanın geçirildiği mekânlar değişebiliyor.

Görüşmeci 4: Fakülte öğrencileri genel olarak kendilerine yakın kantinleri tercih ediyorlar. Ortak alanlar topluluklar arasında gerçekleşiyor. Sınav zamanları en popüler alan Kütüphane Binası. 24 saat hizmet veren bina son 3 yıldır olmadığı kadar popüler bir alan.

Görüşmeci 5: Ege Üniversitesi kampüsü Tıp Fakültesi ve ana kampüs olarak ikiye ayrılıyor. Ana kampüste insanların kamusallaşması daha olası. İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Tıp Fakültesi ile aynı kampüste yer alıyor. Bu nedenle bizim sosyalleşme anlamında kullanacağımız mekânlar kısıtlı kalıyor. Çünkü kafeler hasta yakınları tarafından da kullanılıyor.

Görüşmeci 8: Fakülteler arasındaki fiziksel uzaklık, bir araya gelişleri zorlaştırdığı için azaltıyor. Ben kendi bölümümde okuyan kişiler dışında, başka bölümlerde okuyan kişilerle çok az bir araya geliyorum. Fakülteler arası mesafe uzak olduğu için ve ders araları da kısa olduğu için, hiç kimse fakültesinin çevresinden uzaklaşmak istemiyor.

Görüşmeci 9: Her fakültenin etrafında farklı kafeler var, genelde öğrenciler en yakın kafeleri tercih ediyor. Eğer fakülteler birbirinden çok uzak ise Küçükpark'ta buluşmak daha fazla tercih ediliyor.

- **Özellikle içinden geçtiğimiz pandemi sürecinde kamusal açık alanların önemi giderek arttı. Kampüste yeterli derecede yeşil alan var mı? Kampüsteki gündelik rutininizde açık kamusal alanları nasıl kullanıyorsunuz?**

Görüşmeci 4: Kampüsteki Green Metrics değerleri her geçen yıl yükselen bir grafiğe sahip. Yeşil alanların artışı ve günlük 10.000 adım yaklaşımı akademik ve idari personelce benimsenmiş bir olgu.

Görüşmeci 7: Kampüste dağınık şekilde pek çok açık yeşil alan olsa da kullanıma uygunluk açısından düşünüldüğünde yeterli sayılamaz.

Görüşmeci 8: Yeterli yeşil alan yok. Ve her geçen gün azalıyor. Bazen öğle arasında, çimlerde oturuyorum. Ama yeşil alan yeterli olmadığı için, çimler dolu oluyor. Yer bulunmuyor.

- **Kampüsteki yeşil alanlar tanımlı bir aktivite sunmaması ile de diğer boş zaman mekânlarından ayrılıyor. Boş zamanlarımızda kampüsteki kamusal açık alan kullanımlarınız genelde hangi eylemleri kapsıyor? Bu alanların mekânsal kullanımını nasıl çeşitleniyor?**

Görüşmeci 3: Boş zamanlarımda kampüsteki kamusal açık alanlarını yürüyüş amaçlı kullanıyorum. Bu alanların mekânsal kullanımını yapılmak istenen fiziksel aktiviteye göre de basketbol, futbol, yüzme gibi çeşitlenebildiğini görüyorum.

Görüşmeci 7: Çoğunlukla dinlenme ve iletişim amaçlı kullandığımız bu alanlar öğrenci etkinlikleri için de kullanılıyor.

Görüşmeci 8: Boş zamanlarımda kampüste yürüyüş yapıyorum, bisiklet sürüyorum. Bazen de kütüphanede oturuyorum. Yürüyüş yaparken veya bisiklet binerken tüm kampüsü kullanıyorum. Ama kampüste bisiklet yolları sınırlı ve yol üzerinde çukurlar var. Yolların uzatılıp tüm kampüse yayılması ve çukurların da kapatılması gerek.

Görüşmeci 9: Çimlerde güzel havalarda oturabiliyoruz. Sosyalleşmek için iyi bir alan oluşturuyor. Sadece yürüyüş yapmak için de kampüs güzel bir alan oluşturuyor.

- **Kampüsün hemen yanındaki Ege Üniversitesi Ormanı ve lojmanların bulunduğu yerleşke kampüsle birlikte kent için de önemli bir yeşil alan. Son dönemde bu alanın millet bahçesi yapılmasına dair haberler var. Bu alan şu anda gündelik kullanımınıza açık bir yeşil alan mı? Bu konunun bölgeyi nasıl değiştireceğini düşünüyorsunuz?**

Görüşmeci 6: Bu bölge Kampüsün en güzel ve ailece gelebildiğimiz en rahat alanı bence. Gündelik kullanım için açık ve yeşil bir alan, son derece keyifli. Bu konunun bölgeyi kötü etkileyebileceğini düşünüyorum.

Görüşmeci 7: Gündelik olarak kullandığım bir mekân değil. Fakat üniversiteyi araştırmalar için ziyaret eden araştırmacılar için önemli bir alanın bu tip bir değişimi kabul edilmemeli. Bir üniversiteye ait mekânların kendi nüfusu için değerlendirilmemesi uygun olamaz. Ege Üniversitesi Botanik Bahçesine ait arboretum yakın zamanda aniden benzer bir değişikliğe uğradı.

Görüşmeci 8: Bu alan şu anda gündelik kullanımımıza açık değil. Bence çok garip bir bölge olacak. Çünkü kampüsün bir bölümünden yürürken iki tarafın tellerle çevrili olduğunu görüyoruz. Bu dev koruluğun millet bahçesi olacağı söyleniyor. Millet bahçesi yerine, kampüsün yararına birçok şey yapılabileceğini düşünüyorum.

- **Özellikle 1980’li yıllar Türkiye’de kültürel açıdan önemli dönüşümlerin yaşandığı yıllar. Bu dönüşümün üniversitelere de büyük ölçüde yansımaları söylemek mümkün. Üniversitede çalıştığınız/okuduğunuz süre boyunca boş zaman mekânlarında gerçekleşen eylemler, aktiviteler nasıl değişti?**

Görüşmeci 5: Öğrenci olduğum yıllarda kampüste yurttan kalıyordum. Bu durum neticesinde de vaktimin büyük bir kısmını kampüste geçiriyordum. O dönemlerde kampüste sosyalleşme alanları daha fazlaydı.

Görüşmeci 7: Giriş yılım olan 2014 yılından bu yana şehirden izole edilen kampüs bazı olaylar zincirinin sonunda katı uygulamalara maruz kaldı. Politik faaliyetlerden eğlence etkinliklerine kadar tüm bir araya gelişler engellendi.

- **Kampüs insanlarının ürettiği sosyal ve kültürel etkinlikler ve bilimsel projeler kampüsteki nitelikli boş zaman aktivitelerinin önemli bir bölümünü oluşturuyor. Bu etkinlikler aynı zamanda üniversitenin kentliyle buluşma/karşılaşma alanlarından biri. Kampüste kongre, seminer, sergi, tiyatro gibi etkinlikler hangi sıklıkta gerçekleşiyor? Bu etkinliklere kentlinin katılımı nasıl? Bu etkinliklerin sıklığı ve içeriği burada olduğunuzdan beri nasıl değişti/dönüştü?**

Görüşmeci 5: Sergi, tiyatro ve konserlerle ilgili bir değişiklik olmadı ama kongre ve seminer sayılarında ciddi oranda azalma var.

Görüşmeci 7: Kampüs öğrenci harici ziyarete kapatıldığından beri hiçbir etkinliğe dışarıdan insanlar katılamıyor. Botanik bahçesi, tabiat tarihi müzesi, tiyatro salonları gibi ziyarete açık mekânların da kullanımında ciddi azalma oldu. Kampüs kentten izole edildiğinden beri katılım durma noktasına geldi.

Görüşmeci 8: Kongre, seminer, sergi, tiyatro gibi etkinlikler kampüste sürekli olarak gerçekleşiyor. Her sene üniversitemizin bahar şenlikleri olur. 1 hafta boyunca birçok tiyatro, seminer olur. Şarkıcılar gelip kampüsümüzde konser verirler. Bu şenlik dışında da sık sık, üniversite kulüpleri bu tarz etkinlikler düzenler. Etkinliklere kentlinin katılımı genelde az oluyor veya hiç olmuyor.

- **Son yıllarda kampüsün kent ile kurduğu fiziksel sınırların daha da belirgin hale geldiğini, kampüsteki güvenlik uygulamalarının artarak devam ettiğini söylemek mümkün görünüyor. Kampüsün kentle arasındaki fiziksel sınırlar, kampüs girişindeki güvenlik uygulamaları kampüsün mekânsal kullanımını nasıl etkiliyor/etkiledi?**

Görüşmeci 5: Üniversiteler ve üniversite öğrencileri buldukları kentleri kültürel ve siyasi anlamda etkilemeli ve dönüştürmelidir. Ancak şu an kampüse dışarıdan kütüphane kullanımını için bile öğrencilerin girmesi birçok prosedür gerektiriyor.

Görüşmeci 7: Kampüsten geçişler dahi yasaklandı. Kampüsün mekânsal kullanımı büyük bir derslik olmakla sınırlı hale geldi.

Görüşmeci 8: Eskiden Bornova Metro tarafındaki kampüs girişinden tüm kentli girebilirdi. Buradan yürüyerek kampüste dolaşip aynı zamanda alışveriş merkezi olan Forum Bornova'ya gidebilirdi. Kampüs çok daha dolu ve renkliydi. Artık bu girişte turnikeler ve güvenlik mevcut. Ege Üniversitesi öğrencisi dışında kimse giremiyor. Hastane girişinden giren bir kişi ise, fakültelerin yer aldığı diğer kısma geçerken yine güvenlikten geçmek zorunda kalıyor. Yani hastane girişi dışında, kampüste kentliyi görmek neredeyse imkânsız. Bu uygulamalar, kampüsün mekânlarını da boşalttı.

- **Eğitim kampüsü öğrenci, akademisyen ve personel birçok farklı alandan bireyi bir araya getiren kampüsler. Kampüsteki boş zaman mekânları farklı kullanıcıların bir araya gelme ve etkileşim kurmasına ne derecede olanak sağlıyor? Hangi mekânlar bir araya gelmeye, birlikte zaman geçirmeye en fazla olanak sağlıyor?**

Görüşmeci 7: Kantinler, kafeler ve yeşil alanlar kullanımı belli profillerle sınırlı olmayan alanlar. Bu tip alanlar müzeler, konferans salonları gibi alanlardan daha fazla olanak sağlıyor.

- **2006 yılında kampüsün hemen yanına bir alışveriş merkezi açıldı. Forum Bornova Alışveriş Merkezi kampüs insanlarının boş zamandaki eylemlerini nasıl değiştirdi?**

Görüşmeci 3: Forum Bornova Alışveriş Merkezi kampüs insanlarının boş zamandaki eylemlerini çeşitlendirdi ve bu eylemler için yeni alternatifler sundu.

Görüşmeci 4: Forum Bornova'nın yürüme mesafesinde olması kampüs sosyal yaşam alışkanlıklarının bu alana taşınmasına neden oldu.

Görüşmeci 8: Üniversitesi öğrencileri ders aralarındaki vakitlerini burada geçirmeye başladılar. Ben de vaktim olduğunda Forum Bornova'da oturmayı, kampüste oturmaya tercih ediyorum.

Görüşmeci 9: Öğrenciler genelde burada buluşmayı tercih ediyor, yemek yemek ve alışveriş yapmak için. Özellikle okula yeni gelen öğrenciler genelde alışveriş için Forum Bornova'yı tercih ediyor.

- **Üniversitenin Bornova'daki varlığının semtin gelişimini önemli ölçüde etkilediğini söylemek mümkün. Küçükpark, Büyükpark gibi bölgeler üniversitenin çevresinde gelişmiş boş zaman eylemlerine yönelik mekânları barındırıyor ve bu mekânların genelde yeme-içme sektörüne dayalı boş zaman eylemlerini kapsadığını söyleyebiliriz. Bu anlamda boş zamana ait eylemlerin son yıllarda yeme-içme sektörüne dayalı bir biçimde geliştiğini söylemek mümkün mü? Bu durumu nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?**

Görüşmeci 4: Söz konusu alanlarda öğrenciler için çeşitli seçenekler sunuluyor. Fakat dikkat edilmesi gereken bir nokta, öğrencinin kampüs alanlarında geçirmesi gereken süreyi bu alanlara taşımış olması. Bölgesel olarak Bornova ve bu bölgede bir gelişim söz konusu. Fakat kampüsün güvenli alanı dışında çeşitli tehlikelerin de bulunduğu göz ardı edilmemesi gereken bir husus. Öğrencinin ihtiyaç ve sosyal yaşamına sadece yeme içme sektörü ile hizmet sunmak yetersiz kalıyor.

Görüşmeci 7: Üniversitenin büyük nüfusu sebebiyle barınma, yeme-içme gibi ihtiyaçlar kampüs çevresinde doğal olarak yoğunlaşıyor. Fakat bu bölgenin ihtiyacın ötesinde büyük bir boş zaman değerlendirme alanı olduğu bariz. Yeme-içme, eğlence vb. mekânlar ile yoğun şekilde kullanılan alanlar AVM kullanımına benzer şekilde kullanılıyor.

Görüşmeci 8: Fakültesi Bornova metro çıkışına çok yakın bulunan bilgisayar mühendisliği öğrencileri, boş vakitlerinin çoğunu buralarda geçiriyor. Hatta kütüphane yerine, Küçükpark'ta bulunan kafelere gidip ders çalışıyorlar.

- **Kampüsün önemli kullanıcılarından biri de öğrenciler. Yaz ayları ise eğitim kampüsünde öğrenci yoğunluğunun önemli ölçüde azaldığı dönemler. Bu dönemlerde kampüste boş zaman kullanımları nasıl değişiyor?**

Görüşmeci 4: İdari ve akademik personel yoğunluğu dikkat çekiyor fakat izin zamanlarına da denk gelmesi ile boş bir kampüs alanı kalıyor.

Görüşmeci 5: Öğrenciler kampüs içinde bulunan spor alanları kullanmak için daha çok üniversiteye geliyorlar.

Görüşmeci 7: Bu dönemde boş zaman kullanımı çok büyük ölçüde kampüs dışına çıkıyor.

Görüşmeci 8: Genelde yaz okulu öğrencileri derslerine girip çıkıyor. Kampüsteki tüm kafeler bomboş oluyor.

APPENDIX C

DSİ İZMİR CAMPUS

- **Kampüsteki lojmanlarda konaklamak gündelik hayatın neredeyse tamamını kampüste geçirmek anlamına geliyor. Sizin için bu durumun olumlu ve olumsuz yönleri neler?**

Görüşmeci 11: Yakın olan lojmanlarda özellikle yöneticilerin ikamet etmesi sebebiyle daha resmi olduğunu düşünüyorum. Ancak Erzene Mahallesi lojmanları bu anlamda çok daha rahattı. Yakın lojmanlarda oturmak çocuğu olan aileler için bir avantaj olabilir. Öğlen arasında ve gerektiğe eve gidebilme imkânı verdiği için.

Görüşmeci 12: Lojmanların olumlu yönü, iş yerine yakın olması nedeniyle evde olan olumsuzlukların daha çabuk müdahale edebiliyor oluşumuz ve işe zamanında gelebiliyoruz. Yol şartları ya da olumsuz hava koşulları nedeniyle bir gecikme yaşanmıyor. Olumsuz yanı ise, kısıtlı bir ortam olması. Bunlar için de kampüs dışı mekânları tercih ediyoruz.

- **Kampüsteki diğer insanlardan farklı olarak lojmanlarda kalan insanlar akşam saatlerini de çalıştıkları mekânda geçiriyor. Çalışma zamanı dışındaki bu saatlerde kampüsün mekânsal kullanımını nasıl değişiyor?**

Görüşmeci 11: Çalışma saatleri dışında kampüsün mekânsal kullanımını hakkında pek fikrim yok. Ancak bazen araziden mesai saati sonrasında döndüğümde buraların çok sessiz ve ıssız olduğunu gözlemliyorum.

- **Çalışma saatleri dışında kampüs içinde zamanınızı en çok hangi mekânlarda geçiriyorsunuz? Hangi mekânları ne sıklıkta kullanıyorsunuz?**

Görüşmeci 11: Eğer araziye çıkmamışsam, öğlen yemeklerimi genelde yemekhanede yiyorum. Bahar ve yaz mevsiminde yemekhaneden sonra Su Kafe'de oturup sohbet ediyoruz.

Görüşmeci 12: Çalışma saatleri dışında genellikle lojmanda oluyorum.

Görüşmeci 13: DSİ Spor tesisleri, özellikle Su Kafe'de çokça vakit geçiriyoruz.

- **Kampüste bir araya gelmenin dolayısıyla kamusallığın en yoğun biçimde hissedildiği boş zaman mekânları sizce hangileriydi?**

Görüşmeci 11: Su Kafe. Spor tesislerimiz de var. Ancak kişisel olarak bu tesislerden pek yararlanmadım şimdiye kadar.

Görüşmeci 12: Spor salonu, çay bahçesi ve lokal mekânları.

Görüşmeci 13: Sosyal tesisler ve pandemi öncesinde DSİ spor kontrolünde yapılan spor faaliyetleri ve turnuvalar önemli aktivitelerden biriydi, şimdi kullanımları biraz azaldı.

Görüşmeci 14: Su Kafe, halı saha, tenis kortu, basketbol salonu, voleybol salonu, fitness merkezi.

- **Özellikle içinden geçtiğimiz pandemi sürecinde kamusal açık alanların önemi giderek arttı. Kampüste yeterli derecede yeşil alan var mı?**

Görüşmeci 11: Çevremize kıyasla var gibi ancak daha iyi olabilir. Mesela yürüyüş yolları olabilir yeşil alanların etrafında.

Görüşmeci 13: Genelde öğle yemek aralarında kullanıyoruz. Şu anki yeni yapılanma süreci nedeniyle yeşil alanlar biraz daraldı.

- **Kampüsteki yeşil alanlar tanımlı bir aktivite sunmaması ile de diğer boş zaman mekânlarından ayrılıyor. Boş zamanlarımızda kampüsteki kamusal açık alan kullanımınız genelde hangi eylemleri kapsıyor? Bu alanların mekânsal kullanımı nasıl çeşitleniyor?**

Görüşmeci 11: Arkadaşlarımızla açık alanda görüşüp konuşma imkânımız oluyor. Başka da kullanabileceğimiz spor tesisleri var ancak öğlen arasında bu mekânları kullanmak mümkün olmuyor.

Görüşmeci 12: Genellikle yemek yemek, spor. Yürüyüş yapabiliyoruz.

Görüşmeci 13: Genelde öğle yemek aralarında bu alanları kullanıyoruz.

Görüşmeci 14: Bu alanlar genellikle öğle aralarında oturup dinlenme amaçlı kullanılıyor.

- **İşçinin boş zamanını nitelikli bir şekilde geçirmesi aynı zamanda çalışma zamanının daha verimli olmasını da sağlıyor ve boş zaman tarihsel olarak işçi sınıfı için kazanılmış önemli bir hak. Çalışırken bu hakkınızı ne derecede nitelikli bir şekilde kullanabiliyorsunuz? Sizce bugünün Türkiye'sinde boş zamanın mekânsal varlığı nasıl değişti/dönüştü?**

Görüşmeci 11: Kafede arkadaşlarımla oturduğum zaman iş ortamından ve stresinden uzaklaşıp deşarj olabiliyorum.

Görüşmeci 14: Genel olarak çok sayıda kamu kurumunun sadece binadan ibaret olduğunu görüyoruz. Kurumumuz kampüs içerisinde yer aldığı için diğer kurumlara göre boş zamanlarımızı daha verimli kullanacağımız mekânlara sahibiz.

- **Kampüste spor faaliyetlerini gerçekleştirebileceğiniz alanların var olduğunu gözlemledim. Hem gündelik hayatın sağlıklı bir biçimde sürmesine yönelik katkısı hem de bireyleri bir araya getiren özelliği ile bu faaliyetler önemli boş zaman aktiviteleri arasında sayılabilir. Bu mekânlar kampüsteki gündelik hayatta etkin biçimde kullanılıyor mu?**

Görüşmeci 11: Kullanmak isteyenler kullanabiliyor bence. Ancak kısıtlı olan öğlen arasında hem yemek yemek hem de spor yapmak pek mümkün olmuyor zaman bakımından.

Görüşmeci 12: Ben çok kullanmasam da çocuklarım etkin bir şekilde kullanıyor bu mekânları.

Görüşmeci 13: Bu alanları öğle yemek araları ve dinlenme zamanında kullanma şansımız yok. Mesai saatleri ve günleri dışında belirli ölçülerde kullanabiliyoruz.

Görüşmeci 14: Her isteyen personelin ve çalışanların ailelerinin yararlanabildiği spor, müzik, aktivite vb. kurslardan faydalanma imkânı var.

- **Gündelik hayatınızın büyük bir bölümünü geçirdiğiniz kampüste sosyal ve kültürel ihtiyaçlarınızı karşılayabiliyor musunuz/muydunuz? Hangi sosyal faaliyetleri kampüslerde gerçekleştiriyorsunuz? Boş zaman mekânları sosyal ve kültürel açıdan gelişiminize katkı sunan mekânlar mı?**

Görüşmeci 11: Boş zaman mekânları sosyal açıdan katkı sağlıyor ancak kültürel faaliyetler neredeyse hiç yok.

Görüşmeci 12: Bu mekânlardan sosyal faaliyetler kapsamında yararlanılabiliyor. Spor, müzik kursları mevcut olup bu hizmetlerden yararlanılabiliyor.

- **Kampüsün kentle arasındaki fiziksel sınırlar kampüsteki mekânların kullanımını nasıl etkiliyor?**

Görüşmeci 11: Şehir merkezine mesafeli olduğu için daha çok kampüs içerisinde kalmamız gerekiyor.

Görüşmeci 12: Fiziksel ve sosyal olarak hızla gelişen bir alanda bulunan kampüs fiziksel olarak güvenli bir yer olmakla birlikte sosyal olarak da DSİ Spor faaliyetlerinden DSİ personeli dışında insanlar da faydalanabiliyor.

Görüşmeci 14: Olumlu etkiliyor. Trafik, gürültü, kirlilik vb. kötü etkilerden uzak kalıyoruz.

- **Kampüsün bulunduğu bu alanın hemen yanında Tarım ve Köy İşleri İl Müdürlüğü ve Karayolları Şube Müdürlüğü gibi kamu kurumlarının da kampüs yapıları da bulunuyor. Bu kampüsler arasında kurulan mekânsal ilişkiler nasıl? Fiziksel sınırlar daha katı mı yoksa geçişken özellikte mi? Boş zaman dilimlerinde farklı kampüs çalışanlarının bir araya geleceği mekânlar var mı?**

Görüşmeci 12: Her kampüsün kendi sınırları var ancak aralarında geçişken bir yapı da var. Diğer kampüslerden çalışanlar bir araya gelebiliyor.

Görüşmeci 13: Türkiye’de her kamu kurumu kendi olanaklarını başka kurumlara sunmak istemiyor. Tarım ve Köy İşleri kampüsü ile ilgili sorun yaşamıyoruz ama. Özellikle öğle dinlenme saatlerinde bu kampüsten faydalanıyoruz. Fakat kurumların idareci yapıları da bu işleyişi değiştirebiliyor.

Görüşmeci 14: Fiziksel sınırlar genellikle katı bir şekilde uygulanıyor. Ancak sosyal ve spor tesisleri tüm kamu personeline açık olduğu için bir araya gelme imkanları var.

- **Farklı kampüslerin bulunduğu bölgenin yoğun bir çalışan nüfusuna sahip olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Kampüs çevresinde boş zamanlarınızı geçirdiğiniz mekânlar var mı? Bu mekânlar hangi boş zaman faaliyetlerini kapsıyor?**

Görüşmeci 11: Kampüs çevresinde yeni yapılan ve daha çok çevredeki özel üniversite öğrencilerine yönelik olan mekânlara da arada gittiğimiz oluyor. Daha çok öğlen yemeği yemeye veya bir şeyler içmeye gidiyoruz.

Görüşmeci 13: Yaş itibarıyla herkese hitap edebilen mekânlar bulunuyor. Genelde öğle dinlenme saatlerinde bu mekânları kullanıyoruz. Fakat çevredeki mekânlar fiyat açısından kampüsten farklı olabiliyor bu nedenle daha çok kampüste oluyoruz.

- **Kamu kurumları alt-üst yapısının, hiyerarşik çalışma ilişkilerinin yoğun olarak var olduğu/hissedildiği mekânlar. Kampüsteki boş zaman mekânlarında bu ilişkiler hangi mekânlarda, nasıl hissediliyor?**

Görüşmeci 11: Öğlen aralarında gittiğimiz mekânlara yöneticiler çok fazla gelmiyor. Bu sebeple çok da rahatsız yerler değil.

- **Çalışanlar için yıllık izin dönemleri çalışma zamanından en net biçimde ayrılan boş zaman dilimleri. Bu dönemi çalışma kurumunuzun sunduğu imkanlar içinde gerçekleştirmek birçok açıdan olumlu yönler barındırmakla beraber (daha uygun imkanlar vs.) aynı zamanda sizi kuruma bağlayan bir duruma yol açıyor mu?**

Görüşmeci 11: Mutlaka, bu sebeple de çok fazla tercih etmiyorum. Özellikle tatil bölgelerindeki tesislerde, resmi ilişkiler içinde olunca bir arada bulunmak tatilin amacına ulaşmasına engel olabilir diye düşünüyorum.

Görüşmeci 13: Kurumun yazlık tesislerinden yararlanmak çalışanların kuruma bağlılığını artırdığını söyleyebilirim. Ancak bunun dışında ilk tercih sebebinin ekonomik nedenler olduğunu düşünüyorum.

Görüşmeci 14: Dinlenme tesislerimizden özel sektör turizm tesislerine göre çok makul ücretlerde yararlanabiliyoruz.

- Tarihsel olarak kadınların çalışma hayatına etkin biçimde katılmaya başlamasından günümüze özellikle kadın çalışanlar için çalışma hayatına katılmak, 'ev' işlerinden uzaklaşmak özellikle öne çıkarılması gereken bir konu. Kampüsteki lojmanlar gibi ortak yaşamın kurulduğu, kamusal yaşamla iç içe konut fikri aynı zamanda konuttaki bireysel emeğin minimize edilmesine dair tarihsel olarak önemli bir kazanıma işaret ediyor. Çalıştığımız kurumdaki lojmanlarda yaşamının bu anlamda olumlu etkileri var mı?

Görüşmeci 11: Yakın lojmanda oturan bir arkadaşımı göz önüne aldığımda çok da olumlu bir etkiden söz edemiyorum maalesef. Çünkü öğlen aralarında bile evine gidip temizlik, yemek gibi ev işlerini yaptığını görüyorum. Tabi bu durum bakış açısıyla da ilgili.