Introduction

Everyday life practices are ordinary experiences of the city. Everyday life concept is part of many research areas emerging after industrialisation especially in sociology but also in urban studies, architecture, history, anthropology and politics. Thus there are many approaches and emphasises on the concept such as, Michel de Certeau ([1980]2009), who dedicated his book The Practice of Everyday Life to the ordinary person, George Perec ([1973]1997) who introduced the concept of the infra-ordinary to describe everyday life as neither ordinary nor extraordinary, Henri Lefebvre ([1974]2010), who emphasized the unusualness of the ordinary and the obscurity of the familiar; many sociologists, anthropologists and urban thinkers, such as Andy Bennet (2005), who talked about the research value of ordinariness in the concept of everyday life, which is problematized with ambiguity and mediocrity. Looking at the city through these ordinary experiences enables one to study and design with the social and spatial aspects of the urbanscape where the relation of the individual with his/her built environment (at city, neighbourhood, and street levels) is assembled. Studying daily life experiences in a city requires understanding the habits, relationships, and networks of the inhabitants which leads to research with a qualitative approach and looking at the city on a different level. It also requires obtaining an insight of the neighbourhood scale through belonging and identity concepts that represent “an essential bond between a person and a space” (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001).
Mayol puts it neighbourhood imprints on one’s life as it is the origin of everyday life which constructs the concepts of belonging and other relationships with a place. Thus, studying the neighbourhood scale is essential for the research in terms of everyday life and the eye-level approach (Mayol, 1998).

With these concerns there are two main debates in this study, first, critisising the planning, designing, and researching practices that exclude the eye-level approach, everyday life, and its social aspects, second, critisising the conventional map-making as a research tool that also excludes these concepts. In this case, can we study everyday life experiences with conventional urban design and research tools? Or, are there any alternative approaches to research and representing practical, social, and spatial aspects and dynamics of urban space?

In the light of these questions, this study focuses on the everyday life practices at Moda Neighbourhood in Istanbul while examining the built environment from the human eye and scale as it happens in the flows of the city nourishing from the theoretical background of rhythmanalysis and psychogeography. The reason for such a focus is the fact that Istanbul is a city consisting of different scales, morphologies, and urban practices, yet the need for an eye-level approach is crucial to maintain a connection between the inhabitants and the city. Moda Neighbourhood is an old middle-class settlement in Kadıköy and an adequate example of having this connection by being a settlement that can relate to human scale, identity, and sense of belonging. In the scope of this paper, both the neighbourhood and the streetscape of Moda linked to other urban spaces are the place of fieldwork. Mapping the rhythm, dynamics, and actors of everyday life in Moda can help to understand the mechanism of the city, document its identity, and emphasize the importance of interaction with the urban space in the inhabitant’s everyday life. In this case, the research approach includes a double-handed methodology, first to analyse the streets of Moda Neighbourhood and understand the everyday life experiences; second is to endeavour alternative techniques in studying urban space.

The two main debates of this study include critisizing both the exclusiveness of the eye-level experiences in planning processes of the cities and the unresponsiveness of the conventional mapping techniques to the emerging challenges for most of the urban areas. Looking at the surroundings with a vantage point is in the nature of conventional mapping throughout the history of cartography and the modernist way of city-making. But with the everyday life of cities becoming more and more complex because of the emerging challenges, such a perspective is not adequate to reinterpret the new dynamics of urban life. Thus, it seems the right time to develop an alternative approach in planning, decision making, and researching about the cities to express the senses, experiences, and practices of everyday life. In this study, maps related to counter-mapping, psychogeographic mapping techniques are produced by the authors, however, collective mapping is a technique to be explored in a further study and be applied in a group of inhabitants in Moda Neighbourhood. Also, rhythmanalysis is a fundamental method to be further developed and integrated with the methodology.

Both the narration and mapping themselves and their techniques offered for the Moda district in Istanbul are part of an ongoing graduate study, and all conclusions are provisional.

**Everyday Life and the City at Eye Level**

Routines and forms of everyday life experiences of the urbanite play an important role in the decision-making process of all kinds of spatial production. However, the implementation made by ignoring the eye level of space in architectural production and urban planning generates a disconnection in the bodily experiences of the space. In this case, the streetscape is an important part of the city in terms of constructing the relationship between life and space. Considering streetscape as the first urban space that an individual encounters in everyday life after leaving the private space (home), it is an interface between private life and urban life. In this regard, to reveal the composition of everyday life in a city, it is important to understand the events of daily life, the actors who participate, and the way space creates those dynamics. This is possible through a certain approach, looking at the city through the eyes of those who live in it.

Michel de Certeau, who devotes his book named The Practice of Everyday Life (1988[1980]), to the ordinary man, criticizes the planners who look down at the city with a totalizing eye and argues that on the contrary, the actual practitioners of the city (walkers) live “down below” and experience the city with the most basic act, walking. His critique of the voyeur -the designer of the city- and introduction of the walker --the practitioner of the city-- is essential in terms of understanding the actors of everyday life. Yet, the city is not experienced by the ones who plan it from above; it is experienced and interpreted by the people who live down below. At this point, Lefebvre’s “perceived, conceived, lived” triadic approach to the practice of space is essential (Lefebvre, 1991: p.40). Thus, thinking with de Certeau’s voyeur (planner) and walker (practitioner), there is no certain distinction between these actors in the city; both are actors who perceive, conceive or live the city.

In addition to de Certeau’s emphasis on the experiences down-below, Jane Jacobs (2016[1961]), highlights the importance of approaching the city through the eyes of practitioners and street-level experiences. Jacobs indicates how the built environment and the social life of streetscape construct the ‘ballet’ of everyday life. She also introduces notions like “public character” which
contributes to the senses of privacy, belonging, and safety by keeping their “eyes on the street”. Through the discussions of everyday life of the city, human eye experience, and the built and social environment of the streetscape, how the knowledge of the city is to be comprehended? What are the methods of investigating everyday life experiences?

Neil Leach (2005) suggests that through the act of reading (semiological model) and experiencing (phenomenological model), the city can be understood and its knowledge is revealed. In terms of Leach’s holistic method of analysing the city, the work of Roland Barthes is important to mention. Although Barthes focuses on mostly writing and reading the city through its ‘language’, he also emphasizes the importance of experience. Barthes (1982) states that to understand the knowledge of the city “(...) you must orient yourself in it not by book, by address, but by walking, by sight, by habit, by experience (...)” (Barthes, 1982: p.36). Barthes’s method of revealing the knowledge of the city refers to mundane practices. Thus, it might be said that understanding the city is through becoming part of everyday life, looking at the city through the eye of practitioners. In this case, to better understand the cities, tools adopted from an ethnographic approach (like the suggestions of Barthes) compromise the basis of the methodology of this study. The methodology of this study consists of several complimentary fieldworks: Participant observation, semi-structured interview (pilot study with two Moda Settlers), individual site visits, and mappings. Participant observation leans on the urban observation technique of Perec which he proposes in his book Species of Spaces and other Pieces (1997) and narrates implementation of this technique in his book An attempt at Exhausting a Place in Paris (1982/2010). Perec notes every event/happening, person or object he encounters in the public space without any filtration, that represents an objective narration of the mundane, ordinary or even irrelevant detail of the public space.

The critical and alternative ways of mapping as a tool to understand and represent the “perceived, conceived and lived” experiences of the city are elaborated in the following chapter.

A Search for Alternative Mapping Techniques

Maps are representations of how we understand our surroundings, our world. They have a great potential of narrating the knowledge of the place. As much as they are related to “power and hegemony” (Halder & Michel, 2018), they are also “tools to navigate, control, understand, imagine and transform the territory of the city” (Dovey & others, 2017: p.1). Mapping is a useful tool for juxtaposing new layers of information with an abstraction of a place to make a better understanding. But using a mapping technique that abstracts the city just to “collection of transportation networks, buildings, parks, rivers and so on” excludes the everyday life practices because the city also includes human existence (Leach, 2005: p. 2).

To navigate on alternative mapping techniques, it is essential to understand how the background of the conventional map-making is built on power structures of the cultures, and the modernist reductionist processes. “This Is Not an Atlas” is a collection of counter maps and the editors Severin Halder and Boris Michel (2018) review the word atlas through time and alter new approaches to it. According to Halder and Michel, beginning from the 16th century there is a notion of “showing the world as it really is” and atlases are places of describing the world as it is with objectivity and neutrality. And through time ‘showing as it really is’ notion is evaluated into being a basis for planning. According to a landscape architect and scholar James Corner (1999), during the 20th-century, mapping had expressed a “quantitative and analytical survey of existing conditions”, because maps were seen as objective representations of the reality, basis for the decision making and planning processes (Corner, 1999: p.91). This leads to seeing maps as unimaginative practices for the forthcoming imaginative process of designing. Corner also argues that contemporary urbanisation (he implies urbanisation in the ’90s) requires a new approach that is speculative and creative with an understanding of the complexity and dynamics of space where this time “mapping precedes the map”. His approaches about maps and mapping are the act of “mapping as a creative activity” rather than “map as a finished artefact” thus these new ways of mappings can create new practices. Also, Halder and Michel (2018) focus on the process of map-making and the bilateral effect of maps that “articulate statements shaped by social relations, discourses, and practices” but are also influenced by them. In this sense, the role of the critical map maker or the cartographer is to mix the representation and understanding of the place as it is and the place that is imagined with a qualitative approach as much as the quantitative approach.

Alike Corner’s search for new ways of mapping and speculating space and time, this paper is searching for alternative ways of mapping. The examples that Corner provided as a contemporary urbanist and architectural mapping approaches (maps of Guy Debord, Rem Koolhas, and Raoul Bunschoten) represent an innovative step. But why do we still search for alternative mapping techniques? And why do we still try to emphasize the importance of a street-level approach to cities while Jacobs, Lynch, and others emphasize these notions since the 1960s? There are always new challenges of everyday life in urbanism to tackle; which require an inquiry, but problems are similar. Exclusivist synoptic practice in planning and decision-making continues to domesticate conventional ways of looking at the city. Editors of 98 issue of Oase Journal,
Havik et al. notes that conventional narrative methods are insufficient to respond to the problems in the contemporary urban environment and by using alternative narrative approaches as a method of planning, designing, and researching today’s urban space can move away from the dominant and prescriptive approach of traditional city planning and create an alternative to some of the problems it leaves out (Havik et al., 2017). With similar concern, C. Dana Tomlin (2011) criticizes conventional mapping techniques by using-and criticizing- the geographic information system (GIS) for map making. Even though GIS enables extracting various sets of information of a place it also illustrates a reductionist way of understanding the world. Tomlin (2011) offers to see the world through “worm’s-eye” perspective instead of the common approach of bird’s-eye perspective which simplifies the world to “set of points, lines, and/or polygons” and geographical objects such as “buildings, roads, forests…” and so on (Tomlin, 2011, pp.145-149). Tomlin’s GIS mappings present a critique of the bird’s eye perspective through the bird’s eye perspective. Thus, mapping can be a critical way to reinterpret the planning process through walkers’ eyes.

Alternative mapping techniques such as counter-mapping, psychogeographic mapping, and collective mappings have a critical approach to conventional mapping techniques which practice map-making with a vantage point that represents angles we never experience in everyday life (Corner, 1999). Likewise, a critical map can represent a way of thinking we never experience in life and can be as simple as a map with south on top which is the opposite position of the conventional maps (Wood, 2010, p.114) or dividing the world into triangles like Dymaxion map of Fuller and Sadao (1986). As much as this practice reproduces an alternative way of mapping, it also reproduces an alternative way of thinking in the social and spatial environment. While counter-mappings are a critical way of showing the social problems of a place, psychogeographic mapping that emerged with the situationist movement may reveal subjective experiences and perceptions within urban spaces; and collective mapping can express subjective experiences of multi-participants.

Psychogeographic mapping is a practice of representing the surrounding through individual experiences. Psychogeographic mappings are mostly associated with the Situationist movement which manifests a “critique of the environment” (Sadler, 1998). Situationists Guy Debord and Asger Jorn that are known for the psychogeographic maps of Paris going through evictions and urban renewal, “explored the city’s structures and uses, criticized traditional mapping, and investigated the relationship between language, narrative, and cognition” (Sadler, 1998: p.60) Maps produced by their personal experiences uses the situationist practice of drifting (derive) which is “a technique of rapid passage through varied ambiances” with a “behavior and

Figure 1. Diagram of theoretical background on critical mapping.

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awareness of psychogeographical effects” preferably done with multiple participants (Debord, 1959: p.62). Drifting is an important method in terms of reading and experiencing the surroundings. It includes the process of perceiving the surrounding and re-describing its knowledge through bodily experiences. A contemporary example of psychogeographic mapping is the works of Canadian activist artist Larissa Fassler. She visits the Kottbusser Tor (Kotti) transportation hub in Berlin in years -which he names her work after- and produces a series of mappings by updating it with her observations and experiences (Fassler, n.d.). Focusing on the relations between space and people, Fassler works on the psychological and physical effects of the city's architecture on people, as well as the perception, understanding, and use of space, creating the built environment with her psychogeographic mappings (Fassler, n.d.).

Even though descriptions of certain mappings are being made, there are ambiguous boundaries between the techniques argued throughout the study. For instance, situationist mapping emerged as a counter-movement of the modernist planning and way of seeing the city. Thus, the psychogeographic mappings of Situationists can be considered also as counter-mappings. Counter-mappings are critical maps that exhibit the problems such as “violence, poverty, pollution and inequity” (Dovey, 2017: p.2) or include what is excluded in the conventional mapping such as experiences, people, or cultural groups. Collective mapping is a tool for juxtaposing multiple experiences to critically look at the environment. It is a technique that reveals the “everyday knowledge and experiences of participants” (Ares & Risler, 2018). When compared to the other mapping techniques addressed before, collective mapping is the one that mostly expresses senses, practices, and the experiences of the (participants) inhabitants of the city.

Another aim of this paper is to think beyond planning processes and including the academic research processes in the scope of searching for alternative techniques to express the problems, dynamics, and potentials of contemporary urban life. In this case, where is the researcher located in the process of research? It is highlighted that looking at the city at eye level is important in terms of planning and decision-making processes but what about researching the city at eye level? Especially through the map-making processes. Lefebvre’s rhytmanalysis method draws an important framework for researching at eye level. Especially for this study, the rhytmanalyst’s way of looking at the city demonstrates a great tool. Lefebvre suggests that the rhytmanalyst first analyses their body and learns from it, observing their surroundings through their own “repetitions”, “measurements” and “rhythms” in a way that the rhytmanalyst’s “body serves him as a metronome” (Lefebvre, 2004, p.19). According to Lefebvre, a rhytmanalyst should be both inside and outside of what is analysed; that is to be in the observed, to be a part of daily life, and to drift in the streets and squares of the city; it also requires seeing/observing from the outside by taking a distance from it, perhaps even through bird’s eye view. The dialectic approach of being inside and outside of what is observed and the way Lefebvre puts the rhytmanalyst body in the process of analysing urban life, enlightens the inquiries of the research. It shows that as well as looking through the eye-level is important –which is what is emphasized throughout the study-- also looking with a synoptic distance is part of the process. Lefebvre’s dialectic approach of taking distance from and being part of the observed, also brings concepts of being stranger or known/indigenous. These both approaches to everyday life of the city brings different perspectives according to the objectiveness of a stranger and potentials of bonding with the surrounding by being known. According to sociologist Georg Simmel (1950[1908]), the stranger—a sociological form of metropole- has the freedom that allows “to experience and treat even his close relationships as though from a bird's-eye view” (Simmel, 1950, p.405). On the other hand being known or indigenous allows researcher to gain insight of the surrounding, create social and spatial bonds and with Mayol’s approach it is related to identity which allows “to take up a position in the network of social relations inscribed in the environment” (Mayol, 1998, p.9). With acceptance of simultaneous presence of these concepts in the contemporary city, the researcher locates herself in the streets of Moda both as an anonymous stranger, and as a known persona to the neighborhood benefiting from the dialectic approach of rhythmanalysis.

Rhythmanalysis also has importance because as the researcher is the metronome, every research produces particular results, especially in qualitative studies which are highly subjective. Just like mapping, a researching process is an act of abstracting data and comprehension from the infinite pool of knowledge, the literature, thoughtfully selecting the parts or quotes from studies. Thus mapping and researching can be seen as similar practices and applying alternative approaches to researching as well as mapping can bring a new perspective.

An Attempt to Critically Map Everyday Life in Moda

Moda Neighbourhood is located in Kadıköy District, in Istanbul. Due to its geographical condition of being surrounded by the Marmara Sea from Kadıköy Rıhtım to Yogurtçu Park, Moda has an introverted structure that constitutes a distinctive identity and everyday life. In this case, how does the built and social environment of Moda construct the everyday life experiences? And can alternative ways of mapping help rediscover the potentials and challenges of street-level experiences of Moda
Neighbourhood? Using alternative mapping techniques at Moda such as counter-mapping, psychogeographic mapping, and collective mappings can have the potential to generate a multi-layered, contrary, or critical perspective of the city and its practices. Participant observation and semi-structured interviews are used to gather the experience of Moda Neighbourhood through site visits and mapping is used as a representation for these ethnographic tools. Also, participant observation and cognitive mapping are a mixture of the experience derived from the inhabitants and the experiences of the author. Meanwhile, semi-structured interviews and collective mappings are tools to represent mostly the experiences of the inhabitants of Moda. In the following, these alternative mapping techniques are associated with Moda and notions that are related to everyday life.

As much as a city is experienced through practices and activities it is also experienced through the verbal and written discourse, daily language of the city. Therefore ‘names’ of places accommodate a strong position in this discourse. De Certeau (1988) refers to names of places (proper names) as “constellations that hierarchize and semantically order the surface of the city operating chronological arrangements and historical justifications” he also highlights that, names gain different meanings that are given by the passers-by (de Certeau, 1988, p.104). It is not a stable notion; the relationship between names and places is defined by people through memories, and given meanings. Defining places by name relates to creating a sense of place and belonging which also provides a cognitive experience of the city as well as serving the collective memory of urban life. In this sense, using the most common daily discourse of the city-place naming-streets and nodes of Moda Neighbourhood are examined with a chronologic prospect (Fig. 2).
With comparisons of PervititchMaps of Moda generated in the years of 1938-39 and satellite maps of 2020, it is seen that most names of reference buildings (such as Saint-Joseph High School), nodes (such as Yoğurtçu Park), and streets remain the same. Although some names of streets and squares are changed through time, the use of daily language mainly remains. For example, the axis, which is now called General Asım Gündüz Street, is named as Bahariye Street in Pervititch Maps. Despite the official name change, the older name of this street has been adopted as Bahariye Street in daily language. Countermapping Moda, with changed street names, provides a way of seeing the city through what is forgotten and what is remembered. Looking at Moda through collective memory and its traces reveals the bonds of the inhabitants and users with the neighbourhood. After all, as Barthes puts it “the city is a discourse, and this discourse is actually a language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, we speak to our city” (Barthes, 1988). As much as collective memory and history is important, in terms of emphasizing rhytmanalysis method, personal experiences and observations are crucial as well. Thus, by walking in a certain route that connects two parks (Moda Park and Yoğurtçu Park) and the main square (Mehmet Ayvalitas Square) of the Moda Neighbourhood a psychogeographic mapping is done. Using a mental mapping method throughout the walk, the memory and the cognitive experiences of the route are represented (Fig. 3).

![Cognitive mapping of Moda](image)

Figure 3. Cognitive mapping of Moda.

By strolling in the streets, the senses, experiences, and instant observations are noted and photographs are taken to construct the first impressions of the route. This practice framed a general comprehension of the neighbourhood and provided a base for further fieldwork. This practice differs from the drifting (derive) method of Situationalists because the author does not wander around in the city with “spontaneous preferences” (Wood, 2010) the route is pre-decided, but the experiences are spontaneous. Thus it can be considered as a psychogeographic mapping in terms of representing the bodily experiences in the city of the researcher herself.

Another technique used in Moda Neighbourhood is participant observation. The axis of streets extending through Moda and connecting public nodes are observed and mapped to examine the built environment, actors, and events of everyday life (Fig. 4). These observations are done spread to time and through becoming part of the everyday life in Moda; observations are done in different places that intersect with the streets while spending a

3 In the order of location from West to East: Tuglaci Emin Bey Street, Leylek Street, Bademalti Street, Mehmet Ayvalitas Square, Dr. Esat Isik Street, Yoğurtçu Park Street.
coffee break in a café watching the street or in the park sitting on a bench, chatting about casual subjects and Moda with business owners and workers, petting stray animals and chatting with voluntary people who feed them. In time this practice turned into getting to know people and even greeting one another. One of those people is a man who comes to Moda every day to feed the birds in Mehmet Ayvalitas Square; he also helps the simit seller (simitçi) on the same square for his business. He is a known person in that region in which the elderly chat when they come to spend time in the square, or people leave their shopping bags to him to take back on the way home. He can be considered as a “public character” that Jacobs points out. Because he keeps his eyes on the streets and ensures the feeling of safety, he is a persona that people can trust with their belongings. Interventions like graffiti and craftworks of anonymous urbanites and artists or flowerpots on streets show that the neighbourhood is embraced by people and there is an urge to interpret the environment they live in which is very much related to a sense of place and creates identity. Likewise, another interesting activity that can be seen throughout the neighbourhood is the notes that business owners leave on the doors of their shops giving their phone numbers and names which is such personal information to share in a metropole. Although this act is seen multiple times in the neighbourhood it was mostly seen in the shops that are there for a long time. These events present traces of rootedness and belonging in Moda Neighbourhood.

Figure 4. Moda at street-level.

There are examples of identity, sense of place; rootedness, and belonging in the neighbourhood nevertheless, there are also problems that Moda encounters with. There is a problem of security which can be seen through the observations of notes on the apartment doors stating “This building is monitored 24 hours with a registered camera system” or doubts of the Moda habitants expressing that there are too many strangers in streets. There is also urban renewal going on throughout the neighbourhood causing heavy vehicle traffic, sound pollution, and change in the social and built environment. Also, all the experiences of sense of place, rootedness, and belonging are on the threshold of change. Therefore, it is important to research, document, and speculate about the Moda Neighbourhood through all the potentials it has and the challenges it faces.

Like mentioned before critical maps reproduce the way of thinking of the surrounding, and also mapping. Thus, thinking outside the codes of conventional mapping like scale, orientation, legend or the vantage point, vertical mapping of Moda (Fig.5) tries to look at the built environment in a different plane. Silhouettes might not only produce “angles we never experience in everyday life” but it also cracks the code of looking at the city from a vantage point. Through observations and in-depth interviews in Leylek Street (a part of the route chosen for the study), the traces of everyday life is represented in-situ.
Concluding Remarks

This study emphasizes that studying the social life of the cities in the context of their built environment can help understand the dynamics, habits, and flows of urban life. In the scope of this study, three alternative mapping techniques

- counter-mapping,
- psycho-geographic mapping,
- and collective mappings

are discussed in terms of their theoretical background. Other mapping techniques are also mentioned such as mental mapping and cognitive mapping.

In the light of the above-mentioned mappings, the study gives important insights and understanding of the cities through streetscape for the decision-making process of designing and planning and vice versa. Mapping Moda with alternative mapping techniques reveals the potentials and challenges of the social and spatial environment with a critical perspective. In the streets of Moda being a stranger or known/indigenous, attached or detached creates various experiences and the study aims to reveal those experiences. Moda is an important settlement to study everyday life practices in terms of being related to human scale and dimensions in a city — that is becoming humongous in contrast with the human scale.

One of the main discussions of this study is that, beyond designing and planning the city at eye level, finding ways of researching the city at eye level since this axis of interpreting the city is less discussed in the design field. The alternative mapping techniques present a new way of researching the city with: looking at the city on a different level, revealing the unseen challenges and emphasizing the crucial problems of the place, extracting the insight of the district through the everyday life practices. What makes the mappings critical is that they have unveiled sections from the everyday life: both the potentials and dynamics of this district has been visualised and analysed.

In the light of critical discussions, alternative mappings can be considered as a tool for an alternative way of thinking and seeing the world; seeing the world through the eyes of inhabitants. Moda’s mapping exemplifies this. Thus, through the attempt of alternative mappings done in Moda, problematizations of de Certeau, Jacobs and others are criticised in the contemporary public spaces of Moda.

Critical mapping techniques which are out of the boundaries of this study such as protest mapping, forensic maps, narrative maps (Dovey, 2017; Wood, 2010) can be further investigated in future works.

References


