FROM RELATIONLESSNESS TO RELATEDNESS:
ALIENATION AND THE IN-BETWEEN REALM REVISITED

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ABSTRACT

FROM RELATIONLESSNESS TO RELATEDNESS: ALIENATION AND THE IN-BETWEEN REALM REVISITED

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The transformation in the production processes and consequently in the urban form itself with the First Industrial Revolution has brought various forms of relationlessness, which have since been discussed as "alienation." Alienation has manifested in the workplace, has permeated everyday life, has become concrete in the built environment, and has spread through screens; as a result, it has taken many forms through the ages. Even though these conditions that lead to alienation are still valid in the 21st century, they have become so "familiar" that they go unnoticed. This familiarity leads to the illusion that alienation disappears; yet, alienation continues to affect implicitly. This research regards it as a problematique.

Within this respect, the aim of this research is twofold. First, to resurrect the phenomenon of alienation by tracing its "hidden continuity" historically and theoretically mainly in the scope of the built environment and to uncover its impacts in the 21st century. Second, to search for possibilities to ameliorate the negative impacts of alienation and to transform the forms of relationlessness into the forms of relatedness within the architectural discourse.

The research revisits the concept of the "in-between realm" as the definer of relatedness. Influenced by the philosopher Martin Buber and many other resources, Aldo van Eyck develops the concept of the in-between realm, which provides a common ground for several opposites to meet, interact, and reconcile. Emphasizing the necessity of reevoking the in-between realm developed by van Eyck and later interpreted by Herman Hertzberger, this research argues that the in-between realm will be useful in terms of transforming the forms of relationlessness into various forms of relatedness.

Keywords: Alienation, Relationlessness, In-between Realm, Relatedness, Aldo van Eyck

ÖZ

İLİŞKİSİZLİKTEN İLİŞKİLENMEYE:
YABANCILAŞMA VE ARA ALANIN YENİDEN ELE ALINMASI

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Birinci Sanayi Devrimi ile birlikte üretim süreçlerinde ve buna bağlı olarak kentsel formun kendisinde yaşanan dönüşümle birlikte gelen ilişkisizlik biçimleri, o zamandan bu yana "yabancılaşma" olarak tartışılır. Yabancılaşma; işyerinde kendini gösterir, gündelik yaşama nüfuz eder, yapılı çevrede somutlaşır ve ekranlar aracılığıyla yayılmaya devam ederek yıllar boyunca pek çok biçim alır. Her ne kadar yabancılaşmaya yol açan bu koşullar 21. yüzyılda hâlâ geçerliliğini korusa da bu koşulların "tanıdık" olmaları fark edilmemelerine sebebiyet verir. Bu aşinalık, yabancılaşmanın ortadan kalktığı yanılsamasına yol açar; ancak yabancılaşma insan yaşamını örtük olarak etkilemeye devam etmektedir. Bu araştırma bunu bir sorunsal olarak ele almaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, bu araştırmanın amacı iki yönlüdür. Birincisi, yabancılaşmanın "gizli sürekliliğinin" tarihsel ve teorik olarak yapılı çevre kapsamında izini sürerek yabancılaşma olgusunu yeniden diriltmek ve 21. yüzyıldaki etkilerini ortaya çıkarmak. İkincisi, ilişkisizlik biçimlerini ilişkilenme biçimlerine dönüştürme ve

dolayısıyla da yabancılaşmanın olumsuz etkilerini iyileştirme olasılıklarını mimari söylem içinde araştırmak.

Araştırma, ilişkilenmenin tanımlayıcısı olarak "ara alan" kavramını yeniden ele alır. Çeşitli zıtlıkların buluşması, etkileşime girmesi ve uzlaşması için ortak bir zemin sağlayan ara alan kavramı, filozof Martin Buber ve diğer pek çok kaynaktan esinlenen Aldo van Eyck tarafından geliştirilmiştir. Van Eyck'in geliştirdiği ve sonrasında Herman Hertzberger'in de yorumladığı ara alan kavramının yeniden hatırlanmasının gerekliliğini vurgulayan bu araştırma, ara alan kavramının, ilişkisizlik biçimlerinin çeşitli ilişkilenme biçimlerine dönüştürülmesi açısından faydalı olacağını savunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yabancılaşma, İlişkisizlik, Ara Alan, İlişkilenme, Aldo van Eyck

To the alienated beings

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I want to extend my sincere thanks to Jale Erzen, whose personal criticisms I believe have made a great contribution to my personal growth. Looking back, I realize how much I have learned from her since we met on *alle* in 2010. I also thank Naile Talip for our piano courses and Zeynep Mennan, Ombretta Romice, Ayşen Savaş Sargın, and Belgin Turan Özkaya for their expertise in their courses. I additionally acknowledge Kerem Erdoğan, Rüstem Taşman, Abduvali Valiev, Sevda Yeşilyurt, and Esma Yüzgeç for their technical assistance as well as METU Library personnel, especially Öznur Büyükkartal, Ali Özcan, and Oğuz Ünsal.

During this very long process of PhDing, I have lost some people, I have strengthened my relationship with some, I have come across some, and I have known that all these people have somehow contributed to my life and have helped me become the person I need to be now. I have been thinking of Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu's poem entitled "*Arkadaş Dökümü*" recently, but I do know that losing friends should not mean that there will be no newcomers. Losing them should also not mean that I forgot their contributions. I want to thank those who have gone, those who have

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In "Bridge and Door," Georg Simmel (1909/1994, 5) states that:

> The image of external things possesses for us the ambiguous dimension that in external nature everything can be considered to be connected, but also as separated. The uninterrupted transformations of materials as well as energies brings everything into relationship with everything else and make one cosmos out of all the individual elements.

Unlike nature, only humanity has been given the right to connect and separate things (Simmel 1909/1994, 5). For Simmel, "the will to connection" has become "a shaping of things;" thus, with this "will to connection," people start building paths. Simmel argues that one of the greatest achievements of humankind is achieved by those who first build a path between two places: "No matter how often they might have gone back and forth between the two and thus connected them subjectively, so to speak, it was only in visibly impressing the path into the surface of the earth that the places were objectively connected" (Simmel 1909/1994, 6).

Even though the intention of a path is to connect things, it can consciously or unconsciously separate things either. Indeed, Simmel (1909/1994, 6) also remarks that one of these activities, connection or separation, is always the presupposition of the other. When the separation between things expands, it is hardly possible to speak of reestablishing a connection. How much do roads in the 21st century connect places or how much do they separate? Is it not ironic that this very "path" that is shaped to establish connection has been shaped especially to separate things? Could it be foreseen that a path could turn into an eight-lane highway and tear up a neighborhood or separate a poor neighborhood from a rich one? It seems like this "will to connection" transforms into a "will to separation" (Figure 1.1, Figure 1.2, Figure 1.3).
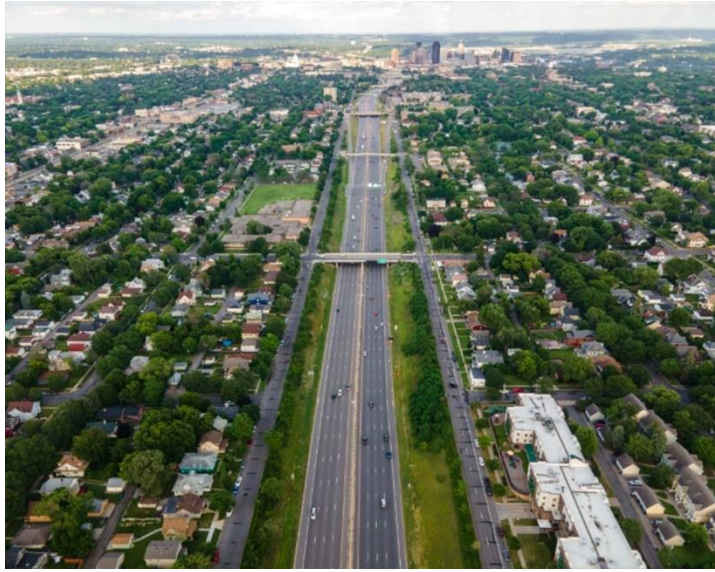
Figure 1.1. The Rondo neighborhood split by I-94, Minneapolis-Saint Paul, photographed by Johnny Miller
(Accessed August 20, 2022 https://unequalscenes.com/minneapolis)

Figure 1.2. The roads separating the Primrose and Makause neighborhoods in Johannesburg, South Africa, photographed by Johnny Miller
(Accessed August 20, 2022 from https://unequalscenes.com/south-africa)

Figure 1.3. Vila Autódromo, which was once the home of thousands of favela residents, has 20 houses today, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, photographed by Johnny Miller
(Accessed August 21, 2022 from https://unequalscenes.com/brazil)

Although this condition is most evident in the 21st-century cities, these forms of relationlessness have been encountered much earlier. The transformation in the production methods and in the urban form itself with the First Industrial Revolution, indeed, has brought these forms of relationlessness, which have since been discussed as "alienation."

The term "alienation" originates from the Latin word *alienatio*, which is the noun form of the verb *alienare* meaning 'to make something another's', 'to take away,' or 'to remove.' *Alienare* derives from *alienus*, which means belonging to or pertaining to another, and *alienus* comes from *alius*, meaning "other" (adjective) or "another" (noun).[1]

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[1] The French terms *aliéner* and *aliénation* have the same meanings as "to alienate" and "alienation" (Schacht 1970, 1).

In German, *entfremdung* (verb: *entfremden*) and *entäusserung* (verb: *entäussern*) are used for "alienation." While *entfremden* means "to make alien, to rob, to take, to strip of" (Schacht 1970, 5) and "to estrange, to alienate" (Milligan 1988, 10), *entäussern* means "to part with, to renounce, to cast off, to sell, to alienate (a right, or one's property)" (Milligan 1988, 10). Although the term *entfremdung* has been in use since the late Middle Ages, it is regarded as "interpersonal estrangement" in the 16ᵗʰ century and it attracts attention in the 19ᵗʰ century when Hegel uses it in his book

Alienation has various meanings in different contexts, which date back to Middle English (Petrović 1967/2006, 120; Schacht 1970, 2-4). In law, it is used to transfer property from one person to another person. In psychiatry, it refers to a mental disorder, a state of unconsciousness, or a loss of mental powers and/or senses. In psychology and sociology, it is used to define an individual's estrangement from society, themself, God, and/or nature. In Middle English, this estrangement is principally used to define the relationship between the individual and God as "alienation between man and God." Expressing alienation as interpersonal estrangement can also be seen in the first volume of the Oxford English Dictionary (1888), where "to alienate" is defined as "to convert into an alien or stranger, to turn away in feelings or affection, to make averse or hostile, or unwelcome" (Quoted in Schacht 1970, 3). This definition continues to be relevant to its use in the contemporary language as seen in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary: "to cause to be estranged: to make unfriendly, hostile, or indifferent especially where attachment formerly existed."

Initially known through Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's and Karl Marx's works, alienation has been a primary concern in both medieval and early modern thought in various disciplines, including sociology, philosophy, psychology, and literature. The concept of alienation has attracted:

> some of the most influential thinkers of all time (Rousseau, Hegel, Marx) to some of the greatest writers (Goethe, Kafka, Camus, Mann), to the founders of modern sociology (Durkheim, Weber, Simmel), to some of the most brilliant minds of our time (Lukács, Adorno, Marcuse, Arendt), to leading contemporary sociologists (Merton, Bell, Shils, Nisbet, Lipset, Mills, Feuer,

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"Phenomenology of Spirit" (Schacht 1970, 6). In Phenomenology of Spirit, e*ntfremdung* is translated as alienation and *entäusserung* is translated as externalization.

In the 1988 edition of "The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" of Marx, on the other hand, *entfremdung* is used for estrangement and *entäusserung* is used for alienation. According to Martin Milligan (1988, 10), *entäussern* is more likely to be used as "to alienate": "For 'alienate' is the only English word which combines, in much the same way as does *entäussern*, the ideas of 'losing' something which nevertheless remains in existence over-against one, of something passing from one's own into another's hands, as a result of one's own act, with the idea of 'selling' something: that is to say, both 'alienate' and *entäussern* have, at least as one possible meaning, the idea of a sale, a transference of ownership, which is simultaneously a renunciation."

Gehlen, Schelsky, Dahrendorf), to theologians (Tillich), to psychologists (Freud, Horney, Schachtel, Fromm, Laing, Keniston), to philosophers (Fichte, Heidegger, Sartre, Buber), to art critics (Read, Rosenberg), to literary critics (Trilling, Frye, Howe), to historians (Hofstadter, Hauser), to Marx scholars (Lefebvre, Petrović, Tucker, McClellan, Avineri), and to pioneering empirical researchers (Seeman). (Ignace Feuerlicht [1978], quoted in Kopman 1986, 7)

The phenomenon of alienation gets attention especially in the field of sociology, such that alienation research reaches its climax in sociology in the 1960s (Seeman 1971, 135) and 1970s (Yuill 2011, 104, 105). The increase in the number of researches also increases the number of definitions (Clark 1959, 849); yet, there are basically two approaches that have an impact on the rest of the researchers: one approach is Marxian and the other approach is empirical (Yuill 2011, 104, 106; Kalekin-Fishman and Langman 2015, 6-7). In the first approach, the alienation research is pursued in a comprehensive manner by giving reference to specific social and historical structures (Yuill 2011, 106) and the researcher traces the consequences for different degrees of human relations in various areas (Kalekin-Fishman and Langman 2015, 6). Initiated by the social psychologist Melvin Seeman, the other approach conducts research via structured questionnaires to measure "different dimensions" of alienation.[2]

When alienation has been the subject of debate of many scholars for many years, is it still possible to say something new? Is this research a repetition or a reminder of the past? Or is studying alienation outdated? Since the alienation theory research drops off the map from the 80s onwards (Yuill 2011, 103), some may consider

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[2]Seeman's 1959 article can be regarded as a starting point for this approach. The article gathers the views of Karl Marx, Erich Fromm, Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, Theodor Adorno, and Émile Durkheim on the very concept so that Seeman can come up with an approach that is able to establish a bond between the historical views and the modern empirical method (Seeman 1959, 783). The significance of Seeman's research is that he holds that there is no single type of alienation, but there are various dimensions of alienation. In this article, alienation is taken from the social-psychological point of view and it is described in five different ways: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, social isolation, and self-estrangement. Seeman (1972, 472-473; 1975) later revises these categories and distinguishes alienation in six variations: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, cultural estrangement, self-estrangement, and social isolation.

alienation as an old-fashioned concept. Rahel Jaeggi (2014, ix) states that: "not only has alienation nearly disappeared from today's philosophical literature, it also has hardly any place any longer in the vocabulary of contemporary cultural critique." Nevertheless, it does not mean that the impact of alienation decreases either. On the contrary, the alienating conditions may be more frequent than they were in the 60s and 70s (Yuill 2011, 105, 113) and alienation continues to be of importance today (Jaeggi 2014, xix).

Working on the 38th floor of a skyscraper without "being disturbed" by the sound of the rain, spending 3-4 hours a day in traffic on the way to the "hated jobs," living in the gated communities in order to be "protected" by/from the "others," witnessing the urban transformation projects that divide the neighborhoods, living in the shoeboxes, meeting friends but connecting with the mobile phones, possessing objects imposed by popular culture, and many similar examples may be familiar for 21st-century citizens, who are in some way alienated. Considering all these conditions, does one have to turn into an "insect"[3] one morning in order to realize that one has become alienated?

As a citizen living in Ankara for almost 24 years, I need to admit that my situation was not much different from the people I mentioned above. My relationship with the city was limited to the "transportation routes," which I had to go back and forth between the campus and home for a very long time. Being up with the lark, waiting for "the" bus at the same bus stop at exactly the same time as those familiar faces, taking the bus that was full of people either going to work or school, having a long journey, and switching to another bus or subway on the way to the campus were part of my daily routine. There were days when I went earlier or later to avoid traffic jams and crowds of people, but this did not have much impact on my experience of the city. It seemed like I was commuting to school without being aware of my environment. Though, I was not passing through an environment that I might want to be aware of. Would it be possible to experience the city only from a bus route,

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[3]The author refers to Franz Kafka's *Die Verwandlung* (The Metamorphosis, 1915).

which mostly passes through an intercity transportation axis? What I observed on this bus route consisted of buildings designed out of context and constantly popped up along the Konya Road and Eskişehir Road.[4] It seems like my condition was not very much different from the visual map of a child who is going to school with a school bus (Figure 1.4). I would later realize the reason why I did not like this gray city back then.

When the city consists of "only" these transportation routes that are expected to "ease" the lives of the citizens and when a citizen's experience with the city is limited "only" to those transportation routes, as was my case, it may not be possible to establish a relationship with the city, to know the city, or to love the city.

I was so "familiar" with my situation that I did not even realize how it was affecting me. When I started researching alienation, I realized that I was separated physically from the city and mentally from the society I was living in.
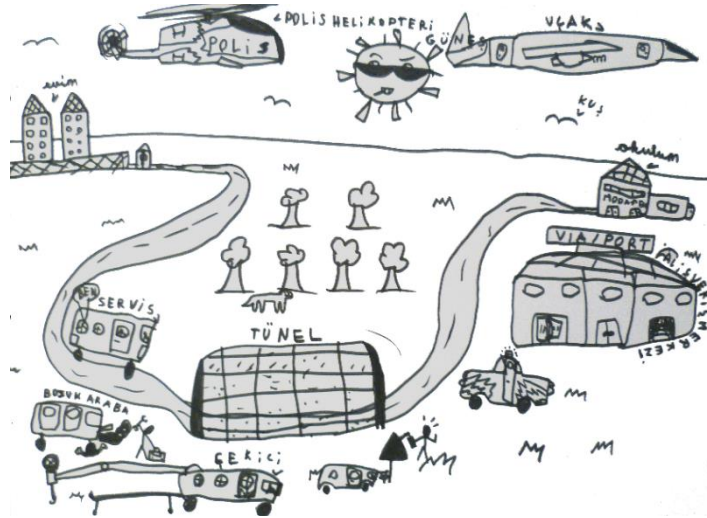
Figure 1.4. Visual map of a child who is going to school with a school bus
(Accessed October 21, 2021 from https://beyond.istanbul/b%C3%BCy%C3%BCyen-metropolde-b%C3%BCy%C3%BCmek-df6592559553)

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[4]Being one of the two major intercity transportation routes connecting Ankara to the west, Eskişehir Road is renamed Dumlupınar Boulevard in the 2000s. This axis, which serves as the hub of the primary urban transportation system, creates a solid vehicle connection between the city's core and the public buildings, academic campuses, and residential areas outlying the city. Although both Konya Road and Eskişehir Road are called boulevards, they are not physically constructed as boulevards (Alanyalı Aral et al. 2022, 165).

I can state here that the starting point of this research is the phenomenon of alienation. This statement by Christian Norberg-Schulz (1985, 88) was effective in starting to research this very topic: "Deprived of any meaningful explanation, man tended to lose his sense of belonging and fellowship, and the alienation caused by the insufficient possibilities of meeting offered by the modern city, was thereby enhanced." Then, the questions including "What is alienation?" and "How did alienation come about?" led me to Marx, Hegel, Lefebvre, Debord, and Vaneigem. It was certainly not a coincidence that I associated the arguments of these thinkers with our present day and found traces of their words in myself. Jack London's Martin Eden (1909), which I read before I started researching alienation and was impressed deeply, also confirms my opinion. It was also not a coincidence that I found similarities with the feelings of the "alien" character in the novel written in a completely different geography a hundred years ago. I once wrote: "Meeting Martin Eden before I was fully healed might have caused me to falter even more, but none of us will ever fully recover. But still, despite the meaninglessness of life, we will try to hold on to life, unlike Martin Eden and Selim Işık."[5] Selim Işık is another character whom I found similarities with myself. It was the character of Oğuz Atay's novel "*Tutunamayanlar*" (The Disconnected, 1971-1972), which I read during this period of research on alienation. There were too many parts of the book where I said "Selim is just like me" or "I am like him." Written in different geographies and times, Franz Kafka's *Die Verwandlung* (The Metamorphosis, 1915) and Albert Camus' *L'Étranger* (The Stranger, 1942) also have "alien" characters, whom I met in this period of research and found similarities with. Although I once claimed that I had become alienated during this period of researching alienation, the reality was that I had become "aware" of my own condition.

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[5]Personal notes written in 2019. "*Tam olarak iyileşmemişken onunla [Martin Eden] tanışmış olmam benim daha da çok bocalamama neden olabilirdi; ama zaten hiçbirimiz hiçbir zaman tam olarak iyileşemeyeceğiz herhalde. Yine de, hayatın anlamsızlığına rağmen, hayata tutunmaya çalışacağız, Martin'in ve sonra da Selim'in yapamadığı gibi.*"

The fact that I can relate to these literal works written in different periods and contexts demonstrates that the phenomenon of alienation does not belong to a certain period, time, or context. It does not mean that these dimensions do not have impact on alienation. Nevertheless, the fact that it was studied and emphasized in a certain period does not mean that alienation only emerged at that time and has now lost its effect. This research argues from the very beginning that alienation still exists today, and for this reason, it needs to be discoursed upon and resurrected. Considering that the arguments of the scholars and the literal works previously mentioned are up to date, this thesis handles alienation as a general, global, and human phenomenon that remains relevant today. By benefiting from Rahel Jaeggi's book "Alienation,"[6] this research, like Jaeggi, considers alienation as a relation of relationlessness. Jaeggi argues that:

> Thus alienation denotes relationlessness of a particular kind: a detachment or separation from something that in fact belongs together, the loss of a connection between two things that nevertheless stand in relation to one another. Being alienated from something means having become distanced from something in which one is in fact involved or to which one is in fact related—or in any case ought to be. (Jaeggi 2014, 25)

This relationlessness between "things" is not thought of only as the relationlessness between people but also between people and the environment, between everyday life practices, between buildings, and between people and buildings.

Why is it important to study alienation in the built environment? How does the relationlessness in the built environment affect people? In fact, there is a reciprocal relationship between the environment and people. As quoted by David Harvey, "we make the house and the house makes us" is a saying that dates back to the Greeks (Harvey 2008, 158). In a similar vein, Robert Park states that:

> [I]t is in the urban environment - in a world which man himself has made - that mankind first achieved an intellectual life and acquired those characteristics which

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[6]Regarded as the first major work on alienation since the 1970s, Rahel Jaeggi's book "Alienation" provides an overview of the concept of alienation referring to significant discussions (Kalekin-Fishman and Langman 2015, 9).

most distinguish him from the lower animals and from primitive man. For the city and the urban environment represent man's most consistent and, on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire. But if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself. (Park 1967, 3)

By referring to this mutual relationship between humans and the environment, which is recalled in a variety of ways by Winston Churchill,[7] Edward Hall,[8] Alison Smithson,[9] Arnold Berleant,[10] and Jan Gehl,[11] this research holds that people have the chance to realize themselves by being part of the environment. I need to mention that my personal experience once again supports this arguement. Performing cello as a street musician in Kuğulu Park allowed me to see myself as a part of the city, to associate myself with Kuğulu Park, and to make this area a meaningful place for me. As Aldo van Eyck (1962/2008, 50) states, "whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more. For space in the image of man is place and time in the image of man is occasion," Kuğulu Park becomes place in the image of mine. Moreover, as I was walking the route from Kuğulu Park to Kızılay, I began to experience the city by walking; thus, I also began to like the city. In 2019, I wrote how this route impacted me as follows:

> This route may be the reason why one likes Ankara. I have been walking this route on my way back from Kuğulu Park, especially in the last two summers. It is like "A Midsummer Night's Dream."[12] The sidewalks are emptier with less human traffic and the street sounds more lively with less vehicle traffic. After a certain hour, I come across street vendors, some of whom start to look familiar. I may look familiar

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[7]"We shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us" (Churchill 1943).

[8]"The relationship between man and the cultural dimension is one in which both *man and his environment participate in molding each other*. Man is now in the position of actually creating the total world in which he lives, what the ethologists refer to as his biotope. In creating this world he is actually determining *what kind of an organism* he will be" (Hall 1966/1990, 4).

[9]"First, man creates environment and environment, in its turn, influences man" (Smithson 1968, 24).

[10]"Marcel urges us to say not that I have a body but that I am my body. Perhaps we can say, in like manner, not that I live in my environment but that I am my environment. The room, the building, the plaza require people to complete them and people require such places for their own fulfilment" (Berleant 1984).

[11]"We shape cities and they shape us" (Gehl 2010, ix).

[12]A play by William Shakespeare.

to them either because I walk with my cello, which attracts more attention than me. I look like a public service announcement with the orange hard case. Is it not difficult to walk all that way with it? Maybe sometimes. But walking this route feels so good that neither the length of the road nor the weight of the cello looms large.

I walk a bit on Tunalı Hilmi [Avenue], then I sometimes turn left to Tunus [Avenue]. As I pass through Tunus, I smell aniseed. For a split second. I leave behind the sounds of people laughing and cheering. Then I pass through Bestekâr [Street]. I witness a few people smoking and drinking, especially in front of the bars named "Müjgan" or "21." Then, again the taverns and again the smell of aniseed. I wonder how some of the taverns are so full and some next to these have no customers at all. I sometimes make eye contact with the customers in the taverns. A woman smiles and I smile back. (Personal notes.)

Unless a mutual relationship between humans and the environment is established successfully, alienation continues to retain its negative impact on people, as is argued by Berleant (1984): "Thus the environment is a perceptual-cultural system that embraces person and place. The features of the world we fashion can create such a condition of harmony or they can discourage it, leading to separation and ultimately to alienation." Accordingly, this research maintains that adverse environmental conditions negatively affect people and so does the alienation in the built environment.

According to Devorah Kalekin-Fishman (2006, 524), both sociologists and psychologists have examined alienation as a problem that necessitates therapy. Then, what may be the position of architects? What are the tools of architecture to decrease the negative impact of alienation? How does architecture contribute to reestablishing relatedness? What can it offer? Answers to these questions have been sought since 1940s through various approaches including but not limited to New Empiricism,[13]

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[13]Developed in Sweden, it is considered as a "Swedish attempt to humanize." Stanford Anderson's (1997, 197-198) quotation from the article entitled "The New Empiricism: Sweden's latest style" (1947) explains the motivations behind this approach as follows:

"The years passed, and one 'objective' house after the other stood ready for use. It was then that people gradually began to discover that the 'new objectivity' [*Neue Sachlichkeit*] was not always so objective, and the houses did not always function so well as had been expected. They also felt the lack of many of the aesthetic values and the little contributions to cosiness that we human beings are so dependent upon, and that our architectural and domestic tradition had nevertheless developed. [...] One result of this growing insight was a reaction against all the too-schematic architecture of the 1930s. Today we

participatory approach,[14] Critical Regionalism,[15] architectural phenomenology.[16] This research focuses on the post-war period and especially the concept of the in-between realm developed by Aldo van Eyck.

In the post-war era, a more humane, more related environment becomes the concern of the architects. These efforts to rehumanize urban life can also be read as attempts to relate things, establish relationships, provide forms of relatedness, and therefore, deal with alienation. The relationship between things is first brought up by Aldo van Eyck at the first post-war CIAM meeting in Bridgwater in 1947 (Strauven 1994/1998, 471). The idea of the relationship between things can later be traced in the thoughts (and works) of Sigfried Giedion and most of the Team X members.

The research concentrates on the concept of the "in-between realm" among the approaches that give emphasis on the relationship between things, for it maintains that the relationship between things is handled more comprehensively through this concept. Influenced by the philosopher Martin Buber and many other sources

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have reached the point where all the elusive psychological factors have again begun to engage our attention. Man and his habits, reactions and needs are the focus of interest as never before. To interpret such a programme as a reaction and a return to something that is past and to pastiches is definitely to misunderstand the development of architecture in this country."

[14]One of the pioneers of the participatory approach is Lucien Kroll. He is a prominent proponent of user involvement in building design and construction in Europe. He criticizes the alienating quality of modern architecture and describes his own vision of an industrialized architecture that is based on modular design principles, incorporates hand craftsmanship, and utilizes modern materials and techniques (Kroll 1987).

[15]The term "critical regionalism" is first used by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre in their 1981 article entitled "The Grid and the Pathway" and this approach is later elaborated by Kenneth Frampton (1983) in his essay "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance."

Arising as a response to the rootlessness of modern urban life, Critical Regionalism finds its resistance in anthropology, local light, tectonics, and topography. Critical Regionalism along Europe, Asia, and Australia, which is exemplified by the works of Tadao Ando, Herman Hertzberger, Alvaro Siza, and Glenn Murcutt, seeks to overcome alienation, commodification, and the degradation of nature (Sykes 2010, 294, 297).

[16]The phenomenological research is adopted by many architects in response to the failure of Modern movements to cope with "geomancy and other symbolic phenomena" and it continues to be a significant source of hypotheses concerning the nature of how people experience the built environment (Lang 1994, 139). Phenomenology gives architects a strong and trustworthy foundation from which to construct their distinct perspective on the built environment and cultivate their individual way of thinking (Shirazi 2014, 3). The architects and architectural theorists adapting this approach include Peter Zumthor, Alberto Pérez-Gómez, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Kenneth Frampton, Juhani Pallasmaa, Karsten Harries, Steven Holl, and Tadao Ando (Özer 2016, 46).

(Strauven 1994/1998, 352), Aldo van Eyck develops the idea of the "in-between realm," which provides a common ground for the conflicting opposites (van Eyck 1962/2008, 61, 63, 220); thus, the research holds that this concept offers a wide variety of forms of relatedness.

According to Joseph Rykwert (1999, 11), van Eyck's insight that anthropologists can provide a new perspective on the role of the architects forms the basis of the lesson of the in-between realm. For Rykwert, this insight also suggests another benefit: "it returns architecture to the humanities." By transforming the knowledge he gains from various disciplines and building out of this knowledge, van Eyck implicitly provides an "in-between realm" for architecture and other disciplines. Therefore, this research argues that the concept of the in-between realm can be characterized as a manifestation of the complexity of van Eyck's architectural thinking. Besides, the concept does not remain in theory, but it blends into everyday life through the built works. This is very well explained by Francis Strauven below:

> This poetic view of architecture is by no means restricted to theory. Although in itself, as theory, it is already uncommonly significant, to a large extent it owes its cogency to the imaginative power with which Aldo van Eyck put it into practice. His buildings appear to be faithful and ever-fresh embodiments of his ideas. They constitute built poetry. Not that they show any literary bias: they are pure architectural poetry, architecture that structures the ordinary, banal things amid which daily life takes place in such a way that they are, so to speak, reborn, indeed so that they disclose a portion of the potential wealth of reality. Although his architecture is composed of elementary building components which can be read as a rational structure, it speaks a language of evocative, archetypal forms that appeal to a universal symbolism deeply rooted in human consciousness. Without ever resorting to historical quotation, it is full of historical associations. For all its outward simplicity, it unfolds a rich stratification of meanings, a tissue of associative layers which, on further exploration, reveal a succession of unexpected and often paradoxical connections; connections that never induce gloom but mostly inspire optimism. (Strauven 1994/1998, 464-465)

Regarded as a "syncretic" and "synthetic" discipline (Mennan 2006, 68), architecture is open to interactions with other fields. By encompassing several disciplines and uniquely bringing together different modes of research usually kept apart, architecture opens up possibilities for multi- and interdisciplinary research (Rendell

2004, 143). According to Zeynep Mennan (2006, 67), the interaction of different disciplines leads to transformation in the original disciplines as well as the "boundaries" of these disciplines. Therefore, this type of research has a tendency to weaken the "traditionally well-defined boundaries" between disciplines (Mennan 2006, 67). By this means, disciplines can establish a dialogue with each other and learn from each other. This thesis is an example of this, that is, it is a manifestation of interdisciplinarity. As in the case of the concept of the in-between realm developed by van Eyck, this research takes an "in-between" position, in which various disciplines, namely sociology, political science, urban sociology, philosophy, architectural theory, urban design, and urban theory reconcile. Accordingly, this thesis has a constructivist epistemology, which constructs knowledge through qualitative research.

The purpose of this research is twofold: first, to revive the phenomenon of alienation and to uncover its impacts in the 21st century; second, to search for approaches for a less alienated condition within the architectural discourse. In line with these purposes, the research takes a critical stance. Its method is to conduct a historical and theoretical review of the phenomenon of alienation from the First Industrial Revolution until today; and to provide an overview of the approaches for establishing relationships within the post-war architectural discourse and to critically revaluate the concept of the in-between realm in terms of its ability to form various forms of relationships.

The research is composed of two main parts. The first part, the second chapter, presents the problematique of the research. The research investigates the phenomenon of alienation mainly in the scope of the built environment from the First Industrial Revolution up to the present. With this historical and theoretical review, the sources, the triggers, the different forms of alienation, and their interrelation are investigated and the "hidden continuity" (Seeman 1983, 172) of alienation is revealed.

The second part, the third chapter, presents architectural position to cope with this problematique. The attempts for reestablishing forms of relatedness are traced by focusing on the post-war architectural discourse. Among these approaches, the in-between realm is given emphasis. The concept of the in-between realm is handled by referring to Martin Buber's philosophy and the architectural thinking and the built works of Aldo van Eyck and Herman Hertzberger. The chapter ends with a number of contemporary approaches that suggest various forms of relatedness.

In the final chapter, that is, the conclusion, the findings of the research are evaluated and inferences are addressed. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

A RELATION OF RELATIONLESSNESS: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF ALIEANATION IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

The First Industrial Revolution in the 18th century leads to radical changes such as new methods of industrial production, new cityscapes, new means of transport, and technological advancements. On the one hand, these changes provide benefits; on the other hand, they exert their influence in an adverse direction around the end of the 18th century, such that this condition is considered to be "the beginning of a crescendo of civic decline" (Hiorns 1958, 317).

These radical changes bring along various forms of relationlessness, which are regarded as "alienation." As is stated by Walter Kaufmann (1970, xlv), alienation is found in all periods, but it does not always manifest itself in the same form. By critically reviewing these radical changes, this chapter traces the sources and the consequences of various forms of alienation. Even though alienation is primarily elaborated in the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau[1] and Georg Wilhelm Hegel, the chapter begins to deal with alienation through Marx's alienation of labor for it is regarded as the "core of all alienation" (John Schaar [1961], quoted in Seeman 1971, 135) and it is more correlated with the First Industrial Revolution and the process of urbanization.

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[1]Although Hugo Grotius (1583 – 1645) seems to be the first to use the term "alienation" in his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (Law of War and Peace, 1625), he uses the term in political theory, particularly in social contract theory (Schacht 1970, 8). In "The Social Contract" (1762), Rousseau uses the terms "*aliéner*" (to alienate) and "*renouncer*" interchangeably and he also speaks of a person, "who is surrendered to the community" and loses their entire self (Schacht 1970, 10-13). What is more, John Plamenatz (1963, 40) argues that Rousseau speaks of a psychologically and morally "alienated" human, which is quite similar to Hegel's and Marx's concepts: "There is in Rousseau a conception, rich though confused, of *alienated* man, of man deeply disturbed, psychologically and morally, by the pressure of society on him, of man 'outside himself' (*hors de lui-même*) driven by his environment to seek satisfaction where it is not to be had; there is this same conception in Hegel and in Marx […]."

2.1 Industrial Revolution, Labor, Alienation

Beginning with the First Industrial Revolution in the 18th century, factories start to be set to provide new methods of industrial production, which creates a need for a labor force. A vast quantity of people moves from rural areas to urban areas with a dream of becoming wage laborer.

Meanwhile, the steam engine is invented[2] and it later provides a new means of transport: the railway. The invention of the railway accelerates the migration from rural areas to urban areas, leading to rapid urbanization (Table 2.1). The railway is not merely a means of transport for people, but it also transports goods. The more materials are transported, the more industrialists earn money, which makes the railway implicitly take part in the growth of capitalism and become "the new economy's most powerful weapon" (Choay 1969, 11).

Table 2.1. Population growth of selected cities over the centuries

City	1700	1800	1900
Berlin	24,000	172,000	2,424,000
London	550,000	861,000	6,480,000
Manchester	8,000	81,000	1,255,000
Moscow	130,000	238,000	1,120,000
New York	4,400	63,000	4,242,000
Paris	530,000	547,000	3,330,000
Vienna	105,000	231,000	1,662,000

(Chandler and Fox 1974)

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[2]Although many inventors contribute to the development of the steam engine, there are three major figures. Thomas Savery is the first person to get a patent for a steam engine in 1698. In 1712, Thomas Newcomen develops a more efficient steam engine, which is also used for pumping water. In 1765, James Watt improves Newcomen's steam engine and Watt's design is later used for the cotton mills and the railways (Corfield 2015).

Unlike the industrialists' very high incomes, the workers are paid meager wages. The very long working hours are not for the benefit of the workers but only enrich the industrialists. In relation to this, Marx (1844/1988, 73) argues that:

> It is true that labor produces for the rich wonderful things—but for the worker it produces privation. It produces palaces—but for the worker, hovels. It produces beauty—but for the worker, deformity. It replaces labor by machines—but some of the workers it throws back to a barbarous type of labor, and the other workers it turns into machines. It produces intelligence—but for the worker idiocy, cretinism.

According to Marx, this capitalist mode of production leads to alienation. Mostly covered in "1844 Manuscripts,"[3] Marx's theory of alienation describes the effect of the capitalist system on human beings – especially wage laborers –, their physical environments, their mental states, and the society they are living in (Ollman 1971/1976, 131).[4]

While developing the theory of alienation, Marx is influenced by the philosophy of Hegel and extracts the theory of alienation as the "separation of subject from itself" from Hegel's thoughts (Thompson 1979, 24). According to Richard Schacht (1970, 83), Hegel's two usages of alienation, namely separation and surrender,[5] are gathered by Marx as "separation through surrender," which leads to the fact that separation is the consequence of the surrender. In addition to Hegel, Ludwig Feuerbach also exerts

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[3] Also known as "The Paris Manuscripts" or "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," "1844 Manuscripts" are a series of notes written by Marx between April and August 1844. It is not published during Marx's lifetime, but it is first published in Russian in 1927 and in German in 1932 (Marx 1844/1988, 168).

[4] According to some scholars and critics, while Hegel-influenced young Marx developed a "humanist" theory of alienation in 1844 Manuscripts, the mature Marx defined an "analytical" one in Capital, making these scholars and critics argue that there should be a distinction between the young and mature Marx (Thompson 1979, 23; Padgett 2007, 4). Yet, some others believe that there is no sharp difference between young and mature Marx as they claim that mature Marx does not abandon young Marx's thoughts on alienation (Thompson 1979, 23). Being in the second group, Lefebvre argues that alienation and its different forms can be traced throughout Marx's works (Elden 2004, 39). Tracing the theory of alienation throughout Marx's books, Lanny Ace Thompson (1979, 23-24) maintains that there is neither a whole controversy nor a complete continuity between Marx's works since the theory of alienation grew out of 1844 Manuscripts.

[5] Richard Schacht (1970, 35-64) holds that Hegel uses the term "alienation" in two different ways: the first one (alienation$_1$) refers to a "separation" or "discordant relation" between the human being and the "social substance" or between one's actual condition and essential nature (self-alienation) and the second one (alienation$_2$) refers to a "surrender" or "sacrifice" to overcome alienation$_1$.

an impact on Marx. It is through Feuerbach's influence that Marx considers alienation to be the "domination of a subject [man] by an estranged object [capital] of its own creation" (Thompson 1979, 24). The central theme in Marx's theory of alienation is the alienation of labor, which is four-dimensional: Human is alienated from their product, their labor (their producing activity), themself (the species essence), and other people.[6]

Before giving further explanations to these four dimensions, it is essential to mention how work is associated with human within Marxian thought. Considering human as a "species-being,"[7] that is, as a universal and free being, Marx (1844/1988, 75, 77) holds that human first proves themself to be a "species-being" by "working." This work is a free, creative, and conscious activity so that humans can express themselves, realize themselves, and add something from themselves to work. For this very reason, the work, the labor, or the productive life is human's species-life,[8] which "is motivated by nothing more than the need to create, to express oneself, to give oneself external embodiment" (Schacht 1970, 78). Like humans, animals also do produce. However, what distinguishes humans from animals, Marx argues, is the conscious being, which gives humans the freedom to act and to create.[9] Marx lays emphasis on human's ability to produce in freedom: "[…] he is free from physical need and only truly produces in freedom therefrom" (Marx 1844/1988, 77).

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[6]In 1844 Manuscripts, Marx begins explaining alienation with human's alienation from their product and continues with activity, species, and other people. On the other hand, Bertell Ollman (1971/1976, 131, 136, 302) argues that starting with the alienated activity provides a better understanding; thus, he changes this order into activity, product, other people, and species.

[7]"species-being," "species-activity," "human essence" are the terms borrowed from Ludwig Feuerbach (Thompson 1979, 24).

[8]"For in the first place labor, *life-activity*, *productive life* itself, appears to man merely as a *means* of satisfying a need—the need to maintain the physical existence. Yet the productive life is the life of the species. It is life-engendering life. The whole character of a species its species character is contained in the character of its life-activity; and free, conscious activity is man's species character. Life itself appears only as a *means to life*" (Marx 1844/1988, 76).

[9]"Conscious life-activity directly distinguishes man from animal life-activity. It is just because of this that he is a species being. Or it is only because he is a species being that he is a Conscious being, i.e., that his own life is an object for him. Only because of that is his activity free activity" (Marx 1844/1988, 76). According to Thompson (1979, 29), Marx and Engels also distinguish humans from animals by their consciousness in "The German Ideology."

According to Barry Padgett (2007, 5), this "freedom" is the "foundation of labor and 'good work,' of both making a living and making a life worth living, *qua* human being." He asserts that it is the basis of Marx's thought on human beings and their activity.

In the capitalist system, however, human, especially wage laborer, does not produce, create, or work in freedom. Although "the product ceases to be the objective embodiment of the individual's own personality and the distinctive expression of his creative powers and interests" (Schacht 1970, 85), it has no connection with its producer as the producer is coerced to restrain their individuality while producing. The wage laborer is not free "how" to produce the object; therefore, they do not create it by their own nature. They are paid to produce and to put their life into the object, resulting in the fact that their life no longer belongs to them but to the object (Marx 1844/1988, 72). Albeit the worker puts their life into the object, the object is not their, but the employer's. According to Schacht (1970, 85), the object is never workers,' they are only "the instrument of its production." At the end of the production, the product is taken away from the worker, which, indeed, ends up with the fact that the worker's life is also taken away from them. "The alienation from the product" reveals itself at this point as explained by Marx (1844/1988, 72) below:

> Hence, the greater this activity, the greater is the worker's lack of objects. Whatever the product of his labor is, he is not. Therefore, the greater this product, the less is he himself. The alienation of the worker in his product means not only that his labor becomes an object, an external existence, but that it exists outside him, independently, as something alien to him, and that it becomes a power on its own confronting him; it means that the life which he has conferred on the object confronts as something hostile and alien.

Although alienation of labor begins with the alienation from the product, it is only the tip of the iceberg. Alienation is not only seen in the product but also seen within the producing activity. Marx (1844/1988, 74) holds that since the product is the summary of the production, alienation from the product is also considered as the summary of alienation; therefore, "if then the product of labor is alienation, production itself must be active alienation, the alienation of activity, the activity of

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alienation." As noted earlier, the worker does not have an opportunity to act freely during the producing activity. There exists a coerced labor from which the worker alienates themself because "he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind" (Marx 1844/1988, 74). When this is the case, the worker does not feel at home during the work that does not belong to them but belongs to the employer (Marx 1844/1988, 74). Under these circumstances, the worker has to sacrifice a part of themself not to be wholly destroyed (Marx 1844/1988, 22); therefore, it is a labor of "self-sacrifice" and "mortification" (Marx 1844/1973, 74), which demonstrates the condition that separation is the consequence of the surrender. As is stated by Albert Camus, "without work all life goes rotten," "but when work is soulless," which is the case of these workers, "life stifles and dies" (Quoted in Seeman 1971, 136).

In such a system, thus, producing activity reduces workers to a level of a machine. The "dream job" turns the workers into "mechanized agents," who have no choice other than to become part of a "soul-grinding machine" (Hiorns 1958, 318-319). As a consequence of this "machine-like labor" (Marx 1844/1988, 23), which is very well demonstrated by Charlie Chaplin in his silent comedy film "Modern Times" (1936) (Figure 2.1), human is alienated from their species-being and becomes a "slave" of their object:[10] "It is clear that the more the worker spends himself, the more powerful the alien objective world becomes which he creates over-against himself, the poorer he himself — his inner world— becomes, the less belongs to him as his own" (Marx 1844/1988, 72-73). Besides, the fact that the worker cannot afford to buy the products they have produced puts them in a worse condition. It seems as if the product is more valuable than their species-being.

When human is alienated from their product, from their labor, from their species-being, they are also alienated from their fellows, whom they regard as rivals (Marx

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[10]"In tearing away from man the object of his production, therefore, estranged labor tears from him his *species life*, his real species objectivity, and transforms his advantage over animals into the disadvantage that his inorganic body, nature, is taken from him" (Marx 1844/1988, 77).

1844/1988, 78). The alienation from the fellows is to be understood as an absence of fellow feeling, a view of others as nothing more than means to one's own purposes, and a hostility based on a sense of competitiveness; thus, it is based on a self-centeredness that solely considers personal gain and a self-concept that rejects any notion of sociality (Schacht 1970, 96). Consequently, as is claimed by Bertell Ollman, the alienated human becomes an abstraction:

> What is left of the individual after all these cleavages have occurred is a mere rump, a lowest common denominator attained by lopping off all those qualities on which is based his claim to recognition as a man. Thus denuded, the alienated person has become an 'abstraction.' (Ollman 1971/1976, 134)

Figure 2.1. Modern Times by Charlie Chaplin [1936]
(Accessed August 1, 2022 from https://populerakim.com/sinema-ve-film-analizleri/film-analizi-sistemin-carklarina-yenilen-insanoglu-modern-zamanlar/)

2.2   A Stranger in a Strange Environment

Extensive migrations from rural areas to urban areas increase the urban populations, aggravate workers' woes, and extend the scope of heedless house building. The cities begin to be full of factories and ill-planned, ill-constructed, inhuman slum housing, where workers are destined to "live" (Figure 2.2). There exists nothing resembling a public garden. Small and gardenless housing units usually overshadowed by factories, warehouses, stables, and refuse dumps do not promise more than a roof

over workers' heads (Hiorns 1958, 318-319) (Figure 2.3, Figure 2.4). Besides all these problems, air pollution, disease, transportation, and sanitary problems turn the industrial city into "a chancre, a cancer, a leprous body" (Choay 1969, 10). In such circumstances, it is hard to expect that people feel at home in their living environments.

Figure 2.2. Squalor and smoke in twentieth-century England
(Hiorns 1958, 321)
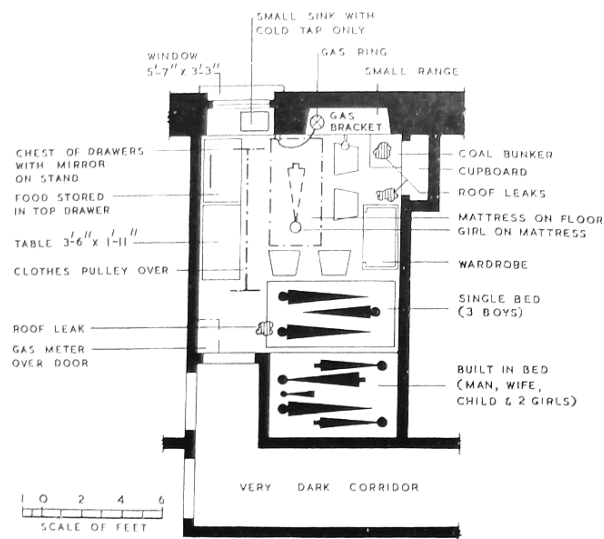
Figure 2.3. Example of one of the many one-room dwellings in Glasgow
(Hiorns 1958, 324)
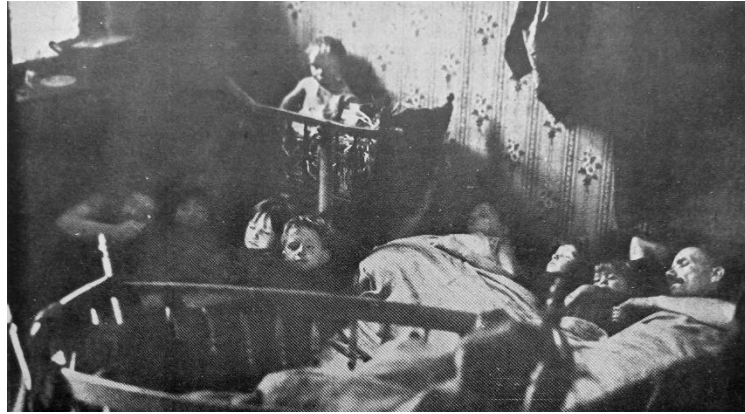
Figure 2.4. A miner's family in Belgium
(Sert 1942, 25)

Apart from the ill-constructed housing units and factories invading the cities, it is also possible to speak of another form of change in the built environment. As observed in the example of Paris, "the capital of modernity" (Benjamin 1935-1939/1999, 3-26; Harvey 2003), one may witness the demolition of urban fabric after the Revolutions of 1848. Emperor Napoleon III wants to have an end to riots by means of destroying the walls and constructing wide boulevards along which the police can gather and charge. The command of the Emperor is way too sufficient for Georges-Eugène Haussmann's[11] "regularization" plans, which intend to regularize the disorganized city and reveal its new order through a pure and schematic layout that will relieve it of the sediment of past and present failures (Choay 1969, 15).[12] Haussmann destroys not only the walls but also the slum streets in the city center and he sends the working class to the periphery. This is how separation, segregation, and gentrification begin (Lefebvre 1970/2003, 109).

By destroying the slum streets, Haussmann is able to construct large-scale buildings. Comparing the old and new Paris, David Harvey (2003, 13) gives emphasis to this unprecedented change of scale, which is regarded as one of capitalism's most

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[11]He is commonly known as Baron Haussmann.

[12]Choay (1969, 15-16) remarks that although Haussmann is a faithful servant of the Emperor, the scope of his vision surpasses the Emperor's and he is highly creative and original.

significant impacts on construction (François Loyer [1988], quoted in Harvey 2003, 13). The citizen can feel lost or insignificant on this extraordinary colossal scale.

It is not only the scale but also the façades of the buildings change. Walter Benjamin considers the glass-covered, gas-lit buildings as the "fairy-grottoes" of consumerism, which transforms the city into "spectacle" and "phantasmagoria" (Donald 1999, 42-44). The citizens are taught to take pleasure from this "spectacle" alone (Buck-Morss 1989, 83-86). It is worth mentioning that this situation is something "new" for this period. Until the Industrial Revolution, the urban system is regarded as a medium of communication and information by means of its relationship with the other social systems; hence, the elements of the urban complex are correlated synchronically within the context of rules practiced by the citizens and planners alike, which makes the citizens integrated into the structure of a given society (Choay 1969, 7). The transformation of the urban complex brings about the condition that the citizens have "no longer" right to speak about their environment. The citizens do not feel inside the process of this transformation, but rather they remain outside, which results in the fact that the urban phenomenon begins to be considered something "alien" (Choay 1969, 9).

The Parisian no longer feels at home in this artificial city produced by the centralization and megalomania; as a result, they leave as soon as they are able to. A new demand, thus, arises: the desire for vacations in the country. While the foreigner arrives in the city that has been abandoned by its citizens on a specific date – the beginning of "the season" –, the Parisian, "in his own town, which has become a cosmopolitan crossroads, now seems like one deracinated" (Lucien Dubech and Pierre d'Espezel [1926], quoted in Benjamin 1935/2002, 129).

With the extreme migration from rural to urban areas, this "alien" environment begins to be crowded with people who are unknown to each other. This anonymity is also unusual for this period. As a matter of fact, people living in small bands, tribes, villages, or towns in most places throughout human history are likely to have some degree of biographical knowledge of people with whom they have social

contact; thereby, "the absence of anonymity" is one important characteristic of these various groups (Lofland 1973, 4). This situation changes with the city and the new normal becomes being "strangers in the midst of strangers:" "for the first time, strangers became not the exception, but the rule" (Lofland 1973, 12, 19).[13] Despite being visually available, a stranger is any person who is not personally known to the actor of reference (Lofland 1973, 18); thus, the citizens are considered to be alien to one another (Clapp 2005, 4).

This new condition has pearls and pitfalls. On the bright side, anonymity brings along freedom. An old German proverb states that "city air makes men free" (*Stadt Luft macht frei*) (Quoted in Park 1915, 584). Indeed, it is a principal law in the Middle Ages. If enslaved people escape from rural areas and live in the city for a year and a day, they can be free to live in the city for the rest of their lives. In the 20th century, this freedom can be experienced in the anonymity of the crowds "in contrast to the pettiness and prejudices which hem in the small-town man" (Simmel 1903/1950, 418). This freedom in the anonymity of the crowds gives birth to "*flâneur*,"[14] who is fed by the crowds. Nevertheless, "it is not a freedom without costs" (Donald 1999, 11). This freedom brings along individualization, which has the potential to break the bonds between society and the individual.

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[13]"When the villager left his home or the homes of his relatives, friends, or enemies and moved into the street, he was still surrounded by enemies, friends, and relatives. When the city dweller leaves his home or the homes of people he knows personally, he is surrounded by strangers. More precisely put, *the world of strangers which is the city is located in the city's public space*" (Lofland 1973, 19).

[14]"*Flâneur*" is a French term used for a person who is strolling. Edgar Allen Poe uses *flâneur* for the first time in his story "The Man of the Crowd." In 1863, Charles Baudelaire discusses "The Man of the Crowd" in his book "The Painter of Modern Life." Baudelaire (1863/2001, 795) defines *flâneur* as: "The crowd is his element, as the air is that of birds and water of fishes. His passion and his profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. For the perfect flâneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world - such are a few of the pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. The spectator is a *prince* who everywhere rejoices in his incognito."

Later, Benjamin refers to *flâneur* in his essay "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire" (1940).

Within this context, an explanation of the relationship between society and the individual is a need. According to Hegel, the world, which is the "social substance," is a man-made entity that has maintained continuity via human activity (Schacht 1970, 31). Considering the social substance as spiritual, Hegel (1807/1977, §484, 294) argues that "it is in itself the interfusion of being and individuality." In addition to these qualities of being and individuality, the social substance also has an objective essence, namely universality (*allgemeinheit*).[15] Individuality and universality, in effect, are not only the characteristics of the social substance but they are also the characteristics of the human. Hegel (1820/2001, §264, 202) explains as follows:

> The individuals of a multitude are spiritual beings, and have a twofold character. In them is the extreme of the independently conscious and willing individuality, and also the extreme of the universality, which knows and wills what is substantive. They obtain the rights of both these aspects, only in so far as they themselves are actual, both as private persons and as persons substantive.

Although individuality is an essential characerestic of a human, Hegel especially lays emphasis on "universality." According to Hegel, this quality of universality is highly significant due to the fact that unity with the social substance is essential for people and they want to be part of the whole; thus, if humans want to have universality, they need to be conformable to the social substance (Schacht 1970, 34).

Nevertheless, when distinct individuality and independent existence emerge, the individual starts to consider the social substance as something 'other' (Schacht 1970, 38). Once the individual regards social substance as 'other,' they lose their universality, which "alienates itself from its own inner nature and becomes utterly at variance with itself" (Hegel 1807/1977, §513, 312).[16] The social substance, thus,

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[15]"The process in which the individuality moulds itself by culture is, therefore, at the same time the development of it as the universal, objective essence, i.e. the development of the actual world" (Hegel 1807/1977, §490, 299).

[16]"While, therefore, the noble consciousness behaves as if it were *conforming* to the universal power, the truth about it is rather that in its service it retains its own being-for-self, and that in the genuine renunciation of its personality, it actually sets aside and rends in pieces the universal Substance. Its Spirit is a completely disparate relationship: on the one hand, in its position of honour it retains its own will; on the other hand, it gives up its will, but in so doing it in part alienates itself from its own inner nature and becomes utterly at variance with itself, and in part subjects to itself the universal substance and makes *it* completely at variance with itself" (Hegel 1807/1977, §513, 312).

becomes 'alien' or it is 'alienated' (Schacht 1970, 38-39). On such an occasion, a loss of unity with the social substance occurs and this situation induces "alienation$_1$" (separation), which is the first of two types of alienation in Hegel's usage.[17] Originating from "alien" (*fremd*), which is related to strangeness, foreignness, difference, and non-identity, alienation$_1$ connotes to "becoming alien."

According to Hegel, there is a way to overcome alienation$_1$ and have unity with the social substance once again. This is only possible by abandoning individuals' unique selves and sacrificing their interests and desires to the degree of necessity (Schacht 1970, 51). This "surrender" and "sacrifice" to overcome alienation$_1$, in effect, generates alienation$_2$ that involves "making alien" (Schacht 1970, 35-36).[18] Although surrendering is regarded as a 'loss,' the individual regains their universality. Accordingly, while alienation$_1$ is considered to be unfortunate and to be overcome, alienation$_2$ is deemed to be desirable and to be perpetuated (Schacht 1970, 46). If the individual accepts the condition that their existence is only possible with/within 'others,' then they want to achieve unity with the social substance (Schacht 1970, 58). It is because self-consciousness exists for others, for the universal: "[...] self-consciousness, *qua independent separate individuality*, comes as such into existence, so that it exists *for others*. Otherwise the 'I', this *pure* 'I', is non-existent, is not *there*" (Hegel 1807/1977, §508, 308). In this regard, it is plausible to assert that, in Hegel's thought, universality weighs favorably against individuality.

What Hegel dwells upon in the 19th century has continued to be valid for the following periods. For the situation in the early 20th century, Simmel (1903/1950, 418) maintains that the most profound problems of modern life stem from preserving the individuality and autonomy of existence against overwhelming social pressures,

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[17]Although Hegel does not mention alienation (*entfremdung*) prior to "the Phenomenology of Spirit" (1807) (Schacht 1970, 17), it has a key role in his phenomenological development of consciousness (Rae 2012, 23).

[18]Schacht (1970, 12-13) also argues that alienation$_2$ (surrender) seems to derive from Rousseau's discussion on alienation.

historical heritage, external culture, and the technique of life. The more the citizens maintain their individualities, the more they become free; yet, the obverse of this freedom is the fact that, under certain conditions, there is nowhere one feels as lonely and lost as in the metropolitan crowd (Simmel 1903/1950, 418).

At this point, Ferdinand Tönnies' differentiation between community and society becomes crucial. According to Tönnies (1887/2001, 17-19), while *Gemeinschaft* (community) stands for an organic and genuine relationship, *Gesellschaft* (society) is a mechanical aggregate and artifact. For Tönnies (1887/2001, 253), the big city is "the archetype of pure *Gesellschaft*." The rural, on the other hand, has the characteristics of *Gemeinschaft* and this is the reason why "everyone who praises rural life has pointed to the fact that people there have a stronger and livelier sense of Community" (Tönnies 1887/2001, 19).

This differentiation between the social relations in the city and the rural is also accentuated by Louis Wirth. In "Urbanism as a Way of Life," Wirth (1938, 10) states that it has been understood since Aristotle's "Politics"[19] that the population of a city above a certain level affects the character of the city and the relationship between the citizens. The greater the number of citizens, the greater the potentiality of differentiation between them. This differentiation between inhabitants leads to the spatial separation of people based on their race, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, taste, and preferences; therefore, like Tönnies, Wirth (1938, 11) maintains that the ties of family and neighborliness and the feelings that come from living together for generations under a similar folk culture are likely to be missing or relatively weak in the cities compared to rural areas. It does not mean that the citizens have fewer

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[19]"But the size of city-state, like everything else, has a certain scale: animals, plants, and tools. For when each of them is neither too small nor too excessively large, it will have its own proper capacity; otherwise, it will either be wholly deprived of its nature or be in poor condition. For example, a ship that is one span [seven and a half inches] long will not be a ship at all, nor will one of two stades [twelve hundred feet]; and as it approaches a certain size, it will sail badly, because it either is still too small or still too large. Similarly for a city-state: one that consists of too few people is not SELF-SUFFICIENT (whereas a city-state is self-sufficient), but one that consists of too many, while it is self-sufficient in the necessities, the way a nation is, is still no city-state, since it is not easy for it to have a constitution" (Aristotle 1998, 199).

acquaintances than rural inhabitants for the opposite may be true; yet, it implies that the citizens know a significantly smaller proportion among the people they see and interact with in their everyday lives (Wirth 1938, 12). These interactions, according to Wirth, are "impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental;" therefore, he argues that:

> The larger the number of persons in a state of interaction with one another the lower is the level of communication and the greater is the tendency for communication to proceed on an elementary level, i.e., on the basis of those things which are assumed to be common or to be of interest to all. (Wirth 1938, 23-24)

Consequently, the sentimentally and emotionally unconnected individuals living together and working together foster a spirit of competition, aggrandizement, and mutual exploitation (Wirth 1938, 15). Supporting Wirth's opinions and arguments, Stanley Guterman (1969) provides data demonstrating a negative correlation between the size of the settlement a person lives in and the intimacy of their friendship ties. He argues, like Wirth, that the inhabitants of big cities are less likely to have close friendships compared to small towns.

Does it really mean that everyone living in the small towns establishes close relationships with one another? What if there is one acting, thinking, or feeling differently from the rest? Do they have to cover their trueselves or do they need to migrate to the city? Indeed, Constantinos Doxiadis' diagrams and Charles Correa's comments on these diagrams provide an opportunity to look at the relationship patterns in the city and the rural from a different perspective. The first diagram, having 250 red dots and a blue one, represents a village (Figure 2.5). The blue dot stands for the one that is different from the others: "He's a blue person. Einstein? The village idiot? Anyway, he's different from the rest" (Correa 1985/1989, 78). The second diagram represents a town of one thousand people, having four or five blue dots floating around. In the third diagram, there is a town of 25,000 people. Two blue dots are seen side by side for the first time: "A historic moment: 2 blue people are meeting for the first time" (Correa 1985/1989, 78). The last diagram shows a town of a hundred thousand people with several blue dots and even some blue dot colonies.

Correa points out that the red dots around the blue colonies turn purple. He argues that: "That's what cities are about. Blue people getting together. Communicating. Reinforcing each other. Challenging (and changing!) the red ones" (Correa 1985/1989, 79).

It is possible to interpret Doxiadis' diagrams and Correa's arguments in a variety of ways. For instance, the blue dot in the first diagram can be read as an alienated being in a rural area. It needs to be pointed out here that the small-town life in Antiquity and the Middle Ages not only created barriers for the individual against moving outward and establishing relations with the outside but also set up barriers against individual freedom and self-differentiation (Simmel 1903/1950, 417). Simmel argues that, even in the 20th century, a citizen staying in a rural area can feel similar restrictions. Therefore, as is explained through Hegel's individuality and universality dichotomy, blue dots living in rural areas are more likely to give up on themselves and "pretend" to be "red" to avoid being ostracized (Figure 2.6). By looking at the fourth diagram, it is possible to interpret that, even though the diversity of people increases with the increase in population, the probability of encountering people alike in this diversity is higher compared to rural areas. If "necessary conditions" are provided, blue dots can meet and begin to establish relations for the good of themselves. This argument is also supported by Claude Fischer's subcultural theory. According to Fischer, a big city can provide chances for people with shared interests and values to gather and form subcultures. He argues that like-minded people can come together and form a community without necessarily experiencing feelings of anomie and alienation (Claude Fischer [1976], mentioned in Hutter 2007/2016, 95-96).

Diagram 1

Diagram 2
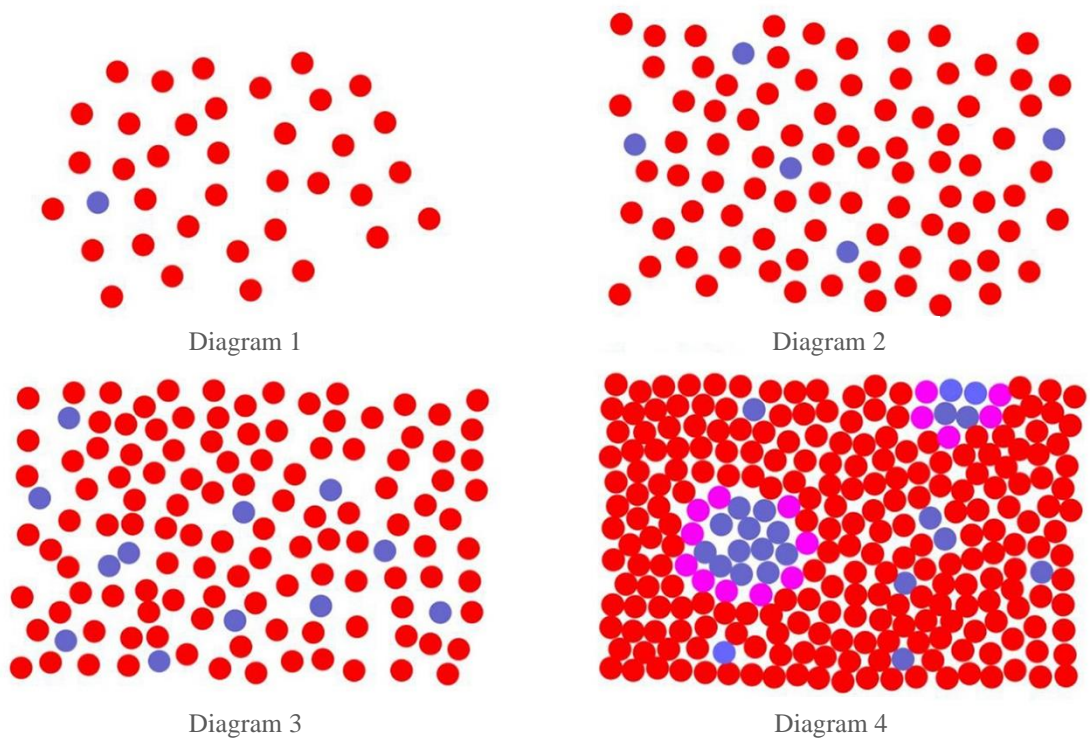
Diagram 3

Diagram 4

Figure 2.5. Doxiadis' diagrams demonstrating the change from a village to a town of a hundred thousand people
(Correa 1985/2008, 44-45)

social substance

social substance

individual: individuality + universality

individual with distinct individuality

individual: individuality + universality

individual who surrenders
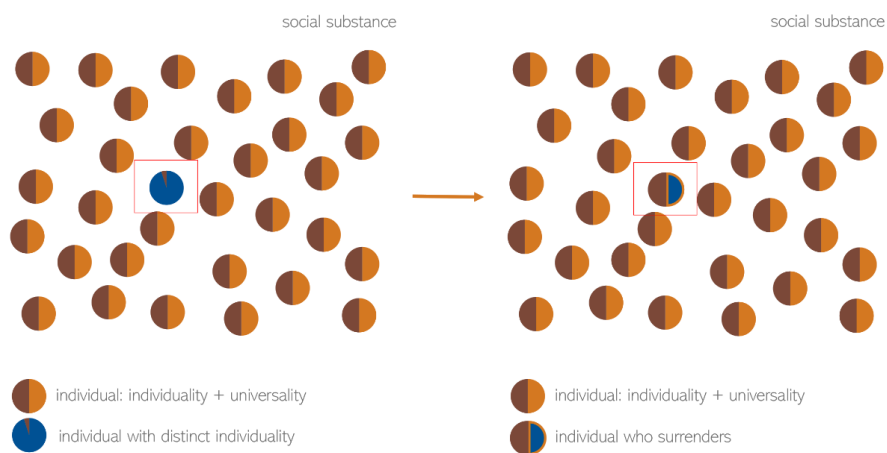
Figure 2.6. Hegel's theory of alienation
(Diagrammed by the author)

Both Correa's definition of the city and Fischer's subcultural theory say something beyond the known. They emphasize the possibility that alienated individuals living in a small town may meet people to establish relationships with when they migrate to the city. This implies that crowds do not always breed loneliness.

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2.3 Separation of Functions and Domination of Automobile

As cities grow in size, so do their problems. Within this respect, various models are developed to search for new forms of urbanization. Classifying these models as "progressist" and "culturalist,"[20] Françoise Choay holds that the progressist model is the first to emerge and is also the most important for it gives birth to what is regarded to be modern urban space. It owes itself to the founders of utopian socialism, namely Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and Etienne Cabet. Although these figures condemn the power of the industrial city to alienate, they also see in the industrial city the most effective means of liberation, provided that the machine can be used to transform people and their environment (Choay 1969, 31-32).

Unlike the old contiguous order of things built on the continuity of solids, the progressist model, which suggests small settlements of certain populations, is based on the continuity of voids in which constructed elements split apart and are grouped according to their functions (Choay 1969, 32). Housing is standardized and it is separated from recreation and work. This functional separation, the origin of zoning, is deemed important for prioritizing air, sunshine, and greenery for physical hygiene and for the sake of efficiency and productivity (Choay 1969, 32).

The progressist model is later developed by Arturo Soria y Mata and Tony Garnier. As a theoretician of communications, Soria y Mata states that "the form of the city is, or must be derived from the necessities of locomotion" (Quoted in Choay 1969, 100). This idea becomes concrete through his "*La ciudad lineal"* (Linear City) in 1882.[21] A major spine that functions as a transportation route is put in the center and units for housing, work, and recreation spread out on either side of this spine. In 1917, Garnier, a young winner of the *Prix de Rome*, designs "*Une Cité Industrielle*"

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[20]"One of these models looking to the future and inspired by a vision of social progress we shall call progressist. The other nostalgic in outlook, is inspired by the vision of a cultural community and may therefore be called culturalist" (Choay 1969, 31).

[21]George Collins states that Soria y Mata is "the first person in modern times to evolve a planning method based primarily on the transportation of physical objects and the transmission of public utilities" (Quoted in Choay 1969, 100).

(The Industrial City) for 35,000 inhabitants. Its units are spread out along a river and are separated by green areas. Although it is never built, it provides inspiration for the forthcoming generation.

Meanwhile, in the early 1900s, another means of transport, which has even more impact on the transformation of the cities and people's mental state than the railways had, is introduced: the automobile.[22] Around the 1920s, the automobile becomes a popular means of transport and starts to have a voice in the transformation of the built environment.[23]

The voice of the automobile can be prominently seen in Le Corbusier's proposals. Highly inspired by Tony Garnier's project,[24] Le Corbusier proposes "*Une ville Contemporaine de trois millions*" (Contemporary City for Three Million, 1922), which consists of a cluster of cruciform skyscrapers for the purpose of accommodation and work, zigzag apartment blocks around these skyscrapers for accommodating proletarian workers, and a central transportation hub with cars, trains, buses, and airplanes located at different levels. In 1925, he presents *Plan Voisin*, which suggests wiping away hundreds of acres of Paris's Right Bank and constructing sixty-story skyscrapers surrounded by green areas. The plan springs out of his indisputable view that the center of Paris is too crowded, crammed, and old to accommodate the burgeoning intense motor traffic of the early twentieth century (Hughes 1980/2013, 187). The solution is to replace the old city texture of "Pack-

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[22]Although the first modern automobile is invented by Karl Benz in 1885 and only four cars are produced in 1895, mass production of automobile begins in the early 1900s and by 1920, over eight million cars are registered in the United States (Hendrickson 2015).

[23]It needs to be noted that, long before the involvement of the automobile in the transportation system, traffic is also started to be separated in itself. Frederick Law Olmsted's circulatory network concept for Central Park in 1857 is considered as a significant contribution since it separates traffic into four independent networks – for pedestrians, riders, and slow and fast vehicles – that function simultaneously for the first time in history. Olmsted takes a step further and incorporates the third dimension into his scheme by utilizing tunnels, viaducts, and any imperfections in the terrain to carry out his system (Choay 1969, 23).

[24]Learning a lot from Garnier's design, Le Corbusier sees in Garnier's project "an attempt to establish order and combine utilitarian and plastic solutions [...] the selection of essential volumes and spaces [designed] in accordance with practical necessity and the demands of that poetic sense which is peculiar to the architect" (Le Corbusier, quoted in Choay 1969, 102).

Donkey's Ways" with car-centric planning. Although this design is criticized and scorned at the time, the combined ideas of skyscrapers in a park, urban redevelopment, and separated transportation systems are considered as appropriate solutions for the ills of existing cities (Larice and Macdonald 2012, 90). In 1925, he proposes another plan called "*La Ville Radieuse*" (The Radiant City).[25] Although it is based on the human needs for sunlight, clean open air, and the provision of a variety of amenities, including shopping, childcare, and recreation (Lang 1994, 154), it also prioritizes automobiles. Le Corbuiser maintains that all men have the "same" needs and these needs produce "standardized" products, which explains both the similarities of these proposals and the reason behind the idea of "one single building for all nations and all climates" (Le Corbusier [1923], quoted in Lang 1994, 155). Referring to these car-centric proposals, Lefebvre (1996/2000, 207) argues that Le Corbusier is a talented architect but a catastrophic urbanist who prevents citizens from considering the city as a place where various groups can interact, where they may engage in conflict but also establish alliances, and where they take part in a collective *œuvre.*

The schemes of Le Corbusier, indeed, have great influence on the pre-war thinking of CIAM (Günay 1988, 31). Organized by Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, and Hélène de Mandrot at the Château de La Sarraz, Switzerland June 26–29, 1928, CIAM, *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (International Congresses for Modern Architecture), is an organization that has the aim of dealing with the problems of architecture and planning of the time and spreading the modern movement throughout the world.[26] The first congress presents a declaration that

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[25]He also publishes a book entitled "*La Ville Radieuse"* in 1933.

[26]Giedion (1942, ix) tells the story of how the congress is organized as follows:

"In February 1928 I received a letter from Mme Hélène de Mandrot from La Sarraz saying that she would come to visit me at Zurich. When I met her at the station and before we left the platform, she began to disclose the purpose of her coming. She wanted to invite the outstanding contemporary architects of Europe to meet at her castle of La Sarraz, some miles north of Lake Geneva in the Canton de Vaud, Switzerland.

denotes CIAM's preoccupation with remedying the ill effects of 19th-century cities and satisfying the physical needs of people. The second CIAM held in Frankfurt in 1929 is concerned with the study of low-cost dwelling types, the third CIAM in Brussels in 1930 addresses the problems of town planning, and the fifth CIAM in Paris in 1937, which is the last pre-war congress, focuses on housing and leisure as well as the planning of rural areas.

The fourth CIAM held on the ship *Patris II* and in Athens in 1933 has a significant influence on the built environment and everyday practices for it presents an urban scheme that offers a separation of different functions: dwelling, work, leisure, and transportation. Just like the purpose of the progressist model, the intention of this separation is to provide people with fundamental physical necessities of sanitation, fresh air, and sunlight to alleviate the chaos and terrible sanitary conditions that plagued nineteenth-century cities (Pedret 2017, 45). Considering the modern cities as "one of man's greatest failures," José Luis Sert argues that planned action can save these cities; therefore, he states that: "the surgical operation is a delicate one, but clean instruments are at hand" (Sert 1942, 196, 212, 215-239). He also gives emphasis to the separation of functions, which he likens to human organs, and he states that it is one of the tasks of the urban planner to study the relationship between these aforementioned functions. According to Sert, this relationship can be established through extensive traffic systems:

Mme de Mandrot had previously spoken with Le Corbusier and other friends in Paris. The time seemed ripe for all the protagonists of the different architectural developments in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland to come together in a neutral, central place in Europe. A previous attempt by German architects to accomplish such a union at the occasion of the opening of the Weissenhof Settlement in Stuttgart in 1927 had not been successful.

In June 1928 the representatives of the different countries sat together in the Gothic chapel of the castle of La Sarraz, discussing and building up what was later called the Manifesto of La Sarraz. A common platform was found in the belief that planning and building could be greatly improved in spite of the heavy odds that had to be overcome.

The association then formed was called the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* – in abbreviated form, the C.I.A.M. The word 'congress' was used in its original sense of a 'marching together.' It is a congress based on collaboration, not a congress in which everyone merely contributes circumscribed knowledge from his own special field, as in the nineteenth century. Professor Karl Moser of Zurich, the eminent teacher and architect, was chosen as the first president of C.I.A.M."

These organs, like those of the human body, are dependent upon each other and are linked together by extensive traffic systems and other means of communication, which are like pulsing blood streams. The different functions which must be performed in each section of the city are intimately related by their very nature, for they must all satisfy human needs – the need of shelter and privacy (housing), the need of production for living (work), the need of renewing one's physical and spiritual energies (recreation). (Sert 1942, 224)

Sert's analogy has the potential to work for a small settlement; however, in the case of a large city, these "extensive traffic systems" may cause vascular occlusion. Therefore, it is necessary to point out that although this urban scheme of separated functions is originated from the progressist model, their scales are so dissimilar that this scheme creates spatially and socially segmented cities as Marshall Berman (1982/1988, 168) expresses: "people here, traffic there; work here, homes there; rich here, poor there; barriers of grass and concrete in between." The separation of functions into isolated zones not only displaces the citizens from the center but it also displaces any center from the citizens; thus, the impacts of the Athens Charter and modern planning are regarded to be highly alienating (Peter Buchanan [1984], quoted in Günay 1988, 31).

The separation of functions plays into the hands of the automobile, such that the automobile starts to dominate the built environment and kill the streets (Figure 2.7). It has to be mentioned that, before the domination of the automobile, the street is considered as a gathering place (Giedion 1958, 128; Jacobs J. 1961; Lefebvre, 1970/2003, 18; Jacobs A. 1993/2012, 216; Gehl 2010, 19-29; Gehl and Svarre 2013, 17), as a place for activity (Alexander et al. 1977, xxiii; Jacobs A. 1993/2012, 216; Gehl 2010, 19-29),[27] as a room, as a community room (Kahn 2003, 255), and even as a living room (Figure 2.8).

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[27]"Beyond functional purposes of permitting people to get from one place to another and to gain access to property, streets – most assuredly the best streets – can and should help to do other things: bring people together, help build community, cause people to act and interact, to achieve together what they might not alone. As such, streets should encourage socialization and participation of people in the community. They serve as locations of public expression" (Jacobs A. 1993/2012, 216).

Figure 2.7. A street in Paris
(Hertzberger 2010, 155)

Figure 2.8. Peter Smithson, Eduardo Paolozzi, Alison Smithson, and Nigel Henderson in 1956
(Colomina and Smithson 2000, 8)[28]

"Throughout history city space has functioned as a meeting place on many levels for city dwellers. People met, exchanged news, made deals, arranged marriages — street artists entertained and goods were offered for sale. People attended city events large and small" (Gehl 2010, 25).

[28]Colomina: "Speaking of streets, I have always been struck by this photograph of you and Alison, Eduardo, and Nigel, where you are in the street, with chairs, as if the street were a living room.

Smithson: Where did they get this picture? I don't know this version. It is a marvelous image. This is the world of that time. That is, the number of cars was small. It was just possible to use the street in this way" (Colomina and Smithson 2000, 9-10).

With the new order that suggests separating functions into isolated zones, people hardly ever walk from one district to another, but instead, they transit, which increases the number of transportation vehicles on the street. Consequently, the right of people to use the streets at their will is overridden by the automobile (Giedion 1958, 128).

Around the 1940s, when the freeways are started to be constructed, it seems as if the cities are really created by and for "traffic" as Robert Moses declares. The automobile with increased speed and power moves freely on these dominant freeways, which are built by tearing up the old urban centers. One of the examples where this situation can be observed most clearly is the construction of the Cross Bronx Expressway. Known as "Heartbreak Highway," the Cross Bronx Expressway is designed by Moses and constructed between 1948 and 1972 as a six-lane-wide and seven-mile-long road that cuts through a densely populated borough. Due to the construction of the Cross-Bronx Expressway, thus, seven miles of people have to be removed from their houses at a time of severe housing criss in New York (Caro 1974/1975, 848).[29] Growing up in the Bronx, Marshall Berman witnesses the destruction of his neighborhood by the construction of the Cross Bronx Expressway and explains how this construction wrecks the lives of people:

> Miles of streets alongside the road were choked with dust and fumes and deafening noise – most strikingly, the roar of trucks of a size and power that the Bronx had never seen, hauling heavy cargoes through the city, bound for Long Island or New England, for New Jersey and all points south, all through the day and night. Apartment houses that had been settled and stable for twenty years emptied out, often virtually overnight; large and impoverished black and Hispanic families, fleeing even worse slums, were moved in wholesale, often under the auspices of the Welfare Department, which even paid inflated rents, spreading panic and

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[29]The Cross Bronx Expressway separates the East Tremont and Morris Heights neighborhoods and neither area has fully recovered. Besides, the inhabitants still suffer filth and nausea from the polluting impacts of hydrocarbon fumes. Although the Cross Bronx Expressway is considered to be a crucial commercial link from Long Island and New England through the Bronx to New Jersey, it has a reputation as one of New York City's most "savage" thoroughfares due to the traffic nightmare it has caused. It transports up to 180,000 cars every day despite being hampered by poor lighting, poor drainage, poor ramps, and poor lines of sight. In 2000, 2,622 accidents occur there (Feuer 2002; Hutter 2007/2016, 129).

accelerating flight. At the same time, the construction had destroyed many commercial blocks, cut others off from most of their customers and left the storekeepers not only close to bankruptcy but, in their enforced isolation, increasingly vulnerable to crime. The borough's great open market, along Bathgate Avenue, still flourishing in the late 1950s, was decimated; a year after the road came through, what was left went up in smoke. Thus depopulated, economically depleted, emotionally shattered – as bad as the physical damage had been the inner wounds were worse – the Bronx was ripe for all the dreaded spirals of urban blight. (Berman 1982/1988, 293)

As is apparent in the case of the Cross-Bronx Expressway, although Moses argues that "a city without traffic is a ghost town," the traffic can also turn the city into a ghost town by deterritorializing its inhabitants.

The hegemony of the automobile brings people more freedom and individuality that they are free to drive at their pleasures. This freedom also brings along the fact that the city is no longer experienced continuously but rather as a series of fragmented events: people live around the housing area, they transit; they work around the working area, they transit; they shop in the shopping districts, and then they transit again (Peter Smithson [1967], quoted in Smithson 1968, 8). Due to this fragmented home-to-work-to-shop cycle made via automobiles, the third places,[30] which are the informal gathering places such as neighborhood taverns, coffeehouses, pubs, or barber shops, gradually vanish.

Consequently, this invasion of the automobile turns the automobile into a key object, traffic into a priority, and parking into an obsession, all of which are harmful to urban and social life (Lefebvre 1970/2003, 18). By dictating the scale of streets, the relationship between buildings, the need for huge parking areas, and the speed at which people experience the environment, the automobile becomes the defining technology of the built environment (Calthorpe 1993, 27). Instead of Doxiadis' blue and red dots representing a city's citizens, it seems like the modern city is composed of blue or red automobiles (Figure 2.9). Thereby, the streets that "normally" connect

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[30]According to Ray Oldenburg (1989/1999, 16), the first place refers to home, the second place refers to work, and the third place refers to informal gathering places above-stated.

both buildings and citizens turn into tools that separate its components. This causes relationlessness, that is, alienation, in the built environment. In such an instance;

> The street itself is no longer a promenade for friends and neighbors among whom pleasant exchanges can take place, but a service artery carrying dangerous trucks and other high-smelling vehicles filled with strangers. It is no longer a place for a community of children at play, or strolling lovers. Nor is it fit for a dog. The unresolved conflict between pedestrians and vehicles has made it obsolete. (Chermayeff and Alexander 1963, 95).

Are modernists to blame for this transformation of the built environment? There is little use in trying to search for a guilty. Yet, if "the street is no more than a trench, a deep cleft, a narrow passage" and "it disgusts us"[31] as Le Corbusier argues, it is apparent that social practices of everyday life on the street is ignored in the way that the street is handled.
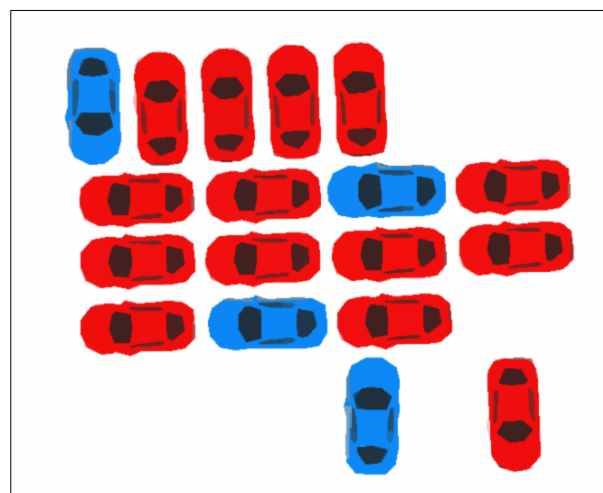
Figure 2.9. The modern city dominated by the automobiles
(Diagrammed by the author)

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[31]"The street wears us out.
And when all is said and done we have to admit it disgusts us.
Then why does it still exist?" (Le Corbusier and Jeanneret 1929/1964, 118).

2.4   Alienation in Everyday Life

> "Alienation is constant and everyday."
> – Henri Lefebvre (1947/1991, 167)

With the separation of functions and the domination of automobiles, alienation becomes more evident in everyday life. In "Critique of Everyday Life," Lefebvre (1947/1991, 148) states that although one may say "Marxism as a whole, really is a critical knowledge of everyday life," it does not provide a complete critical knowledge of the everyday life. "Everyday," thus, does not appear in Marx's works, but his works have the potential to be analyzed and to be built on (Elden 2004, 110). Therefore, while retheorizing Marxian alienation, Lefebvre updates it for the twentieth-century "everyday life" (Fraser 2015, 46). In this regard, his concept of alienation is considered as a "new reading" (Lefebvre 1966/1982, 3; Elden 2004, 16) or a "recalibration" (Fraser 2015, 47) of Marxian critique of alienation.

As is the case with Marx, the notion of alienation occupies an essential role in Lefebvre's critiques (Fraser 2015, 45). Regarding this, Rob Shields (1999, 2) argues that it is Lefebvre's profoundly humanistic interest in alienation that connects all of his works. According to Lefebvre, although alienation of labor lies at the bottom of many forms of alienation (Kogl 2009, 530), alienation is no longer related only to "labor," but related to every aspect concerning human beings (Shields 1999, 40; Elden 2004, 42-43; Fraser 2015, 49). Workers, for instance, have happenings and experiences outside their workplaces and these happenings and experiences can also be alienated. Going beyond the labor activity, alienation is actually part of *la quotidienne* as stated by Lefebvre (1988, 78):

> Marx himself, however, concentrated on labor, on work, on productive activity, an emphasis followed by many Marxists since then. But workers do not only have a life in the workplace, they have a social life, family life, political life; they have experiences outside the domain of labor. So my project was to continue correcting the work of classical philosophy, much as Marx did, but to reach dimensions of la quotidienne that he had not.

La quotidienne, that is, the "everyday",[32] is what Lefebvre (1988, 78) is mostly known for. It seems as if everyday is the "insignificant" and the "banal," but Lefebvre finds it worthy of study.[33] Referring to Hegel's (1807/1977 §31, 18) statement "*Was ist bekannt ist nicht erkannt,*" which means "Quite generally, the familiar, just because it is familiar, is not cognitively understood,"[34] Lefebvre (1988, 78) argues that the familiar, that is, the "everyday," is not recognized. To uncover the everyday, it is critical to understand the relationship between work and leisure as well as their position in everyday life. According to Lefebvre (1947/1991, 31; 1968/1971, 53), everyday life is composed of three kinds of time, namely "pledged time (professional work), free time (leisure), and compulsive time (the various demands other than work such as transport, official formalities etc.)," whose unity and totality determines the concrete individual. In premodern society, either the peasants or the craftsmen are working around their houses, which makes work time part of everyday life. Similarly, as a way of having leisure time, festivals are organized by a group of people usually around their houses, making leisure time part of everyday life (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 30-31). Since these activities are all around the living areas, the need for compulsive time is very limited; thus, these three elements and where they are spent are all interrelated (Figure 2.10).

In modern society, on the contrary, the balance and the proportion between these times change (Elden 2004, 115) (Figure 2.10). The value of labor is highlighted and it is fragmented from everyday life due to the fact that the workplace is no longer

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[32]Lefebvre (1988, 78) maintains that "everyday" is not the best word to translate *la quotidienne*, which refers to repetition in daily life. He further distinguishes the words *la vie quotidienne* (daily life), *le quotidien* (the everyday), and *Ia quotidiennete* (everydayness): "Let us simply say about daily life that it has always existed, but permeated with values, with myths. The word everyday designates the entry of this daily life into modernity: the everyday as an object of a programming (*d'une programmation*), whose unfolding is imposed by the market, by the system of equivalences, by marketing and advertisements. As to the concept of 'everydayness,' it stresses the homogenous, the repetitive, the fragmentary in everyday life" (Lefebvre [1982], quoted in Lefebvre 1988, 87).

[33]"Before Marx, labor was considered unworthy of study, as before psychoanalysis and Freud, sex was considered unworthy of study. I think the same can be said of the everyday" (Lefebvre 1988, 78).

[34]In "Critique of Everyday Life," this statement is translated as "what is the most familiar is not for all that the best known." Lefebvre (1947/1991, 15) also holds that Hegel's sentence can be considered as an epigraph for his book.

around the living environment. Because of this new order, people spend an increasing proportion of their time in movement, mostly in cars, which causes an increase in compulsive time and a decrease in leisure time.[35] Lefebvre (1947/1991, 32) maintains that the separation of these elements of the everyday life implies an alienation.
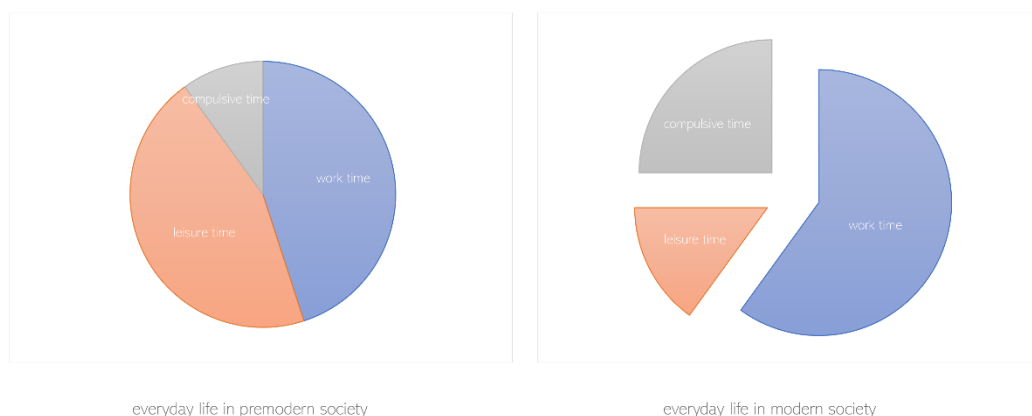
Figure 2.10. Everyday life in premodern society and modern society
(Diagrammed by the author)

With this transformation in everyday life, the individual involved in complex social relations, becomes isolated and inward-looking. A distinction is drawn between "human as human" and "the working human" (more clearly among the bourgeoisie than among the proletariat) and individual consciousness split into the private consciousness and the social or public consciousness (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 31).

This transformation also brings along the fact that people work not to realize themselves but to have or to consume; such that, under capitalist systems, "to exist" and 'to have' are identical.[36] Lefebvre (1947/1991, 155) clearly explains as follows:

> "The man who has nothing is nothing." And this situation is not a theoretical one, an abstract "category" in a philosophy of existence; it is an "absolutely desperate"

[35]"[...] it will become apparent that compulsive time increases at a greater rate than leisure time" (Lefebvre 1968/1971, 53).

[36]This discussion on "being – having" is handled extensively by Erich Fromm in his book "To Have or To Be?" (1976).

reality; the man who has nothing finds himself "separated from existence in general" and a fortiori from human existence; he is separated from that "world of objects", i.e. the real world, without which no human existence is possible.

It is hardly surprising that the capitalist system generates this condition that people with nothing feel separated and alienated. The surprising part is that the act of "possessing" can also dispossess and alienate human, which brings out the truth that alienation does not only exist in the lives of proletarians but also exist in the lives of petty bourgeoisies and capitalists (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 167).[37] The difference, as Lefebvre emphazises, is that the capitalists cooperate with alienation's dehumanizing power.

Another condition brought about by this new order is that there is "alienation in leisure just as in work" (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 39). Lefebvre argues that people work to earn their leisure, which has only one meaning: to get away from work. This, for Lefebvre, constitutes "a vicious circle." The leisure time, for modern people, is the limited time left from long hours of work and time spent for various needs. As people do not want to be tired in this "temporary break"[38] with everyday life, they no longer organize festivals, but rather, they choose passive and potentially "alienating" activities such as catching a movie (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 32-34; 1968/1971, 54). What Lefebvre calls "leisure machines" (radio, television, and the like) can be considered to be the very source of alienation in leisure (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 33).

Exposed to the alienating nature of work time and leisure time, "man is alienated, torn from his self and changed into a thing, along with his freedom" (Lefebvre 1961/2002, 207). Lefebvre states that:

> Certain gestures, certain words, certain actions, seem to come from an 'alien being', in the general, human sense of the term: it is not 'me', a man, who has spoken, but 'him', the artificial being, presumptuous, angel or devil, superman or criminal,

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[37]"'Alienation' - I know it is there in the love song I sing or the poem I recite, in the banknote I handle or the shop I enter, in the poster I glance at or in the lines of this journal. At the very moment the human is defined as 'having possessions' I know it is there, dispossessing the human" (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 183).

[38]"Today leisure is first of all and for (nearly) all a temporary break with everyday life" (Lefebvre 1968/1971, 54).

created within me to stop me from being myself and from following the lines of force whereby action achieves more reality. (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 167)

This "alien being" can also be seen in the Situationists' critiques. Established in 1957, the Situationists, Situationist International (SI) or *Internationale Situationniste* (IS), is a Paris-based group of artists, writers, and social critics, who have the purpose of eliminating capitalism through revolutionary acts. Considered to be the first significant theme of their political theory that emerges from their thinking on everyday life (Barnard 2002, 85), alienation in everyday life is apparent in their critiques, especially in Raoul Vaneigem's "The Revolution of Everyday Life"[39] (1967) and Guy Debord's "Society of the Spectacle" (1967).[40]

Presenting a subjective critique of alienation (Barnard 2002, 96), Vaneigem speaks of multiple experiences of alienation that are both individual and social. These can be experienced in the form of objectification, humiliation, reification, isolation, and separation, all of which can be found anywhere within everyday life:

> In the ebb and flow of the crowds sucked in and crushed together by the coming and going of suburban trains, coughed out into streets, offices and factories, there is nothing but timid retreats, brutal attacks, smirking faces, and scratches delivered for no apparent reason. (Vaneigem 1967/2006, 29)

According to Vaneigem (1967/2006, 35), identifying oneself by giving reference to others is considering oneself as "other," which is always an "object." This condition produces reification, which also brings about alienation (Barnard 2002, 114). Thereby, Vaneigem (1967/2006, 29) argues that "the more man is a social being, the more he is an object." The more he is an object, the deeper the feeling of humiliation

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[39]Barnard (2002, 96) holds that this book can be read as a "manual for survival against alienation."

[40]While developing the notion of alienation, the Situationists are influenced by Hegel, Marx, and Georg Lukács (Barnard 2002, 84, 87). Additionally, Lefebvre's book "Critique of Everyday Life" is an inspiration for them as stated by Lefebvre himself: "It was an extremely interesting and active group that came together in the 1950s, and one of the books that inspired the founding of the group was my book *Critique de la vie quotidienne*" (Quoted in Ross 2002, 269). The fact that Lefebvre works in collaboration with the Situationists (Barnard 2002, 86; Elden 2004, 116; Fraser 2015, 37) and he introduces Hegel's concept of alienation to the Situationists (Barnard 2002, 87) are other motives to consider Lefebvre influential.

and, thus, the greater the feeling of alienation experienced (Vaneigem 1967/2006, 34; Barnard 2002, 114).

Vaneigem also regards alienation as isolation that signifies a "feeling of being alone in the world" (Barnard 2002, 117). He compares this feeling to a cage with open doors without any chance to escape,[41] which actually presents two options: either to be imprisoned in the iron cage of illusion or to meet people who do not have anything in common except "the illusion of being together" (Vaneigem 1967/2006, 39). In this regard, he refers to Edvard Munch's "The Cry" painting that reminds him of the feeling he has ten times a day:

> A man carried along by a crowd, which only he can see, suddenly screams out in an attempt to break the spell, to call himself back to himself, to get back inside his own skin. The tacit acknowledgements, fixed smiles, lifeless words, listlessness and humiliation sprinkled in his path suddenly surge into him, driving him out of his desires and his dreams and exploding the illusion of 'being together'. People touch without meeting; isolation accumulates but is never realised; emptiness overcomes us as the density of the crowd grows. The crowd drags me out of myself and installs thousands of little sacrifices in my empty presence. (Vaneigem, 1967/2006, 39)

Forming a counterpoint to Vaneigem's subjective critiques, Debord's book offers an objective critique of alienation (Barnard 2002, 96, 122). In "Society of the Spectacle," Debord argues that the *raison d'être* of alienation is the "spectacle," which is regarded as "the lynchpin for alienation to exist" (Barnard 2002, 96). He maintains that modern society, which is dominated by the modern modes of production, is full of spectacles, downgrading lived experiences into mere images (Debord 1967/2006, §1, 7). By spectacle, he does not mean a collection of images but "a social relation" between people mediated by images (Debord 1967/2006 §4, 7). These images destroy the unity of the society and form a new unity to be looked

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[41]"IT WAS AS IF they were in a cage whose door was wide open, without their being able to escape. Nothing outside the cage had any importance, because nothing else existed any more. They stayed in the cage, estranged from everything except the cage, without even a flicker of desire for anything outside the bars. It would have been abnormal – impossible in fact – to escape into something which had neither reality nor importance. Absolutely impossible. For inside this cage, in which they had been born and in which they would die, the only tolerable framework of experience was the Real, which was simply an irresistible instinct to act so that things should have importance" (Vaneigem 1967/2006, 38).

at: "*Fragmented* views of reality regroup themselves into a new unity as a *separate pseudo-world* that can only be looked at " (Debord 1967/2006, §2, 7). Although these images form a "separate pseudo-world," it is not crucial whether the spectacle shows the truth or not. The spectacle cannot be questioned. What is important is the fact that it "appears" there because "what appears is good; what is good appears" (Debord 1967/2006, §12, 9-10).[42]

Since what appears is good, "appearance" takes command. In this regard, Debord upgrades the discussions on "being – having;" thus, "having" transforms into "appearing" in the society of the spectacle:

> The present stage, in which social life has become completely dominated by the accumulated productions of the economy, is bringing about a general shift from having to appearing – all "having" must now derive its immediate prestige and its ultimate purpose from appearances. (Debord 1967/2006, §17, 11)

From this criticism, it is reasonable to assert that spectacle separates people. Those who appear feel privileged and those who do not appear feel alienated. This condition makes Debord (1967/2006 §47, 24) claim that "the real consumer has become a consumer of illusions." The individual, who "seeks happiness in appearance," is under the control of the spectacle. They lose their individuality for the sake of appearing and being part of society. Their individuality is no more theirs but society's: "At the same time all individual reality has become social, in the sense that it is shaped by social forces and is directly dependent on them. Individual reality is allowed to appear only if it is *not actually real*" (Debord 1967/2006, §17, 11). It is possible to correlate this condition to Hegel's universality–individuality dichotomy. In both cases, the individual sacrifices themself to become part of the whole. Eventually, this condition trivializes the individual. They live without being

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[42]It has to be noted that although there is no information on whether Debord is influenced by Rousseau or not, Rousseau's thinking on being/appearing is quite similar to Debord's. Rousseau (1780/1990, 214) states that: "They all seek their happiness in appearances, none is concerned about reality. They all place their being in appearance. Slaves and dupes of amour-propre, they live not to live but to make others believe they lived."

conscious of their behaviors, needs, dreams, desires, or anything that makes them individual. This situation, indeed, turns the individual into an alien being:

> The alienation of the spectator, which reinforces the contemplated objects that result from his own unconscious activity, works like this: The more he contemplates, the less he lives; the more he identifies with the dominant images of need, the less he understands his own life and his own desires. The spectacle's estrangement from the acting subject is expressed by the fact that the individual's gestures are no longer his own; they are the gestures of someone else who represents them to him. The spectator does not feel at home anywhere, because the spectacle is everywhere. (Debord 1967/2006, §30, 16)

Becoming a threat to everyday life, the spectacle leads to isolation. Considering the current economic system to be a "*vicious circle of isolation*," Debord (1967/2006, §28, 15) claims that the technology of this system is built upon "isolation," which contributes to this very same isolation. The "lonely crowds" or "isolated individuals" come together in the factories, shopping centers, cultural centers, tourist resorts, and housing zones which are designed to foster this "isolation" (Debord 1967/2006, §172, 96). From automobiles to television, the products that the spectacular system "chooses to produce" also serve as weapons for continuously reinforcing the conditions that foster "lonely crowds" (Debord 1967/2006, §28, 15).

In fact, when television becomes popular and accessible, people prefer watching TV at their houses as a leisure time activity. At that time, television is used as a tool to bring family members together; thus, it is regarded as a gathering place (Adams 1992) (Figure 2.11). This "gathering place" starts to play a significant role in the lives of people. When it is compared to other media tools of the era, everyday life practices shaped according to TV programs or living room layouts designed around the television demonstrate the dominance of television: "Television does something that other products of modern culture are increasingly unable to do: it stands at the center" (Adams 1992, 131). Being that much at the center may not be favorable though. According to Robert Romanyshyn (1999, 347-348), television makes human beings "passive consumers of advertised items." By referring to the cover of the book "Amusing Ourselves to Death" (Figure 2.12), he holds that television separates the body and mind (Romanyshyn 1999, 355), making human beings "mindless

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zombies."[43] From Romantyshyn's comment, it is also possible to infer that television disconnects people from each other even though they share the same physical environment. Indeed, an empirical study shows that family members interact less when the television is on (Brody, Stoneman, and Sanders 1980), which shows the impact of television on social interaction.

Figure 2.11. Television as gathering place
(Accessed June 23, 2020 from https://hackernoon.com/the-past-present-and-future-of-tv-in-three-minutes-4f5c2f706296)
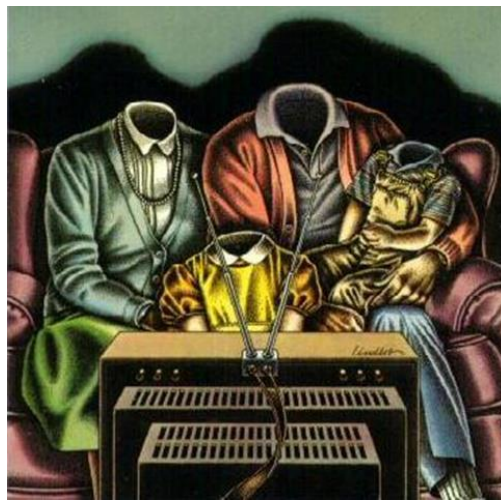
Figure 2.12. Amusing Ourselves to Death, Neil Postman, 1986
(Accessed June 10, 2020 from https://jamescungureanu.wordpress.com/2013/05/14/now-this-neil-postmans-amusing-ourselves-to-death/)

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[43]"They are us, mindless zombies whose heads, whose capacities for critical discourse and discursive thinking, have atrophied into nothingness, perhaps for lack of use in the age of the entertaining image. Entranced and amused, they (we) sit passively and expectantly, waiting to be fed and to be filled with the glut of images dispensed by the tube. Information addicts, we might say, enslaved by the hypnotic power of the image!" (Romanyshyn 1999, 342-343).

Since watching television is quite common in the 70s of America, Walter Kaufmann questions whether a person who does not have a television or who watches television as a leisure time activity is more alienated. He states that:

> Who is more alienated – a writer in America who in 1970 does not have a television set, or one who spends much of his leisure time watching television? The nonconformist is obviously alienated from his society, but perhaps those who conform are alienated themselves.

> For those who operate with a conception of man's true nature and assume that man is essentially creative, as the young Marx did, it is clear that one who watches television in his spare time is self-alienated – and alienation from oneself is the most basic form of alienation. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, according to this view, all other evils derive from this. (Kaufmann 1970, xxxviii)

Therefore, a person who does not keep up with the times and society can also be alienated. According to Kaufmann (1970, xxxix), the creative individual questions or deviates from convention and the more innovative they are, the more they are destined to become alienated from their society. This can also be exemplified by the story called "The Painted Bird" by Jerzy Kosinski. The bird-catcher chooses the strongest bird from his cages, paints it multicolored, and releases it to fly to find a flock of its species. When the painted bird finds the flock, the birds attack the painted bird until it falls to the ground covered in blood (Kaufmann 1970, xxxix).

2.5   The Unrecognized Familiar

In 1972, an obituary for alienation is written (Seeman 1983, 172).[44] It seems as if it is the end of alienation. Yet, history has a way of repeating itself. Even though the modern office looks good from the outside,[45] it is hardly possible to argue that the white-collar, who cannot realize themself, is not alienated from their job. Chris Yuill

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[44]Melvin Seeman refers to an article entitled "An obituary for alienation" by Alfred Mcclung Lee.

[45]"From the outside, the contemporary office certainly looks good: curtain walling of smoked or reflective glass, a marble-floored entrance area, perhaps an atrium with luxuriant plants (some of them real). It is a built environment clearly designed to impress the passer-by or the visiting client with the suggestion of corporate or organisational prestige and modernity" (Baldry et al. 1998, 163).

(2011, 113) holds that although "the dark satanic mills of Marx's day" may have given way to "bright satanic offices"[46] (Baldry et al. 1998), the conditions that lead to alienation are, in effect, more visible today.

As previously stated, by referring to Hegel's (1807/1977, §31, 18) statement "Quite generally, the familiar, just because it is familiar, is not cognitively understood," Lefebvre (1988, 78) holds that everyday is not recognized for it becomes "familiar." According to Lefebvre, familiarity conceals people. By giving them masks they can recognize, the familiar makes people difficult to identify. Yet, it does not mean that familiarity is an illusion; it is, indeed, part of reality (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 15). Kaufmann (1970, xxv) also underlines Hegel's argument by stating that what is familiar is not always comprehended due to the fact that familiarity obstructs knowledge. This condition also applies to alienation as is stated by Schacht (1970, lx): "Hegel observes that the familiar is not necessarily clearly understood simply because it is familiar; and no better case in point is to be found than that of 'alienation'." Alienation becomes so familiar that it goes unnoticed. Although it seems to have lost its old popularity, alienation continues to affect implicitly.

Unlike the "new" conditions that have been encountered in the previous centuries, the urbanites are mostly born in the cities which are already crowded with buildings, dominated by automobiles, and surrounded by strangers. People are, indeed, very

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[46]Baldry et al. (1998, 163) explain how an office worker experiences these "bright satanic offices" as follows:

"For her it is the place where, day after day, she endlessly repeats a series of familiar routines as she handles the mortgage application, the personal loan, the insurance premium, the welfare benefit, or the customer complaint. To do this she will use the telephone, the keyboard and the computer display screen, with few breaks during the working day. Her work is rigidly structured around a sequence of tasks dictated by the software, and to tight time and performance schedules in which she is answerable to her team leader or supervisor. The office space in which this work is done, and which she shares with maybe forty or even a hundred other workers, is likely to be open-plan and will deliver what somebody has decided are acceptable or optimum levels of fresh air, working temperature and lighting. If she experiences these environmental conditions as unpleasant, or if they adversely affect her work, there is no respite as, by design, the windows are sealed and unopenable and she is forbidden by management to bring in a fan or portable heater. In this sealed environment she may experience repeated coughs, stuffiness, sore throat and headache to compound the stresses of the job. For this worker, the office can be hell."

"familiar" with these situations. Is it still possible to maintain that people are alienated from their environment? As a matter of fact, Steven Vogel (2014, 88) maintains that "alienation from nature" might be true for earlier generations, who have once been surrounded by nature and have had to migrate to cities; yet, he states that this argument cannot be true for the contemporary society. By referring to Marx's theory of alienation of labor, Vogel (2015, 79) holds that in order to be alienated from something, it has to be created by people.[47] Since nature is not created by people, it does not make sense to speak about alienation from nature (Vogel 2015, 79). Though, according to him, instead of speaking about alienation from nature, it is possible to argue that people are alienated from the environment, which signifies the "built" environment (Vogel 2014, 87, 89, 93; 2015, 67, 69). To ground his argument, Vogel (2014, 87) appeals to the etymology of the word "environment" and argues that the term "environment" comes from the French word "*environ*," which is "to surround." "If 'environment' means 'that which environs us'" (Vogel 2014, 87; 2015, 69), it actually makes more sense to claim that people are alienated from the built environment. Vogel states that:

> What I want to do now is to undermine this thesis, not by arguing that we are not alienated from nature but by pointing to a series of ways in which the same sorts of arguments might be used to suggest instead that *we are actually alienated from the built environment itself*. We *are* alienated from the environment, I will be arguing-but now by "environment" I will mean the world we are in fact surrounded by, *this* technological one right here: it is the built world which we fail to understand, and to which we fail to see our connection. (Vogel 2014, 89)

Vogel (2014, 93) moves on by arguing that people are alienated from the built environment due to the fact that they are not able to notice its builtness and its sociality (Vogel 2014, 93). According to him, the environment is not something that

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[47]"Alienation, for Marx, turns out to mean the failure to recognize the human origin of objects (and institutions) that have been produced by human activity. And this means in turn that we can only be alienated (in Marx's sense of the term) from things that we have ourselves built through our practices. But if this is so, then obviously the concept of being alienated from nature makes no sense, since—no matter whether it is nature or Nature that one has in mind—neither one is something that we ourselves have built. It looks, therefore, as though there is not much in Marx's view of alienation that can be helpful here" (Vogel 2015, 79).

people pass through, but it is the product of people (Vogel 2015, 65).[48] Yet, the built environment is not produced by the citizens or the inhabitants, which make them stay outside of the process of the production of place. As previously mentioned by Choay (1969),[49] this has been the condition since the First Industrial Revolution.

It seems as if people get so used to being surrounded by high-rise buildings (Figure 2.13), living in standardized buildings (Figure 2.14) or gated communities, commuting to work without realizing the environment, and being stuck in traffic jams; such that, they accept these as "normal" and they are not aware of the fact that there is a mutual relationship between people and their environment. As stated previously, people first create their environment, and then the environment influences them (Churchill 1943; Park 1967, 3; Hall 1966/1990, 4; Smithson 1968, 24; Berleant 1984; Gehl 2010, ix).

Figure 2.13. "Hong Kong Island" photographed by Andreas Gursky (L)
(Accessed August 17, 2022 from https://www.andreasgursky.com/en/works/1994/hong-kong-island)

Figure 2.14. "Architecture of density" photographed by Michael Wolf (R)
(Accessed August 17, 2022 from https://photomichaelwolf.com/#architecture-of-densitiy/2)

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[48]"Our environment is not something we passively *confront* or *experience* or *perceive* or *know*; rather, it is the *object of our practices*. And since nothing is a practice unless it changes the world (because all practices are transformative), it follows that the environment is the product of our practices as well. In this sense we construct the environment, and do so socially.

But to call the environment the product of our practices is not to see it as something we somehow invent or imagine or idealistically constitute through our thoughts, nor to view it as something we control. It is simply to note that the environment comes to be what it is *through* our practices, just as it comes to be what it is through the actions of beavers, honeybees, earthworms, trees, and all the other organisms that make up the world" (Vogel 2015, 65).

[49]See page 26.

This influence can be so powerful that, in the 2011 Argentine movie *Medianeras* (Side Walls) directed by Gustavo Taretto, the "bad planning"[50] of Buenos Aires is likened to the "bad planned" lives of people and architects and planners are accused of creating such a built environment that leads to various psychological symptoms.[51]

If humans cannot create and/or transform their built environment, is there a chance for them to transform the interior? Hannah Arendt (1958/1998, 52) states that the French have a knack for creating their own private realm:

> Since the decay of their once great and glorious public realm, the French have become masters in the art of being happy among "small things," within the space of their own four walls, between chest and bed, table and chair, dog and cat and flowerpot, extending to these things a care and tenderness which, in a world where rapid industrialization constantly kills off the things of yesterday to produce today's objects, may even appear to be the world's last, purely humane corner.

Apparently, not everyone has the ability and/or the chance to create a "purely humane corner." Therefore, people not only remain outside of the production of their built environment but also most of them hardly have the chance to appropriate and/or transform their living environments. This condition can rather be associated with living in rented houses, which are mostly regarded as "non-places"[52] (Bruchansky 2010, 1).[53] Although, for Christophe Bruchansky (2010, 1), people as being nomads can easily reinvent a new sense of place and transform the rented house into a

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[50]"Buenos Aires is growing uncontrollably and imperfectly. An overpopulated city in a deserted country. A city in which thousands of buildings rise into the sky. Arbitrarily. Next to a tall one, a small one. Next to a rational one, an irrational one. Next to a French one, one with no style at all. These irregularities probably reflect us perfectly. Aesthetic and ethical irregularities" (Taretto 2011).

[51]"I'm convinced that separations, divorces, domestic violence, the excess of cable TV stations, the lack of communication, listlessness, apathy, depression, suicide, neuroses, panic attacks, obesity, tenseness, insecurity, hypochondria, stress, and a sedentary lifestyle are attributable to architects and builders. I suffer from all of these illnesses except suicide" (Taretto 2011).

[52]Marc Augé's (1992/1995, 77-78) term "non-place" stands for a space that cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity.

[53]According to Christophe Bruchansky (2010, 1), a house is rented without any information about its history and identity, which induces him to infer that it is a "non-place."

home,[54] not every tenant has the right and luck to transform the rented house even for little changes like driving a nail and hanging a painting on the wall; thus, a rented house cannot be compared to a Mongolian yurt, which can be set up and arranged by the users themselves.

Is it possible to make it feel like "home" without appropriating? Speaking of the interior as both the universe and the étui of the individual, Benjamin (1935/1969, 169; 1935/2002, 9) maintains that "living means leaving traces."[55] These traces, for Benjamin, are imprinted in the interior. While in the public realm, these traces inevitably vanish, in the interior, they remain visible and palpable for the inhabitant (Teerds 2016). Housing a variety of personal belongings, memories, and traces, the interior provides "meaning" via living. On the other hand, the interiors without traces can be an indication of the fact that no trace is left in life, which means that life is not lived. It is possible to exemplify this situation with this passage from the novel "*Tutunamayanlar*" (The Disconnected):

> There is a window opposite my bed. The walls of the room are blank. How have I lived in this house for ten years? Did I not feel like hanging a picture on the wall? What have I done? Nobody warned me. I have finally become meaningless. Here is

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[54]Since it is not in this very context, it had better to mention as a note that, in Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's terms (1980/1987, 381), a nomad is deterritorialized "because there is no reterritorialization *afterward.*" This implies that the nomad does not feel at home wherever they go. It seems as if they are not moving as they are not changing (Deleuze and Guattari 1980/1987, 381). Although they change places, they remain unchanged, which, for Esra Akcan (2009, 87), can be regarded as the "unfortunate paradox of the nomad."

[55]"The interior was not only the private citizen's universe, it was also his casing. Living means leaving traces. In the interior, these were stressed. Coverings and antimacassars, boxes and casings, were devised in abundance, in which the traces of everyday objects were moulded. The resident's own traces were also moulded in the interior" (Benjamin 1935/1969, 169).

In another version, the same passage is translated as follows:

"The interior is not just the universe but also the étui of the private individual. To dwell means to leave traces. In the interior, these are accentuated. Coverlets and antimacassars, cases and containers are devised in abundance; in these, the traces of the most ordinary objects of use are imprinted. In just the same way, the traces of the inhabitant are imprinted in the interior" (Benjamin 1935/2002, 9).

my end. I have never hung a picture for fear of hanging a bad picture; I have never lived in fear of living badly.[56]

The fact that the hero of the novel did not hang a painting because he was afraid of hanging a bad painting is a concrete reflection that he did not live and he was not able to establish relationship with life. Even though this relationship with the interior is essential for human life, viewing from another perspective, living "an entire life" in an interior implies being deprived of several things that are fundamental to living a truly human life:

> to be deprived of the reality that comes from being seen and heard by others, to be deprived of an "objective" relationship with them that comes from being related to and separated from them through the intermediary of a common world of things, to be deprived of the possibility of achieving something more permanent than life itself. (Arendt 1958/1998, 58)

Since "private human" does not appear, it seems as if they do not exist and they do not establish relationships with others (Arendt 1958/1998, 58). This lack of "objective" relationships with others and the reality they provide give rise to the mass phenomenon of loneliness, where it takes on its most severe and antihuman form (Arendt 1958/1998, 58-59). According to Hannah Arendt, this extremity is due to the fact that:

> mass society not only destroys the public realm but the private as well, deprives men not only of their place in the world but of their private home, where they once felt sheltered against the world and where, at any rate, even those excluded from the world could find a substitute in the warmth of the hearth and the limited reality of family life. (Arendt 1958/1998, 59)

Bearing in mind the effect of television in the 70s, it is possible to argue that the deprivation of relationships with others (including people, places, and things) has something to do with technology. Although television falls from popular esteem in the 21st century, technology conquers the world through mobile phones, personal

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[56]"*Yatağımın karşısında bir pencere var. Odanın duvarları bomboş. Nasıl yaşadım on yıl bu evde? Bir gün duvara bir resim asmak gelmedi mi içimden? Ben ne yaptım? Kimse de uyarmadı beni. İşte sonunda anlamsız biri oldum. İşte sonum geldi. Kötü bir resim asarım korkusuyla hiç resim asmadım; kötü yaşarım korkusuyla hiç yaşamadım*" (Atay 1971-1972/2014, 594). (Translated by the author).

computers, tablet computers, notebooks, gaming consoles, and smartphones. Everything has become digitalized via the Internet: online banking, online shopping, online courses, and even online dating. Considering the Internet as the "post-social setting par excellence," George Ritzer and Jeffrey Stepnisky (1983/2014, 661) argue that people interact with computer screens, keyboards, chatrooms, Web sites, e-mails, multiplayer games, and the like.

As the number of technological devices increases and everything has become digitalized, social interaction and face-to-face communication decrease (Thiebaud 2010; Adibifar 2016, 64). Jane Thiebaud (2010, 121-122) maintains that the Technological Revolution has a great impact on the spoken word, on people, and their relationships: "Despite all the machines for easy contact with each other, we often feel socially isolated because most of our contacts are by machine, not close warm living human contacts." Once, the Finnish telecommunications company Nokia has the slogan "connecting people." The mobile phones actually do connect people by making communication mobile and making people easily reachable; yet, at the same time, they disconnect people from their surroundings. This situation becomes evident as smartphones with mobile Internet become widespread. When people are online, they are offline at home, in the café, or at the bus stop. The Internet brings people closer to the world but further from life (Taretto 2011). This condition is very well illustrated in Kamil Kotarba's photographs, which exemplify the fact that people socialize with their smartphones instead of the people around them (Figure 2.15).[57] These photographs show the power of screens and how these screens prevent people from physically communicating with each other. The more people are addicted to these screens, the less they interact face-to-face and the more they

[57]Kotarba explains his work as so: "A virtual world always competes with a real world. Instead of focusing on interaction with other people, we prefer to stare at a small mobile screen which constantly offers us new incentives. The incentives which we choose without any restrictions of space and time in which we are currently in. Thanks to this diversity, this form of activity seems to be far more interesting than what we are doing. Maybe it's really more interesting? Although we are still in a real space, it seems like we aren't there. The real life happening around just eludes us. We are somewhere 'in between'. We don't bother being. We choose the lack of participation. At the same time we are online – still in touch with our friends. We hide behind mobile screens. We play hide and seek" (Quoted in Jungbauer 2015).

feel lonely, isolated, and alien. Encountering ill-communication in the time of communication might be regarded as an irony, but it is the condition of the 21st century.
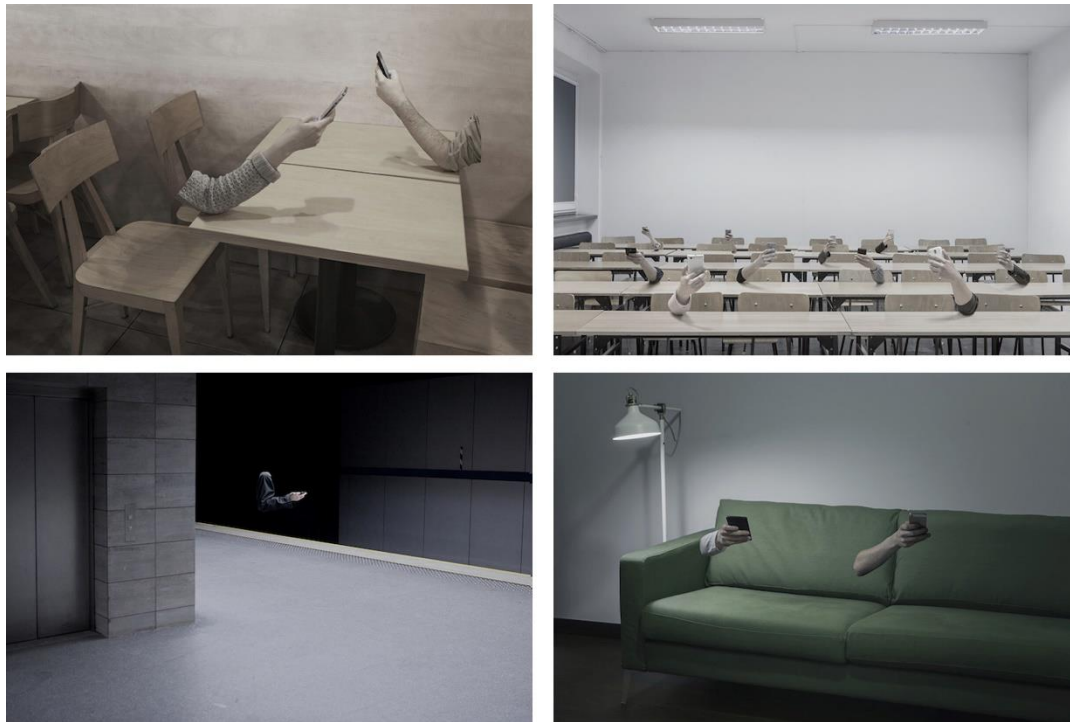
Figure 2.15. "Hide and Seek" by Kamil Kotarba
(Accessed May 29, 2020 from https://www.kamilkotarba.com/collection/hide-and-seek)

As the Internet is mobile, most people use the "screens" to look at social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, and Instagram. These social media platforms that digitalize communication create virtual spaces where people are able to interact with one another, usually in an indirect way. People mostly socialize via photographs, videos, or comments, which they post on their profiles. Since these photographs/videos represent the items in the "showcase" of people's lives, the most beautiful, the most amusing, or the most enthusiastic photographs/videos are chosen to be exhibited. Like the coffee sets exhibited in the showcases of the living rooms of Turkish houses, these photographs/videos are posted in order to exhibit the showcases of people's lives. Looking at these photographs, one may think that it is only their life going awful, which makes them feel alienated. Do these photographs/videos reflect the plain truth? They actually destroy the unity of the

society and form "a new unity to be looked at" as Debord (1967/2006, §4, 7) previously mentions.[58] In this respect, it needs to be underlined that what Debord argues in 1967 is still valid for the 21st century. As stated previously, by taking into consideration the era he is living, Debord (1967/2006) argues that modern society is full of spectacles, which constitute a "social relation" mediated by images and thus lead to alienation. In the 21st century, Debord's "spectacles" become the images shared through social media platforms, functioning to manufacture alienation.[59]

It is undeniable that easier access to the Internet has made communication more accessible and communication has become global. Nevertheless, it would also not be correct to state that digital communication provided by these social media platforms takes the place of physical communication. If these "spectacles" shared on social media platforms had offered adequate interaction and communication, people would not have craved for physical communication during the 2019 coronavirus pandemic.[60]

During the coronavirus pandemic, working at home becomes widespread. In the very early days of the pandemic, people working at home may consider themselves lucky not to waste time on the way to work. It seems as if people live in premodern times, having their workplaces around their environment. In fact, it makes things easier to get to the computer as soon as they wake up. After a while, shuttling between the bed and the table becomes their "ordinary."

The home becomes not only the workplace but also the "new" social space: "The home is at the same time workplace, family and private space, school, nursery,

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[58]See pages 48-49.

[59]"The spectacle's function in society is the concrete manufacture of alienation" (Debord 1967/2006, §32, 16).

[60]First identified in December 2019 in Wuhan, China, the coronavirus disease is a contagious disease, which spreads all over the world and leads to the coronavirus pandemic. In order to prevent and slow the spread of coronavirus, precautions are taken. People are expected to wash their hands, avoid touching their eyes, nose or mouth, wear masks, keep their social distance, and stay home. Lockdown is declared, online education is implemented, theatres, cinemas, and museums are shut, some restaurants, cafes, bars are closed and some are allowed to be open for takeaways, and the crowds in the public spaces are avoided.

leisure space, natural space, a public space from where we connect to friends and professional contacts, etc. Social spaces converge in the home" (Fuchs 2020, 379). In such an instance, at some point, some people cannot meet their social needs and start to feel like the character in Barış Bıçakçı's (2004/2014, 110) novel: "Working at home and not getting involved in everyday life made me a very problematic person. Perhaps, I became a delusional coward who was uncomfortable with everything but could not express these discomforts."[61]

The coronavirus pandemic, indeed, brings forth extreme changes in the daily routines. Carrying alcohol- or chlorine- based disinfectant, wearing a mask, keeping the social distance, and trying not to touch surfaces become the new "normal" since COVID-19 emerged. Traces all around the public spaces remind people to "keep social distance." People become uncomfortable and uneasy if they are in crowds. It seems as if people play hide and seek. "It" is the COVID-19, tagging the ones who leave their houses. With people wearing "colorful" masks, it seems like "masquerades" are organized in the streets worldwide. However, no matter how colorful they are, by covering people's faces and gestures, these masks standardize them and thus lead to reification. Social media platforms help people socialize, but they do not give the same taste as the "normal" physical environment; thus, people realize the importance of physical interaction and how they actually need it. What Ossi Naukkarinen (2013) describes shares similarities with this condition:

> We can also slowly end up leading a boring and stagnant life that is not positively balanced and controlled but simply dispiriting, or we can gradually develop a terminal illness. In such cases the everyday is nothing reliable, safe, supportive and trustworthy but restrictive, tiring, prison-like and without a prospect for alternatives, a mental and even physical halt. Such a life is often called gray, and while it may require all our attention and energy, we cannot have a routine and easy-going attitude towards it. In the worst cases this leads to a diagnosed depression or to some other form of mental and social disability. (Naukkarinen 2013)

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[61] *"Evde çalışmak, günlük hayata pek karışmamak belki fazla sorunlu biri yapmıştı beni; her şeyden rahatsızlık duyan ama bu rahatsızlıklarını da dile getiremeyen kuruntulu, korkak biri olmuştum belki de."* (Translated by the author.)

CHAPTER 3

A RELATION OF RELATEDNESS: ATTEMPTS FOR REESTABLISHING RELATIONS IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

3.1 Reestablishing a Relation of Relatedness in the Built Environment throughout the Post-war Architectural Discourse

According to Sigfried Giedion (1958, 203), the four separate functions presented at the fourth CIAM meeting lose their balance and interrelationship, which need to be reestablished. Within this respect, "the second stage of contemporary architecture," which can be inferred as the post-war period, is more interested in the "humanization of urban life" that can be achieved by restoring the relation of the parts to the whole and the connection between the individual and the community (Giedion 1958, 126).

At the first post-war CIAM meeting (CIAM 6, Bridgwater, 1947), Aldo van Eyck poses a critical (and rhetorical) question: "Does CIAM intend to 'guide' a rational and mechanistic conception of progress toward an improvement of human environment? Or does it intend to change this conception?" (van Eyck 2008, 42).[1] By stating that "Can there be any doubt as to the answer? A new civilization is being born. Its rhythm has already been detected, its outline partly traced. It is up to us to continue" (van Eyck 2008, 42), van Eyck seems optimistic about the future. Unlike the separated functions of the pre-war era,[2] this new civilization is expected to be formed of relations. Van Eyck gives emphasis to relations by referring to Piet Mondrian's statement: "the culture of particular form is approaching its end. The

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[1] In "Architecture, You and Me: The Diary of a Development," Giedion (1958, 76-78) also refers to van Eyck's talk in Bridgwater.

[2] According to van Eyck, separating the city into four functions is horrific: "The limitations of the purely analytical approach to urbanism which reduced the great multiplicity of urban aspects to four abstract functions (the four famous keys which nearly every urbanist has carried with him, unconscious of the fact that the four doors they opened gave access to nothing) – to dwell, to work, to circulate and to recreate – are horrific" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 115).

culture of determined relations has begun." He is, indeed, the first to raise the significance of relations in the world of modern architecture (Strauven 1994/1998, 471).

Although a paradigm shift is yet to come, the "redefinition of CIAM's purpose"[3] looks promising due to the fact that more emphasis is given to the "emotional" and "spiritual"[4] needs of people in order to achieve a more balanced life between the individual and the community. It has to be stated that even though this "more humane" approach can be considered as the salvation of modern architecture (Pedret 2013, 52), it still does not change the four rigid functional categories – dwelling, work, transportation, recreation – except for recreation, which is replaced by "cultivation of mind and body" (Mallgrave 2005, 356).

Organized by ASCORAL (*Assemblée des Constructeurs pour une Rénovation Architecturale*) under the leadership of Le Corbusier, the seventh CIAM is held in Bergamo (Italy) July 22-31, 1949. The projects are presented through the CIAM grid,[5] which is considered as "a modern urban-planning tool, a tool for analysis,

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[3]The revised purpose of CIAM is as follows:

"To work for the creation of a physical environment that will satisfy man's emotional and material needs and stimulate his spiritual growth.

To achieve an environment of this quality, we must combine social idealism, scientific planning and the fullest use of available building techniques. In so doing we must enlarge and enrich the aesthetic language of architecture in order to provide a contemporary means whereby people's emotional needs can find expression in the design of their environment. We believe that thus a more balanced life can be produced for the individual and for the community" (Quoted in Mallgrave 2005, 356)

[4]Annie Pedret (2001, 58; 2013, 52) notes that although CIAM 6 members achieve a consensus on giving more emphasis to spiritual needs of people, this "spiritual" has a variety of meanings:

"Spiritual needs for Sert, Giedion, and several of the CIAM groups referred to the 'truly human aspect' of communities, which for Giedion meant 'enlarging the subject to include ideological and aesthetic problems.' For the new Dutch member Jacob Bakema, spiritual meant fulfilling a democratic way of life by allowing for individual choice, social justice, liberty, and cooperation. For MARS Group members, it meant taking into account the needs and aspirations of the 'common man' through a kind of regionalism" (Pedret 2013, 52).

[5]The CIAM grid is prepared and developed by ASCORAL on 16 December 1947 and it is approved by the CIAM council March 28–31, 1948. On the horizontal axis, themes are put forward and on the vertical axis are the four functions of urbanism, each of which is to be given a color to make identification easier: dwelling (green), working (red), cultivating the body and the mind (yellow), and circulation (blue) (Blain 2005, 18).

synthesis, presentation and interpretation of themes" (Quoted in Blain 2005, 18). Despite the fact that the intention and the structure of CIAM 7 is meant to implement the Athens Charter, the rigidity of the functional city, the Athens Charter, and the CIAM grid are all heavily criticized and integrating and relating functions within neighborhoods are recommended (Pedret 2013, 61, 69). Nevertheless, many of these criticisms towards the functional city and the suggestions for hierarchically arranging and integrating these functions are not included in the publication of the proceedings afterward (Pedret 2013, 68). In terms of presenting the projects through the CIAM grid and later representing the congress as if the Corbusian style of urban design had triumphed, CIAM 7 is regarded as "the last big celebration of Corbusian urbanism" (Pedret 2013, 60, 69).

At the end of 1949, the MARS[6] group sends the preliminary text for CIAM 8 entitled "*Plan Proposé par MARS pour CIAM 8*" to the other CIAM members. In addition to the former four elements – dwelling, work, transportation, cultivation of mind and body –, the text introduces an additional element, "which makes the community a community and not merely an aggregate of individuals:" "the physical heart of the community, the nucleus, THE CORE" (Quoted in Marchi 2018, 26). When CIAM 8 is organized in Hoddesdon (England) July 7-14, 1951, this element, either called "the core" or "the heart",[7] is the matter of debate. The 8th CIAM meeting is, thus, considered as the "first attempt" in terms of rejecting the rigidity of four functional categories and introducing an interest on humanist values (Marchi 2018, 127).

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[6]The MARS group, which is the Modern Architectural Research Group, is the English wing of CIAM founded in 1933.

[7]Giedion (1985, 476) states that the old English word "core," which is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as the "central innermost part, the heart of all," is chosen instead of the over-employed term "civic center." Although the theme of the congress is called "The Core" by the MARS Group, "The Heart" is preferred as the title of the official book of CIAM 8 (Marchi 2018, 31). Entitled "CIAM 8. The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life," the book is edited by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Josep Lluís Sert, and Ernesto N. Rogers and published in 1952.

Even though Le Corbusier maintains that architects and urban planners should not deal with sociological or political issues,[8] these issues implicitly concern architects and urban planners for they create places for people. Since "the problem of the core is a human problem" (Giedion 1958, 128), architects and urban planners cannot deal with this problem by themselves. In connection with this, a doctor, an economist, a government official, a historian, and a sociologist are invited to the 8th CIAM meeting to make members benefit from their experiences and thus, guide the direction of the discussions (Giedion 1985, 476). It is, indeed, a very significant step towards "interdisciplinarity." The historian speaks of the historical background of the core, the sociologist and economist J. Alaurant compares the inner cores of Paris, New York, Venice, and London, and the doctor George Scott Williamson presents the Peckham Health Center (Giedion 1958, 128; Giedion 1985, 476; Marchi 2016, 138). Referring to Dr. Williamson's speech, Giedion (1958, 128) states that "[...] no one at the eighth congress of CIAM was listened to with greater attention than Dr. G. Scott Williamson, founder of the Peckham Health Center in London, which was indeed a 'core' based on the spontaneous activities of people of all ages."

As is the case with "spiritual"[9] at CIAM 6, the subject of debate, which is either the core or the heart, has a variety of metaphorical and symbolic meanings, including but not limited to the human scale, the right size of the city, the relationship between things, humanist values, the meeting place of the arts, and spontaneity (Marchi 2018, 28). This variety of meanings may cause confusion, but interpreting the subject in plenty of ways reveals that the issues concerning the built environment are not solid but open to interpretation.

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[8]At CIAM 3 in 1930, Le Corbusier states that: "I urge you, we do not deal with politics and sociology here. Both phenomena are much too complex […] we are not qualified to discuss in the congresses these difficult problems. We must be architects and planners, and from our professional field inform us […] about the architectural and urbanistic possibilities and necessities" (Le Corbusier [1930], quoted in Avermaete 2016, 26).

[9]See page 64, note 4.

Figure 3.1. Friendship diagram by Jacob Bakema
(Accessed February 22, 2022 http://open.jaapbakemastudycentre.nl/content/de-lijnbaan#)

Correlating the core with the relationship between human and things, Jacob Bakema argues that the relationship between things is more important than the things themselves (Pedret 2001, 92). He holds that once "this wonder of relationship between man and things" is discovered, "the isolation of man from things becomes destroyed" (Quoted in Marchi 2018, 149). For Bakema, it is the "moment of the CORE" that establish this relationship between human and things and it is "the moment we become aware of the fullness of life by means of cooperative action" (Quoted in Marchi 2018, 149). This relationship between things is depicted through the "friendship diagram," in which a hierarchically arranged group of people represents the right arrangement and relationship of buildings facing the street, from the external high-rise buildinds (the adults) to the internal small buildings and canopies (the children) that directly establish relationship with the human scale of the public space (Marchi 2018, 159) (Figure 3.1). In this respect, "buildings could again make friends each other, the way it may happen to people through their children" (Jacob Bakema, quoted in Marchi 2018, 159).

Giedion also emphasizes the "relationship between things." For Giedion (1958, 126; 1985, 476), the underlying cause for selecting the theme for CIAM 8 as the core is to reestablish an "equipoise between the individual and the collective sphere." Accordingly, he considers the core as "an expression of the intimate relationship

between man and man, between the spheres of the individual and the community" (Giedion 1985, 477). This relationship can be reestablished by means of "spontaneity." Spontaneity is defined as a natural or unplanned action free of regulations and constraints in urban space. Through spontaneous action that involves the free will, the individuals act without feeling obligated, they are able to express themselves well, and others have a chance to experience their expression via encounter (Alanyalı Aral 2003, 33-35). Giedion (1985, 476) regards spontaneity as a "part of a deep and age-old underlying human need, a desire to give form and expression to that which man shares with man, that which binds them together." According to Giedion, what an ordinary townsman understands from social life is limited to being a passive spectator of a cinema or a football match. As noted earlier, these passive activities are the source of alienation in leisure (Lefebvre 1947/1991, 33). Yet, through instances like Zurich Festival[10] or the Parisian Festival of the 14th of July, people can spontaneously gather in the streets and become both actors and spectators;[11] consequently, spontaneity can emerge. For Giedion (1985, 476), to reawake the lost power of spontaneity and to turn people from passive spectators to active participants, open spaces undisturbed by the vehicle traffic should be created.

Although it is not in the context of CIAM 8, it has to be stated here that Lefebvre, like Giedion, dwells on spontaneity and maintains that spontaneity emerges in the streets, "in an area of society not occupied by institutions," in which people can be

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[10]Giedion (1958, 129) describes the Zurich Festival (*Züri Fäscht*) as so: "In June 1951, we had a festival in Zurich to celebrate the six hundredth anniversary of the entrance of Zurich into the Swiss Confederation. The streets of the medieval city center were closed for two days to all traffic, and benches were spread over the tracks of the street cars. It poured with rain, and yet one couldn't chase the people away from the streets. Everywhere there was music and throughout the whole night people danced in the streets under umbrellas, and medieval nooks and squares were used as open air theaters. The festival was a reunion of people from the whole canton of Zurich. Those who came from the different parts of the canton gathered spontaneously together and performed their own plays. We had been very much afraid that the medieval core of Zurich had been altogether destroyed. Suddenly we discovered that something still remains and that – given the opportunity – people will dance and put on plays in these open spaces."

Alfred Roth also states that the right of pedestrians to freedom of movement, strolling, or informal gathering can become real for a few days by means of the Zurich Festival (Moravánszky 2017, 26).

[11]"To be actor and spectator in one person is what is wanted!" (Giedion 1958, 130).

free "creative agents," can reveal the "spirit"[12] inside them, and thus, they can become both spectators and actors (Lefebvre 1968/1969, 71; 1970/2003, 18). According to Lefebvre, spontaneity has the potential to disalienate everyday life, so he wants to reintroduce spontaneity into everyday life (Merrifield 2002, 83). Like Giedion, Lefebvre regards festivals as the very source of the spontaneous reaction against the organized space and the controlled life (Elden 2004, 154). He argues that, during the festival, the dispersed and divided city becomes a community of actions and the community becomes communion; thus, people can celebrate the signs of disalienated labor and the end of alienation (Lefebvre 2003, 189).

Before the next CIAM congress, preliminary discussions are held at the Sigtuna meeting in 1952. The relationship between things is discussed through the concept of "habitat," which, according to young members of CIAM, represents an alternative approach to the modern city compared to the functional city promoted by older members of CIAM (Pedret 2013, 85). The concept of habitat develops a new series of values for modern architecture and planning, including:

> favoring environment over autonomy, wholeness over an equal distribution of elements, differentiated parts over repetition of standardized elements, places over placelessness, a balance between the collective and the individual, change through time over static conditions, the framework rather than the grid, the past-present over the present, and a sociological basis for planning rather than a purely materialistic one. (Pedret 2013, 96)

Being the largest congress in CIAM's history, with 3,000 delegates, members, and observers attending (Pedret 2013, 97), CIAM 9, the Charter of Habitat, is organized in Aix-en-Provence (France) July 19-21, 1953. Bidonville Mahieddine Grid by CIAM-Alger, *Habitat du plus grand nombre* Grid by GAMMA,[13] Urban Re-Identification Grid by Alison and Peter Smithson, Zone Grid by Pat Crooke, Andrew

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[12]According to Lefebvre, "spirit is the name of the reconciliation between spontaneity and analysis, between the vital' the lived 'and the discursive' or representational" (Rémi Hess [1988], quoted in Shields 1999, 33).

[13]*Groupe des architectes Modernes Marocains* (The Group of Moroccan Modern Architects) is a group of architects working in Morocco. They include George Candilis, Shadrach Woods, Vladimir Bodiansky, and Henri Piot.

Derbyshire, and John Voelcker, and Alexanderpolder Grid by Opbouw are presented (Risselada and van den Heuvel 2005, 22-41).

Presented by Jacob Bakema on behalf of the Rotterdam-based CIAM group Opbouw, the Alexander Polder project receives the highest attention among the commissions at CIAM 9 (Pedret 2013, 118). The project is designed as a town for 37,000 inhabitants and it represents an endeavor to achieve "vital relationships" and "the most fundamental and unifying conception of life" by means of integrating the functions of living, work, and recreation. The project consists of a variety of high- and low-rise housing units typically used in the Netherlands, which include single family houses, small and large apartments, gallery houses, row houses, and maisonettes. The units have several uses, such as elementary schools, garages, and small industries, all of which are designed to work together cohesively around a central green area. As previously accentuated by Bakema at CIAM 8, Opbouw members put emphasis on "the relationship between various forms;" such that they emphasize the fact that, in addition to the integration of functions, the relationship between social interaction and the built environment also has a significant impact on the quality of life in a residential area. They believe that both the integrated functions and the capacity for change over time are the essential conditions for the harmonious development of man (Pedret 2013, 118-119).

The Smithsons' grid also needs an emphasis. Alison and Peter Smithson present the "Urban Re-Identification Grid" that shows a hierarchy of units as house, street, district, and city (Figure 3.2).[14] On the right part of the grid, the Smithsons's collages for the Golden Lane Project are shown and on the left part of the grid, the relationship between house and street is demonstrated through the photographs taken by Nigel Henderson. The emphasis on the relationship between house and street is also given

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[14]"The basic group is obviously the family, traditionally the next social grouping is the street (or square or green, any word that by definition implies enclosure or belonging, thus 'in our street' but 'on the road'), the next, district, and finally the city" (Smithson 1968, 78).

via a text accompanying the grid.[15] The grid plays a significant role due to two reasons. First, it is regarded as a critique of CIAM's four functions (Highmore 2003; Pedret n.d.). Second, it leads to an "epistemological shift within CIAM"[16] by changing the categories and introducing "everyday"[17] (Avermaete 2003, 2).
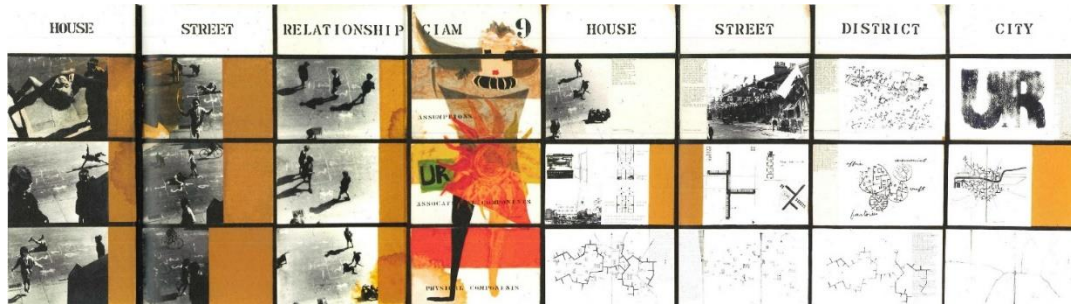
Figure 3.2. Urban Re-Identification Grid
(Accessed December 28, 2020 from https://relationalthought.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/alison-and-peter-smithson-urban-re-identification-grid-1953.jpg)

Throughout their regular visits to Nigel Henderson's house in a worker and immigrant neighborhood in London called Bethnal Green from 1950 onwards, the Smithsons are able to experience the street life (Frampton 1980/1982, 272). Therefore, it is not a coincidence that they introduce "everyday" through Henderson's photographs, which show children playing in the street of Bethnal Green (Figure 3.3).[18] Given the fact that "the architecture of the next step is in pursuit

[15]"In the suburbs and slums the vital relationship between house and street survives, children run about, (the street is comparatively quiet), people stop and talk, dismantled vehicles are parked; in the back gardens are pigeons and ferrets, and the shops are round the corner; you know the milkman, you are outside your house in your street" (Smithson 1968, 78).

[16]According to Tom Avermaete (2003, 2), Team X's epistemological shift within CIAM comes into sight through two presentations, which are Urban Re-Identification Grid and *Habitat du plus grand nombre* Grid. Avermaete also argues that this shift changes the way of acquiring, elaborating, and applying architectural knowledge. Referring to Avermaete, Kush Upendra Patel (2016, 36) holds that it is not only an epistemological shift within CIAM, but also an epistemological shift in architectural modernism.

[17]As Henri Lefebvre's first volume of Critique of Everyday Life (1947) was not translated at that time (It was first translated in 1991), the Smithsons' approach regarding everyday life can be regarded as a discovery.

[18]The photographs are taken while Nigel Henderson's wife Judith Henderson is working on a post-war Mass-Observation project called "Discover Your Neighbour" (Avermaete 2003, 3; Highmore 2003, 38; Kozlovsky 2009, 205). By referring to pre-war Mass-Observation photography of Humphrey Spender, Highmore (2003, 37-38) points out that "the ghost of Mass-Observation" continues in the photographs on the grid. In a similar vein, Avermaete (2003, 3) claims that the anthropological approach of Judith Henderson can be seen in the photographs of Nigel Henderson.

of the ordinary and banal" (Alison Smithson, quoted in Highmore 2010, 79), these photographs can be interpreted as a revaluation of everyday. What was previously been unimportant and devalued is now substantial and valuable, and children, the family, the locality, and the habitat gain a new vividness (Highmore 2003, 38).[19]
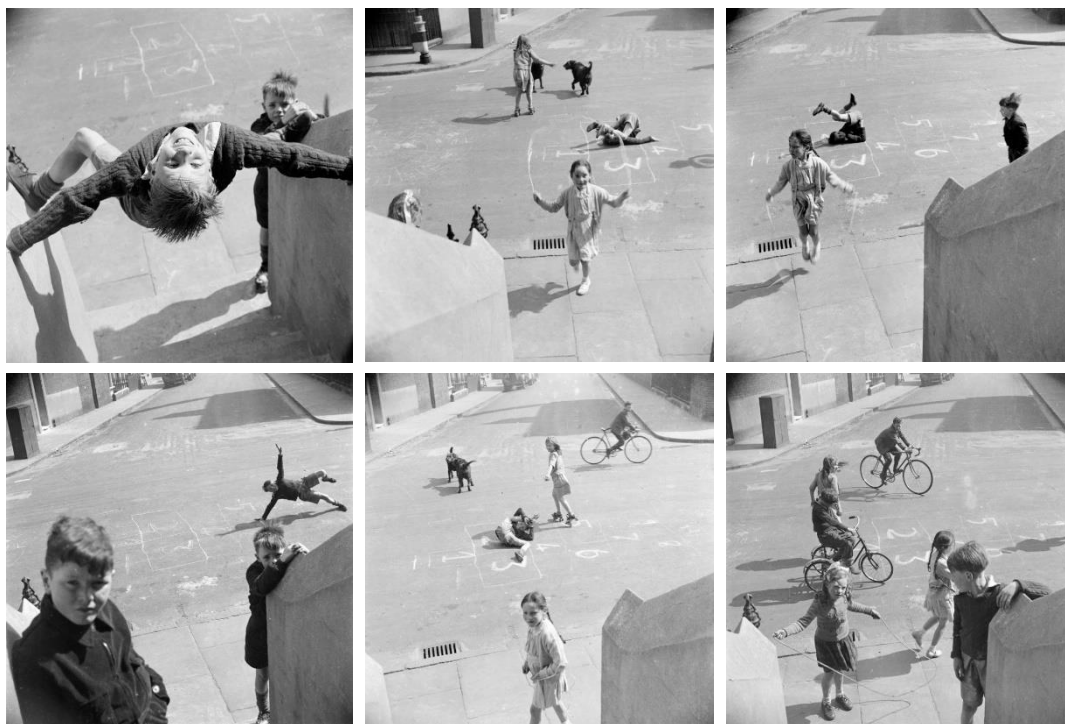
Figure 3.3. Some of the photographs on the grid showing children playing in the street, photographed by Nigel Henderson [c1949]
(Accessed January 8, 2021 from TATE Archive, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/nigel-henderson-1268)
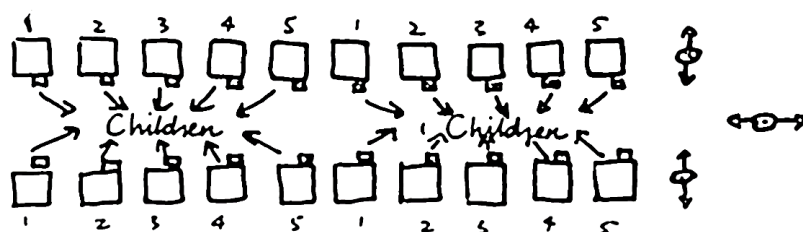
Figure 3.4. A diagram of patterns of child association in the street drawn by Alison Smithson
(Steiner 2011, 140)

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[19]In an interview with Beatriz Colomina, Peter Smithson talks about the street in the earlier period with an emphasis on children playing: "[…] the invention of a new house is the invention of a new kind of street. Because the street in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century was where the children were, and where people talked and all that, despite the climate being against it. The street was the arena of life" (Colomina and Smithson 2000, 9).

Taken from the "doorstep" of Henderson's house, the photographs also reflect the Smithsons' arguments concerning the street. Being "the second finite city element" and signifying a "physical contact community,"[20] the street is regarded as the "extension of the house" in which children learn about the world outside the family for the first time (Smithson 1968, 78). The street becomes a gathering place for children as the street is "not only as a means of access but also as an arena for social expression" (Alison and Peter Smithson [1967], quoted in Lathouri 1999, 406) (Figure 3.4). Therefore, this street, this being the Smithsons' concept of the street and/or the one that is photographed by Henderson, can also be read as "the family of the street, of informal yet stable forms of care and community, of safety and monitoring, but not policing" (Highmore 2003, 40). The street play in these photographs depicts the vitality of the urban street, which is both intimate and sheltered but open to interaction and dialogue (Kozlovsky 2009, 199). By this means, feeling at home, a sense of belonging, safety, and security exceed the house and spread to the street.

The visits to Henderson's house also help the Smithsons to develop their concepts of "identity" and "association" (Frampton 1980/1982, 272). Submitted for the Golden Lane Housing Competition held in 1952, Golden Lane Housing project is concerned with the problem of identity and it suggests a community that is built up from a hierarchy of associational elements previously mentioned (Smithson 1968, 76). The project is mostly known for its "street decks" or "streets in the air," which not only connect various housing units both horizontally and vertically but also house small shops, post-boxes or telephone kiosks; therefore, these streets are not regarded as mere corridors or balconies (Alison and Peter Smithson [2001], quoted in Highmore 2010, 81).[21] Designed to establish a new "relationship between things"

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[20]"Although it is extremely difficult to define the higher levels of association, the street implies a physical contact community, the district an acquaintance community, and the city an intellectual contact community – a hierarchy of human associations" (Smithson 1968, 48).

[21]Golden Lane Housing Project is never built, but the Smithsons use the idea of "streets in the air" in their Robin Hood Gardens housing project built in London in 1972. The idea of "streets in the air" also becomes the major component of Park Hill flats, which are designed by Jack Lynn and Ivor

and to concretize existing and new patterns of association, "streets in the air" offers a solution to the potentially dangerous and annoying vehicle traffic by creating an area in which the improvised spontaneity of Victorian working-class street culture can be recreated (Highmore 2010, 93-95). In this respect, the "doorstep," in which one meets the many, can be reinvented without any need to be on the ground (Highmore 2010, 84). According to Kenneth Frampton (1980/1982, 272), although Golden Lane is intended as a critique of the Ville Radiuese and of CIAM's four functions, the street divorced from the ground cannot accommodate community life. He maintains that the sterile conditions of these housing units, which he considers to be as isolated from the urban context as the high-rise buildings of any functional city, suggest that the Smithsons are yet to come to an agreement with the urban life (Frampton 1980/1982, 276).

Although CIAM 9 is mostly regarded as a failure and leaves everyone dissatisfied (Pedret 2013, 123), it creates an opportunity for a group of young architects to meet. In this sense, CIAM 9 sees "the first crack in the theoretical solidity of the modern movement" (John Lewis [1967], quoted in Günay 1988, 30) and it even signals the beginning of the end of the organization (Mallgrave 2005, 357).

In 1954, some of the young architects of CIAM, namely Jaap Bakema, George Candilis, Rolf Gutmann, Peter Smithson, are appointed to the CIAM X Committee (CIAX), which is given the task of preparing a programme for CIAM 10 (Risselada and van den Heuvel 2005, 43). The committee is subsequently joined by Aldo van Eyck, Bill and Gill Howell, Alison Smithson, John Voelcker, and Shadrach Woods. Some of these younger members are later known as Team 10.[22]

Smith, former Architectural Association students of The Smithsons, for Sheffield City Council in 1961 (Bullock 2010, 324, 327; Highmore 2010, 96-97). Critics like Reyner Banham praises Park Hill's street decks by stating that: "toddlers play on them; teens mend bikes, keep dates, swap gossip on them, teds occasionally brawl; heroic grans sit, legs akimbo, at the street-deck door" (Quoted in Highmore 2010, 97).

[22]The terms "Equipe X" and "Team X" appear first in the documents written by Georges Candilis and CIAM Alger in preparation for the Paris meeting, for their part in preparing for the CIAM 10 (Risselada and van den Heuvel 2005, 44).

As is written in Team 10 Primer, "Team 10 is a group of architects who have sought each other out because each has found the help of the others necessary to the development and understanding of their own individual work" (Smithson 1968, 3). They initially come together due to their shared recognition of the shortcomings of the architectural thought processes of the modern movement as a whole, but more importantly, each of them realizes that the other has already discovered a path toward a new start (Smithson 1968, 3). The core members or the "inner circle" of the group are Jacob Berend Bakema, Georges Candilis, Giancarlo de Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson, and Shadrach Woods (Team 10 Online). The group defines their aim as "not to theorize but to build" (Smithson 1968, 3), which can be interpreted as building "relationships."

Organized by Team 10, CIAM 10, "The Habitat: Problem of Inter-relationships," is held in Dubrovnik (Crotia) 3-13 August 1956 and considered by many to be the final "official" CIAM congress (Pedret 2013, 179). The projects submitted are analyzed in terms of human association rather than functional arrangement, thus representing a major break in architectural thinking (John Lewis [1967], quoted in Günay 1988, 30). Le Corbusier, who does not attend the congress, suggests that 1956 be considered a transition between the old "CIAM-Premiers" and a new "CIAM-Seconds" (Mumford 1996, 441). At the end of the congress, Sert announces that the CIAM executive committee is dissolving and that the individual national groups will be permitted to operate independently (Mallgrave 2005, 358).

The final CIAM congress takes place in Otterlo (the Netherlands) 7-15 September 1959 under the heading "CIAM: Group for the Research of Social and Visual Relationships." The congress is not called CIAM 11 but CIAM '59 to convey a break with the old CIAM (Mumford 1996, 441). It marks "the end of the end of CIAM" (Mumford 1996, 445) and "the triumph of Team 10" (Pedret 2001, 222) (Figure 3.5).

After Otterlo, Team 10 members meet informally to go over and present their work until November 1981, the death of Jacob Bakema.[23] These meetings, which are family-like gatherings with the members' children present, usually take place at the location of the project that is going to be discussed (Pedret 2013, 208) (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.5. "The end of CIAM" depicted by (L-R) Peter Smithson, Alison Smithson, John Voelcker, Jacob Bakema, Sandy van Ginkel, Aldo van Eyck, Blanche Lemco [Otterlo, 1959]
(Campos Uribe et al. 2020, 3)

Figure 3.6. Team 10 members in the garden of Candilis' holiday house [Bonnieux, 1977]
(Risselada and van den Heuvel 2005, 231).

3.2   The In-Between Realm as the Definer of Relatedness

As previously mentioned, at CIAM 6, van Eyck refers to Piet Mondrian's statement: "the culture of particular form is approaching its end. The culture of determined relations has begun." Referring to this statement, van Eyck argues that Mondrian is

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[23]"Team 10 ended because we stopped meeting; and this happened when Bakema died and his post box was closed. We continued to see each other but there were no more meetings after Bakema died" (Giancarlo de Carlo 1990/2005, 343).

no longer interested in the things themselves but rather their relationship between one and another. Mondrian goes so far that he believes that he has to show this elementary relationship without the things themselves (van Eyck 2008, 67). Mondrian's success in achieving this relationship causes van Eyck to appreciate Mondrian. Apparently, by stating that "the era of pure relationships begins: not for the things, but for the world between them," van Eyck gets inspired by Mondrian's thinking.

Establishing relationship between things becomes concrete and has multi-meaning by means of the concept of the "in-between realm." Influenced by Martin Buber's concept of "*das Reich des Zwischen*" and many other sources[24] (Strauven 1994/1998, 352), van Eyck introduces the concept of the "in-between realm," which has a significant place in his architectural thinking.[25] Francis Strauven (1994/1998, 359) maintains that "this conception of the in-between is the fundamental binary compound, the elementary relation that lies at the root of van Eyck's architectural thinking."

3.2.1   Buber's Concept of "*das Reich des Zwischen*"

Martin Buber, the student of Wilhelm Dilthey and Georg Simmel, develops his thinking by benefiting from his teachers' theories as well as Ludwig Feuerbach's, Friedrich Nietzsche's, and Søren Kierkegaard's philosophies (Friedman 1999, 404; Moseley 2015, 29, 104-108).

According to Buber (1923/1970), there are two forms of relation: I-Thou and I-it. What defines I-Thou relationship or I-it relationship is not the constituents of the

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[24]"As well as linking it to Buber's '*das Reich des Zwischen*,' he [Aldo vanEyck] brought it into connection with '*die mediale Zone*' of Paul Klee and with the Surrealists' interpenetration of internal and external realities - the '*juste ce qu'il faut de souterrain entre le vin et la vie*' that Tristan Tzara had left him with" (Strauven 1994/1998, 352).

[25]Although Sarah Deyong (2014, 235) states that "van Eyck produced his most original statement on an architectural theory of relations that was, in principle, indebted to Giedion's thesis in "Art[,] a Fundamental Experience," there is no other reference, which argues that van Eyck is also influenced by this thesis.

relationship but the relationship itself. Below, Maurice Friedman (2004, xiv) explains the difference in detail:

> Not every relation between persons is an I-Thou one, nor is every relation with an animal or thing an I-It. The difference, rather, is in the relation itself. I-Thou is a relationship of openness, directness, mutuality, and presence. It may be between man and man, but it may also take place with a tree, a cat, a fragment of mica, a work of art—and through all of these with God, the "eternal Thou" in whom the parallel lines of relations meet. I-It, in contrast, is the typical subject-object relationship in which one knows and uses other persons or things without allowing them to exist for oneself in their uniqueness.

Within this respect, I-Thou relationship corresponds to dialogue and I-it relationship corresponds to monologue. Feuerbach, indeed, teaches Buber that "true dialectic is not a monologue of the solitary thinker with himself, it is a dialogue between *I* and *Thou*" (Ludwig Feuerbach [1843], quoted in Buber 1947/2004, 32). Buber is aware that not every relationship can be an I-Thou relationship and that an I-it relationship is a normal aspect of existence. Without It, he claims, "a human being cannot live;" yet, "whoever lives only with that is not human" (Buber 1923/1970, 85).

By stating that "The It is the chrysalis, the You the butterfly" and "man becomes an I through a You," Buber (1923/1970, 69, 80) accentuates that the constituents of I-Thou relationship are complementary. In relation to this, he holds that humans cannot be "isolated" individuals, but they need others to "find" their true being: "Through reciprocal relationships between individuals, new values, new psychic facts are created that are not possible in isolated individuals" (Martin Buber [1992], quoted in Friedman 1999, 404). Yet, it does not mean that Buber supports collectivism against individualism. On the contrary, he argues that "man in a collective is not man with man" because "collectivism does not see *man* at all, it sees only 'society'," in which the isolated individual becomes more isolated (Buber 1947/2004, 237, 239).[26] He, therefore, maintains that "neither with the individual nor with the collectivity, but

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[26]"Man's isolation is not overcome here, but overpowered and numbed. Knowledge of it is suppressed, but the actual condition of solitude has its insuperable effect in the depths, and rises secretly to a cruelty which will become manifest with the scattering of the illusion. Modern collectivism is the last barrier raised by man against a meeting with himself" (Buber 1947/2004, 239).

only with the reality of the mutual relation between man and man, that this essence can be grasped" (Buber 1947/2004, x). He calls this mutual relation between human and human "*das Reich des Zwischen*"[27] (the realm of the in-between): "I call this sphere, which is established with the existence of man as man but which is conceptually still uncomprehended, the sphere of 'between'" (Buber 1947/2004, 241). Buber explains as follows:

> In the most powerful moments of dialogic, where in truth "deep calls unto deep," it becomes unmistakably clear that it is not the wand of the individual or of the social, but of a third which draws the circle round the happening. On the far side of the subjective, on this side of the objective, on the narrow ridge, where I and Thou meet, there is the realm of "between."[28] (Buber 1947/2004, 242-243)

Buber defines the realm of in-between as the "genuine third," which helps genuine *I* and *Thou* to come together in order to form a genuine community (Buber 1947/2004, 243). Within this matter, he calls for the architects "to build for human contact, to build an environment which invites human meetings and centers which give these meetings meaning and render them productive" (Quoted in Teyssot 2011, 52; quoted in Avermaete 2016, 28).[29] His call seems to be taken seriously by some architects. In fact, he profoundly impacts the architectural thinking within CIAM and Team X (van den Heuvel, Martens, and Muñoz Sanz 2021, 16). The reflection of Buber's thoughts can be first noticed at the Sigtuna Council Meeting in 1952 through the concept of habitat by Rolf Gutmann and Theo Manz, who formulate the concept as "a structure of *Beziehungen* that ought to be actualized at every level in clearly

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[27]The German word "*Zwischen*" is translated as either "between" (Buber 1947/2004; Friedman 1999; Sack 2019) or "in-between" (van Eyck 1962/2008; Biemann 2002; van Eyck 2008). Moseley (2015) uses both terms. This research prefers using "in-between."

[28]The original version of the last sentence, which is "on the far side of the subjective, on this side of the objective, on the narrow ridge, where I and Thou meet, there is the realm of 'between'," is as follows:

Jenseits des Subjektiven, diesseits des Objektiven, auf dem schmalen Grat, darauf Ich und Du sich begegnen, ist das Reich des Zwischen.' (Martin Buber [1943], quoted in van Eyck 1962/2008, 228).

[29]The quotation is from Erwin Anton Gutkind's book "Community and Environment; a Discourse on Social Ecology (1953)," in which Buber writes the foreword.

articulated spaces, *das Gestalt gewordene Zwischen*" (Strauven 1994/1998, 243).[30] By stating that "the demand for the reestablishment of the relation between 'you' and 'me' leads to radical changes in the structure of the city," Giedion (1958, 203),[31] as well, integrates Buber-inspired discussion concerning the way architecture is involved with social meetings on various community levels (Bosman 1985, 484). Like Buber, Giedion (1958, 124) emphasizes the relationship "between human and human" for establishing a "true" city:

> If we look at the city as a place in which private life and community life find a meeting place, then the mark of a true city is the balance between YOU and ME. It is this you and me relationship that we must build up again today. No machine can replace physical nearness, neither telephone nor radio, home movies nor television.

3.2.2 Van Eyck's Concept of the In-between Realm

Aldo van Eyck (1918 – 1999) is a Dutch architect of the post-war period. He is also known as a CIAM member, a co-founder of Team X, and a co-editor of the Dutch architectural magazine "*Forum voor Architectuur en Verbonden Kunsten*" (Forum for Architecture and Connected Arts). He constructs his architectural thought by benefiting from a wide range of sources, including poetry, philosophy, anthropology, art, science, and of course architecture. This "cooperation"[32] between disciplines reminds Marcus Vitruvius Pollio's emphasis on the education of the architect, and in connection with this, Vitruvius' belief that the architect needs to be sophisticated through the knowledge of other disciplines and various ways of learning:

> Let him be educated, skillful with the pencil, instructed in geometry, know much history, have followed the philosophers with attention, understand music, have some

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[30]As previously stated on page 67, Bakema speaks of the relationship between man and things, but there is no information on whether Bakema is influenced by Buber while speaking of these thoughts.

[31]According to Georges Teyssot (2011, 52), Buber is also the source of inspiration for the title of Giedion's 1958 book called "Architecture, You and Me: The Diary of a Development."

[32]It is not an "integration" though. Van Eyck is against the integration of the arts (van Eyck 2008, 176).

knowledge of medicine, know the opinions of the jurists, and be acquainted with astronomy and the theory of the heavens. (Vitruvius Pollio 1914/1960, 5-6)

Within this manner, van Eyck can be regarded as a well-educated architect whose sophistication begins to be formed when he is a child. Being the son of Pierre van Eyck, the poet and philosopher, and growing up in England, he has acquaintance with English poetry (Strauven 2007, 2-3); thus, he is familiar with the "interaction of opposites" since his youth by means of William Blake's poetry[33] (Strauven 2007, 3, 15). Shortly before graduating from ETH Zurich (*Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich*), he meets Carola Giedion-Welcker, Sigfried Giedion's wife, in a small vernissage by Yves Tanguy, Salvador Dalì, and Max Ernst at Galerie Hans Ulrich Gasser upstairs (van Eyck 2008, 18). His acquaintance with Carola Giedion-Welcker[34] opens many doors because of the fact that she mentors young van Eyck and brings him into contact with various avant-garde artists, including Jean Arp,[35] Richard Paul Lohse, Georges Vantongerloo, Alberto Giacometti, Max Ernst and Constantin Brancusi (Strauven 2007, 3-4). He becomes a regular visitor to the Giedion House in Zurich, which he regards as "a refuge for the noblemen of the spirit in an alien world" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 34). By this means, he "comes across"[36] other regular visitors and begins to dive into the world of avant-gardists from several disciplines, whom he regards as the "wonderful gang" or the "great gang."[37] Since

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[33]William Blake (1757 – 1827), an English poet and painter, considers opposites as complementary. In his work "Songs of Innocence and of Experience," childhood (innocence) and adulthood (experience) are considered to be binary opposites, but they complete each other so that they both have meanings (Canlı 2019).

[34]Van Eyck (2008, 18) says of Carola Giedion-Welcker: "She opened my windows – and I haven't closed them since; she tuned my strings – nor did they ever require retuning."

[35]His actual name is Hans Arp, but he is mostly known as Jean Arp.

[36]"Her Doldertal house in Zurich has been a stronghold surely enough. A refuge for the noblemen of the spirit in an alien world. Joyce, that great nomad, would settle down in her garden time and again and soothe his sad eyes. Ernst would arrive as if from nowhere without notice and usually utterly destitute. Schwitters, Van Doesburg, Le Corbusier, Leger, Tzara, Eluard and others, too many to mention, did the same. I never 'met' anybody there - I just came across them" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 34).

[37]Francis Strauven (1994/1998, 410) lists some of the "Great Gang" as follows: "Cézanne, Douanier Rousseau, Seurat, Kandinsky, Picasso, Braque, Mondrian, Brâncuşi, Malevich, Klee, Léger, Carrà, Boccioni, Severini, van Doesburg, Pevsner, Delaunay, Gris, Duchamp, Chagall, Schwitters, Arp,

he intends to introduce them to the architecture community,[38] he mentions them in detail in his talk at the Otterlo Meeting in 1959.[39]

While exploring the new way of thinking of the wonderful gang, van Eyck recognizes that this new thinking is grounded on "the idea of relativity," which suggests that everything is relative to everything else. In fact, the idea of relativity comes from Albert Einstein's "Special Theory of Relativity" (1905) and "General Theory of Relativity" (1916); yet, for van Eyck, the idea of relativity is not limited to Einstein's theories, but it represents the thinking of the wonderful gang in general.[40] Accordingly, van Eyck considers the idea of relativity as the paradigm of 20th-century art and science (Strauven 2007, 4). Yet, van Eyck holds that unlike

Sophie Täuber, Vantongerloo, Lissitzky, Moore, Loos, Rietveld, Le Corbusier, Duiker, van der Vlugt, van Loghem, Aalto, Schönberg, Berg, Webern, Bartók, Stravinsky, Jelly Roll Morton, Mallarmé, Lautréamont, J. M. Synge, Jarry, Jacob, Apollinaire, Joyce, Pound, Eliot, Trakl, Mayakowski, Ball, Tzara, van Ostaijen, C.W., de Chirico, Ernst, Miró, Breton, Aragon, Éluard, Péret, García Lorca, Tanguy, Dalí, Bergson, Einstein, Bohr, Heisenberg, and de Broglie." Even though van Eyck meets many avant-gardists in Giedion House, there is no information on whether van Eyck meets all of these names in person.

[38]"I shall not attempt to retell their story. This has been done both well and badly by others. Above all I desire to refer the architect-reader to the great gang and the nature of the riot they started; to what they made, wrote and thought and, should he already have done so once, to do so again – to never stop doing so – for the miracle they brought about has still effected no more than the periphery of architecture. I am convinced that this miracle will be rendered more miraculous as more join the riot and pass through the open doorways" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 29).

[39]This is an excerpt from his talk at the Otterlo Meeting: "There was a time not so long ago when the minds of men moved along a deterministic groove; let's call it a Euclidian groove. It coloured their behaviour and vision, what they made and did and what they felt. Then – it had to happen sooner or later – some very keen men, with delicate antennæ – painters, poets, philosophers and scientists most of them – jumped out of this groove and rubbed the deterministic patina off the surface of reality. They saw wonderful things and did not fail to tell us about them. Our unbounded gratitude is due to them; to Picasso, Klee, Mondrian and Brancusi; to Joyce, Le Corbusier, Schönberg, Bergson and Einstein; to the whole wonderful gang. They set the great top spinning again and expanded the universe – the outside and the inside universe. It was a wonderful riot – the cage was again opened" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 58).

[40]"I am concerned with the mutual concept which actually led not only to the revaluation of space, time, matter and energy in the scientific world but simultaneously to an analogous revaluation of these and many other hitherto isolated impregnable and antagonistic notions in the world of art and other creative fields. I therefore use the word 'relativity' to cover the totality of this mutual concept – call it attitude - ie beyond the Einsteinian connotation" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 47).

those avant-gardists previously mentioned, the modern architects, except for a few exceptions,[41] are oblivious of the impact of relativity on revaluating space and time:

> [...] architects have not only remained impervious to what they really represent, but are still altogether unaware of the profounder implications of relativity which alone can impart full and lasting content to a revaluation of space and time in term of architecture: I mean those implications that have extended the horizon of man's inner world. (van Eyck 1962/2008, 48)

Van Eyck, on the other hand, is notably aware of the idea of relativity and feels responsible to sustain this new thinking (Henket 2018, 56). According to Karin Jaschke (2012, 196, 238, 306), the idea of relativity, which gives shape to van Eyck's architectural thinking, becomes the umbrella term of his philosophy and branches out into various concepts, including in-between, twin phenomena, right-size, and built homecoming.

20th-century avant-garde not only introduces van Eyck to the idea of relativity but also let him know about archaic cultures. His interest in archaic cultures is aroused by means of Surrealism and especially the publications of André Breton and his friends. He later becomes acquainted with Dogon culture via the surrealist magazine "*Minotaure*"[42] (Strauven 2002). His visits to Algerian Sahara, Dogon in Mali, the Pueblos in New Mexico, and many other archaic cultures around the world as well as his acquaintance with anthropologists such as Franz Boaz, Margaret Mead, and Ruth Benedict create opportunity for him to understand that Western civilization is not superior to other cultures, but "all cultures are equally valid" (Strauven 2002). In relation to his interest in archaic cultures, Frampton (1980/1982, 276) states that:

> No other Team X member seems to have been prepared to attack the alienating abstraction of modern architecture at its roots, possibly because no one else had had

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[41]"What they discovered jointly (panorama and -aroma) has not even penetrated the mental fringes of those who now suffer so deeply from the tragedy of this monstrous epoch! Nor has it entered the minds of less burdened architects. There are exceptions like Aalto, Rietveld, Duiker, Van der Vlugt, Le Corbusier and your own Owen Williams who built Boots, surely one of this century's most wonderful buildings and, to my mind, England's finest" (van Eyck 2008, 545).

[42]While he is living in Zurich, he finds an old issue of this magazine in an antiquarian bookshop. The magazine, which is dedicated to an ethnologic trip across Africa, includes pictures of masks and other cult objects and an article on a Dogon funeral ritual (Strauven 2002; 2007, 5).

the benefit of van Eyck's 'anthropological' experience. His personal preoccupation with 'primitive' cultures and with the timeless aspects of built form that such cultures invariably reveal, dated from the early 1940s, so that by the time he joined Team X he had already developed a unique position. His statement at the Otterlo Congress of 1959, in which he declared his concern for the timelessness of man, was almost as foreign to the mainstream of Team X thought as it was to the ideology of CIAM.

3.2.2.1   The In-Between Realm: A Home for Twin Phenomena

The reflections of the impacts of both avant-gardists and van Eyck's anthropological experiences can be seen in the concept of the in-between realm. According to Oliver Sack (2019, 191), while "migrating" Buber's "*Zwischen*," van Eyck interprets this non-spatial concept as a spatial concept. This research argues that van Eyck's interpretation is not only spatial, but it is multi-dimensional.

When van Eyck hears about the Smithsons' doorstep philosophy at CIAM 9,[43] he first calls his interpretation as "*la plus grande réalité du seuil*," which means "the greater reality of doorstep:" "The new human habitat should reflect and stimulate the primary contact between man and man, between man and thing— what we call 'The greater reality of the doorstep'" (van Eyck 2008, 191) (Figure 3.7). He expresses this relation between "the greater reality of doorstep" and Buber's concept of the realm of the in-between in the Otterlo Meeting in 1959 as follows:

> To establish the 'in-between' is to reconcile conflicting polarities. Provide the place where they can interchange and you re-establish the original dual-phenomena. I called this '*la plus grande réalité du seuil*' in Dubrovnic. Martin Buber calls it '*das Gestalt gewordene Zwischen*'." (van Eyck 2008, 204)

Although "*la plus grande réalité du seuil*" continues to exist in van Eyck's thinking in a variety of ways, "the in-between realm" suggests a more inclusive meaning than the doorstep idea does. In relation to this, van Eyck (1962/2008, 55) states that: "the

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[43]"There is one more thing that has been growing in my mind ever since the Smithsons uttered the word doorstep at Aix. It hasn't left me ever since. I've been mulling over it, expanding the meaning as far as I could stretch it. I've even gone so far as to identify it with architecture as much should accomplish" (van Eyck 2008, 204).

doorstep idea, of course, does not cover the idea of the in-between realm. The latter has further connotations." He defines the in-between realm as a common ground where conflicting polarities such as "unity and diversity, part and whole, small and large, many and few, simplicity and complexity, change and constancy, order and chaos, individual and collective"[44] can meet, have relations, and reconcile (van Eyck 1962/2008, 61, 63, 220; 2008, 327). It is a "place" that offers "multiple meaning in equipoise" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 55). Such an in-between realm occurs naturally between land and ocean, where the multitude can be experienced:

> Take off your shoes and walk along a beach through the ocean's last thin sheet of water gliding landwards and seawards. You feel reconciled in a way you wouldn't feel if there were a forced dialogue between you and either one or the other of these great phenomena. For here, in-between land and ocean – in this in-between realm – something happens to you that is quite different from the sailors' reciprocal nostalgia. No landward yearning from the sea, no seaward yearning from the land. No yearning for the alternative - no escape from one into the other. (van Eyck 1962/2008, 56)[45]
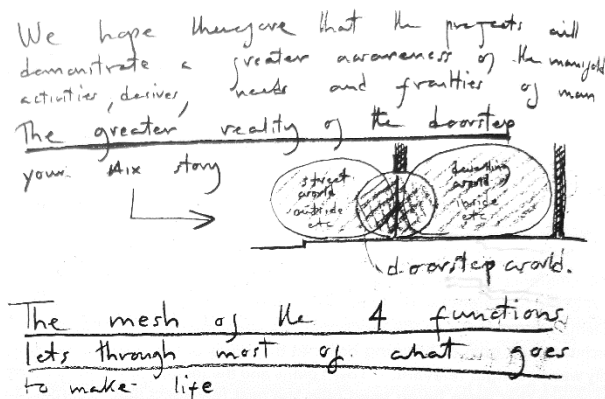
Figure 3.7. Doorstep diagram by Aldo van Eyck [c1953]
(Pedret 2013, 146)

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[44]The oppositions that can be encountered in van Eyck's writings are listed as: "multiplicity-unity, unity-diversity, part-whole, large-small, simplicity-complexity, constancy-change, many-few, inside-outside, open-closed, movement-rest, near-far, clear-labyrinthian, order-chaos, bounded-unbounded, microcosm-macrocosm, mass-space, time-space, energy-matter, past-future, organic-inorganic, subject-object, light-dark, body-mind, man-god, good-evil, male-female, imagination-reason, conscious-subconscious, 'outer' and 'inner reality', 'head-heart and abdomen', dream-reality, myth-reality, romanticism-classicism, individual-collective, architecture-urbanism, house-city, old-new" (Strauven 1998, 461).

[45]Even though van Eyck does not mention it, he may be inspired by Mondrian's "Pier and Ocean," depicting the relationship between land and ocean (Figure 3.8).
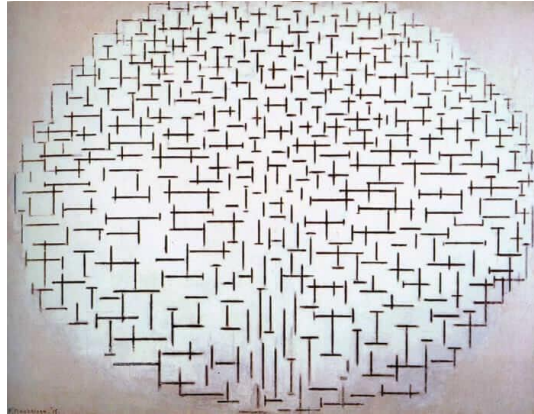
Figure 3.8. Composition No. 10 Pier and Ocean by Piet Mondrian [1915]
(Accessed July 28, 2022 from https://www.piet-mondrian.org/pier-and-ocean.jsp)

By referring to this naturally formed in-between realm between the land and ocean, the in-between realm can be likened to "ecotone," which signifies a transition area between two different biological communities where these two meet and integrate. Owing to this meeting and integration, ecotone has the characteristics of both communities as well as characteristics of its own, making this transition area richer than the neighboring communities.

As mentioned in van Eyck's Otterlo speech, the polarities meeting in the in-between realm become dual phenomena (*duo-fenomenen* in Dutch). The dual phenomena, later called as twin phenomena,[46] is a notion that van Eyck develops out of the in-between, which suggests dialectical thinking by means of reconciling the polarities. Yet, the dialectical thinking it offers differs from Hegelian dialectics as van Eyck puts it:

[46]After his visits to Dogon and under the impact of twin cosmology, van Eyck renames "dual phenomena" as twin phenomena (Ligtelijn 1999, 14). Even though the word "twin phenomena" starts to appear in van Eyck's published texts after 1961, the concept manifests itself long before just as it is seen in the text he writes about the Swiss painter Richard Paul Lohse in *Forum* in 1952: "Man shudders because he believes that he must forfeit the one in favour of the other; the particular for the general; the individual for the collective; the singular for the plural; rest for movement. But rest can mean fixation – stagnation – and movement, as Lohse shows, does not necessarily imply chaos. The individual (the singular) less circumscribed within itself will reappear in another dimension as soon as the general, the repetitive is subordinated to the laws of dynamic equilibrium, i.e. harmony in motion" (van Eyck 2008, 56).

When van Eyck's texts are reprinted, "dual phenomena" is substituted by "twin phenomena" (van Eyck 1999, 88).

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I am concerned with ambivalence not with equivalence. No Hegelian implications should be searched for therefore; on the contrary it should be understood that they are for once categorically absent. I am not concerned with the unity of opposites. (van Eyck 1962/2008, 91)

Unlike Hegelian dialectics, in which contradictions or polarities lose their original identity to unify "on a higher and richer" level as "synthesis" (Hegel 1812-1816/2010, 33),[47] the concept of twin phenomena offers a reconciliation, in which the polarities do not lose their original identity. Although the polarities that form twin phenomena are complementary (Strauven 1994/1998, 459; 2007, 1-2),[48] the reconciliation of the polarities neither neutralizes each other nor forms something totally new (Coleman 2005, 201-202; Sack 2019, 204). Instead, the reconciliation makes the polarities recordable and measurable (Ligtelijn 1999, 15) so that the polarities coexist as "split" phenomena (Coleman 2005, 202). The relationship between polarities, thus, offers I-Thou relationship. Like Buber, van Eyck's main concern is establishing a genuine relationship between the polarities without losing the polarities' original "being."

A twin phenomenon, which van Eyck gives emphasis, is the twin phenomenon of individualism and collectivism. By referring to Buber, van Eyck holds that since thinking individualism or collectivism on its own gives rise to "frustration, isolation, and despair," individualism and collectivism forms "a twin phenomenon that cannot be split:"

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[47]"It is a new concept but one higher and richer than the preceding – richer because it negates or opposes the preceding and therefore contains it, and it contains even more than that, for it is the unity of itself and its opposite" (Hegel 1812-1816/2010, 33).

[48]"It is not the resolution of a conflict between a thesis and an antithesis, not the 'resolution' of both in a higher category. In a twin phenomenon, the opposites remain recognizable as opposites. But this does not imply that they must be taken to an extreme as in Nietzsche. A twin phenomenon embraces an optimistic dialectics which has its roots in Heraclitus. It is, in the latter's words, the actualization of a 'back-stretched harmony as in the bow and the lyre'. It is the mutual attunement of two opposites with the right tension, so that they can be recognized as complementary, just as the right tension in the bow and string is necessary to produce pure tonal relationships and thus make harmony possible" (Strauven 1994/1998, 459).

It was Martin Buber who said that individualism implies part of man whilst collectivism implies man as a part.[49] That's what he said, and he's up against the splitting of a twin phenomenon that cannot be split.

To follow Buber further: individualism sees man in relation to himself; whilst collectivism fails to see man at all. That, I think is incredibly true! For what is related only to itself or isn't related at all confounds relativity and freezes into an abstract absolute. And nothing appertaining to man is either abstract or absolute.

Both conceptions, Buber says, grew out of the same human situation – both lead to frustration, isolation and despair. Neither one nor the other can pave the way that leads to the totality of man, for only between real people can there be anything like real associations. He means, of course, that the totality of man (implying real people) lies beyond the cold abstraction of either individualism or collectivism but requires both in another (real) dimension. Since both are equally abstract and hence equally unreal, both, to use his words again, are incapable of clearing the track between one man and another man, for the fundamental reality of man is one man and another man – man and his fellow men. (van Eyck 1962/2008, 54)

He argues that both individualism and collectivism should meet "in a dimension only accessible to both," which is the "in-between realm:"

Modern individualism is an imaginary structure – this is why it fails. Collectivism is the final barrier man has thrown up against himself as a substitute.

There is only one reality between real persons – what Buber calls 'the real third.' To use his words, interpreting them at the same time: the real third is no makeshift, but the real bearer of all that passes between real persons (no reconciliation between false alternatives, in my terms, no arbitrary bridge between the conflicting halves of an arbitrarily split twin phenomenon). The real third is no new subterfuge because these false alternatives have failed. I should like to make it clear, though it is of course implied in Buber's concept of the real third, that individualism and collectivism cannot be reconciled as abstractions or absolutes since only what is real can shake hands and acquire ambivalent meaning – it needs real hands to really shake hands. The real third is a real dialogue, a real embrace, a real duel between real people.

Buber then goes on to state – and this is his crucial point – that the real third is not something that happens to one person or another person separately and a neutral world containing all things, but something that happens between both in a dimension

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[49]"But if individualism understands only a part of man, collectivism understands man only as a part: neither advances to the wholeness of man, to man as a whole. Individualism sees man only in relation to himself, but collectivism does not see man at all, it sees only "society". With the former man's face is distorted, with the latter it is masked" (Buber 1947/2004, 237).

only accessible to both. The in-between acquiring form. "On the other side of the subjective, on this side of the objective, on the narrow borderline where I and you meet lies the in-between realm."[50] (van Eyck 1962/2008, 54)

According to van Eyck (1962/2008, 60), it is the duty of architecture to create an in-between realm for the twin phenomenon of the individual and the collective "without warping the meaning of either."[51] His Otterlo Circles, which he presents at Otterlo Meeting in 1959, is a depiction of such an intention (Figure 3.9, Figure 3.10).[52] Having three little images of the Greek temple, Theo van Doesburg's 1911 drawing, and an Indian Pueblo (van Eyck 1999, 13) (Figure 3.9),[53] the first circle suggests a reconciliation of the classical, modern, and archaic traditions. This circle is a visual depiction of an in-between realm in which the polarities are brought together. Van Eyck (1999, 12-13) states:

> The three little images united in the first circle hide no real conflict; nor are their properties incompatible. They complement each other, belong together, and reflect equally valid aspects of the human personality. If they are allowed to interact, if their properties are brought together, it should no longer be difficult to resist the lure of false eclectism – false regionalism and – false modernism – three kinds of shortsightedness which continually alternate.

The first circle is correlated with the expression "par 'nous'" (Figure 3.9) and later "by 'us'" (Figure 3.10) in order to underline the "task" of architects to provide a "common ground" for these polarities: "This is our job: *by 'us' for us*" (van Eyck 1999, 13). Suggesting a critique of both individualist and collectivist tendencies (Clarke 1985, 55), the second circle depicts the relation between the individual and

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[50]As quoted previously on page 79, van Eyck quotes from Buber.

[51]"It is up to architecture to provide a built framework - to set the stage as it were - for the twin phenomenon of the individual and the collective without resorting to arbitrary accentuation of either one at the expense of the other, i.e. without warping the meaning of either, since no basic twin phenomenon can be split into incompatible polarities without the halves forfeiting whatever they stand for" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 60).

[52]There are three versions of the Otterlo Circles. Van Eyck presents the first version at the Otterlo Meeting, but the most known is the second version (van Eyck 1999, 13; Campos Uribe et al. 2020, 10).

[53]In the second version of the Otterlo Circles, "the ground plans of the Parthenon (438 B.C.) and of Pueblo Arroyo in New Mexico (11th century), and a contra-construction of Van Doesburg's Maison Particulière (1923)" are depicted (van Eyck 2008, 468).

the collective through "a dancing group of Kayapo Indians from the Orinoco basin in Venezuela" (van Eyck 2008, 468) (Figure 3.10). The term "pour nous" or "for us" stands for "each man and all men, the individual and society – hence the second circle" (van Eyck 1999, 13).
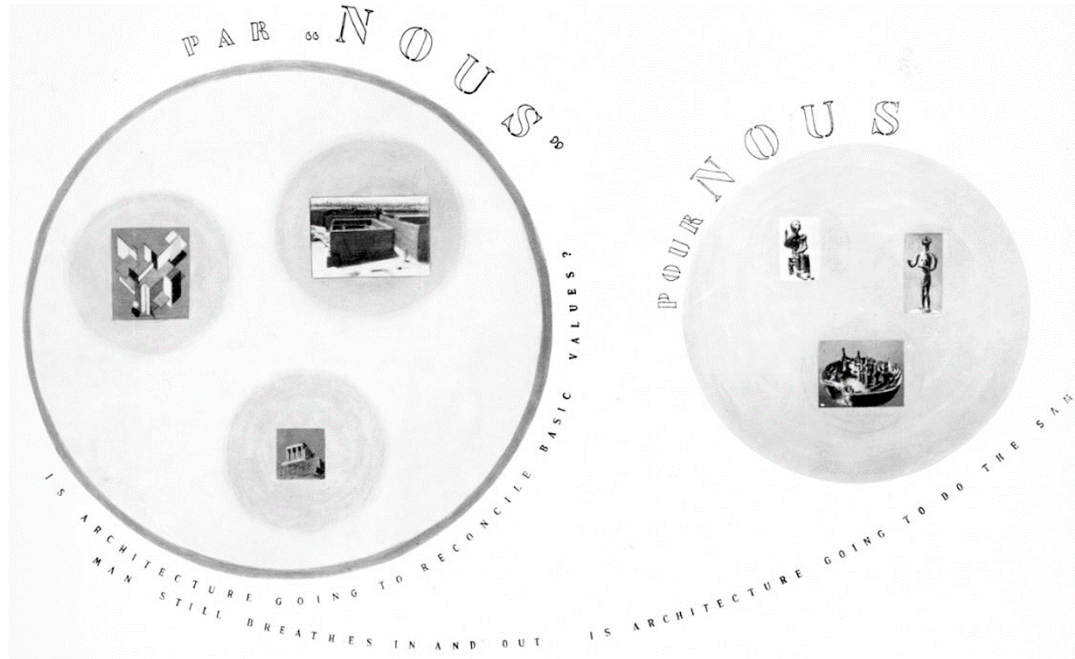
Figure 3.9. First version of the Otterlo Circles by Aldo van Eyck [1959]
(Campos Uribe et al. 2020, 10)
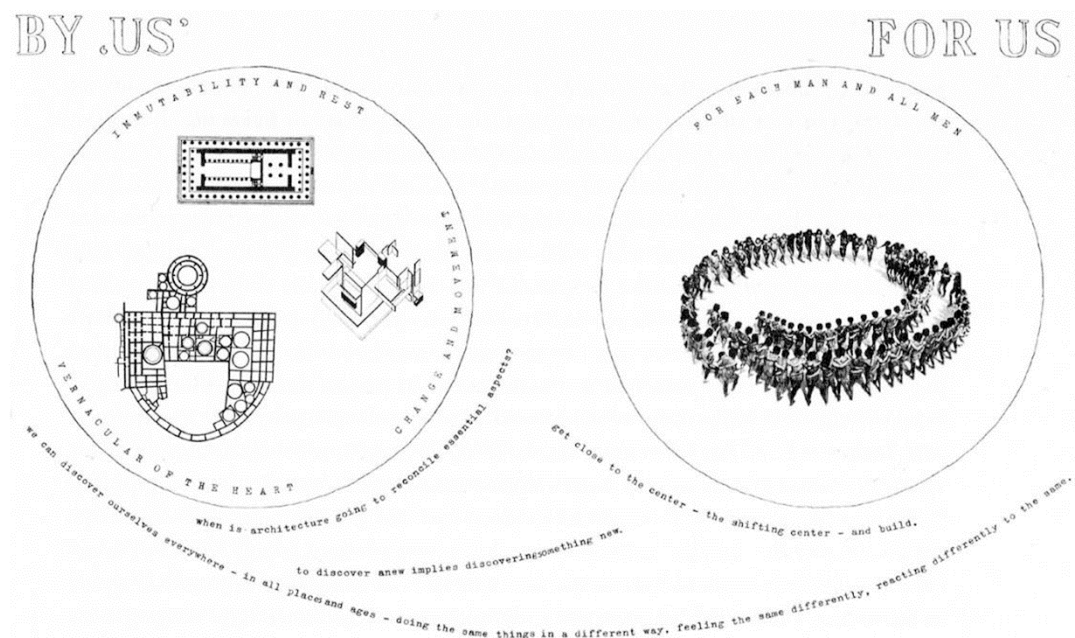
Figure 3.10. Second version of the Otterlo Circles by Aldo van Eyck [1962]
(Campos Uribe et al. 2020, 11)

In his Otterlo Circles and his various texts, van Eyck gives emphasis to "breathing," which epitomizes his concept of twin phenomena (van Eyck 2008, 327). According to van Eyck, if human beings breathe in and out and they always will be, architecture can do the same. He states that:

> We do not exclusively breathe in, nor do we exclusively breathe out. That is why it would be so gratifying if the relationship between outside space and inside space, between individual and common space inside and outside, between open and closed (inwards and outwards) were to become the built mirror of human nature, so that man may recognize himself in its reflection. These are realities of form because they are mental realities. They are, moreover, not polar but ambivalent realities. (van Eyck 2008, 126)

Nevertheless, van Eyck (2008, 199-200, 204, 337) maintains that modern architecture breathes with difficulty, that is, it does not breathe in and out, for the fact that architects and planners refuse to reflect this human nature – breathing in and breathing out – into built form.[54] In other words, architects and planners split twin phenomena into incompatible polarities without realizing that if these halves do not reconcile, they remain as "twin-negatives" (van Eyck 2008, 335). This "splitting mania" can be exemplified in the case of the twin phenomenon of order and chaos, in which order is privileged and chaos is approached warily; yet, for van Eyck, chaos cannot be overcome through order. He states that:

> One cannot eliminate chaos through order, because they are not alternatives. Sooner or later it will dawn upon the mind that what it mistook for order is not really order, but the very thing that causes the stagnation, paralysis, and distress falsely attributed to chaos. It will also dawn upon the mind that what such 'order' is supposed to dispel – chaos – is quite a different thing from the negative effects brought about in trying to do anything so foolish. (van Eyck 2008, 335)

If "chaos is as positive as its twin sister order" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 171; 2008, 335), it is possible to hold that when the opposite halves reconcile, their harmful impacts can be neutralized. Rather than destroying one of the polarities, thus, it is necessary to allow the polarities to reconcile.

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[54]"Somehow we have seen in modern architecture a certain desire to open up a house in such a way that it only breathes out and it never gets the chance of breathing in" (van Eyck 2008, 200).

By introducing the concepts of the "in-between realm" and "twin phenomenon," van Eyck generates a solution for this "splitting mania" that can be inferred as the alienation in the built environment. He believes that the reconciliation of the polarities is a necessity for developing genuine contemporary architecture (Strauven 2007, 1-2). As he underlines on the first circle of the Otterlo Circles, van Eyck argues that it is the task of the architects to help buildings breathe and to prevent polarities split from each other. This can be achieved through the in-between realm. The architects need "to provide this in-between realm by means of construction, i.e. to provide, from house to city scale, a bunch of real places for real people and real things" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 55). For van Eyck, indeed, the in-between realm is the home for twin phenomena, it is "a home where a man can tarry (a man who can do that is a relaxed man), where he can encounter himself without anguish and discover himself well prepared to meet another man" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 90).

In architectural terms, the in-between realm can take many forms. One of the most obvious examples of the in-between realm is the door. Being the emblem of in-between-ness along with the "threshold," the figure of the "eclipse" (Jaschke 2012, 239), and the image of "twilight,"[55] the door is not a clear-cut demarcation between inside and outside, but rather, it is an in-between realm. By both separating and connecting inside and outside through the very same act (Simmel 1909/1994, 7),[56] the door let the building inhale and exhale.[57] According to van Eyck (1962/2008, 62), this architectural element has also a symbolic value for it frames the entry and

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[55]"There are two images I should like to leave with the reader for the inspiration they can offer him. The one is so enigmatic and occurs so seldom that it still thrills multitudes, causing them to tremble: sudden night in daytime, sun and moon married: the eclipse. The other is gentle and equally enigmatic; but it occurs so often: that wonderful period, sometimes long and sometimes short, when both night and day are simultaneously present, experienced directly as a twin phenomenon at 'home' in a temporal in-between realm: twilight.

Eclipse and twilight are doorways to the interior of vision" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 116).

[56]"[...] the door represents in a more decisive manner how separating and connecting are only two sides of precisely the same act" (Simmel 1909/1994, 7).

[57]The door that both inhales and exhales can be later seen in Hertzberger's works on page 116.

departure.[58] He holds that the entry or departure, that is, leaving or entering a home, are both difficult matters. Although architecture cannot annihilate this truth, it can withstand it by soothing rather than exacerbating its impacts (van Eyck 1962/2008, 61-62; 2008, 318). As an in-between realm, the door can take on this task and allow one to tarry (van Eyck 1962/2008, 69).

In a similar vein, the threshold also forms an in-between realm, which establishes a dialogue not only between inside and outside but also between house and city, private and public, part and whole, secure and free, one and many. Van Eyck (2008, 126) states that: "The dwelling and its extension outwards, the city and its extension inwards – that's our task! After all, the inside spaces and the outside spaces constitute simultaneously the interior and the exterior in which we live." Such an extension can be exemplified by a photograph taken by van Eyck on his visit to Djenné in Mali (Figure 3.11). The photograph shows an entrance to a house that extends into the public realm both through the presence of the boy sitting and reading the Quran and through the large gourd that is put there temporarily to dry. Van Eyck states that although the gourd almost obstructs this narrow street, it is left untouched by passers-by. Therefore, the boundaries between the private and public realms are not rigid and people respond accordingly (van Eyck 2008, 488).
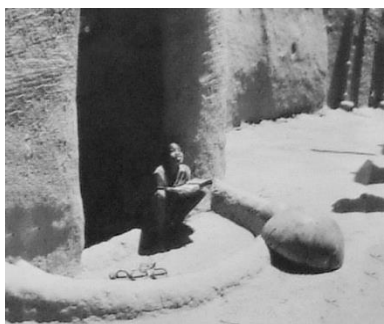
Figure 3.11. The boy sitting on the doorstep, photographed by Aldo van Eyck
(van Eyck 2008, 488)

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[58]"Well, perhaps the greater reality of a door is the localized setting for a wonderful human gesture: conscious entry and departure. That's what a door is, something that frames your coming and going, for it's a vital experience not only for those that do so, but also for those encountered or left behind. A door is a place made for an occasion that is repeated millions of times in a lifetime between the first entry and the last exit, I think that's very symbolical" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 62).

The relationship between inside and outside can also be seen in van Eyck's built works. By allowing the exterior to penetrate through the interior, he usually provides his buildings with a "delayed entrance," which enables entry and exit to become an experience (Strauven 1994/1998, 461). This delayed entrance can take many forms: in Schmela House and Gallery, it is a glazed cylinder overlooking the exhibition space (Figure 3.12); in the Hubertus House, it is a path that loops between the old and the new building (Figure 3.13); and in the Amsterdam Orphanage, it extends straight into the interior courtyard (Strauven 1994/1998, 461).

Figure 3.12. The "public" cylinder standing over the private realm in Schmela House and Gallery [1967-71]
(van Eyck 1999, 157)

Figure 3.13. The spiral staircase between old and new building of Hubertus House, Home for Single Parents and their Chilren [1973-81]
(van Eyck 1999, 193-194).

3.2.2.2   Being Included, Being at Home

For van Eyck (1962/2008, 48), modern architecture has abstract and closed concepts of space and time that exclude humans. He states that:

> Space has no room, time not a moment for man.
> He is excluded
> In order to 'include' him – help his homecoming – he must be gathered into their meaning.
> (Man is the subject as well as the object of architecture).
> Whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more.
> For space in the image of man is place and time in the image of man is occasion.
> Today space and what it should coincide with in order to become 'space' – man at home with himself – are lost. Both search for the same place, but cannot find it.
> Provide that place. (van Eyck 1962/2008, 50)

In order to include people, "to help their homecoming," space and time must be opened, or in van Eyck's terms "interiorized." What is important for van Eyck is not space but "the interior of space – and the inner horizon of that interior" so he maintains that "space and time must be 'opened' – interiorized – so that they can be entered: persuaded to gather man into their meaning – include him" (van Eyck 2008, 472).

Including human signifies including "human experiences." According to van Eyck, as a result of a specific event, any location, however neutral may be, can acquire individual or collective meaning. In relation to this, regardless of their inherent qualities, any location or item can be given "intensified meaning" through personal experience, leading them to be recognized as special (van Eyck 1962/2008, 81). Accordingly, when the space is seen "as a place where it's good to be," people can be included so that space can be called "place" in the image of people (van Eyck 2008, 296). In other words, space becomes place when space lets people be alive in it (van Eyck 1962/2008, 67). Van Eyck maintains that:

> Just as a skeleton is not a person - a human being - unless it has one in and around it - alive, so a building is not a building, a place not a place until it has people in and around it experiencing its positive meaning potential. They, not the construction, form or materials are the body of space. If space allows people to be alive in it, it

will become place. Conversely if we succeed in allowing construction, form or material to become place - an act of poetry and magic - people will know they are alive there and really appreciate "space" as such. (van Eyck 1962/2008, 67)

This "act of poetry and magic" does not need to be anything grandiose, but it can be a very small touch just like the steel ring in van Eyck's Amsterdam apartment (Figure 3.14). Designing it in 1948, van Eyck counts it as his first attempt to transform space into place: "As for the steel ring, it was my very first circle in space with the quality of place – what with the seat, warmth from the stove – and the little mystery that circles do occassionally provide" (van Eyck 1999, 54).[59] In a similar vein, even though "a wall, a seat or some steps on which to repose, talk, wait or watch; a table around which people gather for an occasion, a balustrade, wall or lamppost against which one may lean and smoke a pipe, a door which allows one to tarry with dignity" are not spaces, they form places by means of the experience of the body (1962/2008, 69) (Figure 3.15). In van Eyck's thinking, the presence, the experience, and the activity of humans in space turn space into place. Therefore, the experience of the human is essential and the participation of the human is considered to be valuable.

It needs to be noted here that despite the fact that architects have long been preoccupied with the concept of "place," "it was Aldo van Eyck who first formulated the concept in such a way that you cannot ignore it" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 192). The distinction between space and place is not commonplace in the early 1960s, but "no sooner had Van Eyck formulated them in the mid sixties than they became part of the stock in trade of architectural thinking" (Strauven 1994/1998, 471).[60]

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[59]This steel ring even provides inspiration for his client Frans van Meurs, which causes van Eyck (1999, 54) to regard it as his starting point: "Actually this is where it all started, because it was on that very plank that Frans van Meurs sat as he explained what it was he wanted me to build for 'his children'. Himself an orphan, he was head of the Municipal Orphanage."

[60]Referring to "Existence, Space and Architecture" (1971) and "Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture" (1980), Strauven (1998, 472-473) argues that Christian Norberg-Schulz does not give reference to earlier works in the contemporary architectural thought, but writes as if he is the first to introduce the concept of "place" into the field based on his own interpretation of the works of Martin Heidegger, Gaston Bachelard, Otto Bollnow, and Georg Trakl.

Figure 3.14. The steel ring in the living room, designed by Aldo van Eyck [1948]
(Accessed June 22, 2021 from http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/2018/11/23/architects-apartment-amsterdam-1948/)
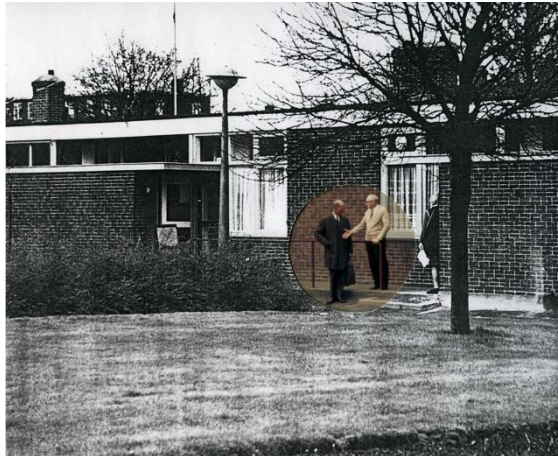
Figure 3.15. Railing in front of the doorstep acting as a "place," Houses for the Elderly by Aldo van Eyck and Jan Rietveld [1951-54]
(Accessed January 24, 2022 from http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/2018/11/23/houses-for-the-elderly-slotermeer-amsterdam-1951-4-with-jan-rietveld/)

Once the human experience and activity are considered in the definition of place, time should also be involved. Being well aware of it, van Eyck benefits from Henri Bergson's concept of duration (*durée*) (Strauven 1994/1998, 419).[61] The term

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[61]Campos Uribe et al. (2020, 5-6) argue that van Eyck also benefits from James Joyce's concept of duration. They state that: "Using Joyce's novels as a starting point, through Giedion-Welcker, Van Eyck considers the perception of space rather than the space itself, so that this space is internalised by its inhabitants and incorporated into their body of experiences to become part of a network of places and occasions, a way to relate with the world" (Campos Uribe et al. 2020, 6). Yet, according to the author's correspondence with Francis Strauven, Strauven states that although van Eyck is a

"*durée*" refers to the internalized psychological time in which past, present, and future are condensed and constitute a continuum (Campos Uribe et al. 2020, 5). Unlike the popular belief of time as a linear concept, the duration can sometimes be appreciated as large and inclusive and sometimes as small and exclusive (van Eyck 1962/2008, 74). This, indeed, depends on the experience. As specified by van Eyck, when people experience and participate fully, they become aware of duration, i.e. temporal depth. This temporal depth becomes transparent and profound when it is rendered through memory and anticipation (van Eyck 1962/2008, 74). The transparency and profoundness allow the present to encompass both the past and the future so that the present becomes an in-between realm for the twin phenomenon of past and future. When the past and the future are included in the present, the sense of the present is enlarged as the "interiorized time," making human included:

> As the past is gathered into the present and the gathering body of experience finds a home in the mind, the present acquires temporal depth – loses its acrid instantaneity; its razorblade quality. One might call this: the interiorization of time or time rendered transparent. (van Eyck 2008, 474)

Being included in time makes human feel at home. Therefore, in order for a human to feel at home, place also needs to include duration (Strauven 1994/1998, 419). In this respect, van Eyck argues as follows:

> […] as soon as man experiences duration he senses himself contained in time – included – and time contained in him. In coinciding with time, furthermore, he coincides with himself. There is then no difference between sense of duration and sense of being, not for that matter between these and the sense of present, for the present is experienced as extending into the past and the future; past and future are created in the present. Thus implies self-realisation. Yes, man is 'at home' in duration. But there is no room for him in 'closed time.' In the abstraction of the consecutive instant man loses his sense of dimension and hence also his identity. (van Eyck 1962/2008, 74)

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passionate reader of Joyce, whom he knows through Carola Giedion-Welcker, he does not develop a theory from Joyce.

Associating this all-inclusive "interiorization" of space and time with the term "labyrinthian clarity,"[62] van Eyck wants to express that experiencing space and time entails both experiencing the multi-layered complexity of places and simultaneously experiencing each place in its unique identity (Sack 2019, 186). Even the same place is experienced uniquely in each experience, making van Eyck argue that: "a place is therefore never the same place – what Heraclitean fire!" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 79).

Van Eyck believes that interiorized space and time have the potential to form "built homecoming" (Clarke 1985, 115, 121). For van Eyck (1962/2008, 61-62), regardless of which way one goes, both the house and the city should give the feeling of going (coming) home. He states that: "What we need is to be at home – wherever we are. As long as home is perpetually somewhere else, there will be no question of 'belonging'" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 56). Feeling at home in the outside world may not be easy to achieve, but it is what van Eyck pays attention to. He holds that it is the task of the planner to provide "built homecoming," to maintain a sense of belonging, and thus to develop "an architecture of place" for all (van Eyck 2008, 318-319).

His playgrounds all over Amsterdam can be considered to be concrete examples of providing "build homecoming" and architecture of place "for all." From 1947 to 1970, van Eyck designs more than 700 playgrounds in every neighborhood on vacant lands, forgotten areas, and unimportant dusty bits of greenery (Figure 3.16, Figure 3.17). In the neighborhoods where there are no available spaces, the lots, which became vacant when the houses of people deported during the Second World War were demolished, and the left-over spaces are chosen to design playgrounds (van Eyck 1999, 68, 70) (Figure 3.18).

Rather than selecting playground equipment such as an aluminum elephant or giraffe from a catalog, he uses basic archetypes like dome, igloo, or arch so that children

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[62]"Labyrinthian clarity implies consecutive impression simultaneously sensed through repeated experience. It implies that clarity of place articulation grows – should grow at least in time" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 100).

can sit on or under them and explore a great variety of things in them (van Eyck 2008, 115).[63] By creating an opportunity for children to experience these types of equipment, he let them participate via their activities and transform space into place (Figure 3.19).

Figure 3.16. The playground in Van Hogendorpplein, before and after [1953]
(Accessed October 10, 2022 from http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/)
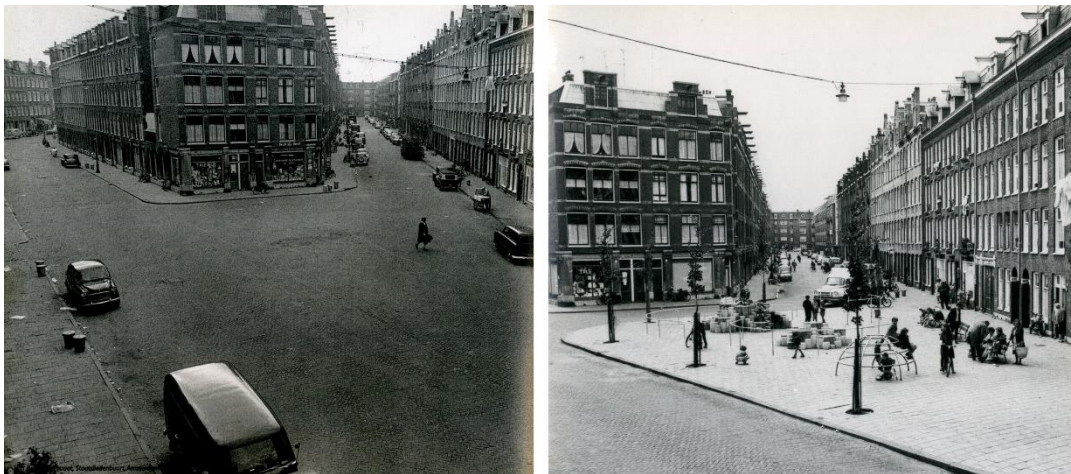
Figure 3.17. The playground in Van Boetzelaertstraat, before and after [1964]
(Accessed October 10, 2022 from http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/)

[63]"My opinion is that a lot of the playground equipment you find in the catalogue is not suitable for public space, not aesthetically, and because it is not real enough. Playground equipment has to be real, just as a telephone box is real because you can phone in it and a bench is real because you can sit on it. An aluminium elephant is not real, since an elephant is meant to move, and as an object in the street it is unnatural. A child can make anything out of a simple form. If a play apparatus represents an animal from the start, the form dictates its construction so much that it puts an end to pure play. There are rods you can't stand on, sharp corners into which your hand vanishes. An aluminium giraffe stands there odd and bored, even in a playgarden" (van Eyck 2008, 114-115).

Figure 3.18. Dijkstraat playground, before and after [1954]
(Accessed October 10, 2022 from http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/)
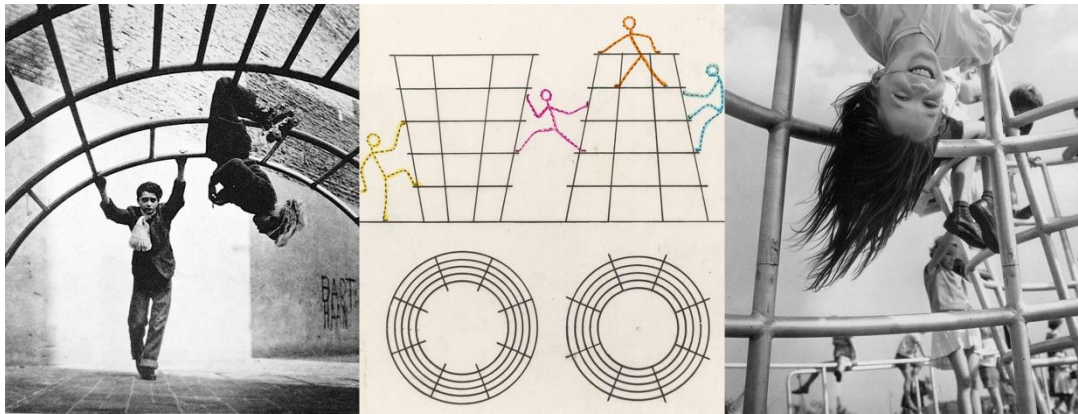
Figure 3.19. The playground equipment to be experienced in a variety of ways
(Accessed October 10, 2022 from http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/)

Van Eyck gives a great emphasis on children and he wants to reintroduce "the child as an essential constituent of the city" (van Eyck 2008, 119). He maintains that if cities are not intended for children, they are not intended for citizens either, and if they are not intended for citizens, they are not cities (van Eyck 1962/2008, 19).[64] Yet, it needs to be stated that his playgrounds are not designed "only" for children but "for all" the citizens. This is the reason why his playgrounds provide architecture of place "for all." He explains his intention as follows:

[64]Van Eyck's approach towards children demonstrates that he remembers that he was once a child.

"All grown-ups were children once –

although few of them remember it" (Saint-Exupéry 1944/1995, 5).

The playground is for everyone. At night, any play apparatus set up there becomes something different. When someone beats their rugs on it, a somersault frame is no longer a somersault frame. During the break at a girl's school, a climbing arch may provide seats for 30 girls from 15 to 17 years old, all eating their sandwiches. It has then become an aluminium hill. If one throws a tarpaulin over it, it becomes a tent. Use can also lead to misuse, and less pleasant things can happen; sometimes the big ones chase the little ones away, sometimes the whole thing is smashed. The public playground has to be attractive as a meeting place for everyone, including adults, if its existence is to be justified. It also has to be acceptable to the city even without the movement of the child. (van Eyck 2008, 113)

3.2.2.3   The Large House and the Small City

Van Eyck places a great emphasis on putting an end to split the polarities of twin phenomena. This also applies to the twin phenomenon of architecture and urbanism, such that architecture needs to be conceived urbanistically and urbanism needs to be conceived architecturally (van Eyck 1962/2008, 60). He holds that "a house is like a small city if it's to be a real house – a city like a large house if it's to be a real city" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 10, 60); thus, the large house and little city constitutes an in-between realm image (van Eyck 2008, 425).

According to van Eyck (1962/2008, 60), the large house and the small city relationship concerns the "right-size" for the reason that what is large without being small does not have the right-size, and if there is no right-size, there is also no human size. The right-size, at the same time, embodies the twin phenomena of small and large, few and many, near and far, simple and complex, open and closed, unity and diversity, and unquestionably part and whole (van Eyck 2008, 327), all of which are born from "the large house and the small city" (Ligtelijn and Strauven 2008, 10). Including all these twin phenomena, therefore, "the large house-little city image provides scope for multi-meaning" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 90).

It needs to be mentioned that this relationship between the house and the city can be traced back to Leon Battista Alberti and Andrea Palladio (Ligtelijn and Strauven, in van Eyck 1962/2008, 228). In *De Re Aedificatoria*, Alberti asks "If, as the

philosophers maintain, the city is some large house, and the house is in turn like some small city, cannot the various parts of the house be considered little dwellings?" (Quoted in van Eyck 1962/2008, 228-229). In a similar vein, a century later, Palladio (1570/2001, 46) holds that "the city is nothing more or less than some great house and, contrariwise, the house is a small city." Strauven (1994/1998, 300) argues that van Eyck does not know of these precedents, but he rediscovers this concept on his own while designing the Amsterdam Orphanage. For van Eyck (2008, 318), Amsterdam Orphanage is "the children's large house-little city."

Regarded as his magnum opus, Amsterdam Orphanage (1955-60) is built as a house for unprotected children (Figure 3.20, Figure 3.21, Figure 3.22, Figure 3.23). It is "a small world in a large world, a large world in a small world, a house like a city, a city like a house; a home for children, a place where they can live rather than survive – this at least is what I intended it to be" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 222). This "large world in a small world" not only houses the unprotected children but also houses a great variety of polarities including but not limited to individual and collective, house and city, small and large, inside and outside, contemporary and traditional. The interaction of these various twin phenomena produces a plan of a non-hierarchic fabric of various places, which can be considered to be both autonomous "somewhere" and mutually related by means of the in-between areas (Strauven 1994/1998, 300).

Van Eyck anchors the orphanage to the street through a large open square. Bearing in mind the fact that leaving and entering a home are difficult issues, he designs this open square to act as an in-between realm that gently leads the way and thus helps to mitigate the abrupt transition between the reality outside and inside (van Eyck 2008, 318). The open square, which serves as a continuation of the public domain, appears to encourage interaction between neighborhood children and the orphanage children (Strauven 1994/1998, 289); thus, it also serves as a gathering place for these children.
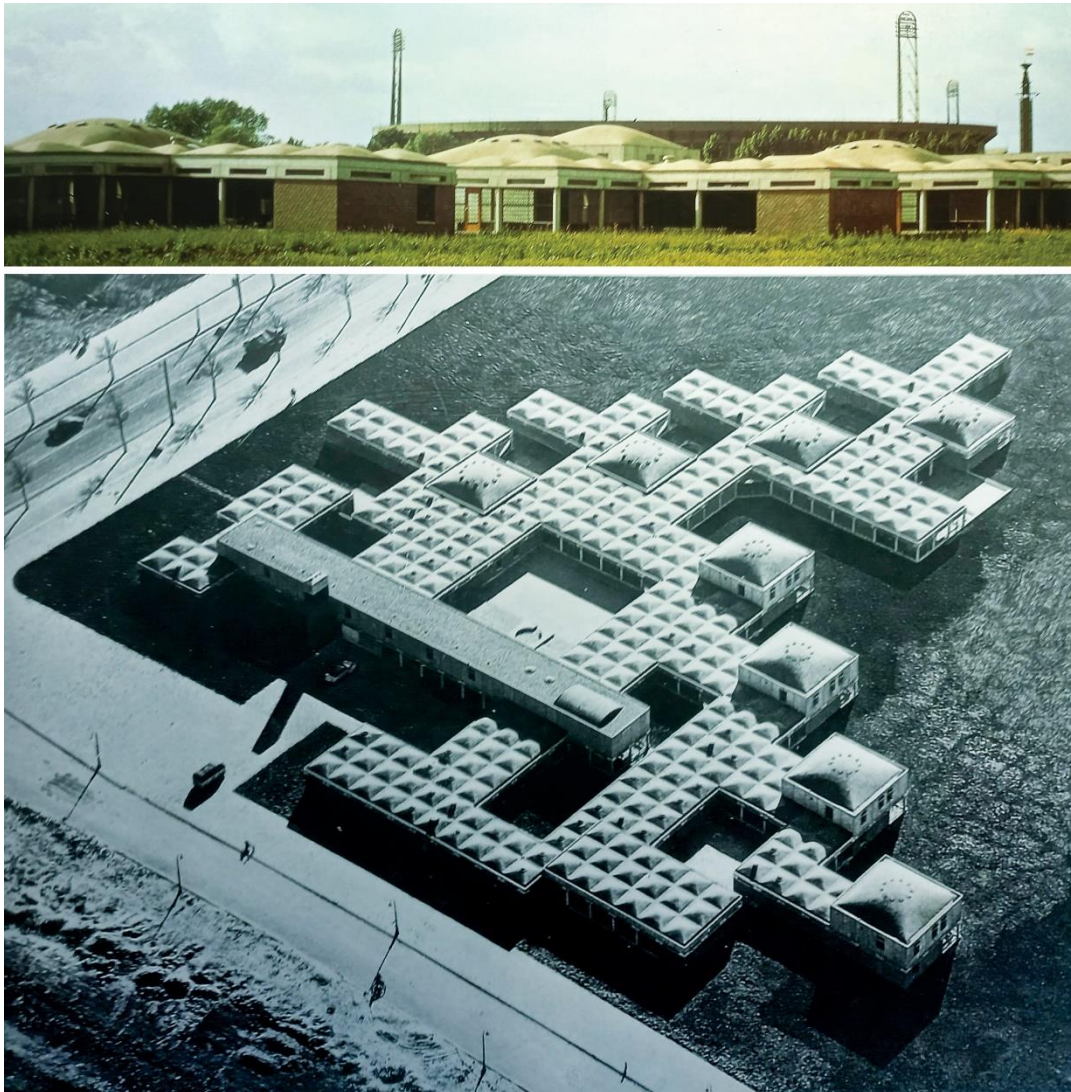
Figure 3.20. Amsterdam Orphanage by Aldo van Eyck [1955-60]
(van Eyck 1999, 91)

The reconciliation of classical, modern, and archaic traditions is also observed in the orphanage as is depicted in the first circle of the Otterlo Circles. Strauven (2007, 6-7) explains this reconciliation as follows:

> The classical tradition resides in the regular geometrical order that lies at the base of the plan. The modern one manifests itself in the dynamic centrifugal space which traverses the classical order. The archaic tradition shows up in various aspects of the building's formal appearance. Due to the soft, biomorphic cupolas which cover the entire building, the first impression it evokes is that of an archaic settlement, reminiscent of a small Arabic domed city or an African village.
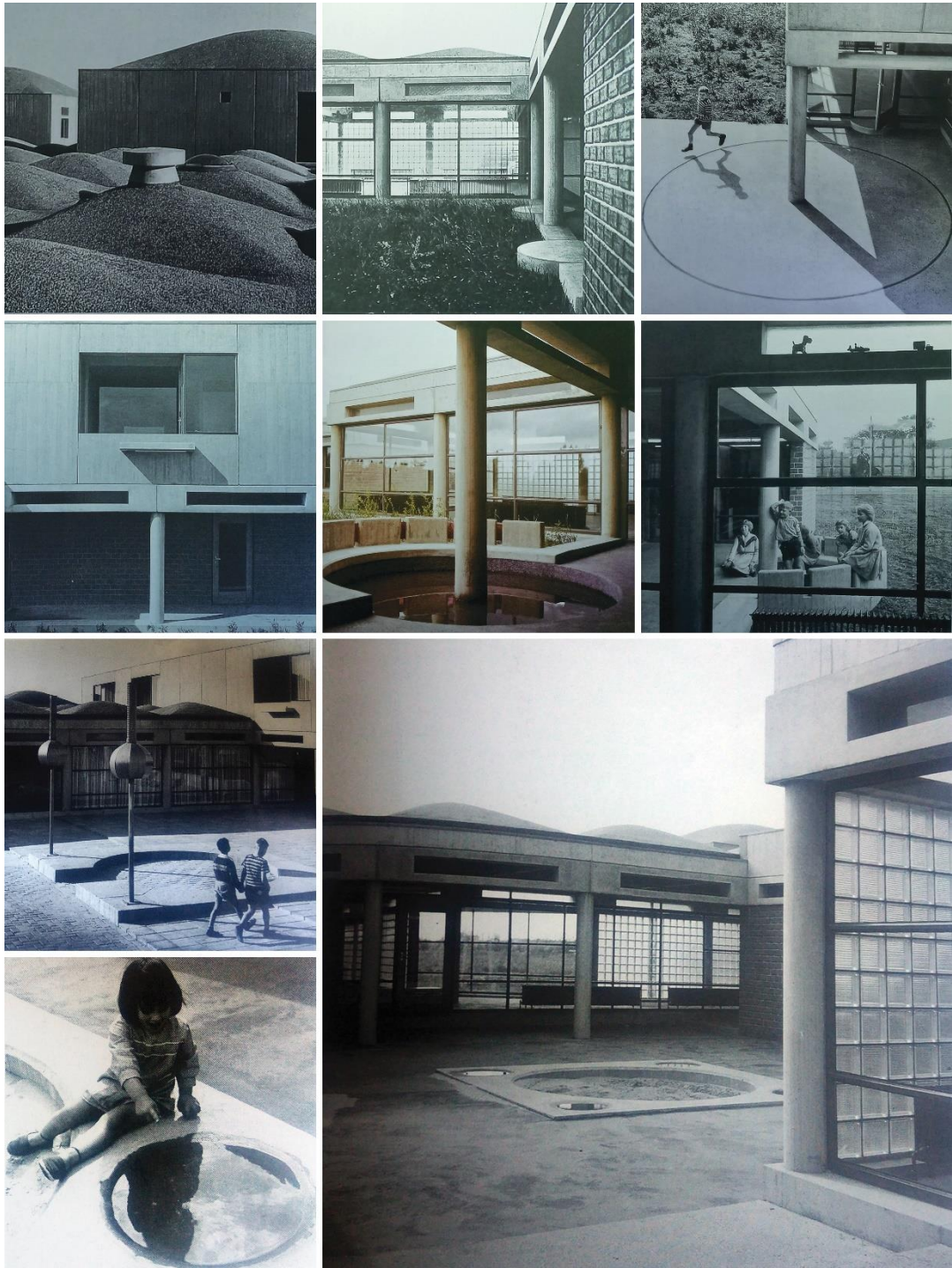
Figure 3.21. Amsterdam Orphanage from various perspectives
(van Eyck 1999, 92-109)
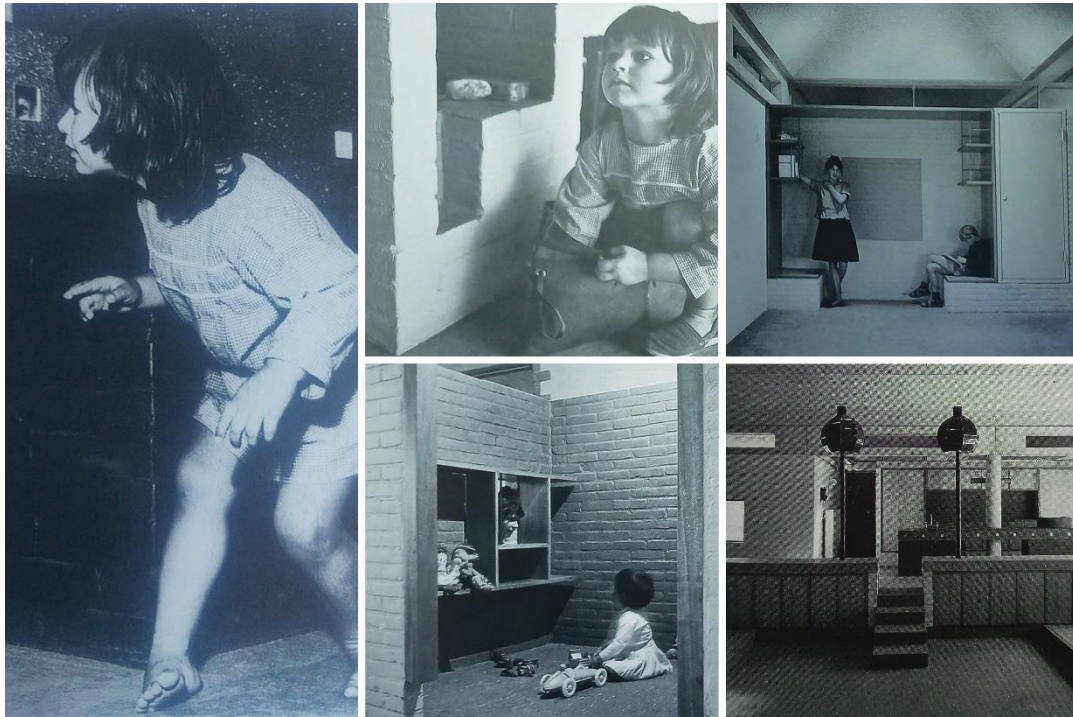
Figure 3.22. The "right-size" determined based on the stature of the children
(van Eyck 1999, 99-106)

Figure 3.23. The interiors of the orphanage
(van Eyck 1999, 93, 101, 105)

As is requested by Frans van Meurs, the head of the orphanage, the dimensions of the building are arranged to the stature of the children (Figure 3.22). Van Eyck achieves it not by lowering the ceiling but by embedding small play areas under the large-domed spaces so that the twin phenomenon of small and large is achieved, creating an opportunity for small and large to be present simultaneously (Strauven 1994/1998, 297)

It is especially important that the orphanage provides in-between places for many polarities, such as those mentioned; such that "the more twin phenomena that are interwoven, the more the mind feels at home there" (Strauven 1994/1998, 370).

Just as the orphanage is the manifestation of a "small city" with these several twin phenomena, for a city to be a "large house," the city also needs to consist of in-betweens where many polarities can coexist. Van Eyck, in effect, expands the in-between realm to the urban scale (Strauven 1994/1998, 370). Starting from the concept of "the large house and the small city," he proposes to develop a city model whose components are formed on the basis of a ground pattern that can be multiplied into a cluster of similar patterns (Strauven 2007, 16). The urban components are designed in such a way that their identity is not lost during repetition but rather is approved and enriched in the shape of the cluster they form (Strauven 2007, 16).[65] By this means, the city provides in-between realms for forming twin phenomena of small and large as well as part and whole. This very relationship between the city and its components and how they provide the twin phenomena of small-large and part-whole is very well depicted in van Eyck's "tree-leaf metaphor:"[66]

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[65]He explains this approach in his article called "Steps towards a configurative discipline," published in *Forum* in 1962 (van Eyck 2008, 327-343).

[66]Van Eyck's "tree-leaf metaphor," indeed, evoke Nâzım Hikmet Rans's verses, which also express the twinphenomena of part and whole and individual and collective metaphorically:

"To live like a tree alone and free
and in brotherhood like the forests,
this yearning is ours."

"*Yaşamak bir ağaç gibi tek ve hür
ve bir orman gibi kardeşçesine,
bu hasret bizim...*" (Ran 1940/2008, 612).

Tree is leaf and leaf is tree
City is house and house is city.
Take any 'part' and there is the 'whole'.
Take the 'whole' and behold the 'part'.
Whole is part and part is whole, provided each is identified with what it needs in order to be house or tree, city or leaf – moisture, air, sap, people and people's activities, emotions and associations. (van Eyck 2008, 428) (Figure 3.24)

Figure 3.24. Tree – leaf diagram by Aldo van Eyck
(Accessed June 22, 2021 from http://vaneyckfoundation.nl/2018/11/21/the-2013-nagele-exhibition/)

By referring to this metaphor, such an interpretation can be made: An oak tree, for instance, has leaves that are different in size and shape. Although each leaf has its own size, shape, and identity, each has the characteristics of an oak tree. One can see the "whole" in the "part" and thus differentiate an oak leaf from an apple leaf. According to van Eyck, the city should be formed precisely in this way. Even though each building has its own identity, the buildings should be able to form a meaningful whole when they come together. Such a relationship creates the opportunity to form housing types that have a rich identity in themselves and retain their identity when repeated and grouped but also have the ability to join into larger wholes where their identity is strengthened (Strauven 1994/1998, 370). By this means,

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> In a city structured in this way, the large, instead of overwhelming and obscuring the small, allows the small to come fully into its own. The small becomes recognizable in the large and vice versa. Pursued consistently, this vision implies that the more levels of association the city includes, and the more extensive they are, the more richly and variedly the basic pattern can be interpreted at each stage, and the stronger the identity the various levels impart to one another. (Strauven 1994/1998, 370) [67]

Consequently, van Eyck (2008, 309) maintains that, "the large without the small, the small without the large, loses all size." This very idea manifests itself in the projects of Piet Blom,[68] who is a student of van Eyck. For van Eyck (2008, 329), Blom's projects, in which his influence can be clearly seen, successfully show the validity of a way of thought van Eyck has long espoused. Like van Eyck, Blom argues that: "The village hall must be more like an open square than a building, and, inversely, the village square must be less a square than a building" (Piet Blom, quoted in Jaschke 2009, 181). In his project entitled "The Cities will be Inhabited like Villages,"[69] Blom wants to form "a communal dwelling in which the dividing walls could be torn down" so that people can be more complete in number and association (Piet Blom, quoted in Jaschke 2009, 177-178) (Figure 3.25). By tearing down the walls and "forcing" people to live together, it seems as if the project aims to tear down the walls between people; thus, the relationship literally established between units suggests establishing relationships between people. According to Blom, a dwelling should not be thought of solely as a unit having a roof over the head, but rather, "dwelling is also the neighbourhood, the street, the communal facilities (*vorzieningen*), the atmosphere of a quarter" (Piet Blom, quoted in Jaschke 2009, 181). Blom has a similar approach in another student project, "Practical Planning Exercise (*Praktische oefening stedebouwl*)."[70] This project is formed of

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[67]A similar approach can be seen in Louis Kahn, who states that: "the society of rooms is knit together with the elements of connection which have their own characteristics" (Kahn 1971/2003, 254).

[68]Piet Blom wins the Prix de Rome Architecture in 1962 with his project entitled "A Village of Children. A Village like a Home (*Pestalozzi*)" (Jaschke 2009, 181; Prix de Rome).

[69]Van Eyck speaks of this project in Otterlo Meeting and publishes it in *Forum* in the issue called "The Story of Another Idea" in 1959 (van Eyck 2008, 276).

[70]This project is also published in *Forum* in 1959 (Jaschke 2009, 180).

interconnecting modular units of apartments and single-family houses, which are chained together to form semi-open courtyards at their intersections (Jaschke 2009, 180) (Figure 3.26). This project aims at blurring the boundaries between inside and outside through a variety of spaces introduced in different levels (Jaschke 2009, 181) and acting as a mediator between people.

According to Karin Jaschke (2009, 181), architectural elements in Blom's projects, such as semi-open courtyards, open stairways, spacious entrance areas, carefully planned networks of paths, and the plastic articulation of building volumes and façades are designed to create rich visual and spatial connections between adjacent houses and apartments as well as provide protected areas that encourage residents to make better use of the outdoors (Jaschke 2009, 181). She argues that these projects search for encouraging "encounter and communication." While encouraging "encounter and communication," there seems to be an effort to provide "intimate" exterior spaces so that people feel at home in their environment.
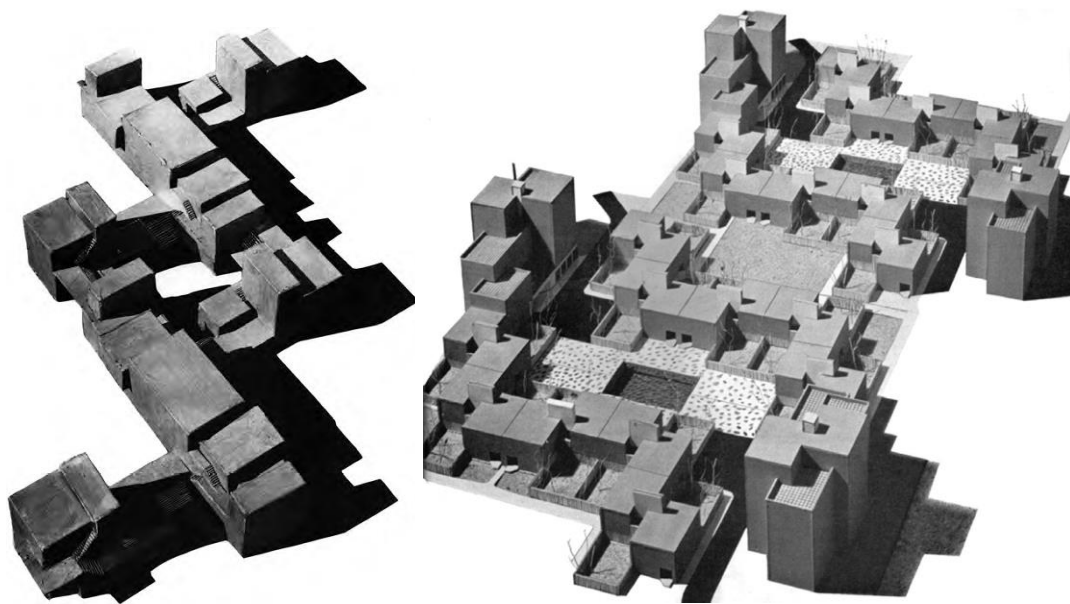

Figure 3.25. **"The Cities will be Inhabited like Villages"** by Piet Blom (L)
Figure 3.26. "Practical Planning Exercise" by Piet Blom (R)
(Jaschke 2009, 178, 184)

3.2.3   Hertzberger's Concept of the In-between Realm

As previously mentioned, another figure influenced by the in-between concept is another Dutch architect Herman Hertzberger (1932 -) from Amsterdam. Just after graduating from Delft University of Technology in 1958, he turns back to Amsterdam, where he establishes his architectural office. In the same year, he is invited by van Eyck and Bakema to join *Forum*'s editorial board (Hertzberger 2014/2015, 13).[71] From 1959 to 1963,[72] Hertzberger takes part in the editorial board, which also include Aldo van Eyck, Jaap Bakema, Dick Apon, Gerrit Boon, Joop Hardy, and Jurriaan Schrofer (van Dijk 2005, 83; Merino del Rio 2019b, 210). Both the content of *Forum* (Merino del Rio 2019a, 213) and the staff meetings have a great influence on Hertzberger's architectural thoughts and built works as he himself expresses:

> In the Forum period I really learned a lot from both Bakema and Van Eyck. Every week, we had our staff meetings in the attic of my home in Amsterdam. Aldo and Bakema would fight over my table, a very unsteady table that was always shaking during these meetings, you know, Bakema was very vigorous. I still remember whole fragments of these conversations. (Hertzberger 1991/2005, 332)

After the *Forum* period, van Eyck also invites Hertzberger to join Team 10 meetings. Hertzberger attends the meetings in Berlin (1965), Urbino (1966), and Rotterdam (1974); yet he feels as if he is "somebody from outside" (Hertzberger 1991/2005, 332).[73] Bearing in mind this feeling of being a stranger to the group as well as the influence of Team 10 on his works, he considers himself as the product of Team 10

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[71]"It was 1958 and I had scarcely graduated when Aldo van Eyck asked me to sit on the editorial board of a forthcoming new version of the magazine *Forum*, which was to communicate the ideas of Team 10" (Hertzberger 2014/2015, 13).

[72]Although the last issue of *Forum* is put together in 1963, it is published in July 1967 (Merino del Rio 2019b, 225).

[73]"Team 10 was a group of friends that fought against the bureaucracy of CIAM, but it gradually became a sort of family group that didn't tolerate people from outside: you were either accepted or not. I remember that in Berlin and also in Urbino I was considered as somebody external: 'Who's that man? Is he OK?' And I remember a terrible fight with Shad Woods who completely disagreed with the things I showed" (Hertzberger 1991/2005, 332).

rather than a participant: "I went to only two meetings,[74] but I've known Aldo van Eyck for a very long time. And of course his ideas, which were quite dominant in Team 10, have affected me. So, I'm much more a product of Team 10 than a participant" (Hertzberger 1991/2005, 332).

3.2.3.1   Public Intermingling with Private

Hertzberger (1991/2001, 12) starts his "Lessons for Students in Architecture" by interpreting "public" and "private" as the spatial translation of "collective" and "individual." To put it more explicitly, he defines the public as the area accessible to everyone who is held responsible for the maintenance. The private, on the other hand, is defined as an area whose accessibility is rather restricted to a small group or one individual who is responsible for upkeep. By keeping these definitions in mind, Hertzberger (1991/2001, 12) expresses the polarization between "public" and "private," which is like the polarization between "collective" and "individual." He holds that placing excessive emphasis on these concepts increases this polarization, which leads to alienation:

> The reason why city dwellers become outsiders in their own living environment is either that the potential of collective initiative has been grossly overestimated, or that participation and involvement have been underestimated. The occupants of a house are not really concerned with the space outside their homes, but nor can they really ignore it. This opposition leads to alienation from your environment and – in so far as your relations with others are influenced by the environment – also to alienation from your fellow residents. (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 47)

The polarization between the concepts can be reduced by means of the in-between realm. Like van Eyck, Hertzberger suggests the in-between realm, which can be used to remove the clear demarcation between the public and the private. He states that:

> The in-between concept is the key to eliminating the sharp division between areas with different territorial claims. The point is therefore to create intermediary spaces which, although on the administrative level belonging to either the private or the

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[74]He also attends the meeting in Rotterdam (1974), where he shows his Centraal Beheer office building (Risselada and van den Heuvel 2005, 356), but it seems as if he does not count it.

> public domain, are equally accessible to both sides, that is to say that it is wholly acceptable to both that the 'other' makes use of them. (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 40)

Hertzberger introduces the in-between realm by slightly changing the qualities of public and private areas. For Hertzberger (1991/2001, 13), public and private areas are not opposite poles, but rather they can be understood in relative terms as a series of spatial qualities that gradually differ. In this respect, an area can be semi-private or semi-public depending on its accessibility, its users, the users' responsibilities (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 14). Accordingly, when people have the chance to use the parts of the public space for their good, the public nature of that area can temporarily or permanently change through that usage (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 16). In the instances like spreading rice to dry in the public areas of Bali or hanging laundry to dry on cables spanning the street from one house to another, people use public areas for their benefits (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 16). In these examples, where public space intermingles with private space and forms an in-between realm, the house extends to the street; thus, the street is no longer "outside," but it becomes part of the house. While speaking of the concept of "porosity," Walter Benjamin and Asja Lacis (1924/2006, 174-175) depict a similar relationship between public and private: "Just as the living room reappears on the street, with chairs, hearth, and altar, so, only much more loudly, the street migrates into the living room." Known as the lack of apparent borders between things (Gilloch 1996, 25), porosity is used to describe the situation in Naples, where there is no clear demarcation between private and public, old and new, interior and exterior (Gilloch 1996, 25-26; Alanyalı Aral 2003, 39). The city is regarded as an organic totality with its interpenetrating buildings and spaces (Gilloch 1996, 25). By referring to this concept, it is not wrong to maintain that the in-between realm also has a quality of being porous, which provides an opportunity for "the absorption and communication between different modes, atmospheres and time sequences within everyday life" (Alanyalı Aral 2003, 39).

According to Hertzberger (1991/2001, 17), using public space as if it is private strengthens the user's claim on this area in the eyes of others. From this point of view, it is plausible to interpret that using public space as if it is private gives the

message to the passers-by that this area is not abandoned or vacant, but rather it is "appropriated" and there is "life" in this area. The exact opposite situation may produce the suitable conditions for the broken windows theory, which holds that if a window of a building is broken and is left unrepaired, the rest of the windows will soon be broken due to the fact that one unrepaired broken window gives the message that no one cares for this building and breaking more windows will not cause trouble (Wilson and Kelling 1982). In such circumstances, when people are not able to exert influence on their living environments, the world beyond the door becomes "a hostile world of vandalism and aggression, where we feel threatened rather than at home" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 48). Accordingly, once people have the possible conditions for appropriation, there becomes a reconciliation between public and private as well as between people and the built environment.

It needs to be noted that, originating from Marx's anthropology, the term "appropriation" is used in French urban sociology research in the 60s and the 70s, and it is also used in general psychology before the term "space appropriation" is defined (Serfaty-Garzon 1985, 11). By definition, appropriation is the "totality of actions to which we proceed in order to enter into possession of our surroundings, in the sense of their transformation for a certain use" (Noschis et al. 1978, 451). These actions make people relate themselves to their surroundings (Alanyalı Aral 2003, 11). People become familiar with their surroundings through this relationship, which generates appropriation. Yet, being familiar with the surrounding may take time, revealing the fact that "appropriation never is a 'by-product' of something else but is always a process that has ontological value in that it coincides with a development and an actualization of the self" (Serfaty-Garzon 1985, 12). For appropriation to happen, individual needs to have a motivation to act and/or transform the environment (Noschis et al. 1978, 451).

Figure 3.27. Diagoon Dwellings
(Accessed December 26, 2021 from https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/14-woningbouw/79-diagoon-experimental-housing/)

In order not to leave such circumstances up to chance, the architect needs to consider the influence of the users, which is, indeed, what Hertzberger intends to achieve. The Diagoon Dwellings (1967-1970) in Delft can be regarded as an example of such an approach (Figure 3.27). The areas in front of the dwellings are not distributed to the dwellings, but they are paved with concrete tiles as if they are part of the public domain. In fact, the intention is to leave these areas in the hands of the residents so that they can decide on how to utilize these areas. In time, the residents remove some of the tiles in order to plant plants, which reminds the slogan "*Dessous les paves la plage*"[75] (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 41). Like Hertzberger aims, the residents utilize the area in front of their houses however they require and like and leave the rest to the public domain. According to Hertzberger (1991/2001, 41), if the design proposed a layout of separate and private areas given to the dwellings, there would be a separation between public and private areas. With this layout, on the other hand, the users are given a suitable condition to appropriate; thus, an in-between realm, an intermediary zone between public and private, emerges:

> a merging of the strictly private territory of the houses and the public area of the street. In this area in-between public and private, individual and collective claims

[75]"*Sous les pavés, la plage*!," meaning "Under the cobblestones, the beach," is a Situationist slogan from the May 1968 protest in France.

can overlap, and resulting conflicts must be resolved in mutual agreement. It is here that every inhabitant plays the roles that express what sort of person he wants to be, and therefore how he wants others to see him. Here, too, it is decided that what individual and collective have to offer to each other. (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 41)

The in-between realm can be formed inside the building if "the building is a city." *De Drie Hoven* (1964-1974), home for the elderly, is designed in such a way that the building functions as a city in order to make the things easier for its disabled inhabitants. Situated along the hallways that serve as streets, all the dwelling units have porch-like areas, which are personalized by the inhabitants with their plants or personal belongings (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 40) (Figure 3.28). Since there is no parapet or fence between these porch-like areas and the streets, these areas are both part of the street and the dwellings, forming in-between areas. Additionally, these dwelling units have two-part doors, whose upper can be left open like a window (Figure 3.29). With their porous quality, these doors create opportunities for spontaneous chats as is explained by Hertzberger (1991/2001, 35): "Such 'half' doors constitute a distinctly inviting gesture: when half open the door is both open and closed, i.e it is closed enough to avoid making the intentions of those inside all too explicit, yet open enough to facilitate casual conversations with passers-by, which may lead to closer contact." These details, indeed, make the hallway more than a passage.

Figure 3.28. The porch-like area in *De Drie Hoven* (L)
Figure 3.29. Two-part doors (R)
(Accessed December 24, 2021 from https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/14-woningbouw/133-de-drie-hoven-elderly-housing-amsterdam)

Figure 3.30. The entrance as the in-between realm in Montessori School
(Accessed December 24, 2021 from https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/9-onderwijs/114-montessori-school-delft; Hertzberger 1991/2001, 33)

Like *De Drie Hoven*, Montessori School (1960-1966) in Delft is also designed as a city, which welcomes its inhabitants with an "entrance" that can be regarded as an in-between realm (Figure 3.30).[76] Acting as streets, the hallways are not mere passages, but they provide chances for social contact and meetings. The brick podium block that is located in the hall, for instance, is a gathering point for students, who regard it as "an island in a sea of shiny floor-space" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 154) (Figure 3.31). This area serves a variety of functions such as gathering, sitting, doing homework, playing games, and even performing dance and music performances (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 153-154).[77] In a similar vein, the floor in the hall of the kindergarten section of the school has a square depression which is filled with loose wooden blocks. These wooden blocks can be taken out and can be used for sitting, making trains, or forming a tower (Figure 3.32). If the brick podium block is an island in the sea, this square depression is "a lake, which the children have turned into a swimming pool by adding a diving board" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 154).

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[76]"The entrance to a primary school should be more than a mere opening through which the children are swallowed up when the lessons begin and spot out again when they end. It should be a place that offers some kind of welcome to the children who came early and to pupils who don't want to go straight home after school" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 33).

[77]"Incidentally, the platform can be extended in all directions with a set of wooden sections, which can be drawn out from the interior of the block to turn it into a real stage for proper theatrical dance and music performances. The children can put the different parts together and take them apart again themselves, without help from teacher" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 153-154).

Figure 3.31. "The island in a sea of shiny floor-space" in Montessori School
(Hertzberger 1991/2001, 153, 154)

Figure 3.32. The square depression as "a lake" in Montessori School
(Accessed December 24, 2021 from https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/9-onderwijs/114-montessori-school-delft)

The classrooms of Montessori School are designed as autonomous units as if they are little houses located along a street (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 28). It would not be wrong to maintain that being autonomous requires having more responsibility. Thus, the teacher, who is regarded as the "mother" of the classroom and the children decide together on the classroom's atmosphere. As the Montessori concept suggests, the children are held responsible for the environment.[78] They do not only look after the plants that they can bring to the classroom but also they are held responsible for keeping their "home" clean, "like birds their nest"[79] (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 28).

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[78]"The awareness of the environment and the need to look after it figures prominently in the Montessori concept. Typical examples are the tradition of working on the floor on special rugs – small temporary work areas which are respected by the others – and the importance that is attached to tidying things away in open cupboards" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 28).

[79]"A 'safe nest' – familiar surroundings where you know that your things are safe and where you can concentrate without being disturbed by others – is something each individual needs as much as each groups. Without this there can be no collaboration with others. *If you don't have a place that you can call your own you don't know where you stand!"* (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 28).
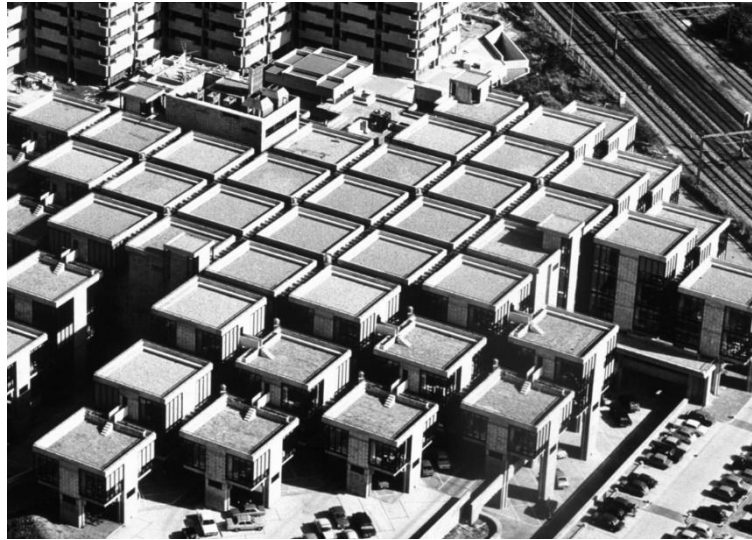
Figure 3.33. Centraal Beheer office building
(Accessed December 24, 2021 from https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/12-utiliteitsbouw/85-centraal-beheer-offices-apeldoorn)

Another "building like a city" that creates the opportunity for public space to intermingle with private space is Centraal Beheer office building (Figure 3.33, Figure 3.34),[80] whose "central zone is the point where the sensation of a 'building like a city' is most dominant. It is a public meeting area which clusters the main vertical routes of the complex, in the form of escalators and lifts" (van den Heuvel 2005, 208).

While designing Centraal Beheer office building, Hertzberger leaves the interior finishing to the taste of the users of the building. Such an experimental approach does not guarantee that the users paint their environments, but it seems like the grey interior is an "obvious invitation" to the users to personalize their surroundings with their favorite colors and objects and potted plants (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 23-24). Although Team 10 members consider this building as "a homage to consumer society" (Hertzberger 1991/2005, 332), what Hertzberger intends to create is a place where staff feels at home (van den Heuvel 2005, 208; Seeumpornroj 2018, 142). For

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[80]Hertzberger initially developed the concepts for the building in competition entries for municipal halls in Valkenswaard (1966) and Amsterdam (1967) (van den Heuvel 2005, 208).

this to happen, the building needs to invite its users to exert influence on their environments:

> More is needed for this to happen: to start with, the form of the space itself must offer the opportunities, including basic fittings and attachments etc., for the users to fill in the spaces according to their personal needs and desires. But beyond that, it is essential that the liberty to take personal initiatives should be embedded in the organizational structure of the institution concerned, and this has much more far-reaching consequences than you might think at first sight. (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 24)

Figure 3.34. Centraal Beheer office building interior
(Accessed December 24, 2021 from
https://www.hertzberger.nl/images/nieuws/TheFutureOfTheBuildingCentraalBeheer2016.pdf)

In this respect, the architect needs to decide on the degree of responsibility that is given to the users. The greater sense of responsibility, indeed, brings along the greater involvement of users in the arrangement of an area, which makes users inhabitants (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 28) due to the fact that "the more influence you can personally exert on the things around you, the more you will feel emotionally involved with them and the more attention you will pay to them, and also, the more you will be inclined to lavish care and love on the things around you" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 169).

As Hertzberger is involved in the editorial board of *Forum*, he also gets to know Buber and his thinking regarding individualism and collectivism.[81] As stated previously, by referring to Buber's arguments, van Eyck holds that it is the task of architecture to create an in-between realm for the twin phenomenon of the individual and the collective. Hertzberger takes a similar position. Although Hertzberger is called as a "social architect" and creates opportunities for social interaction, it does not mean that he ignores individuality, or he values the collective above the individual. On the contrary, he puts emphasis on both concepts by introducing different degrees of seclusion and openness. He explains as follows:

> Using elementary principles of spatial organization it is possible to introduce a great many gradations of seclusion and openness. The degree of seclusion, like the degree of openness, must be very carefully dosed, so that the conditions are created for a great variety of contacts ranging from ignoring those around you to wanting to be together, so that people can, in spatial terms anyway, place themselves vis à vis others as they choose. Also the individuality of all must of course be respected as much as possible, and we must indeed see to it that the constructed environment never imposes social contact, but at the same time we must never impose the absence of social contact either. The architect is not only a builder of walls, he is also and equally a builder of openings that offer views. Both – walls and openings – are crucial. (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 206)

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[81]Buber is cited in *Forum* in the issue of "Threshold and Encounter."

Consequently, as public intermingles with private, individual intermingles with collective in Hertzberger's designs. He states that: "Structure stands on the one hand for the social, but by letting itself be interpreted it represents on the other conditions for each of us separately and at different times. In this way, structure is able to reconcile the social and the individual" (Hertzberger 2014/2015, 7). By this means, architecture is able to provide both a place for people to gather and a place that can meet the need for belonging and feeling at home.
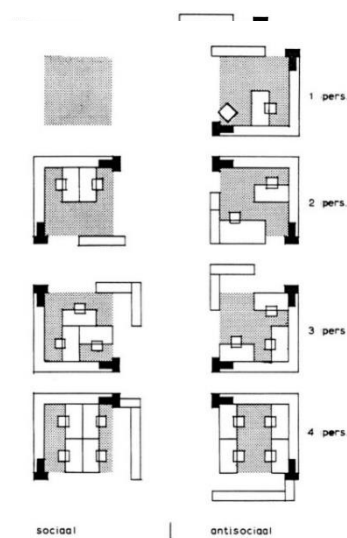
Figure 3.35. Centraal Beheer office building layout options
(Accessed December 26, 2021 from https://www.ahh.nl/index.php/en/projects2/12-utiliteitsbouw/85-centraal-beheer-offices-apeldoorn)

In Centraal Beheer, the plan layout differentiates in a way that there are places to work for both individuals and groups (Figure 3.35). In a similar vein, in the classrooms of Montessori School, there is a level difference in order to create a place for the students who want to concentrate on their works without being disturbed (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 203).[82] The duality of individual and collective is also explicit in his balcony design. In Documenta Urbana Housing, the balconies on each

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[82]"The idea behind the difference in levels in the classrooms is that while some of the children are painting or modelling in the lower section of the room, the children in the other section can do work that requires more concentration, undisturbed by the others who are engaged in less arduous activities. The teacher, standing up, can easily oversee the entire class" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 203).

floor alternately project to the front and to the side so that they do not take light away from the underlying balconies (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 204, 206). They have both a secluded part that is screened off by non-transparent glass bricks and a more open, terrace-like part. The users can choose whether they want to sit outside without being observed or to have a chat with their neighbors (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 206).

3.2.3.2 Flexibility and Polyvalence[83]

It is inevitable that the cities are subject to rapid change and the initial function of a building may no longer be needed through time.[84] Since the process of change cannot be avoided, to resist changes and to preserve the relationship with the past, "built forms must be made in such a way that they permit multiple interpretations, i.e. that they can both absorb and exude multiple meanings, without, however, losing their identity in process" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 149). In other words, the quality of flexibility (or changeability) and polyvalence should come first and foremost given factors (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 147, 149).

Flexibility rejects the fixed, clearcut position that suggests a single solution. On the contrary, it knows for certain from the beginning that "the correct solution does not exist, because the problem requiring solution is in a permanent state of flux, i.e. it is

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[83]In *Forum* 1962's third issue "The Fake Client and the Great Word 'No'," Hertzberger publishes the article entitled "Flexibility and Polyvalency" (*Flexibiliteit en Polyvalentie*) for the very first time (Merino del Rio 2019a, 222).

[84]"The most important characteristic of a city is, perhaps, the continuous change inherent in an urban environment, which we experience as a normal, everyday situation. The city is subject to constant change, the city has never complied and still does not comply with the rules of organic growth and functional evolution, according to which man has tried to give it form. Every day, every season, and in the long term, temporary and lasting, incidental and regular changes take place: people move from one house to another and buildings are altered, with the result that shifts occur in the foci of the web of relationships which in turn give rise to other shifts in intensity. Thus each intervention in fact brings about a change in the significance of the other built forms to a greater or lesser extent" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 149).

Hertzberger gives the example of parking garages with sloping floors: "Just think of the parking garages with sloping floors, which are still being built on a large scale. This may well be an inexpensive and easy-to-construct system, but you can never use the building for anything else, if things change – in a period when far fewer people own cars, for instance" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 146).

always temporary" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 146). By polyvalence, Hertzberger (1991/2001, 147) refers to a form that can be used for multiple purposes without having to undergo changes so that "a minimal flexibility can still produce an optimal solution." It seems as if polyvalence signifies multipurpose, but they have different meanings as Hertzberger (2014, 109) explains:

> The difference between multipurpose and polyvalence is that in multipurpose the design is deliberately made to suit the different predetermined ends, whereas the notion of polyvalence is where it is not established beforehand how a form or space will act in unspecified situations, in effect providing it with a competence to be able to handle unexpected applications.

Hertzberger correlates the livability of canal houses of Amsterdam with their quality of polyvalence:

> What makes the old canal-houses so livable is that you can work, relax or sleep in every room, that each room kindles the inhabitant's imagination as to how he would most like to use it. The greater diversity in the old city-centre of Amsterdam, for instance, is definitely not caused by richer or more diverse underlying principles (the principles underlying twentieth-century buildings are certainly more complex), but by sequences of spaces in which, although they are not usually very different from one another, the potential for individual interpretation due to their greater polyvalence. (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 147)

To adapt the changes of time, Hertzberger, therefore, tries to design buildings, which are not specific, "but more like the old, big warehouses that are just big spaces with columns at wide distances, and that are now being converted into beautiful offices and loft houses" (Hertzberger 1991/2005, 333). He, indeed, considers building as a skeleton, which can be filled in a variety of ways.[85] Diagoon Dwellings (Figure 3.36) epitomizes this approach as Hertzberger explains below:

> The idea underlying the skeleton houses, eight prototypes of which have been built in Delft, is that they are in principle unfinished. The plan is, to some extent, indefinitive, so that the occupants themselves will be able to decide how to divide their living space – where they want to sleep, where to eat and so on. If the family circumstances change the dwelling can be adjusted accordingly to meet new needs,

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[85] "The building is a skeleton that can be filled in in different ways. This is my theme, maybe it's not quite a Team 10 theme, but it has certainly been inspired by Team 10. My theme is the idea of the structure that remains and the infill that changes over time" (Hertzberger 2005, 333).

and even to some extent enlarged. The actual design should be seen as a provisional framework that must still be filled in. The skeleton is a half-product, which everyone can complete according to his own needs and desires. (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 157)
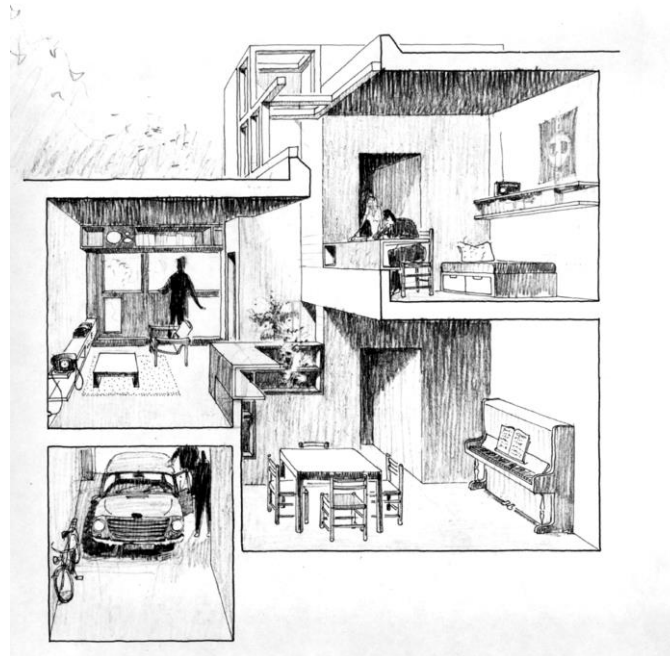
Figure 3.36. The flexible section of Diagoon Dwellings
(Accessed December 26, 2021 from
https://www.hertzberger.nl/images/nieuws/DiagoonHousingDelft2016.pdf)

Nevertheless, the variety of options does not mean that there are no rules at all. In fact, freedom brings with it the rules of play as Hertzberger expresses:

> Freedom is being able to make your own choices from the possibilities offered by the rules of play (such as those in chess). Freedom is a relative concept and can only exist in terms of the parameters that limit it. The game gains its freedom thanks to the rules establishing the limits of the permitted possibilities and the very act of sounding out those limits – in other words using the given space to the maximum – is what we experience as freedom. Without the rules of play there can be no game. Indeed, rules invite freedom rather than limit it. So it takes an open structure to incite individual acts of expression. A gridiron city plan accommodates maximum freedom of infill and, therefore, of interpretation precisely because it consists of simple and clear rules. (Hertzberger 2014/2015, 7-8).

By referring to Hertzberger's chess metaphor, it is possible to interpret that he gives the users the chess board, the pieces, and the rules of play. Although different people use the very same chess board and the pieces, the process of each game is different

due to different movements. In a similar vein, his analogy of "form (building) as an instrument"[86] reveals the fact that he gives the user the instrument, but the user cannot play the instrument by randomly touching the fingerboard.

Although Hertzberger gives no reference, it is plausible to correlate the quality of "flexibility and polyvalence" with van Eyck's interiorized time, in which the present acts as an in-between for the past and future. The characteristics of flexibility and polyvalence demonstrate that although the building has traces from the past, it does not belong to a specific time and it can serve several purposes in the future. Therefore, by including the past and the future, the quality of flexibility and polyvalence also function as an "in-between."

This approach, in effect, is confirmed through Centraal Beheer office building's current condition. When the insurance company Achmea[87] leaves the building in 2013, the abandoned building is purchased by Certitudo Capital in 2015. A proposal for student housing and another proposal for housing are presented in 2015 and 2016 respectively (Hertzberger 2016). In 2022, Certitudo Capital commissions MVRDV to transform the building into a multifunctional residential area (MVRDV 2022).

3.3   Reestablishing a Relation of Relatedness within the Contemporary Period

In the recent theoretical and practical approaches, the forms of relatedness are interpreted in a variety of ways. These forms concern the relationship between inside and outside, public and private, streets and buildings, and the relationship between people. Some approaches handle the in-betweenness by using the term "in-between

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[86]"A (musical) instrument essentially contains as many possibilities of usage as uses to which it is put – an instrument must be played. Within the limits of the instrument, it is up to the player to draw what he can from it, within the limits of his own ability. Thus instrument and player reveal to each other their respective abilities to complement and fulfil one another. Form as an instrument offers the scope for each person to do what he has most at heart, and above all to do it in his own way" (Hertzberger 1991/2001, 170).

[87]Centraal Beheer becomes part of Achmea in 2001.

space" (Can 2012; Lau 2012; Can and Heath 2015; Aelbrecht 2016; Yalgın 2016; İnan 2019), which is mostly regarded as a "space" between public and private and/or inside and outside. The in-between space is considered as a social space and it is designed to encourage social interaction (Can 2012; Can and Heath 2015; Aelbrecht 2016).

Although they do not address the concept of the in-between realm, it is worth mentioning a number of approaches that handle the relationship between things. One of these approaches is "common spaces." Emerging in the 21st century, common space is defined as "a set of spatial relations produced by commoning practices" (Stavrides 2016, 2). Common spaces are available to public use, but the rules and forms of use do not depend on and are not controlled by dominating authority. They are produced by individuals in an effort to create a "shared" environment that houses, supports, and represents the community in which they engage. On the one hand, common space can be regarded as a relation between a social group and its attempt to establish a well-defined, stable, enclosed, and separate shared environment for its members and such a common space can exist within an urban enclave. On the other hand, common space can be "porous" and can be in the form of an open network (Stavrides 2015, 11; Stavrides 2016, 2-3).

Common space is formed through commoning practices of a growing and not necessarily homogeneous community that seeks to enrich both its intracommunity and intercommunal interactions so that common space can take the form of a meeting ground in which "expansive circuits of encounter" intersect (Stavrides 2015, 11). The communing activities, thus, produce new forms of social life, forms of "life-in-common" so that the discrimination and barriers that define the enclave urbanity can be overcome through establishing common spaces (Stavrides 2015, 10-11; 2016, 2-3). By considering common spaces as "threshold spaces," Stavros Stavrides (2015, 17) argues that:

> The porosity of threshold boundaries permits acts of sharing to expand the circles of commoning through comparison and translation. However, thresholds do not simply permit. They explicitly symbolise the potentiality of sharing by establishing

intermediary areas of crossing, by opening inside to outside. As mechanisms that
regulate and give meaning to acts of passage, thresholds can become powerful tools
in the construction of institutions of expanding commoning.

"Fourth places," developed by Patricia Simões Aelbrecht, also need an emphasis.
"Fourth places," whose key characteristic is "in-betweenness," suggest public
settings for informal social interaction among strangers (Aelbrecht 2016). It has
similar social and behavioral traits to third places, which are previously mentioned.
Like third places, fourth places refer to informal gathering places, but they are
distinguished by a strong sense of publicness as well as "in-betweenness" in terms
of locations, activities, time, and administration. While third places are mostly
privately owned and partially publicly accessible places such as coffee shops or bars,
fourth places are composed of places that are not spatially and functionally definite
and have a genuinely public and anonymous nature. They do not have a regular
clientéle, but they enhance interaction among a wide range of users. Fourth places
establish a free environment not only for talking but also for people-watching,
walking, waiting, and killing time (Aelbrecht 2016, 134). By this means, it is possible
to argue that the twin phenomenon of individual and collective can reconcile in these
fourth places.

Another approach that needs to be highlighted is Superblocks (known as "*superilles*"
in Catalan, meaning "super-islands"). To find solutions to the problems, including
air pollution, congested streets, traffic jams, noise pollution, climate change, and lack
of green spaces, the City Council of Barcelona proposes Superblock Model. The idea
is to reroute the traffic away from a Superblock and to provide space for people and
greenery. A superblock commonly consists of three-by-three blocks and the streets
in-between these blocks have restricted traffic with a one-way system and a 10km/h
speed limit so that the vehicles of residents, local businesses, and emergency services
can access the area and only residents are allowed to park their vehicles in the area.
In this respect, the streets once occupied by vehicles are prioritized for citizens, who
are able to use the streets at their will. By this means, reconciliation of vehicles and
pedestrians can be achieved.

Although the superblock model has been thought of for decades and the first superblock is tested in 2003 in Gràcia (Barcelona City Council 2016), the model is not seriously considered until the "Urban Mobility Plan (2013-2018)" is approved (Bravo 2019). The first superblock as part of this mobility plan is introduced in Poblenou in 2016. Developed by students at various architectural schools, provisional tactical urbanism ideas, including the planting of trees in portable containers and the installation of street furniture, are implemented. The temporary nature of these solutions speeds up the process of implementing the modifications and reduces costs to one-tenth of what a project will normally cost. But above all, these temporary solutions make it possible to introduce changes in line with the outcomes of a participatory process with locals. After this temporary phase, in which the spaces are empirically and pedagogically subjected to a series of trials assessing uses, consolidating the intervention on a permanent basis initiates (Bravo 2019). Having a slogan and a title called "Let's fill streets with life!" (*Omplim de vida els carrers*!), the City Council of Barcelona aims to implement the superblock model throughout the city by proposing 503 superblocks (Mueller et al. 2019). The superblock model envisions the development of public open space and greenery all across the city, including plazas, parks, green corridors, green patches, and general landscaping both inside and outside the superblocks (Mueller et al. 2019).

Another strategy worth mentioning is Jan Gehl's "soft edges," which gives emphasis on the relationship between inside and outside. According to Gehl (1971/2011, 2010), the relationship between inside and outside can be established by means of the (soft) edges of the buildings. Defining the edge as the area where building and city meet, Gehl (2010, 75) maintains that life inside the buildings can interact with life outside by means of the edges. Yet, not every edge acts as an exchange zone between inside and outside. While soft edges with translucent façades, a variety of apertures or lined-up stores create the possibility for this interaction, hard edges with closed ground floors, dark façades, and few or no openings provide little or even nothing to experience, making them less likely to be chosen to walk by (Gehl 2010, 79).

In residential areas, soft edges are associated with balconies and front yards (Gehl 2010, 82), which provide a relationship between public and private as well as inside and outside. According to the studies conducted in Copenhagen in 1982 and in 2005, the activity level in the streets with soft edges are higher than the streets with hard edges; therefore, Gehl (2010, 85) argues that ground level semi-private front areas play a significant role for the overall quality of life in residential areas. Referring to Christopher Alexander's (1977) statement "if the edge fails, then the space never becomes lively," Gehl (2010, 88) gives emphasis to the fact that the edges that work, that is, soft edges, support life in the city.

The "interaction" at the edge is also observed in Richard Sennett's "ambiguous edges." It is an element of Sennett's idea of the open city, which is originated from Jane Jacobs. Sennett argues that making cities more open can enrich people's experiences in a way that they become more able to live with people who are "different" from them. In this respect, the open city acts as an in-between realm where the opposite polarities reconcile. According to Sennett, a closed city can be open by design. He describes three elements of an open city and they are also the strategies to open up a city: ambiguous edges, incomplete form, and urban narratives (Sennett 2006, 2017, 2018/2019). [88]

By referring to the paleontologist and biologist Stephen Jay Gould, who highlights a significant difference between boundaries and borders in natural ecologies, Sennett (2018/2019, 219-220) mentions that while the boundary is a rigid edge that does not allow specific species to cross beyond, the border is a porous edge, providing exchange between different communities. According to Sennett (2017), the modern city is dominated by closed boundaries, which become manifest through the gated communities or the streams of high-speed traffic. As stated previously, these rigid edges lead to alienation in the built environment.

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[88]In his article called "The Open City" (2006), he calls these elements as passage territories, incomplete form, and development narratives.

Sennett and his team at UN Habitat are interested in making more borders and more permeable public spaces and less boundaries in the city. By ambiguous edges, thus, he refers to borders with porous edges where interaction occurs.[89] While dwelling on the ambiguous edges, Sennett especially gives emphasis to the edges between different communities. Sennett (2018/2019, 222) states that the life of a community is considered to be found at the center, which makes planners strengthen the center rather than designing the edge. Neglecting the edge and concentrating on the center, indeed, causes the community to turn inward, which adversely affects interaction with the outside. On the other hand, locating community resources at the edges of communities creates a more porous border and opens the gates between various racial and economic communities (Sennett 2018/2019, 223). Within this respect, the community resources at the edges of different communities act as an in-between realm for the conflicting opposites.

The second element of the open city is the incomplete form. Although it may appear that incompleteness is the enemy of structure, this is not the case (Sennett 2017). Sennett (2017, 2018/2019) refers to Alejandro Aravena's Quita Monroy Social Housing Project based in Iquique, Chile. It consists of forms made incomplete in order to be filled in (Figure 3.37). Aravena's idea is to construct better-quality houses and to allow inhabitants to fill them in and build them as they wish. The houses are designed porous enough to allow each unit to expand through self-built. In order to facilitate the extension process and to prevent any long-term detrimental impacts of self-construction on the urban environment, the initial building provides a supporting framework (Quinta Monroy / ELEMENTAL 2008). The infrastructure is situated on the gable end of the house rather than on the party wall, which provides maximum flexibility in filling in the rest of the unit. (Sennett 2018/2019, 228). As is previously

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[89]According to Sennett (2018/2019, 218), the maps of Rome created by Giovanni Battista Nolli in 1748 depicts how porosity appears in the city. These maps are figure-ground representations rendered in black and white in which black represents the building and white represents the empty space. The maps also differentiate the public and private spaces by representing the private spaces as solid black and the enclosed public spaces like the Pantheon or colonnades of St. Peter's Square with porous blacks or whites.

explained, this very idea is similar to Hertzberger's concept of flexibility, which becomes concrete in his Diagoon Dwellings.

The third element of the open city is the urban narratives. Sennett holds that they are interested in ways of arbitrarily marking spatial value to make a value where nobody saw value in space. He argues that very simple kinds of interventions such as introducing street furniture or landscaping can create and arbitrarily raise the value for people. It may not be wrong to claim that this idea works as the reverse of the broken window theory. As previously explained,[90] if a broken window gives the impression that the area is not appropriated, more windows can be broken. In this approach, then, these small interventions can give the impression that these areas have value so that the residents can see value in these environments.

Figure 3.37. Incomplete forms before and after filled in
(Accessed August 22, 2022 from https://www.archdaily.com/10775/quinta-monroy-elemental)

[90]See page 114.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This research critically reviews the phenomenon of alienation mainly in the scope of the built environment and handles the concept of the in-between realm in the architectural discourse.

By drawing on several studies on the city and on people, the causes, the triggers, and the various forms of alienation are investigated since the First Industrial Revolution until today. The results of this investigation show that alienation experienced in the built environment does not have a single source or trigger. The role of urbanization on alienation is undeniable. Nevertheless, it is not only the transformation of the built environment that leads to alienation, but alienation also has to do with the capitalist mode of production and consumption, fragmentation of everyday life, passive leisure activities, spectacles, dominance of automobiles, and advancements in technology. These are all interrelated.

Another finding of the research is that the sources and triggers of alienation do not lead to one type of alienation, but alienation manifests itself in many forms. In relation to this, even though "urban life leads to alienation" is a valid argument, the findings of the research demonstrate that the reverse can also be possible, that is, alienation can also be experienced in a rural area.

In the 21st century, the conditions that lead to alienation and the various forms of alienation become so "familiar" that they are no longer noticed. Although this familiarity leads to the illusion that alienation disappears, it continues to affect implicitly. The factors causing alienation, indeed, gradually increase and alienation becomes the elephant in the room. By resurrecting the phenomenon of alienation, this research reminds its importance and how it continues to affect implicitly.

Considering the sources and triggers of alienation as well as the various forms of alienation discussed in the second chapter, it can be inferred that overcoming alienation "wholly" cannot be realistic. It is also extrapolated from Hegel's alienation theory that overcoming one form may lead to another form of alienation. Even though the research attempted to ask the question "may there be a chance for dealieanation or a non-alienated society?" at the very beginning, it could be understood that alienation could not "completely" be overcome. Overcoming alienation could be like eliminating the night, destroying the winter, or avoiding death. It could be like pretending happy all the time whatever the circumstances might be, but even happiness studies do not promise to be happy all the time. It has to be understood that life is a cycle that contains opposite values and opposite realities.

Nevertheless, it does not mean that alienation needs to be ignored. It also does not mean that solutions to ameliorate the current condition should not be sought. It is, indeed, possible to speak of a less alienated condition just as it is possible to be protected from the cold of winter. The research suggests that even though alienation cannot be wholly overcome, architecture can withstand it by soothing rather than exacerbating its impacts.

In order to search for possibilities for a less alienated condition and to transform the forms of relationlessness into the forms of relatedness, the research focuses on the post-war architectural discourse, but it does not imply that the measures taken against the adverse effects of alienation are discussed only in this era. By focusing on this period, the research reveals how the ideas within CIAM are also transformed from relationlessness to relatedness.

Among the approaches that emphasize the relationship between things, the research concentrates on the concept of the in-between realm developed by Aldo van Eyck. According to van Eyck, the in-between realm provides a common ground where conflicting opposites can meet, have relations, reconcile, and become twin

phenomena. The concept of the in-between realm is, indeed, as multi-dimensional as the phenomenon of alienation. Unlike the recent discussions, most of which consider the in-between realm as an area between public and private and/or inside and outside, the in-between realm developed by van Eyck offers "multiple meaning" by means of reconciling several opposites, including but not limited to small and large, public and private, inside and outside, part and whole, individual and collective, classical and modern, past and future.

One of the most significant findings to emerge from revisiting the in-between realm is that, by reconciling various conflicting polarities, the in-between realm suggests a relationship not only between people but also between people and places, between places, between different qualities of places, and between different periods of time. When all these forms of relationships are borne in mind, expressing the in-between realm "only" as a "social space" reduces its scope.

Another finding of the research is that the in-between realm does not favor one polarity over the other, which means that it provides an "equilibrium" for the conflicting polarities. This research deems it significant, especially when considering the twin phenomenon of the individual and the collective. When there is no equilibrium, which is the current condition, an implicit pressure of the community on the individual causes an individual (an introvert perhaps) to feel abnormal and obliged to socialize. Without this equilibrium, people come together with "the illusion of being together" (Vaneigem 1967/2006, 39) and establish forced or artificial relationships. As explained by Buber, one needs the other to become a person, but there is also a danger that collective formations devalue and objectify the individual. The equilibrium between the individual and the collective, indeed, emphasizes the condition that people can be "free" to either interact with others or stay in solitude. If done with free will, both situations can form genuine relationships. Even though staying in solitude is mostly associated with loneliness, one can relate to oneself and/or their environment in solitude. Therefore, the in-between realm does

not "enforce" people to socialize, but rather it suggests people to choose the most suitable one among the possibilities. This research sees a value in the realization of the equilibrium between the individual and the collective by means of the built works of van Eyck and Hertzberger, who offer options for both conditions.

By means of the multi-meaning suggested by the in-between realm, the research infers that the forms of relatedness can be expanded beyond the interpersonal. Providing conditions for people to appropriate, for instance, creates an opportunity to establish relationships with the surroundings. As van Eyck emphasizes, this relationship turns space into place. It is plausible to infer that the ability of people to establish relationships with their surroundings can mitigate the negative impacts of alienation. The more relations of relatedness are formed the fewer alienation impacts.

This relationship between human and place also implies that the meaning of place would remain "incomplete" without human being. In relation to this, this study suggests that Hertzberger's skeleton form and Aravena's incomplete form support van Eyck's emphasis on the relationship between human and place. In these built works, the users participate by building; thus, these buildings become "complete" with the human activity. A similar approach can be seen in Lucien Kroll's built works, Ralph Erskine's Byker Wall in Newcastle, and Cengiz Bektaş's restoration project of Kuzguncuk Neighborhood in İstanbul.

This research holds that the built work in such a condition suggests an in-between realm for the architect and the user; therefore, the "equilibrium" that is highlighted by the idea of the in-between realm should also exist between the architect and the user in a situation where users are involved. As in the chess metaphor given by Hertzberger, the freedom offered by the participatory approach to the users should be presented under certain rules to be determined by the architect.

Participating by building is not encountered in van Eyck's built works. Yet, as in the case of his playgrounds, van Eyck allows the users to "interpret." The participation

of the user, thus, is in the form of involving as self and experiencing the built work. This kind of participation provides a temporary relationship between the user and the built work, but it has the possibility to survive in the "memory" of the user. Such a relationship between the individual and the environment can also be seen in the concept of aesthetic experience by John Dewey and Arnold Berleant. It is suggested that the similarities between van Eyck's approach and aesthetic experience can further be studied.

Another finding that needs emphasis is that the polarities of the in-between realm are not expected to form "synthesis." The conflicting polarities reconcile without trying to change the other. This can also apply to people with "conflicting" characteristics. People, who have different ideas, beliefs, race, color, religion or national origin, can come together, share the same environment without being forced to communicate. By this means, "will to separation" can transform into "will to connection." Among the contemporary examples given, "the ambiguous edges" proposed by Richard Sennett emphasize this condition.

By means of van Eyck's concept of "twin phenomena," it is possible to comprehend that the polarities can reconcile in common ground for their "own good." Once the polarities reconcile with their twin sisters, the harmful impact, if any, may be reduced. In this respect, the concept of twin phenomena can be thought as a tool for revaluating alienation. Drawing an inference out of this condition, this research argues that if "chaos is as positive as its twin sister order" (van Eyck 1962/2008, 171), then alienation can also be positive when it reconciles with its twin sister. Therefore, when forms of relationlessness and forms of relatedness reconcile, they form a porous relationship. At this point, an analogy between a score will help. If a form relationlessness, that is alienation, can be likened to a rest in a musical piece and a form of relatedness can be likened to a note, their in-betweenness, which is porous, is still able to form a musical piece. When alienation is thought in this way

and various forms of relatedness are established, it is possible to speak of less alienated conditions.

In relation to this metaphor, the research arrives at the conclusion that both relationlessness and relatedness are necessary.[1] Although the research considered alienation as a "problem" at the beginning, its position mellowed over time. By means of the readings and observations, it has been realized that alienation is necessary in certain circumstances. As stated by Kaufmann, especially artists are people who cannot be understood by the societies they live in; therefore, they become alienated from their societies. Even though this relationlessness seems to be problematic, it is actually necessary for them to express themselves freely. They realize themselves by means of their producing activity so that they can establish relationships with their works. The products the artists produce may not be understood by the society they live in, but the products can provide an in-between realm where the artist can reconcile with people from the future.

Both contemporary approaches concerning establishing relationships and the prior studies on the in-between have made valuable contributions and most of them have noted the importance of establishing relationship between public and private and/or inside and outside. Yet, this research infers that the in-between realm developed by

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[1] Arthur Schopenhauer's hedhegog's dilemma, or the porcupine dilemma, also reflects this idea:

"One cold winter's day, a number of porcupines huddled together quite closely in order through their mutual warmth to prevent themselves from being frozen. But they soon felt the effect of their quills on one another, which made them again move apart. Now when the need for warmth once more brought them together, the drawback of the quills was repeated so that they were tossed between two evils, until they had discovered the proper distance from which they could best tolerate one another.

Thus the need for society which springs from the emptiness and monotony of men's lives, drives them together; but their many unpleasant and repulsive qualities and insufferable drawbacks once more drive them apart. The mean distance which they finally discover, and which enables them to endure being together, is politeness and good manners. Whoever does not keep to this, is told in England to 'keep his distance.' By virtue thereof, it is true that the need for mutual warmth will be only imperfectly satisfied, but, on the other hand, the prick of the quills will not be felt. Yet whoever has a great deal of internal warmth of his own will prefer to keep away from society in order to avoid giving or receiving trouble and annoyance."

van Eyck is more comprehensive; therefore, by revisiting the in-between realm, the research reveals its "multi-meaning" and contributes to the recent discussions concerning the in-between.

Considering van Eyck's approach emphasizing the human experience, it is suggested that his approach can contribute to place studies. Therefore, a further study with more focus on van Eyck's approach to place is suggested. His approach concerning the relationship between human and place can be further studied in a phenomenological approach under architectural phenomenology in relation to the built works of Tadao Ando, Steven Holl, and Peter Zumthor and the theories of David Leatherbarrow, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Juhani Pallasmaa, Alberto Pérez-Gomez, and David Seamon.

Since Henri Bergson and his concept of *durée*, it is understood that history is not something static and dead but rather, something that ceaselessly "gnaws into the future." For this very reason, it acts as a precious repository of human knowledge and experience as well as a storehouse where one may discover forms to imitate (Giedion 1985, 477). By revisiting the phenomenon of alienation and the concept of the in-between realm, the research opens a "precious repository" that has the potential to "gnaw into the future."

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CURRICULUM VITAE

TUĞBA ÖZER

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
Ph.D.	METU Architecture	2022
Erasmus	University of Stratclyde	2018
M.Arch.	METU Architecture	2016
B.Arch.	METU Architecture	2014
Erasmus	Politecnico di Milano	2013
High School	METU DF High School	2007

MISCELLANEOUS (WORK) EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2017-2019		Street musician
2018	"Commisioners' Exhibition" by SALT RESEARCH, Çankaya Municipality Contemporary Arts Center, Ankara	Project Assistant
2014-2017		Cello tutor
2013-2014	METU Department of Music and Fine Arts	Student Assistant
2012	Bütüner Architecture, Ankara	Intern
2011	Atlantis Shopping Center, Ankara	Intern
2011	Armada Shopping Center, Ankara	Intern
2011	METU Department of Music and Fine Arts	Student Assistant

LANGUAGES

Turkish (native), English (fluent), Italian (basic).

PUBLICATIONS

Özer, Tuğba. 2021. "The Pursuit of Beauty in Architecture." In *Disiplinlerarası Estetik Tartışmalar / Multidisciplinary Debates on Aesthetics* edited by E. Murat Çelik and Özgür Yaren, 422-435. Ankara: SANART Association of Aesthetics and Visual Culture.

Özer, Tuğba. 2019. "Window as a Tool for Framing a View." In *SPACE International Conference 2019 on Architectural Culture and Society E-Proceedings*, 60-65. London: SPACE Studies Publications.

Özer, Tuğba. 2019. "'Slow Living' as a Remedy for the Loss of 'Sense of Place' in the Current Urban Form." In *XIII. International Theory and History of Architecture Conference: ARCHTHEO '19 Conference Proceedings e-book*, 163-170. İstanbul: Dakam Yayınları.

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Özer, Tuğba. 2016. "A 'Plural' Architectural Experience through 'Movement', 'Sensation', and 'Memory' in 'Time'." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Architecture, Middle East Technical University.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS

2018 - 2022	YÖK 100/2000 PhD Scholarship
2018	Second place in the article competition "Ülkem, Kentim, Semtim" held by Aydın Birlikteliği
2017 - 2018	Erasmus grant for one semester exchange programme
2017	Third place in the article competition "Ülkem, Kentim, Semtim" held by Aydın Birlikteliği
2016	Third place in the METU 93rd Year Republic Day Run
2016	Second place in the article competition "Ülkem, Kentim, Semtim" held by Aydın Birlikteliği
2016	Equivalent first place in the article competition "Modern Güzeldir" held by Mimarlar Dernegi 1927
2012 - 2013	Erasmus grant for one year exchange programme
2012 - 2013	Kemal Kurdaş Scholarship by METU Istanbul Alumni Association
2008 - 2013	Student Scholarship by METU Istanbul Alumni Association

EXHIBITIONS

18.02.2019   "Yolda Biriktirdiklerim" METU Library Exhibition Hall

A solo exhibition of collected (mostly dried) plants

19.06.2017   Architect's Journey: Lycia, METU Archaeology Museum, Ankara.

A collective exhibition of works based on the experiences throughout the journey of Lycian Way. The solo work titled: "Rendering Lycian Plants into Souvenirs"

RESEARCH INTERESTS

everyday life, alienation, architectural phenomenology, urban aesthetics.

OTHER INTERESTS

lindy hop, cello, piano, do-it-yourselfing.