THE IMPACT OF CONSUMER CULTURE ON HOUSING:
A CASE STUDY ON HOUSING ARCHITECTURE IN TURKEY
IN THE POST-1980S

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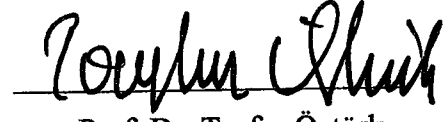
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BY

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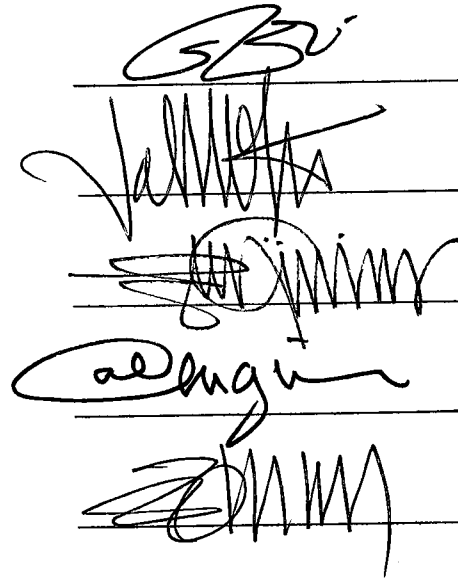
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ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF CONSUMER CULTURE ON HOUSING: A CASE STUDY ON HOUSING ARCHITECTURE IN TURKEY IN THE POST-1980S

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As the most experienced form of architecture, housing represent the interaction between architectural culture and consumer culture. Economy, politics and the demands of users are the forces that transform architecture. With this characteristic, architecture is directly related to social formations and transformations of cultural structure.

After the 1980s architecture in Turkey represents a radical shift from the modern tradition of architecture that is based on the search for a pluralist and popular vocabulary. The contemporary cultural context is the major force behind this shift. On the other hand such an architectural tendency, inevitably, formed a legitimization ground for consumer culture itself.

Within this context, the aim of the study is to understand the transformative role of consumer culture on architecture via housing examples.

Key Words: Consumer Culture, Post-modernism, Popular Culture, Housing

ÖZ

TÜKETİM KÜLTÜRÜNÜN KONUT ÜZERİNDE ETKİSİ: 1980 SONRASI TÜRKİYEDE KONUT MİMARLIĞI ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Mimarlığın en çok deneyimlenilen biçimi olarak konut, mimarlık kültürüyle tüketim kültürünün etkileşimini temsil etmektedir. Ekonomi, politika ve kullanıcı talepleri mimarlığı dönüştüren güçlerdir. Bu özelliğiyle mimarlık toplumsal oluşumlar ve kültürel yapıdaki dönüşümlerle doğrudan ilişkilidir.

1980 sonrası Türkiye'de mimarlık, mimarinin modern geleneğinden çoğulcu ve popüler dil arayışına dayanan radikal bir kopuşu sergilemektedir. Çağdaş kültürel bağlam ise bu kopuşun arkasındaki ana güçtür. Öte yandan, böyle bir mimari eğilim, kaçınılmaz olarak, tüketim kültürünün kendisinin meşrulaştırıldığı bir zemin oluşturmuştur.

Bu bağlamda çalışmanın amacı tüketim kültürünün mimarlık üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisini konut yoluyla anlamaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tüketim Kültürü, Postmodernizm, Popüler Kültür, Konut

To my family and

to the memory of my maternal uncle Olcay

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I wish to express sincere appreciation to Abdi Güzer for his guidance, criticism and suggestions in the realization of this study.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Definition

Turkey experienced radical changes in the field of economy and culture after 1980s. These transformations inevitably reflected to the field of architecture. Within this cultural context architecture not only represented an altered state that is more transparent to consumer culture but also became a legitimization ground for the same culture.

Kazmaoğlu ve Tanyeli[1] call attention to the difference of pre-industrial and industrial societies and their relations with architecture. They state that in pre-industrial age there is equilibrium between production and consumption. There is no architectural public opinion to direct the architectural production. Contrary, in industrial age the individual and social preferences and expectations are observed. Consumers have started to form an architectural public opinion. As an outcome of this situation, individuals started to establish relationship with built environment and

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[1] M. KAZMAOĞLU AND U. TANYELİ, 1980'li Yılların Türk Mimarlık Dünyasına Bir bakış, Mimarlık, no:2, 1986, pp. 31-34

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the interest on architectural facts and culture has increased. On the other hand, this situation brings the dominancy of consumer culture on architecture. The increase observed in the number of popular architectural magazines, which address to consumers, indicates that consumers and the consumer culture became more active on architectural discipline. In particular, this situation is observed more evident in housing architecture. In the context of contemporary culture perceiving house as an object of consumption, more than an architectural product, becomes a dominant tendency. Besides being an object of consumption, house became a container to store commodities as a background of consumption. Within this context housing became a significant ground to represent the contradictions and conflicts between architectural discipline and consumer culture.

1.2 The Aim and Method of the Study

The aim of the study is to understand the impacts of consumer culture on architectural production via housing architecture. In particular, the study focuses on the relation between consumer culture and housing architecture in Turkey, after 1980s.

The condition of post-modernity not only represents itself as a medium of liberation but also became a legitimization ground for consumer culture. Within this context architecture became more transparent to demand of consumer culture where eclecticism and image based production become alternative modes of architectural production. In this respect, the concepts of postmodernism, popular culture and mass

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media that have strong relationship with consumer culture will be discussed in relation with architecture.

To understand such a transformative relation, the context of consumer culture, the determinants that are effective on the architectural production of house will be evaluated. These determinants are listed as:

Geographical contexts: Within this subtitle the relation of house and land, the usage of urban land, land ownership, the concept of locality, institutional and social relations, and location in the urban context will be evaluated.

The correlation between the parties of house production: The parties of house production and their role in production will be evaluated. Also their effects on the production and consumption of architectural values will be examined. These parties are determined as state, developers, architects, construction firms, and interior designers.

The Impacts of Building and Material Industry: The effects of production technologies, production styles, organization models and the division of labor on architectural production will be examined.

Type and typology: Within this subtitle it will be focused on the transformation of types into prototypes or schemes and also consumption of the architectural vocabulary related to type and typology.

Social Contexts and the Concept of Home: The impacts of dwellers as consumers on architectural production will be examined. The differences and conflicts between the perceptions of architects and dwellers, namely the interaction between architectural culture and consumer culture will be discussed. On the other

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hand home will be evaluated as an object of identity and as a container to store commodities.

This study mainly focuses on Turkish architectural context after 1980s where the most significant impacts of consumer culture on the architectural scene of Turkey are observed. In this respect the cultural, social and architectural medium in Turkey will be evaluated with respect to consumer culture. The study will also cover the background of consumer culture where dominant ideologies, the main characteristics of the periods from the establishment of Turkish Republic till today will be determined.

Housing architecture in post-1980s will be a major focus area as a case study. The aim is to present samples that will help to understand the concepts and discussions that are mentioned in the former chapters. The common characteristics of the samples are the legitimization of consumption and popular values.

1.3 Limits of the Study

This study is not based upon a single definition of 'consumer culture'. Instead consumer culture is accepted as a domain inclusive of different determinants in order to construct a framework that enables to discuss the relation of consumption and architecture. On the other hand, the discussions of Post-modernism, Popular Culture and Mass Media should not be evaluated as a historical survey that will provide a

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total comprehension of all. These discussions are limited with their relation to consumer culture.

Consumer culture has impacts on various architectural products such as tourism complexes, commercial centers and housing. But because of its direct relation with life styles, culture and identity it is believed that housing architecture form a more suitable ground to observe the impacts of consumer culture on architecture. Also with its production and organization style, which provides user contribution, single-family house becomes central to our critical approach in the case study part. This typology can best represent the relations, conflicts and agreements between the architectural culture and consumer culture. In other words this typology is the most dominant sample that architectural disciplinary values and perceptions meet with user's values and perceptions. Güzer[2] mentions that single-family houses has a significant role in housing architecture, since it represents the melting point of professional and academic culture with consumer and popular culture. On the other hand single-family houses have limited references in architectural literature. This study inevitably confronts the difficulty of covering some examples that are nearly exterminated from academic discussion in architectural culture.

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[2] Abdi GÜZER, Özel Konutlar, XXI Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi, no:4, 2000, p. 56

CHAPTER II

THE LIMITS OF CONSUMER CULTURE

Architecture, today, is exposed to popular culture and consumption because of its compulsion to have a strong relationship with economy and social formations. With this characteristic it also develops under the impacts of multinational capitalism. In order to understand these impacts we must first understand the contemporary cultural context.

There are various definitions, like postmodern society, society of community, society of consumption etc. that define the altered mode of cultural context. Most of these definitions' based upon the criticism of the multinational capitalism. "Such theories have the obvious ideological mission of demonstrating, to their own relief, that have the new social formation in question no longer obeys the laws of classical capitalism, namely the primacy of industrial production and the omnipresence of class struggle. According to Baudrillard, today there are only models that reproduce the reality. He states that from now on simulation replaced the reality. Today we can talk about domination of consumption, the power of communication and suspicion about reality. Capitalism transformed everything (including our houses) into commodities. Advertisements and fashion penetrated into our life as mediators of

ideology of consumption. "Contemporary environmental culture reduced to a proliferation of images and buildings reduced to consumable goods".[3]

Lyotard refers the unlimited existence of eclecticism in culture:

> Eclecticism is the degree zero of contemporary general culture: one listens to reggae, watches a Western, eats Mc Donald's food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo and retro clothes in Hong Kong; knowledge is a matter for TV games. It is easy to find a public for eclectic works. By becoming kitsch, art panders to the confusion, which reigns in the taste of the patron. But this realism of is in fact that of money; in the absence of aesthetic criteria, it remains possible and useful to assess the value of works of art according to the profits they yield. Such realism accommodates all the tendencies, just as capital accommodates all needs, providing that the tendencies and needs have purchasing power.[4]

Consumption is at the core of many societies and the impacts of consumer culture, and becomes a major determinant of preference including architecture.

'Consumer culture' generally refers to the way in which consumption is organized within the modern capitalist societies that comes along with the important transformations in culture, social structure and economy including the discussions of post-modern condition. In consumer culture consumption takes the form of consuming commodities, goods obtained through market exchange rather than producing for direct use. According to Miles, consumption has an important role in the emergence of post-modern culture. He states that "post-modern conceptions of consumption are associated with a recognition that consumption is more significant for its sign-value or symbolic qualities than for its use-value"[5].

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[3] Kenneth FRAMPTON, Some Reflections on Postmodernism and Architecture, p.76

[4] Jean-François LYOTARD, "Answering the Question: What is Postmodernism?", The Post-modern Reader, edited by Charles Jencks, Academy Editions, London, 1992, p. 145

[5] Steven MILES, Consumerism as a Way of Life, SAGE Publications, London, 1998, p. 23

Architecture can be defined as a commodity since it can be bought, sold, rented, constructed, demolished and have a specific function in market. Besides this, products of architecture are the major tools towards producing cultural identity. Architecture as an object of consumption gains additional functions.

2.1 The Post-modern Condition: The Interaction Between the Values of Architecture and the Values of Consumer Society

Post-modernism as a contemporary cultural condition became a legitimization ground for altered mode of architecture. Within this altered mode, architecture become more transparent to the values and concepts that are dominant in consumer culture.

There are several characteristics underlining concepts of post-modern condition that have relation with consumer culture.

The first one is the concept of liberation, which leads the formation of models of realities and legitimization of 'simulations' in architecture that are based on consumption. Baudrillard in his work "The Transparency of the Evil", defines today's condition of Western society as "after the orgy" in relation to the liberation process.

> The orgy in question was the moment when modernity exploded upon us, the moment of liberation in every sphere. Political liberation, sexual liberation, liberation of the forces of production, liberation of the forces of destruction, women's liberation, children's liberation, liberation of unconscious drives, liberation of art. The assumption of all models of representation, as of all models of anti-representation. This was a total orgy – an orgy of the real, the rational, the sexual, of criticism as of anti-criticism, of development as of the crisis of development. We have pursued every avenue in the production and effective overproduction of objects, signs, messages, ideologies and

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satisfactions. Now everything has been liberated, the chips are down, and we find ourselves faced collectively with the big question: What do we do now the orgy is over?[6]

According to Baudrillard after the goals of liberation is over, the only thing left is the state of simulation and hyper-reality, "the state in which we interminably reproduce ideals, fantasies, images and dreams which are now behind us". Baudrillard also in his work "Simuclacres et Simulation" discusses the state of simulation and simulacrum and mentions that today there are only models that reproduce the reality. According to him Capitalism transforms everything (including houses) into commodities. Advertisements and fashion penetrated into our life as mediators of ideology of consumption. "Contemporary environmental culture reduced to a proliferation of images and buildings reduced to consumable goods".[7]

Also Güzer discusses the impacts of liberation process in post-orgy in relation to architecture:

> The architectural carnival of the 80s has been replaced by the bewilderment of "post-orgy". The liberation process, growing out of Modernism, yet promoting itself as a revolution against Modernism, not only did free the suppressed architectural language of modernism but also attempted to legitimize single or various architectural styles distinguished by media values based on such liberation idea. Architecture re-established its values on the ephemeral everyday taste, exposed itself to images degenerating reality, and to eclecticism determined by consumer culture. Priorities were rearranged according to values of the consumer society. In 90s "orgy" was no more a mere fantasy but the ultimate lifestyle.[8]

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[6] Jean BAUDRILLARD, The Transparecy of Evil: Essays on Extreme Phenomena, translated by: J. Benedict, Verso, London, 1993, p. 3
[7] Kenneth FRAMPTON, Some Reflections on Postmodernism and Architecture, p.76
[8] Abdi GÜZER, Mimarlıkta Orgy Sonrası, Mimarlık, no:258, pp. 15-16

Within this context consumption becomes an important determinant of architectural production. Production process transforms into reproduction process in which every form of culture and society is reduced to representations that produces simulations and hyper-reality. From now on, the limits between production and reproduction, reality and the model of reality is blurred as Colomina mentions:

> Today, in a stage of late capitalism, production and reproduction stand as two terms within a continuous cycle, their roles overlapping... The product (the "original") and its reproduction (the "copy") are confused with each other. The relations between maker and the object, object and user (or viewer), are now those of producer, product, and consumer (or audience), determined by their respective position in the continuous process of production (reproduction).[9]

On the other hand according to Balamir[10], liberal discourse, which is introduced by Postmodernism, became the new 'direction' of architects against the indefiniteness that is formed with the discourse of 'the end of ideology'. She states that architects, who have the ability to conform every alterations of paradigm, frequently change their positions and became the militants of every new ideology. Such architects concretize the changes in the cultural and political dilemmas. In this perspective architects become the consumers of architectural values and incline towards to fashionable and popular values that have collective acceptance in consumer society.

In other words in the context of consumer culture, image or imitations may become as valuable or valid as the original. This fact leads the legitimization of

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[9] Beatriz COLOMINA, Intrduction: On Architecture, Production and Reproduction, Architectureproduction, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 1988, pp. 8-9
[10] Balamir uses the word 'mihrab' instead of direction. Aydan K. BALAMİR, Toplumsal Kamikazenin (Yeni) Mimari Görüntüsü, Arredamento Dekorasyon, no: 262, p. 66

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architectural tendencies such as forming pseudo-traditionalism or pseudo-regionalism in architecture.

The second characteristic of post-modern culture is the dissolution of the dichotomy of high culture and popular culture. Urry[11] defines post-modernism as a post-cultural condition that the symbolic limits between academical culture and daily, popular culture dissolve.

This dissolution and its impacts on architectural practice can be discussed within the conceptual frame of the works of Robert Venturi. He criticizes the modern architecture and urban uses of "high" / elite architectural language became of its limited respect to its users and the abstractionist attitude that rejects the values and perceptions of different social groups. Therefore he celebrates an architecture destroying the limits between high and populist vocabularies of architecture.

Venturi mainly argues the symbolic meaning and the communicative role of architecture, concentrating on the necessity of the dissolution of the cultural dichotomy in architecture. According to him architecture should not be exclusivist and elitist, but should communicate with the different tastes, the values of different classes. He claims that the 'cliche', 'ugly' and 'ordinary' have the potential to communicate:

> ....the way of the ugly and ordinary in architecture can lead effectively to that of pretty and ordinary....where the aesthetic in the art of architecture is read at many levels, by children and the learned, and where architecture as an everyday

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[11] John URRY, Mekanları Tüketmek, translated by: Rahmi Öğdül, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, p.36

background for living in communities can be appreciated by many kinds of people at once: elitist architecture in this context is an oxymoron[12].

In "Learning from Las Vegas", Venturi, Scott Brown and Izonour focus on the representation role of architecture and emphasize the relation of representational elements with form, structure and program. Within this context they introduce the concepts of "the duck" and "the decorated shed":

> Where the architectural systems of space, structure and program are submerged and distorted by an overall symbolic form. This kind of building-becoming-sculpture we call the "duck".
> Where the systems of space and structure are directly at the service of program and ornament is applied independently of them. This we call a "decorated shed".
> The duck is the special building that is a symbol; the decorated shed is the conventional shelter that applies symbols[13].

Figure 1: Robert VENTURI, The duck and Decorated Shed

They call attention to a shift from ornamentation towards decoration that facade transforms into a decor. This situation indicates a new understanding of architecture in which the continuity between facade and function and form dissolves.

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[12] R. VENTURI, D. S. BROWN, <u>Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, Interview with Robert Maxwell,</u> Architectural Design, no:98, 1992, p. 10
[13] R. VENTURI, D. SCOTT BROWN, S. IZONOUR, <u>Learning From Las Vegas,</u> MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972, p. 64
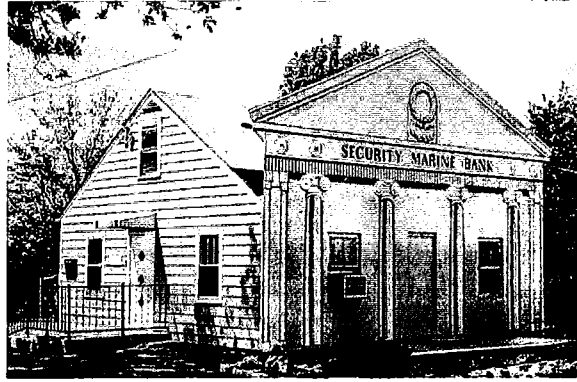
Figure 2: Security Marine Bank,
A Symbolic shed, representation of security and status via decor

On the other hand, within a similar perspective with Venturi, Jencks argues
for a "double / dual coded" architectural language which is the "mixtures of
meanings, popular and elite, which could be read by different cultural groups, on
different levels"[14]. According to him 'double coding' is the primary strategy of
architects to articulate the pluralism of culture. He introduces two codes that the first
one includes popular, traditional values and clichés, and, the second one includes the
values of high culture, art and neologisms. While the first code is slow changing, the
other code is fast changing related to the quick changes in technology. Jencks lists
compelling reasons for these opposite pairings:

> First is the built-in conflict between the profession and the user of
> architecture, their different ways of valuing architecture, their 'codes' of
> perception. Second, and stemming from this, architects must work for the
> power structure, society at large, and a client that may have regressive values,
> tastes or building motives. Wanting to built and protest at the same time,
> these architects, like Post-Modernists generally, send a mixed message of
> acceptance and critique. In a word their double coding confirms and subverts
> simultaneously. Third, post-modern architects were trained by Modernists,
> and are committed to using contemporary technology as well as facing
> current social reality. These commitments are enough to distinguish them

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[14] Charles JENCKS, The Language of Post-Modern Architecture, Academy Editions, London, 1977,
p. 6

from revivalists or traditionalists, a point worth stressing since it creates their hybrid language, the style of post-modern architecture.[15]

Figure 3: Ralph Erskine, Byker Wall. The use of traditional and modern materials together (green stained wood, brick, corrugated metal and asbestos). According to Jencks it is a social goal of Post-modernism that acknowledges the tastes of the inhabitants. (Jencks, 1996)

Figure 4: Robert Krier, Ritterstrasse Apartments. A typical double coding. The mix of modern technology and imagery. (Jencks, 1996)

While post-modern theorists celebrating the breakdown of authorizing cultural hierarchies in favor of cultural difference, at the same time culture, as well as social relations and identity formation, is exposed to the effects of consumption and lead cultural consumption. Dunn[16] states that within the postmodern condition, an eclectic and adaptable consumerism has weakened the class identities and loyalties in favor of more ephemeral identifications with corporate-based images of leisure, pleasure, and celebrity, in which a regime of regulated and institutionalized taste is replaced by a system of commercially mediated and highly fluid lifestyle.

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[15] Charles JENCKS, What is Post-Modernism?, Academy Editions, London, 1996, p. 30
[16] Robert G. DUNN, Identity Crises: A Social Critique of Postmodernity, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1998, p. 12

According to Chapman[17], under postmodernity, capitalism has produced new social relationships where people's personal identities are not so much shaped by their family origins, neighborhood, friends and local culture, or the work they do, but by what they choose to consume. Within this perspective consumption of goods becomes a mean that serves to maintain social status or social prestige. Therefore consumption gain additional functions other than satisfaction of true needs.

Baudrillard focuses on the competitive condition of modern capitalist society, which invades every aspect of human existence in his work "The Consumer Society", and claims that the consumption of goods is a part of competition for prestige. He defines consumption according to its functional aspects: "(1) as a functional practice of objects – possession, etc., or (2) as a mere individual or group prestige function, but (3) as a system of communication and exchange, as a code of signs continually being sent, received and reinvented – as a language"[18].

As Baudrillard mentions, consumption is a system of signs and consumers consume signs rather than commodities. Commodities are no longer defined by their use, but by what they signify, thus the appearance of what things mean has become more important than reality itself. The manipulation of signs by consumption "becomes central to late capitalist society where sign and commodity have come together to produce the 'commodity-sign'"[19].

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[17] Tony CHAPMAN, "The Ideal Home Exhibition: an Analysis of Constraints and Conventions in Consumer Choice in British Homes", Consuming Cultures: power and resistance, edited by J. Hearn, S. Roseneil, Macmillan Press, New York, 1999, p. 70

[18] Jean BAUDRILLARD, The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures, Sage Publications, London, 1998, p. 93

[19] Mike FEATHERSTONE, Consumer Culture and Postmodernism, Sage Publications, London, 1991, p. 15

All these developments, both the cultural dissolution and formation of 'commodity-signs' refers to the concept of "aestheticization of everyday life" that Featherstone[20] discuss in his work "Consumer Culture and Postmodernism". He discusses the aestheticization of everyday life in three senses. The first one is the Post-modern art that effaces the boundary between art and everyday life. The second one is the assumption that art can be anywhere or anything. "The detrius of mass culture, the debased consumer commodities could be art. Also it refers to the project of turning life into a work of art. This sense indicates the creation of distinctive life styles that concern with the achievement of originality and superiority in dress, personal habits and furnishings, and that has become central to consumer culture. in other words it refers to aesthetic consumption to form a life style. The third sense is the rapid flow of signs and images, which saturate the fabric of everyday life. in this sense Baudrillard claims that everything, even the everyday life and banal reality becomes aesthetic, the sign of art:

And so art is everywhere, since artifice is at the very heart of reality. And so art is dead, not only because its critical transcendence is gone, but because reality itself, entirely impregnated by an aesthetic which is inseparably from its own structure, has been confused with its own image[21].

Within this context, cities become the place for the aestheticization of everyday life and the development of consumer culture. This situation leads the formation of "consumer culture dream worlds" including the residential complexes that utilize from the language of Post-modern architecture.

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[20] ibid., pp. 65 - 82
[21] Jean BAUDRILLARD, Simulations, New York, 1983, p. 151

Within such a cultural medium, it is understood that post-modern architecture, which displays a fragmented reality composed of a multiplicity of architectural paradigms, is exposed to the impacts of consumer culture and became a producer of 'commodity-signs'. The diversity of trends, which is defended as a search for a pluralist and populist vocabulary of architecture, has placed architecture on a ground of total liberation where consumption is legitimized.

2.2 Society of Communication: The Impact of mass media and information technologies on formation of consumer culture and orientation of the architectural demand

Mass media has a great effect on formation of the consumer culture and orientation of the demand by displaying the form of culture industry, which shapes the needs, attitudes and behavior of individuals to integrate them into the consumer society. Oktay[22] states that the products of popular culture present the reality by diverting, changing it with the attractive forms. The life styles, tastes, homes of popular people (popularity whether based on economical power or social status) are presented aesthetically without any criticism. Popular tastes are determined by trends, fashion and develop according to these desired life styles. This situation leads to the formation of an employer type who needs an architect as a mean to realize his/her desires that are based on presented cultural images. On the other hand, this leads architects to justify an architectural practice depending upon supply and demand relation more than anything else.

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[22] Ahmet OKTAY, Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, p. 29

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Mosco and Herman[23] calling attention to the function of media, state that ideological motivation or forming conscious is directly constituted by the 'demand orientation system of capitalism'. Within this system the aim is to constitute a suitable ground for the orientation to the profitable institutions, which reflects the passive state that are necessary for the re-production of social relations. Also the alienated culture, formation of the consumer culture supports the orientation to the profitable institutions instead of the orientation to the critical culture based on cooperation.

According to Urry[24], via media, time and space is accelerated and this fact destabilizes the identities of individuals. He focuses on the function of television and states that it changes the spatial and time organization of social life. He claims that the superiority of image against narration destroys the bases of personality, moreover destroys the personality completely and establishes a consumer identity.

The communication and information technologies provides the appropriation of disposable commodities, images selected from the repertoire of consumer culture and as Dunn[25] mentions they transform identities into an extension of the instrumental and performative functions of various cultural media. According to him mass media reproduce the consumptive mode through simulation, whose logic is to further destabilize inherited social and cultural hierarchies. In the functionally autonomous world of the media, identity is cast adrift in an eclectic world of images characterized by a dissociation of class and other collective identifications.

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[23] V. MOSCO, A. HERMAN, "Radikal Toplum Kuramı ve İletişim Devrimi", Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar, Savaş Yayınları, 1983, p.129-130
[24] John URRY, Mekanları Tüketmek, , translated by: Rahmi Öğdül, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 37-38
[25] Robert G. DUNN, Identity Crises: A Social Critique of Postmodernity, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1998, p. 12-13, 65

Media also has a role in the shift from reality to image and establishes a ground for the appropriation of popular culture based upon images and forms of representations. With this characteristic it not only changes the identities but also changes the ways of perceiving things, as well as architecture. Architecture becomes a medium to embody the images and the representations of popular and consumer culture. Image value becomes more important than contextual and ideological dimensions of architecture.

Architecture is increasingly reduced to a matter of superficial appearance: that is to say, it is valued solely as a convenient situation – setting rather than as a cultural value in itself. It is a sign of our times that aesthetic display has come to be used as a form of packaging to such an extend that architecture is often called upon to provide nothing more than a set of selective images with which to sell both the building and its product[26].

On the other hand, it is observed that print media is the most effective form of media that promotes the architectural images and stimulate the consumption of architectural products. The architectural magazines especially the popular ones, which address to consumers more than architects, become a catalogue of ideas for homemakers and even for architects. Architecture reduced to imagery, more than the real thing, allows an extremely quick and direct way for it to be consumed and its ideas to be propagated. Tschumi attracts attention to the narration of architectural magazines:

The paper representation of architecture will have the sole purpose of triggering desire for architecture. The somehow ironical images of these advertisements were all prepared in the context of magazine articles, which could not be illustrated in the conventional way. After all, architectural drawings and

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[26] Kenneth FRAMPTON, "Reflections on the Autonomy of Architecture: A Critique of Contemporary Production", Out of Site. A Social Criticism of Archiecture, edited by: D. Ghirardo, Bay Press, Seattle, 1991, p. 23

photographs are just paper spaces – there is no way to "perform" real architecture in a magazine and through a drawing. The only way is to make believe. So, just as ads for architectural products (or cigarettes and whiskey) are made to trigger desire for something beyond the glossy illustration, these ads have the same purpose: to trigger desire for architecture."[27]

At the same time, these ads and the popular architectural magazines trigger the desire for various objects of consumption by means of architectural products, as well as houses. In other words house is considered as a site for consumption. As Ritzer[28] mentions, with the penetration of means of consumption many 'noncommercial' settings, including homes, become the places of consumption. He states that to truly make all time available for consumption the means of consumption, such as cybermalls and catalogs had to implode into the home that eliminate time as a barrier to consumption. Therefore the home become a, perhaps the, major site for obtaining good and services. With a similar point of view, Güzer[29] states that the means of communication and media such as television, newspaper, telephone, and internet became essential equipments of the house as a guide and mean of shopping. House forms the suitable place to bring these equipments together. In popular architectural magazines, which are defined as coffee-table magazines, housing is a topic to gather related goods for the sake of consumption.

Also the image-based presentation of media leads the formation of image based taste that is lack of its contents and contexts. On that account, apparent parts of house become more important than its other qualities. Architects legitimate their

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[27] Bernard TSCHUMI, Architectural Manifestoes, exhibition catalogue, New York 1978, quoted from Beatriz COLOMINA, "Intrduction: On Architecture, Production and Reproduction", Architectureproduction, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 1988, p. 22
[28] George RITZER, Enchanting a Disenchanted World, Pine Forge Press, 1999, pp.147-181
[29] Abdi GÜZER, Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut, Gazi Sanat Dergisi, Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları, no:2

clients' image based wishes with their designs that are based on formal approaches and ornamentation.

Visual consideration of house and its popular interpretation leads the formation of fashion of house. Pierre-Alain Croset, attract attention to the image based consumption in architectural magazines, state that "the determinant in choosing what architecture to publish becomes the building's photogenic quality, a quality that is often totally independent of the real experience lived inside the building. For this reason much architecture cultivates the quality of being spectacular and add that the creative part of the architect's work tends to be concentrated on the definition of the external image of the building."[30]

2.3 Popular culture: The Legitimization mechanism that Integrate the cultural, traditional and historical values into culture industry

Collective signs, images and values are re-introduced to society, by making them consumable and popular. These consumable products are the raw materials that form the popular culture. It can be said that cultural hegemony is re-produced by the participation of dominated ones, and this form 'popular culture'.

According to Rowe[31] popular culture is the shifting sets of social and cultural relations, meanings and texts which in varying ways emerge as contemporary forms

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[30] Pierre-Alain CROSET, "The Narration of Architecture", Architectureproduction, Princeton Architectural Press, Princeton, 1988, p. 203
[31] David ROWE, Popular Cultures: Rock Music, Sport and the Politics of Pleasure, Sage Publications, London, 1995, p. 8

of pleasure, leisure, style and identity, and which are linked to personal and expressive politics, aesthetic address and cultural economy.

Batmaz[32] defines popular culture as the culture of everyday life. According to him, popular culture, in its restricted meaning, includes amusement as input for reproduction of everyday labor. In its broader meaning, it provides the preconditions for the ideological reproduction of a certain way of life.

Oskay[33] calls attention to the ideological function of popular culture. He states that popular culture spoils the ways of thinking for another life that can be realized instead of existing life. It lessens the hurts, also lessens the pains and shames based on acceptance of existing reality.

With a similar point of view Oktay[34] states that popular culture is a culture that produces artificial happiness to hide the negative aspects of reality. He adds that popular culture and the products of mass culture take aim at the alienated individuals to adapt these people to the system.

House became a place to escape from the negative sides of reality, became a space to conceal them. "The middle class members form an interior, which is based on illusions, to complete the work life based on reality. Therefore middle class starts watching 'the world theatre from their living rooms that is transformed into a theatre box'. Home, became the center of practices to escape from the realities of social existence."[35]

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[32] Veysel BATMAZ, Popüler Kültür Üzerine Değişik Kuramsal Yaklaşımlar, İletişim, no:1, AİTİA Yayını, 1981, p. 163

[33] Ünsal OSKAY, "Popüler Kültürün Toplumsal Ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevi Üzerine", Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar, ed. K. ALEMDAR – R. KAYA, Savaş Yayınları, 1983, p. 190

[34] Ahmet OKTAY, Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, p. 23-44

[35] Ünsal Oskay, "Popüler Kültürün Toplumsal Ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevi Üzerine", Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar, Savaş Yayınları, 1983, p.184 – 185

Popular cultural mode of production develops on momentary and daily solutions that are void of criticism. With this characteristic it obstructs the re-reading of history. Separation of life and things from their cultural and historical contexts and "instigation of the ideology of disposability support the exclusion of history."[36]

Oktay mentions that, popular culture creates handicaps for clash of social contradictions, and weakens the oppositionary and protest elements in the products of high culture. Especially, when surrounded by mass culture it gains an affirmative, form. Affirmative forms reject criticism. Lack of criticism leads to the formation of a society that satisfies with daily pleasures and affirms the existing order. Therefore masses could not have a critical outlook about social realities. It can be said that popular culture has a function as a legitimization mechanism. In other words "popular culture serves to spreading of hegemonic ideology."[37]

Popular culture forms a suitable ground for the production of kitsch by blurring the distinctions between the works of art and the basic daily forms of consumption. Tanyeli[38] claims that, in fact, kitsch utilizes from the iconographic schemes of art continuously by the prefabrication of the works of art. But in all these utilization forms, artistic indicators, signs are isolated and purified from their meanings. These processes of isolation and purification bring the arbitrary use of different cultural signs without synthesis.

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[36] Ahmet OKTAY, Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, p. 28
[37] Ahmet OKTAY, Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, p. 23
[38] The word different is used in the meaning of being unusual and privileged, see Uğur TANYELİ, Aslolan "Kitsch"tir, Arredamento Dekorasyon, no:21, 1990, p. 101

Tanyeli states that taste is a system of norms and kitsch is the result of the facts, developments that demolishes this system of norms. In this manner, "kitsch has a transformer and critical power related to its anti-aesthetic structure" [39]. But in Turkey "kitsch is the result of the failure in the displacement of traditional norms with the Western norms. Therefore, because of the aesthetic normlessness in the country, kitsch becomes the indicator of 'being different.'"[40]

Kitsch penetrates into houses with the demand for different. Güzer[41], establishing connection between the process of production and the formation of kitsch, claims that, because of the limited participation of architects to the production process, houses become the result of user and builder's interference more than a product of architectural design.

On the other hand, popular culture utilizes from iconology to integrate the cultural, traditional and historical values to the market. Oktay[42] defines icon as an object that people show respect and accept without criticism. Iconological meaning is shaped according to the social status of individuals or groups, their beliefs and their ways of behaving. In this manner, icon is a mean to reflect the identity. In the consumer society icon is an object of the market that is sold in low-price.

According to Benneth the problems of iconology and iconological meaning are the phenomenon of capitalism. He states that, "since our identity is shaped based on our social roles, today, we find ourselves in an ever-growing anonymity. In order

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[39] Abdi GÜZER, "Mimarlıkta 'Kitsch'in Sınırları", 70 Sonrası Mimarlık, Mimarlar Derneği Yayını, 1996, p. 64

[40] Uğur TANYELİ, Aslolan Kitsch'tir, Arredamento Dekorasyon, no: 21, 1990, p.105

[41] Abdi GÜZER, "Mimarlıkta 'Kitsch'in Sınırları", 70 Sonrası Mimarlık, Mimarlar Derneği Yayını, 1996, p. 63

[42] Ahmet OKTAY, Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, p. 31

to avoid this, we are trying to obtain an identity by attributing individualistic properties to the objects we possess. However, we are able to acquire that identity thanks to our respect to the mass products we bought." [43]

In Turkey representation of identity mostly develops on inclination towards historical and cultural values. The characteristics of these values vary according to individuals' social positions and the thoughts, which they support and believe to represent themselves. Therefore, these values and their referentials vary from Islamic values to traditional values. Historical and traditional references, the discourse of tradition in housing architecture forms the iconological side of popular culture. According to Usta[44], the equivalent of iconological side of popular culture in architecture is the 'victory of historical memory' in architectural products.

In consequence of these evaluations, it can be said that behind the discourse of 'pluralism', architectural production participates to the cultural consumption and legitimates the rules of existing order. Popular culture, which provides the suitable ground for lessening, hiding the problems, contradictions of architecture related to lack of ideology, also forms a ground for the legitimization of consumer culture in architecture. Except specific examples, architectural production is oriented towards product differentiation, to allow a more pleasurable, easier way to consume products. Therefore, the difference, the limit between architectural production and commercial production is blurred. Consequently, the profession of architecture generally inclines

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[43] Spencer C. BENNETH, "Chirist, Icons, and the Mass Media", Icons of Popular Culture, Bowling Green University Press, Ohio, 1970, p.3
[44] A. USTA, G.K. USTA, Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür ve Mimari Eğilimlerin Toplumsal Bağlamı, Arredamento Dekorasyon, no:11, 1995, p.88

towards to production of commodities or "commodity-signs" in relation to the demands of the consumer society.

CHAPTER III

CONSUMER CULTURE AS AN ARCHITECTURAL

CONTEXT

With the transformation of socio-cultural conditions, house today, gained different meanings other than being a shelter, being a compulsory necessity. As a result of altered cultural expectations, houses became object of consumption via which social status is gained. This situation is more related with high and middle-income group members. But these income groups and their life styles are seen cultural models that have significant effect and reflection on other income groups.

Because of being under the dominance of market forces, housing problem has generally been defined with its economic and quantitative properties. Within the popular conception of the housing problem the spatial problems becomes secondary under the dominance of the economical problems.

House, on the other hand, has some characteristics that differ itself from ordinary consuming objects. Physical characteristics are important in selection of consuming objects. These objects that are the products of mass production differ from each other according to some characteristics as their materials, strength, technology of production and market value. In addition to these characteristics site, climate and social context are important as physical characteristics for the selection

of a house. On the other hand privacy, family life and structure, collective spatial images are important factors for user choices as socio-cultural characteristics. The design and usage of the house reflects certain cultural and social values, ideas and reflects its technology and time.

Ordinary people, the ones "who are organized by the systems produced by the technical rationality" as defined by Freud,[45] adopts all the products and facilities of high technology in their daily life (automobiles, cellular phones) and at their homes (televisions, refrigerators, CD players). However house as a commodity have significant difference where it is transparent to traditional styles, forms as an identity of social status and memory.[46] Because of that, as Güzer[47] mentions, many previleged examples that are promoted in architectural medium often do not coincide with the needs, aesthetic expectations of ordinary people.

Within this context "house is a paradox within the discussions of traditional life – modern life, traditional form – modern form, traditional technology – high technology."[48] It also represents the paradoxial relation between different cultural spheres.

On this ground, the crucial point is the difference between the way of understanding and interpreting the house, the difference between architectural disciplinary perceptions and perceptions of ordinary people. But as Gür and Cordan[49] mention, the meaning of house is the sum of perceptions, significance of the ones,

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[45] Also De Certeau refers to this definition in his book "The Practice of Everyday Life"
[46] This fact is discussed in Chapter III to understand the effects of users on the architectural production of house.
[47] Abdi GÜZER, Özel Konutlar, XXI Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi, no:4, 2000, p. 56
[48] Şengül Öymen Gür, Doğu Karadeniz Örneğinde Konut Kültürü, Yem Yayınları, 2000, p.12
[49] Ş. Ö. GÜR, Ö. CORDAN, "Kimlik ve Farklılık arasındaki Paradoksal İlişki İçinde Mimar-Anlam-Beğeni Kavramları", Mimar-Anlam-Beğeni, YEM Yayın, İstanbul, 1999, p. 174

who participate to the processes of design, building and use. Perception of house, within the architectural discipline, is the result of the relations of architects with their own identity and society.

On the other hand perception of users is connected with the significance of house for themselves. There are two different factors that determine the significance of house. One of them is cultural and internal (i.e. cultural significance or relation with identity) and the other one is socio-economic and external (i.e. estimation of status, personal success through the house).

Architectural discipline represents the house independent from their own contexts and assigns values and meanings from architecture's self-referential domains. In architectural practice, definition and conceptualization of house develop through the design and construction of house as an object, an urban artifact.

On the other hand users perceive and define the house through the concept of 'home'. Concept of 'home' forms along with the socio-cultural position of the user.

The characteristics that distinguish a house from other products or objects of consumption presents contextual structure. These characteristics are:

Its relation with land: That brings location based significance such as topography, climate etc.

Its location in the city: That brings social relations and social status.

Immobility: Inhibits the distribution of house as an ordinary consuming object.

Its durability: That brings social guarantee.

Its mode of production: House is a semi-industrialized object open to variety of production styles.

The variety of groups that contribute the process of production: The parties of production such as state, developers, architects, construction firms, interior designers, etc. participate the production of house and their relations affect the process and mode of production.

One should explore the factors that affect, limit the architectural production of house to understand the role of architecture in the production process within a consumer society. Balamir[50] mentions about two factors that affect the architectural practice. One of them is rights and authority, which are determined by occupational law and the other one is the beliefs and architectural knowledge of architect.

According to Gausa a housing project depends on the formulation of contexts. "The social context intervenes in the form of the tastes and wishes of the client, the future inhabitant of the house. The legal context, in architecture, intervenes in the form of rules, which to a certain extent limit or condition a design. The material context intervenes in the form of the techniques and processes, which define a specific, more or less local building industry. The physical context of the project is made up of a whole series of conditioning factors, both real and ideological, which define forms of action on which a project is based."[51]

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[50] Aydan BALAMİR, "Mimarın Kimlik, Meşruiyet, Etik Sorunları ve Mimarlığın Disipliner Buhranı", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu 'Kimlik – Meşruiyet – Etik', Mimarlar Odası, 1996, p. 25

[51] Manuel GAUSA ,Jaime SALAZAR, Single – Family Housing, Birkhauser Publishers, Barcelona. 1999, p.19

In this manner, architectural practice is a result of multi-dimensional relations and inputs. Under the effects of consumer culture the content, meaning or structure of these contexts changes and transform.

3.1 Evaluation of Geographical Context

Dwellings are one of the most dominant elements that form the physical appearance of the cities. In urban areas residential units form majority of the buildings. They are the basic components of a city. Therefore, taking into consideration to the characteristics of cities, environmental conditions, zoning and instruction plans become important subjects for the design of the dwellings.

Transformations in the urban structure and urban life are directly related to the exposition of geographical contexts to the impacts of consumer culture. Therefore, the concepts such as locality and urban land should be discussed considering the urban formations.

According to Urry[52], because of the visual consumption of time and space city is re-structured as a post-modern consumption center. It transformed into an imaginary landscape of visual consumption. Within a similar perspective Featherstone[53], referring to Benjamin and Baudrillard, states that the enhanced role of culture in contemporary Western cities, increasingly centers not only of everyday consumption but also of a wider range of symbolic goods and experiences produced

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[52] John URRY, Mekanları Tüketmek, translated by: Rahmi Öğdül, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, p.37
[53] Mike FEATHERSTONE, Consumer Culture and Postmodernism, Sage Publications, London, 1991, p. 24

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by culture industries (the arts, entertainment, tourism, heritage sectors). Within these 'postmodern cities' people are held to engage in a complex sign play, which resonates with the proliferation of signs in the built environment and urban fabric. According to him this situation indicates an urban renewal through the process of postmodernization with the gentrification of inner city areas and the emergence of 'simulational' environments which use spectacular imagery in malls, shopping centers, theme parks and hotels.

From this viewpoint contemporary city becomes the place for the proliferation of objects and images. As Featherstone[54] mentions, urban landscape has become aestheticized and enhanced through the architecture, billboards, shop displays, advertisements, street signs. Within this context besides being a precondition for building process, urban land becomes a sign via design and speculation.

Land is one of the major inputs of a housing project and also one of the most important criteria in housing choices and orientation of demand. Land has various meanings and functions that affect the production of house. In countries, where the purchasing power is declining continuously because of the inflation, the land becomes a profitable, reliable investment just like houses.

Land is the origin of the compulsory relations between architects and governmental institutions. Land brings the relations of possession that determines the characteristics of client of architect and their relations. But the most crucial point is the location of land, its relation with geography, which brings the discussions about geographical limits and locality.

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[54] ibid., p. 76

Being an immobile and non-producible commodity, land brings some advantages to its owner as superiority and privilege of being a monopoly that ends with land speculation. In some circumstances of private possession of the urban land, landowners play the dominant role in design and planning. In order to make more profit and to attract more customers, popular values become more important than other essentials of housing.

Today in Turkey, the atrophy of class-consciousness provides suitable ground for the legitimization of the production of houses that is build upon popular values and consumer culture.

On this ground, architect's relation with land/locality develops on legitimization of that kind of production with the discourse of localization, that is to say, to tend to form new vernacular style. Akcan[55] states that, in Turkey, identity search in architecture is developed relevant to the concept of locality. This situation leads architects to incline towards to their own historical, cultural and traditional values and images. But there is confusion in the perception of locality and its referentials because of the indefiniteness of limits and borders of the place where local is sought. So the referential places vary according to the viewpoint of architect (i.e. Anatolian Architecture, Ottoman Architecture and Islamic Architecture). This situation brings the concepts like 'contemporary Turkish architecture', 'interpretation of Anatolian architecture', 'contemporary Turkish house'. But some of these efforts to form an architectural identity have a common characteristic based on formal approaches. All these architectural approaches could not form a vernacular

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[55] Esra AKCAN, "Mimarlığımızda Kimlik – Yer İlişkisi ve İçerik Sorunu", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu 'Kimlik – Meşruiyet – Etik', Mimarlar Odası, 1996, p. 113

architecture but form an architecture that look like vernacular. These approaches also form the iconological side of popular culture.

3.2 Parties of House Production and Their Impacts on the Architectural Production of House

Architects have a limited role in the production process of houses. It is the place of contradictions and agreements where disciplinary perceptions and values meet users' perceptions, popular values, politics and economy. In this place, architect has a role as a mediator and a reconciler. Most of the time disciplinary values become secondary because this is the place of priorities and prejudices related to economy and values of consumption.

"In capitalist societies and in the societies that are developing according to the rules of capitalism, market of housing is under the control of private enterprises. In these systems, the role of public and public institutions is limited."[56] In capitalist societies state defines the rules, and regulations about housing but private enterprises and users who have economic and political power, direct the market and degenerate these regulations.

Ekinci[57] claims that, in Turkey, relations of production develop under the dominance of economy of unearned income. According to his research, 80 percent of

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[56] Ruşen Keleş, Kentleşme Politikası, İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1996, p. 299
[57] The architectural magazines that he investigated are: Tasarım, Arredamento Dekorasyon, Mimarlık, Yapı, see Oktay EKİNCİ, "Rant Ekonomisi ve Mimarlık Etiği", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu 'Kimlik – Meşruiyet – Etik', Mimarlar Odası, 1996, pp. 196-204

the buildings, which are presented in the architectural magazines, are built by violating the development regulations. This investigation indicates two significant results related to architectural practice. One is the legitimization role of architect and the other one is the problem of acquiring originality within the restrictions and demands of development regulations.

The first result, the legitimization role of architect, is connected with the relations of benefits. Intents of state, intents of customers and private enterprises usually do not coincide because of the clash of benefit. In this condition, architects become a mediator and a reconciler. They try to satisfy the state by obeying to the zoning and construction regulations and satisfy the customer and private enterprises with second projects and the transformed projects according to their intents. Besides these struggles, they try to reflect their own architectural position. On the other hand "because of their professional status architects rarely initiate business, in fact they are not consulted for most housing. The smaller producers tend to use plans developed from their own experience or to copy and modify stock plans appearing in trade journals, popular magazines. Merchant builders, however, are turning to more professional architects; some of the large scale builders have full-time architectural staffs of their own, as do the prefabricators of packaged houses."[58]

In consequence, the conditions of house production are formed by the political and economical relations, which are based on the economy of unearned income, without consultation of architects. In this manner, architectural practice naturally centered on the legitimization of these relations by the participation of architects to the formation of illegal buildings.

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[58] Martin Meyerson, Housing, People, and Cities, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1962, p.110

The second result of Ekinci's investigation is the problem of acquiring architectural originality. The restrictions and demands of development regulations, and contrary to these regulations, the demands of users to use the limits of these regulations completely leads architects to design legal boxes. Architect can not acquire the originality through the design. Furthermore, it can be said that most of the well-known samples of housing can not be built within the existing development regulations of Turkey. This situation leads architects to acquire originality through the organization of facades, ornamentation and decoration. In this perspective, architectural production of house for most of the case can be summarized as: designing a legal box, which is the transformation of a chosen type, to satisfy both the demands of users and regulations and then acquiring the originality by copy-paste of cultural, historical images, which represent the popularized collective values and tastes.

According to Özker[59], development of squatter areas is the reflection of unprogrammed and unplanned changes in the relations of production to the physical space. Therefore, in Turkey, building practice without architects is legitimated.

On the other hand, as a result of mass production and market relations, house became an anonymous object. "In the catalogue of an exhibition named 'International Property', Yago Conde and Bea Goller state that universal and homogenous character of a house is the result of free marketing relations."[60] This is the reason for the similarities of apartments, semi-detached houses, single unit houses in all around the world.

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[59] Özlem ÖZKER, "Mimarlığımızda Kimlik Sorununun Tarihsel Süreç İçinde İrdelenmesi", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu 'Kimlik – Meşruiyet – Etik', Mimarlar Odası, 1996, pp. 91-92
[60] Şengül Öymen Gür, Doğu Karadeniz Örneğinde Konut Kültürü, Yem Yayınları, 2000, p.12

Hill states that "architectural debate and production ignore the user. Architecture is a category, which fortunately, goes much further than the job of architects, who only belong to a small sector that produces objects. Both architect and inhabitant create what we call architecture: one through design and the other through use" [61].

Because of that, in order to personalize the house, the users change, and transform the interior and exterior designs of their houses according to their needs. As Güvenç states:

"It is a correction related with personal cosmos of individual, against the economic, social and individual thing" [62]. That is why every house looks, and smells different. That is the thing that makes house "a home". These corrections can be defined as the reproduction process of the house. In short, production is a continuous process in housing.

3.3 The Impacts of Building and Material Industry on the Architectural Production of House

Housing industry is one of the largest industries in almost every country. House production process is a division of labor including many different organizations and individuals. Process of production is supported by building material suppliers, prefabricators, subcontractors, etc.

Economy has a priority in the production process. It determines the conditions related to the mode of production. Developing under the dominance of

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[61] Jonathan HILL, Occupying Architecture. Between the Architect and the User, Ed. Routledge, 1998
[62] Kenan GÜVENÇ, İki Arada Bir Derede, Mimarlık, no:260, 1994, p.23

economical decisions, mass production as an industrialized building process eliminates the effects of users while addressing various needs and expectations. Moreover standardization is a characteristic of an object of consumption. Oskay[63] states that, mass production inhibits the possibility of possession by ordering. It inclines towards to attractive imitations rather than usage value. Users do not have a possibility to participate the production process.

This situation is also limited the architects. Architects can only take a limited role through standardized mass production process. This fact indicates the reason of the arbitrary use of historical, cultural images independent from their contexts. In this manner architectural types are standardized for mass production.

Standardization causes similar house plans, similar structural systems. Only facades and image based additions becomes the only representative medium for identity based expression. "The increasing use of prefabricated materials led to the revival of a conflict among architects as to whether they should accept the simplicity and uniformity of unrelieved surfaces or seek to disguise them with applied 'cladding' in familiar materials."[64]

With the development of the construction industry, most of the construction elements, especially finishing elements, started to be produced in factories. Thus, it lessens the work done in the building site. With this cooperation, new sectors (the firms only specialized on one construction element such as stairs, lightning, parquet, wallpaper) are established that accelerate the housing market. In this manner a part of the construction process transformed into the process of assemblage.

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[63] Ünsal OSKAY, "Popüler Kültürün Toplumsal Ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevi Üzerine", Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar, Savaş Yayınları, 1983, p.183
[64] John BURNETT, A Social History of Housing, David & Charles Inc., 1978, p. 295

Within the same perspective, building materials are displaced with their artificial models and imitations that are cheap and more suitable for fast production. Instead of a stone wall, a wall look like stone is preferred. In this way both architect and user are alienated to the nature of material.

Division of labour, which is developed with the rationalization of production process, brings the production of house with less knowledge and skill relating to the whole product and this ends with specialization. On this account, architects are decomposed within themselves as designer architect, technician architect, and decorator architect.

3.4 Evaluation of Type and Typology

With the examinations of housing patterns, it is understood that all the housing units are the varieties of basic spatial organizations. Developing housing typologies is a way to classify these spatial organizations. According to Rossi "the type developed according to both needs and aspirations to beauty; a particular type was associated with a form and a way of life, although its specific shape varied widely from society to society. The concept of type thus became the basis of architecture, a fact attested to both practice and by the treatises."[65]

In Turkey, most of the housing typologies are based upon a reductionist understanding of modernism. With this understanding, as Özker[66] mentions, directly

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[65] Aldo ROSSI, The Architecture of the City, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1982,, p. 40

[66] Özlem ÖZKER, "Mimarlığımızda Kimlik Sorununun Tarihsel Süreç İçinde İrdelenmesi", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu 'Kimlik – Meşruiyet – Etik', Mimarlar Odası, 1996, p. 92

applying the Western types and typologies to the Turkish social structure without understanding the necessity, the motivation behind them and without determining how the construction techniques in Turkey would affect these plan types, negatively impacts the development of the residential architecture.

In addition, houses, which are promoted in architectural culture gain a privilege, are transformed into prototypes for re-production and marketing. They are mass-produced by the repetition of these types.[67]

Type becomes a market object by its transformed mode as prototype. Similarly, cultural and historical values and works of art become the objects of market. Ewen lists the requirements for appropriation of these values into market as:

"1. The image must able to be disembodied, separated from its source.

2. The image must be capable of being 'economically' mass-produced.

3. The image must be able to become merchandise, to be promoted and sold."[68]

On this account, prefabricated houses (American houses, wooden houses) represent all these characteristics. These houses are standardized houses that are produced by using various types, under the dominance of market forces. Their details, forms, styles are predetermined and do not differentiate context wise. In other words they are isolated from environmental and cultural effects. In this sense house become an ordinary consuming object. Customer chooses these houses from catalogues and magazines like an ordinary consuming object.

On the other hand, changes and transformations of social structure and economic structure (disintegration of nuclear family, lack of housing as a result of

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[67] Abdi GÜZER, Fevkalade + Fevkalade = Alelade, Mimarlık, no: 2, 1989, p.43

[68] Stuart EWEN, All Consuming Images: the Politics of Style in Contemporary culture, Basic Books, 1988, p. 247

economic problems, criticisms about existing residential areas, and houses decreasing the qualities of the social life), indicates the necessity of developing new housing types and residential patterns. Rossi states that "housing types have not changed from antiquity up to today, but it is not to say that the actual way of living has not changed, nor that the new ways of living are not always possible."[69]

In conclusion, within the relations of production, architects, when face with economy, politics and demands of users, meet with different determinants other than disciplinary, scientific facts and perceptions. This leads architects to realize their architectural production within the interface between world of theory (science) and daily values (practices). Disciplinary perceptions and knowledge become secondary to direct the architectural products, furthermore they become a pretext of the architectural product that is dependent to client. Balamir[70] states that, architects offer their knowledge and skills in return for the demand of social power. They tend to differ themselves from craftsmen with their knowledge in order to legitimate their occupation. Consequently, relations of production transform into struggle for power between architects and their clients and into a dilemma as to whether to practice disciplinary knowledge or to appropriate daily values and perceptions.

3.5 The Concept of 'Home': The Impacts of Dwellers on the Architectural Production of House

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[69] Aldo ROSSI, The Architecture of the City, The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1982, p. 50
[70] Aydan BALAMİR, "Mimarın Kimlik, Meşruiyet, Etik Sorunları ve Mimarlığın Disipliner Buhranı", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu 'Kimlik – Meşruiyet – Etik', Mimarlar Odası, 1996, p. 25-26

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Home is not a physical structure. It is "a sense of relationship with other people, of social network and a base of activity, to the conceptions of a place of continuity, of refuge, a personalized place and a symbol of self-identity."[71]

House is an object related with world of things, economy, whereas home is a personalized concept. In other words as Brunett mentions "houses are physical structures, homes are social, economic and cultural institutions."[72] Within the similar point of view Heiddegger states that "home is the basic way of being in the world. This basic way is the pre-condition for existence of the physical house as home."[73]

House transforms into home by their users. This transformation process, in fact, is a re-production process within the everyday life conditions.

Everyday life is based on a distinction between two kinds of creativity: primary production (practices of dominant ones) and secondary production (practices of dominated ones) that is a matter of transforming existing products.[74] Formation of home is a kind of secondary production, which users try to form their territory against their dominated life. On this account, house became a place to escape from the negative sides of reality where users can form their phantasms and utopias. Architectural production stays between primary and secondary production. Briefly, house is a product that is formed by the superimposition of these modes of

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[71] M.S. LOW, E. CHAMBERS, Housing, Culture and Design, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1989, p. 220

[72] John BURNETT, A Social History of Housing, David & Charles Inc., 1978, p. 4

[73] E. R. TURAN, Heiddeger ve Ev, Mimarlık, no:260, 1994, p. 21

[74] These production types indicate the concepts of 'strategies' and 'tactics', also 'domination' and 'appropriation' of space, see Michel de CERTEAU, The Practice of Everyday Life, trans. by Steven Rendall, University of California Press, 1988, p. xix

production including the conflicts, agreements and different perceptions of architects and users.

Also Dovey claims that the distinction between house and home is parallel to the distinctions between conceptual space and lived space:

"Conceptual space is abstract, geometric and objectively measured, a kind of context within which places, people and things exist. Lived space, by contrast, is the preconceptual and meaningful spatial experience of what phenomenalogists call 'being-in-the world'. Whereas conceptual space is an abstract continuum, lived space is concrete and meaning-centered bodily experience."[75]

Home is a symbol of identity. It is the place of individual's interpretation of self and expression of social status. "Dwellings as symbolic settings may become an integral part of identity because they are critical to the dramaturgical realization of social identities. Whether dwellings function as nonverbal signs or symbolic settings, they enable the individual to place the self within the society and to develop a more or less conscious sense of belonging."[76] In this situation social status and class identity is important. Because of the economical rank, houses differentiate according to their size, quality, style, location and furnishings that are the commodities distributed through the market. Their interior and exterior decorations show the differentiation of social groups within a consumer society. Consumer choices (taste and style) are seen to be indicators of identity within the concepts of prestige, status, hierarchy and fashion. On that account identities become important to determine the individuals' priorities in housing choices (the location and the form of house,

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[75] ALTMAN, I., M. WERNER, Home Environments, Plenum Press, New York, 1985, p. 35
[76] ibid., p. 213

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ornamentation etc.) and their way of perceiving housing architecture, images and forms of representations.

"People invest places with meaning and significance. They act in ways that reflect bonding and linkage with places."[77] Individuals invest places by furnishing, decoration and other interventions to the physical appearance of the house and the setting. Their meaning can express the identity. The objects in the house may reflect cultural, social, or psychological meanings beyond their instrumental use.

On the other hand "when dwellings are culturally significant for identity, they typically signify group identity, not the identity of the individual as a unique person."[78] For that reason, most of the people, who adopt all the products and facilities of high technology in their daily life, are conservative about the traditional styles, forms and they resist the modern architectural style that is purified from images, thinking that it ruins the collective memory.

Identity crisis or search for identity is the reason of this situation. According to Oskay[79], within the everyday life, individuals incline towards to externally apparent things to get rid of negative sides of existing order, which they could not shape. On this account, they started to be too much interested in commodities, clothes and physical appearance of house and also incline towards to change or renew their furniture. In other words, they hope to find their identity by becoming voluntary supporter of ideology of consumption.

[77] Altman, I., M. Werner, Home Environments, Plenum Press, New York, 1985, p. 34
[78] Low S. M., E. Chambers, Housing, Culture, and Design, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989, p. 211
[79] Ünsal Oskay, "Popüler Kültürün Toplumsal Ortamı ve İdeolojik İşlevi Üzerine", Kitle İletişiminde Temel Yaklaşımlar, Savaş Yayınları, 1983, p.171

Excessive interest in apparent aspects of house hides the necessity of exploring the other concepts related to home, culture and personality such as privacy, personal space and territory. These concepts can also be effective in housing design. Interpretation and criticism of these concepts can better represent identity because their content and structure change synchronously related to the changes of life styles and culture.

"The concepts of personal space and territorial behavior are viewed as behavioral mechanisms by which people regulate their privacy."[80]

Investigation of characteristics, zones, boundaries of personal space and territory may give clues about formation of spatial organization of the house. The clearest indicator of territorial behavior in housing is the demarcation between public and private outdoor space with separators like fences, walls or by putting signs of the family that express its owner. In some conditions this place is protected by security systems against the outsiders.

Today, most houses are built and designed with a prejudice that every space has a definite, single function. Kitchen is for the activities of nutrition, bathroom is for the activities of health and care, lounges for accepting guests, living rooms for social activities, resting, bedrooms for sexual needs, resting and sleeping. This prejudice hinders the flexible designs and the design of new types. It can be said that housing plans and relations of spaces with each other vary according to the different interpretations of territories.

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[80] ALTMAN I, M. CHEMERS, Culture and Environment, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 73

House can better represent the necessities of changing life and culture via criticism and interpretation of the aspects of home that are mentioned above. Believing the fact that, in Uluğ's words, "house is the representation of the relation between land and home through the mediation of architecture"[81], house should not dictate a life style to its users. Understanding the aspects of home, life styles and cultural transformations will prevent architects from disregarding the contexts of house.

In order to discuss the transformation of the contexts of house within the case of Turkey, a historical evaluation, considering the soci-cultural and ideological contexts of different periods, will be realized in the next chapter.

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[81] Murat ULUĞ, Aynılık, Farklılık, Toplu Villa ve Mobilya, Mimar, no:9, TSMD, Ankara, 1997, p. 9

CHAPTER IV

CONSUMER CULTURE AND TURKEY: AN EVALUATION OF THE CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL MEDIUM IN TURKEY

The conditions and characteristics of architectural production of house are dependent upon social, cultural, socio-economic and political structure. At the same time, changes and transformations of these structures have important effects on the formation of the identity of individuals and their life styles that affect the housing choices and architectural representation of house. On that account, to understand the house production within the case of Turkey, one should explore the characteristics of the periods that are effective on the formation of these structures.

This study inevitably concentrates on the period after 1980 where Turkish economy experienced a radical shift towards so called liberalism. However former periods which have significant transformative effect on housing issue will also be covered to understand the basis of contemporary condition. The periods representing similar political, social and economical facts within their own conditions are covered as sub-periods.

4.1 Between 1923 and 1950: The dilemma of Nationalism and Universality

The most dominant factor that determines conditions of the architectural practice of the period was the dual cultural structure that comes along with the dilemma of nationality and universality. This dual character also forms the basis of identity crises that leads formation of a contradictory relationship between life styles and housing.

After the establishment of the new Republic, there was a rapid transformation of economic and social relations. These were the compulsory transformations that are formed with the establishment of a nation–state, with the establishment of introvert economic policies instead of extrovert economic policies of the empire. Tekeli maintains that two factors contributed such transformation: "Turkey was in a process of a continuous and multifaceted transformation under the influence of both external factors and internal dynamics."[82] Tekeli also underlines about strategies of spatial organizations to realize the mission of Republic. "The first strategy is the transformation of country space into nation-state space. The second one is the organization of cities as the place of modernity."[83]

"The principles of the revolution, which were the bearer of the influences of enlightenment and sources of positivist thought, were bringing norms of thought and concepts as novelty, rationalism, functionalism, pragmatism, objectivity, belief to the

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[82] İlhan TEKELİ, The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey, Modern Turkish Architecture (Ed. R.Holod and A. Evin), University of Pennsylvania, 1980, p. 9-34

[83] İlhan TEKELİ, Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması, 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 4

determinism of science and progress, to the new Turkish Society." [84] These concepts were mostly developed as the concepts of Ankara. As Tanyeli[85] states, on the contrary to modernization of European countries, the modernization period of Turkey, especially at the beginning, was a program that is ordered or motivated by the ones that have the use of the political power.

The political aim, which was to reach the level of Western civilization, has great effect on acceptance of the modern architecture. Modern architecture provided the characteristics as contemporary, new, and that are not the reminiscent of the past for the groups that are imitating, coveting the European standards, and life styles. Modern architecture became a mediator of construction of a modern life and society.

Within such an ideological medium, the 'First National Architectural Style' was criticized and started to be externalized for its use of forms of a rejected past. In fact, this style can be evaluated as a search for identity in a dual cultural structure. According to Bozdoğan[86], the empire's cultural past was appropriated for an emerging nationalist consciousness so this style can be evaluated as a first exercise in cultural politics of identity.

As Batur[87] mentions, architecture and architectural products, which were a part of the aim of realizing a common goal, has been determined by two facts: The

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[84] Afife BATUR, 1925-1950 Döneminde Türkiye Mimarlığı, 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 213
[85] Uğur TANYELİ, 1950'lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların değişimi ve "Reel" Mimarlık, 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 235
[86] Sibel BOZDOĞAN, "Modern Architecture and Cultural Politics of Nationalism in Early Republican Turkey", Artistic Exchange- Akten des 28. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschiche Berlin, 1992, pp. 437-452
[87] Afife BATUR, 1925-1950 Döneminde Türkiye Mimarlığı, 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 213

first one was the ideological frame of establishment and revolution. The second one was the enterprises of the state-controlled economy and the industrial investment.

Functionalist and rational thought system and the practice of modern architecture gain priority in housing. The architectural forms such as eaves, hipped roofs, oriels, were the reminiscent of the Ottoman forms and they were considered to be in opposition to the modernization ideology. Flat roofs took the place of eaves and hipped roofs. In other words, modern buildings were the expression of externalization of the Ottoman ideology.

In this period, house was presented as a symbol of modern life with an image of idealized home life, supporting the modernization ideal of Republic. Modern house had become the symbol of comfort and social status. Besides its function as a shelter, it had become a mean of educating the society and teaching the modern life.

"The Republican discourse on the modern house is, before everything else, an extension of the nationalist emphasis on the nuclear family, especially on motherhood as a national duty and on the family home as the sacred space or hearth of national regeneration, all of which were ideas introduced in Turkey back in the Young Turk Era."[88]

The general characteristic of the early Republican period was to promote the western life and western house as the modern life and modern house. Modern house and modern life were presented through the media. Popular magazines of the period such as Muhit and Yedigün were including special sections about housing in which there were samples of modern houses, house plans, elevations, recommendations

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[88] Sibel BOZDOĞAN, Living modern: The Cubic House in early Republican Culture, Housing and Settlement in Anatolia – A Historical perspective, İstanbul, 1996, p. 317

about furnishing. Aesthetical understanding and ideology of Modern architecture were being glorified by these articles.

However, the society had not been transformed completely and was not ready for these novelties because of the lack of modernization background, and insufficient economic conditions. In connection to this Turkish eating habits and food preparation culture were not transformed yet.

Despite the dominance of the modernization ideology, the new housing forms (i.e. modern houses, apartments), confronted a significant resistance. They were criticized for demolishing the past and tradition and forming an artificial environment. Yakup Kadri criticizes a modern interior in his novel Ankara:

"Couches like dentists' chairs, seats like operation tables, sofas resembling the interior of automobiles, octagonal tables, closets like grain storages, display windows and finally, scattered all over these, some weird, grotesque knick knacks; naked walls, naked floors... and a clinical gloss on everything."[89]

Also in an article, Yalçın states that "a society is not a machine and cannot be reduced to sheer materialism. We are destined to be miserable in those apartments. In this contemporary civilization, apartments have turned us into nomads without home and heart."[90] These criticisms were the indicator of the cultural dilemma of the period.

Economical crisis, resulting from the Second World War, national solidarity tendencies that were formed with socio-psychological oppressions and movements of

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[89] Y.K. KARAOSMANOĞLU, Ankara, İstanbul, 1981 (1934), p. 124-125
[90] H.C. YALÇIN, Ev ve Apartman, Yedigün, XI-265, 1938, p.5

nationalism all over the world, were reflected in Turkish architecture as turning back to local and national architecture.

Close to Forties, 'Second National Architectural Style' started to gain importance. The eclectic approaches, which are based on the representation of some idealized interpretations of traditional Turkish house, can be evaluated as the search for a national and regional identity in architecture. In other words, the formal elements of traditional Turkish House were not consumed yet, because the experimental search for a local architecture was meaningful within the social and ideological medium of period and were not oriented by speculative tendencies. On the other hand, as Kazmaoğlu and Tanyeli[91] states, the Second National Architecture was representing a dissolution of the dual socio-cultural structure of Turkey.

Under these nationalistic and economical influences, the dynamism of modern architecture in Turkey started to decrease gradually. Along with the continuation of modern style and the same plan types, eaves and hipped roof are reintroduced to the architectural repertory. This repertory is adopted and became anonymous away from the effects of academic tendencies. As a result of these developments, houses and apartments peculiar to Turkey have been built and designed, conflicting with modern architectural understanding, those were neither modern architectural products nor traditional products.

4.2 Between 1950-1980: The Development of the Populist and Pluralist Tendencies in Architecture

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[91] M. KAZMAOĞLU AND U. TANYELİ, 1980'li Yılların Türk Mimarlık Dünyasına Bir bakış. Mimarlık, no:2, 1986, pp. 31-51

1950s was an important period since some major social and economic transformations had been observed. The most important development that set the course of the period, was the transition from the single party regime to a multi party regime. With this transition the modernity project of the prior period was not totally abandoned but it started to be influenced by the populist tendencies.

Democrat Party came to power in 1950 and "the new government had developed a new interpretation of populism. The principle of the single party regime as 'in spite of people, for the people' was replaced by a populist approach seemingly 'respectful of people's choices and anti-bureaucratic sentiments'."[92]

The conditions that formed after the Second World War resulted in a dilemma in Turkey, on one hand the rise of the national ideology with the threat of Soviet Union and on the other hand admiration to the power of United States.

Related to the transformation of economic policy market economy started to emerge as a dominant force in every field. As a result of the unstable economy and devaluation formed a new high income group who accepted American life as a model. Oktay evaluates 1950s as a period of transition to populism. He emphasizes the major development of today's popular culture in Turkey accelerated with the transition to democracy in 1950s. Exploring the popular magazines of the period he underlines some characteristics that effect the social structure. These characteristics are:

- Exclusion of the ethics of working. Instigation of entrepreneurship and opportunism.

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[92] İlhan TEKELİ, The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey, Modern Turkish Architecture (Ed. R.Holod and A. Evin), University of Pennsylvania, 1980, p. 9-34

- The function of entertaining gain priority whereas the aim to acquaint and to enlighten became secondary.
- Popularization and vulgarization of the high-cultural products. Decrease in discussions and criticisms.
- Increase of the wish to articulate the dominant class ideology.[93]

At the same time, mechanization in agriculture caused dissociation from rural areas and accelerated the immigration to urban areas. Rapid urbanization caused different types of housing problems in big cities. Formation of two new building processes limited the role of architect in the production of house. The first one was squatter housing, which developed at the outskirts excluding city planning and architectural discipline. The other process was the commercial development in housing that was based on speculative tendencies resulted from high values of urban land.

Development of squatter areas caused new formations in cities that affected the cultural and social medium. In cities, which have been organized and planned as a part of the modernization project, new formations which were conflicting with the modernization project started to be observed.

In fifties, with the increased demand for urban land, the land was transformed from a place for construction into a medium of speculation. The demand to convert the land value into money created a new form of ownership that permitted middle class to own individual apartments. "In this process, apartments were designed to sell, and were built by small entrepreneurs."[94] Development of apartments started to become widespread in whole cities of Turkey because of their potential of profit.

[93] Ahmet OKTAY, Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, pp. 78-93
[94] M.B. KIRAY, Apartmanlaşma ve Orta Tabakalar, Çevre, 4, 1979, p. 78

As a result of Flat Ownership Law (Kat Mülkiyeti Yasası) house started to become an object of consumption, an object for investment. Its economical value and value of consumption became a primary concern. On the other hand Tekeli calls attention to the interior of house that is exposed to the impacts of consumption:

A middle class member, who builds a single house on a single plot, can display his/her pretentious consumption both in interior of house and exterior of the house. But a middle class member having a flat in an apartment that was possessed by flat ownership, can just display his/her pretentious consumption in the interior of the house and have privilege in society.[95]

The year of 1960 was a beginning of a new social and political period. Constitution of 1961, which came into force after the military intervention, made important changes in the structure of democracy and the structure of the state. In this constitution principle of social welfare state was accepted. Ensuring the vital needs of destitute and low-income families, including housing, became an important objective for state. The new constitution was committed freedom and social justice. Therefore, social responsibilities and social problems became a subject for architects who were effected by these commitments. Council housing was the reflection of these conceptions on housing.

Oktay evaluates 1960s as the beginning of the pluralist period in Turkey. With the rising pluralism, different styles emerged and the dominance of one style ended. Architectural approaches diversified in parallel with the diversity of thoughts and ideologies.

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[95]İlhan Tekeli, Kapitalistleşme süreci İçinde Türkiye'nin Konut Üretimine Bir Bakış, Türkiye'de Kentleşme Yazıları, Turhan Kitabevi, 1982, Ankara, p.248

"The major points in the theoretical and practical debates of the period between 1960 and 1980 in the architectural milieu can be summarized as: functional and programmatic constraints, consumer ideals, social imperatives, historic and regional advocates, scientific approaches and positivism in design, rationalist-irrationalist duality, and authenticity versus eclectic choice."[96]

Within seventies, second houses or in other words summerhouses started to be built almost everywhere along the coastlines. One of the reasons for this situation was the transformation of the life styles. Immigrants from rural areas got accustomed to and adapted to urban life. In other words, they were no longer villagers but were city-dwellers. Formerly, the immigrants were very attached to the villages they came from. They used to go back to their villages to spend their vacations and holidays. However, gradually popular vacation spots became more attractive than their villages. Because contrary to their villages, in these towns they would not be deprived of the comfort that they were accustomed to in urban life. At the same time to own a summerhouse became fashionable. There had been a great demand for summerhouse cooperatives by the majority of the people living in the cities despite their small savings.

With the development of automobile industry in Turkey, automobile ownership increased and high-income groups started to move their residential areas to suburbs. This situation lead to the formation of gated communities that address to high-income groups. Along with the increasing demand for gated communities and the summerhouses a new architectural attitude is developed that base on image production.

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[96] Devrim YÜCEL, <u>Evolution of Spatial Organization in Apartment Houses: Survey in Ankara,</u> Unpublished Master Thesis, METU, 1995

4.3 After 1980: The Rise of Popular Culture and Consumer Culture

4.3.1 The Social and Cultural Medium in the Post-1980s:

There are various reasons for examining the post-1980s as a significant period. Tekeli lists these reasons as: "The first one is, reaching a satisfaction level in the processes of urbanization and demographic transition that were started after the end of the Second World War. The second one is determination of re-organization process as a result of the crises in the world, and the third one is being an important turning-point because of both the decisions of January 24 and the military intervention of September 12."[97]

Important changes in economy policies, and efforts to integrate the globalization caused new formations, and transformations. The most important change in economy policy was the adoption of a development model that was so called liberation based on international integration, instead of a closed economy. This situation leads to integration to world market. As a result of the efforts of integration to globalization, investments of telecommunication gain the priority. Therefore, in most of the cities of Turkey, entrepreneurs started to produce for the world market. This situation was the indicator of transition from the cities of industrial society to the cities of information society. In connection to this, transformations were observed in the structure and development of cities. Centralized production displaced with centralized control. Prestige buildings of the organizations that have the function of

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[97] İlhan TEKELİ, Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması, 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 16

control and the buildings of financial organizations as banking started to take place in city centers.

On the other hand, there were great transformations in the structure of society. Restriction of the rights and freedom with the military intervention formed depolitization. With the mediation of depolitization it was tried to develop a fatalist society. Thus, a consumer society is created.

Within these developments many characteristics of consumer society had been observed in Turkey. In consumer society one of the major significance is the displacement of realities with the models that reproduce the reality, as Baudrillard mentions in his work "Simulations"[98]. Consumer is misled by displacement of the real, vital needs with artificial needs that are seemed as if real. According to Güven[99] this illusionary situation is related to a process that is named by some economists as "dependence effect". This process is put in practice for along time in an under-developed society by making use of contemporary advertising methods, artificial differentiation of goods, installment and on credit selling methods, besides making use of means of mass communication and mass psychology. In this situation stunned and confused consumers could not determine the goods for their real needs freely and away from all kinds of effects or could not determine their real needs and are directed to pretentious consumption.

By the pretentious consumption person emphasizes his/her individual success, social status. Consequently, social values as participating to process of production, thriftiness, and simplicity in consumption lost their validity.

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[98] Jean BAUDRILLARD, Simulations, New York, 1983
[99] H. Sami Güven, Toplum Politikası Yazıları, Ezgi Kitabevi Yayınları, Bursa, 1996, p. 24

On the other hand, as a result of military interventions, expectations, hopes and utopias of masses are suppressed and reduced to momentary satisfactions and expectations. Even the vital and theoretical problems are popularized. Oktay[100] states that both proletariat and other laborers appropriated the bourgeois style of life. Briefly, they prefer the momentary happiness instead of the potential happiness of future. This situation brings the reduced solutions, easy and simple tastes without criticism. The rapid atrophy of class consciousness and culture of labor class, as Boratav[101] mentions, results as individualism, devotion to religion, and displacement of center of social life from working place and production to the neighborhood and family.

The government's tendency to Turkish – Islam synthesis lead Islamic formations and movements to get strong in education and culture. This situation brings the appropriation of the forms and ornamentation peculiar to Ottoman period in architecture. As an indicator of this situation, Usta[102], calls attention to the project of Kocatepe mosque that is preferred as a cultural symbol.

The increase in ownership of private car and investments on highways, resulted with the formation of housing zones, and suburbs that are far from city center and serve for high and middle-income groups. The squatter areas that are stayed between these suburbs and city center are affected from this transformation. Especially the squatter areas close to the zones of high-income groups are discharged to transform into zones of luxurious houses. This situation is legitimated by issuing a title deed for squatter lands. Thereupon, residents of squatters started to utilize from

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[100] Ahmet OKTAY, Türkiye'de Popüler Kültür, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, p. 14
[101] Korkut BORATAV, Türkiye İktisat Tarihi – 1908 - 1985, Gerçek Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1988, p. 118
[102] Ayhan USTA, Popüler Kültür Bağlamında Mimar, Anlam, Beğeni Tartışmaları, Mimar-Anlam-Beğeni, YEM Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p. 196

the urban profit. Without any labor, only with the possession of land some of them became a member of middle-income groups, even high-income groups. Today's social structure of Turkey is also an indicator of this situation. It cannot be talked about the difference of status that is formed according to cultural structure or contributing to the production in social division of labor. Contrary to this fact, in this period the difference of status is formed by gains of profit, and by economical power that determines all kinds of social activities. Briefly, social status is determined by economical power. Therefore, the members of different classes, having different cultural structures and different life styles can meet in the same social status, live in the same residential areas, own same kinds of luxurious houses, and automobiles. From now on, sub-culture was not belonging only to the squatter areas, and the ones living in poverty. It was appropriated by the whole community and became a part of the complex structure of popular culture.

Cultural identities, which were imprisoned in totalitarian ideologies, were released in the second half of 80s. Consequently, suppressed facts returned more powerful and effective than they will be. The probable effects of popular culture could not become widespread before the 80s because of the compromise of bourgeoisie with state power. According to Çalışlar[103], the significant effects of popular culture became widespread after the 80s related to the developments in relations of social production and economical life. Because the 80s is the period that capitalism is acquitted.

As a result, culture became dependent on market as never seen before. As mediums of culture market, lots of magazines and newspapers are published.

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[103] A. ÇALIŞLAR, Ulusal Kültür ve Sanat, Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1988

Unlimited amount of images is put in circulation by the sector of advertisement. Consequently, a new public sphere, a new language of news and information is formed. This new language was taking out the historical bases from the images and was reducing the history to quotations. Gürbilek[104] states that advertising put the words in the service of image. At the same time it transformed the whole culture into a sum of quotations and a raw material that can be used in marketing of a good. From now on past is no more a historical condition; it rather represents an image stimulating the necessities and the fantasies of today; therefore it becomes subjected to consumption.

4.3.2 The Architectural Medium in the Post-1980s

In this period with the mediation of developing information technologies, various architectural styles started to be discussed and practiced synchronously with the world and the Post-modern architecture affected the architectural medium in Turkey.

Post-modern architectural attitudes in Turkey, which established a medium of liberation as in the Western countries, lead the formation of pluralism in architecture.

According to Tanyeli[105] after 1985 there had been a dual disintegration of basic characteristic of architecture in Turkey. There is no strong relationship between architectural discourse and architectural practice. Variety of images, pluralist attitudes, and expectations of pluralism orientates the architectural practice. Also he

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[104] Nurdan GÜRBILEK, Vitrinde Yaşamak, Metis Yayınları, 1992, İstanbul, p. 19
[105] Uğur TANYELİ, 1950'lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların değişimi ve "Reel" Mimarlık, 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 245

adds that the only discourse, which pluralism is based on, is the agglomeration of the regionalist approaches.

As mentioned before, after the military intervention with the impacts of depolitization, the discourse of social benefit lost its importance. This situation is affected architecture and resulted as the displacement of social discourse with formal discourse. Because of these facts, the impacts of Post-modern architecture in the current architectural medium in Turkey generally could not developed as a reaction to an elitist understanding of architecture in the sense of cultural pluralism. But it has developed in the sense of formal pluralism depends on proliferation of images, in which consumption is the common denominator. In this period, design became one of the most important dynamics of consumption. The essence of design shifted towards image where function lost its dominance.

Today architecture legitimates the multinational business' ideology, the ideology of consumption with their products. Their design strategies are developed on increasing their buildings' value of consumption and producing identities for a more profitable consumption. Economy, profitability, became the most important concerns of architecture.

4.3.3 Development of the Housing Sector in the Post-1980s

In this period state's role was being a pioneer of enterprises as a legislator. In constitution of 1982 the duty of supporting mass housing enterprises was given to the state. State made regulations, as the Mass Housing Law, Mass Housing Development Administration, and mass housing funds that will affect and change the development

of housing market. Bilgin[106] states that the function of these institutions was not to form a secondary market that has its own rules, and establish the power to control and regulate the market as in Western countries. According to him their function was to accustom developers and the construction firms, which were formerly taking part in the market, to the new forms and scales."

Tekeli[107] states that the transition from the model of individual construction organization to mass housing resulted in important changes in production styles. These are the multi-directional changes including marketing, construction technology, housing design, and the management of environment of house. Individual demands or organization of these demands within each other is no more a subject for mass housing enterprises. A specialized organization of marketing is in question.

The prior aim of this marketing organization is to ensure the mass demand and to realize this aim with effective ways of promotion. Tekeli's definition about the structure of this organization can be summarized as follows:

This organization balances the relationship between bank credits, individual investments, and housing demands. Market organization establishes relationship with financial organizations in place of the users who demand for a house. The organization, which organizes the demand, forms the relationship between needs of users and designers and offer design alternatives. Extricate the person, who wants to own a house, from complex municipal obligations.

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[106] İhsan Bilgin, <u>Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyetin İmarı,</u> 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, p. 266

[107] İlhan Tekeli, <u>Kapitalistleşme süreci İçinde Türkiye'nin Konut Üretimine Bir Bakış,</u> Türkiye'de Kentleşme Yazıları, Turhan Kitabevi, 1982, Ankara, p.255-256

Briefly, mass housing, with its characteristics of fast production, lowering costs, and organization of the demand, can serve for both high and middle-income groups. In this situation the difference of state and private enterprise is observed. Private enterprise inclines towards to high-income groups for high profit whereas state inclines towards to low and middle-income groups as a social and political obligation.

In the market of mass housing not only the house but also its environment and the life style are marketed. Housing environments and images that represent the life styles are also included to design.

However, because of the aims and expectations of these new production groups, mass houses except the ones built by state, could not meet with the demands of low-income groups. These residential areas that are isolated from their surroundings, supported with private social activity centers and presented as a symbol of a life style, are in great demand.

4.3.3 Development of Housing Architecture under the Impacts of Consumer Culture

In this period general attitudes in housing architecture develop on uncritical eclecticism, which is based on using quotations from the traditional or vernacular dwellings, or from the Western classical vocabulary.[108] With this characteristic, such attitudes differ themselves from traditionalism or regionalism. They can be better

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[108] Although there are various different characteristics of architectural attitudes in housing architecture, in this work it is focused on the architecture of single-family houses and housing complexes, where the architect has a considerable liberty in the design process.

defined in the formation of pseudo-traditionalism or pseudo-regionalism. Because most of these architectural quotations are not used in order to establish relation with locality or tradition but used in order to achieve the desired image both by the architect and the owner under impacts of the speculative tendencies. In other words, such housing architecture is developed on consumption of architectural vocabulary, where traditional and vernacular architectural elements weaken their references with current local architecture.

In this period space and place were edited according to the consumption culture, and the users were orientated to this culture. So characteristics of consumer culture, making use of contemporary advertising methods, artificial differentiation of goods, installment and on credit selling methods, making use of means of mass communication and mass psychology is also become valid for housing. In this situation stunned and confused consumers could not choose the houses, and furnishings, which suit with their real needs, freely and away from all kinds of effects or could not determine their real needs and are directed to pretentious consumption.

Almost every new residential area and the house offered as a symbol of an ideal life image. From 1920s till to 80s house was presented as a symbol of a modern and comfortable life with the priority of some characteristics related to the conditions of health and comfort as including bath, hot water system, heating system. But after 80s house became a symbol of wealth and a privileged life. The struggle in housing market to attract customers transformed into the rivalry of image. Presentation of the image of house as the reality became more important than to present the qualities of the house. Therefore, the usage value and originality of house lost their importance.

The culture, which is transformed into a sum of quotations and a raw material that can be used in marketing of a good, used as repertory of form in housing and supports the identity. These cultural quotations are the repertories of words or the forms that are purified from meanings, and have no continuity between representation and represented.

The most important tools of consumption are advertisements. They have a great power and great effects on everyday life. Baudrillard mentions about a propaganda that transforms everything into a superficial thing, and into materials of advertisement. House also became a material for advertisements. By the power of advertising, jeans or a perfume can become a symbol of freedom, and similarly a house can be symbol of prominence. In commercial ads it is emphasized that the cultural or social status of person is not important; to own that kind of house is enough to become prominent. Briefly these housing groups actually form small "Disneylands", with their promises for new, alternative, privileged life styles, with their houses that are formed by copy-paste of cultural codes. Therefore, house became a spectacle object both for its owner and mostly for the others that reflects the individual success and the social status. In this manner people demand for huge houses that are not limited with their needs. Mass media, especially popular architectural magazines develop on exaltation of fashion in order to incite consumption. Media became the spokesman of the consuming habits besides its function of communication. Today most of the newspapers in Turkey include a special section about decoration or housing market. At the same time, the same media groups publish architectural magazines that are the consumption guides.

Figure 5: The commercial periodicals

In former periods architectural magazines were only published as occupational magazines. Today in addition to occupational magazines, popular architectural magazines are published that have different understandings and approaches from the occupational ones. They are more concerned with consumers than architects. They are also more concerned with house than other building types since it forms the widest ground for consumption. They are actually advertisement magazines. Their actual function is not to publish architectural discussions, thoughts but to advertise consuming goods related to house. Güzer[109] states that these magazines support the consumption and life styles more than the architectural product. The architectural product is seen as a background of consumption and life styles.

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[109] Abdi GÜZER, <u>Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut</u>, Gazi Sanat Dergisi, Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları no:2

Examination of popular architectural magazines such as Maison Française, Country Homes, and House Beautiful can give ideas about their approaches. These magazines do not have a relation with the expectations and necessities of the masses. They do not establish cultural and intellectual dialogue with these groups. Targeted groups are high and middle income groups. In these magazines with the mediation of house, interior design materials, furniture, lighting fixtures are presented. The plans, sections and elevations of houses are not published. Instead of them only images especially interior space photos are published. "These magazines reduce the spaces and styles into abstract visual level. By the mediation of popular ones, whether popular architects or famous people, these visual elements are presented as preconditions for designing beautiful and attractive spaces. As a result with the mediation of these magazines, taste becomes fashionable."[110]

Popular magazines of 30's were including special sections about housing in which there were samples of modern houses, house plans, elevations, recommendations about furnishing. Economy and thriftiness were the prior facts for these recommendations. The most important difference of today's magazines is the advertising of pretentious consumption exteriorizing the concepts of economy and thriftiness. Briefly the general aim is, as Ritzer mentions, encouraging, even compelling for consumption by the mediation of space. Within this context house is a mean that brings function to consumption.

Evaluations of the periods conclude the fact that rapid and unsystematic transformations in the economical, social and cultural structures has formed a ground

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[110] Yeşim ALEMDAR, Değişen Mimari Beğeni ve Mimari Medyanın Rolü, Mimar-Anlam-Beğeni, YEM Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p. 206

for the legitimization of the values of consumption in every social and cultural sphere. Therefore, the values and concepts of consumer culture, inevitably, has become more effective on housing architecture in Turkey after 1980s, where traditional and cultural values has become more transparent to the impacts of consumer culture.

CHAPTER V

THE CASE STUDY: EVALUATION OF HOUSING ARCHITECTURE IN THE POST-1980S WITH RESPECT TO CONSUMER CULTURE

Although the housing architecture in the post-1980s of Turkey presents a variety of housing types such as council housing, squatter housing, cooperative housing , this case study will focus on high income residences, named as 'villas' since they are the widest representative domain for the interaction between consumer culture and housing. It is observed that the demand for luxury primary residences that are built in suburbs has increased in this period. The tendency to buy such a house has started to become popular against buying a single building site and build a single-family house. Because of its professional mode of organization, housing types, location of house, mode of production, building materials, their price and selling methods are predetermined. The relation between user and house is reduced to the selection and purchasing process. These houses are designed and built by taking into consideration the common cultural denominators that represents the formal expectations or expectations for a life style and identity of consumer society. With

these characteristics they become significant samples to represent the common clichés of popular culture and consumer culture.

In this perspective, this case study focuses on the impacts of the values and concepts of consumer culture on housing architecture in Turkey after 1980s. Within this context, consumption of the contextual values of architecture will be evaluated considering the impacts of marketing strategies of houses, mass media and public consciousness towards architectural values.

5.1 Geographical Context as a Mean of Consumption: Dissolution of the Relation between Locality and Architecture

Various cultural and geographical values, which are embodied in architecture as vernacular and traditional styles are transformed into popular concepts creating artificial identity towards enforcing consumer culture. The transformed version of these values neither represent the essence of styles nor give relevant references to tradition but represent the commonly accepted values in popular perceptions. Media has an important effect in dissolution of the relation between locality and architecture. Akcan[111] states that mass media changed the perceptions on space and time, and also blurred the concept of locality. This situation leads the arbitrary use and combination of different vernacular and traditional styles, and formation of pseudo-traditionalism and pseudo-regionalism.

Created public images of various housing projects in media represent the altered mode of public consciousness towards contextual values of architecture.

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[111] Esra AKCAN, "Mimarlığımızda Kimlik – Yer İlişkisi ve İçerik Sorunu", Türkiye Mimarlığı Sempozyumu 'Kimlik – Meşruiyet – Etik', Mimarlar Odası, 1996, p. 115

Göl Konakları, can be discussed related to the above discussion. Although this housing complex is located in Gölbaşı, Ankara, it is claimed that it displays the characteristics of Mediterranean architecture. In its brochure it is stated that these houses are the combination of Middle Anatolian and Mediterranean architectural styles. The large terrace is presented as a characteristic of Mediterranean architecture. But it is highly questionable that these houses display these styles within the continuum of an architectural culture. In fact they represent a marketing strategy that address to popular acknowledgements more than the representation of the interpretation of vernacular styles.
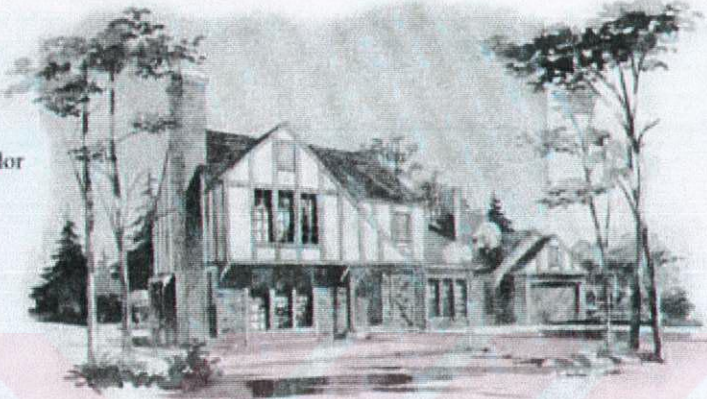
Figure 6: Commercial ad and general view of Göl Konakları

On the other hand not only the architectural styles peculiar to Turkey are used and consumed but also the architectural styles of other countries, whether western or eastern, are used and consumed.
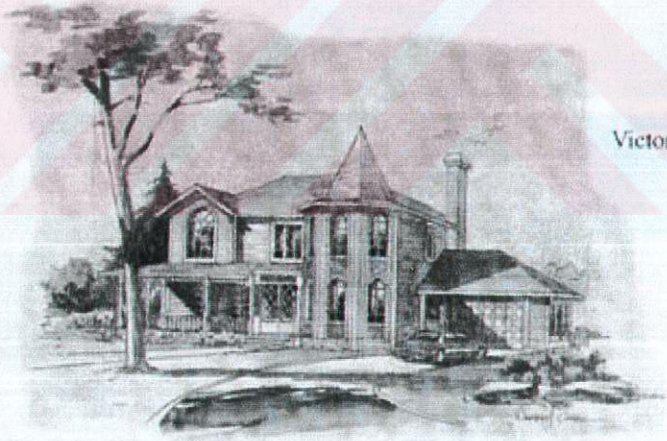
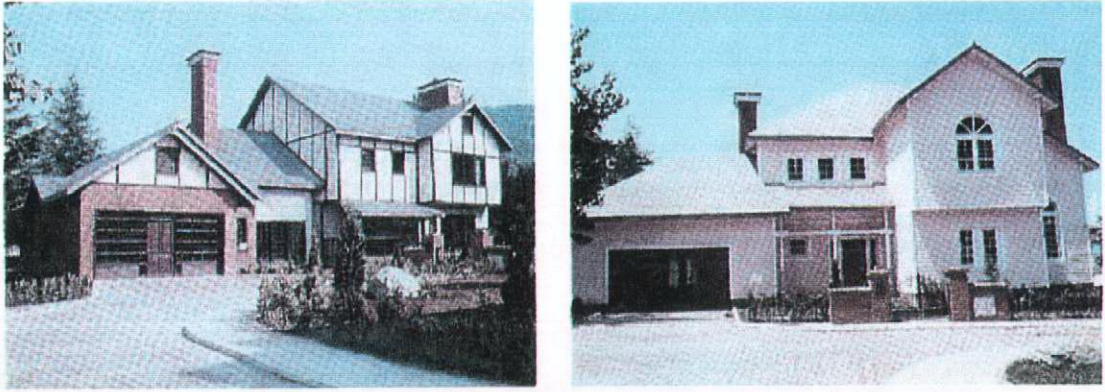**Figure 7: Commercial ad of Sapanca Manors**

Figure 8: Housing Types of Sapanca Manors

After 1980s, American house, which open to become a global kitsch, is started to become popular in Turkey. Although American houses mostly address to the middle income groups in America, in Turkey they address to high income groups as an indicator of well being. These houses, which are the unity of various styles of various periods, do not belong to a specific country and period, and purified from all its local, historical and traditional references. Therefore they become the most efficient products for housing market and the most significant samples that indicate the consumption of architecture. Such housing complexes addressing high income groups generally presented with international names or designed by foreign architects as the indicator of prestige and being privileged.

Figure 9: One type of Sunflower Evleri

Sunflower houses are designed by a Canadian Architect Didier Poiner and Turkish architect Osman Saral. They are located in Silivri, Istanbul but they can be built anywhere in the world because they exhibit a limited relation with the essence of place. Within the disciplinary perspective of architecture these houses are neither significant nor original for both Canadian and Turkish architecture. As Güzer[112] mentions, in these samples the dissolution of the relation between locality and culture exists merely as a disciplinary anxiety and do not bother the consumer groups.

On the other hand Hasol[113] criticizes the foreign architects in Turkey, especially the ones who are introduced as 'famous' American architects in housing architecture. He states that these architects, who do not have any special status in the world of architecture, even in their own countries, degenerate the housing architecture in Turkey in the name of combining Turkish styles and Western styles.

Kemer Country is a significant sample that represents such a dissolution. It consists of four different phases in different locations, an artificial lake, the village square, shops, restaurant, café bar, tennis courts, swimming pool, pedestrian walkways, a local municipal office, service agency, nursery, primary school, golf field and horse riding facilities. Tony Philipson[114], one of the architects and consultant of Kemer Country, states that the aim was not only built a housing complex but introduce a new life style. The design is based on blending traditional Turkish architecture with the American lifestyle. With this characteristic Kemer

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[112] Abdi GÜZER, Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut, Gazi Sanat Dergisi, Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları, no:2
[113] Doğan HASOL, Ev Mimarimizin Bugünü Üzerine Düşünceler, Yapı, no: 205, 1998, pp. 63-64
[114] Mimarının Gözüyle Kemer Country, Adres, no:49, 2001, pp. 78,80

Country is a simulation based on consumption of traditional styles, architectural elements that do not have a significant continuity with the introduced life style.

Figure 10: View from the lake, Kemer Country, Istanbul

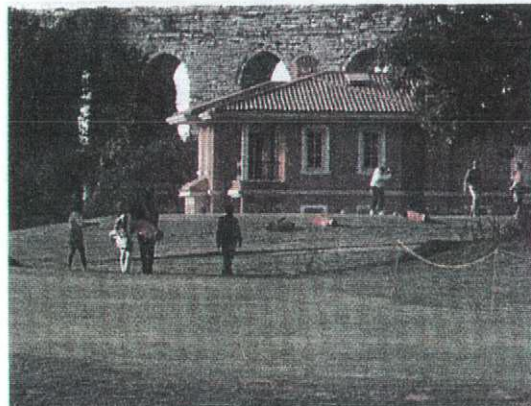**Figure 11: Drawing of Lale Kasrı, Kemer Country**

Figure 12: The golf valley, house and the ancient aqueduct

5.2 Consumption of Types, Typologies and Architectural Terminology

Some of the well-known samples of housing become prototypes in the housing market. For example some of the single-family houses designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem became prototypes of housing architecture in Turkey. Today house production in Turkey mostly develops on the repetitions of these prototypes, whether imitation of forms or plan types. Indeed, many of the existing single-family houses are the repetitions of such originals.

On the other hand in the name of representing the cultural identity some vernacular housing typologies is transformed into prototypes. For example the typology of Bodrum house became a prototype with the participation of development regulations. Housing in Bodrum mostly develops on the repetition of this type.
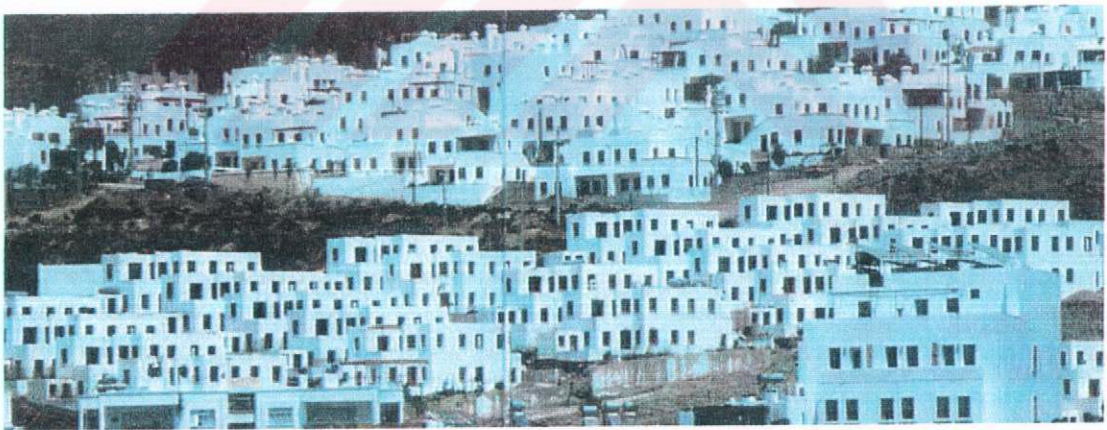
Figure 13: A general view of Bodrum

Besides the consumption of types and typologies, the vocabulary of architecture is consumed in such a context that a continuity with the characteristics of

typology loses it significance. Because of that architectural terminology contradicts with the terminology that is used in mass media and everyday life.

One of the most consumed architectural terms related to housing is the term 'konak', which becomes the representation of the desired identity, which reminds well being, privileged status in consumer society rather than the characteristic of typology and its architectural meaning.
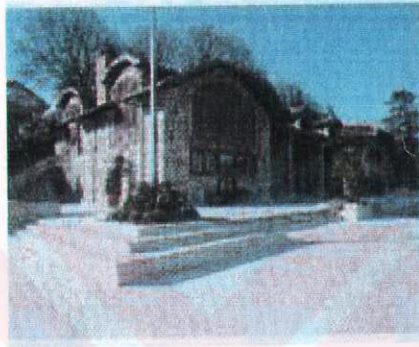

Figure 14: Views of different types of Beykoz Konakları,

**Figure 15: "Doğa Konakları", Kurtköy, Istanbul
Detached houses are marketing as Konak.**

**Figure 16: "Ortanca Konakları",
Zekeriyaköy, Istanbul**
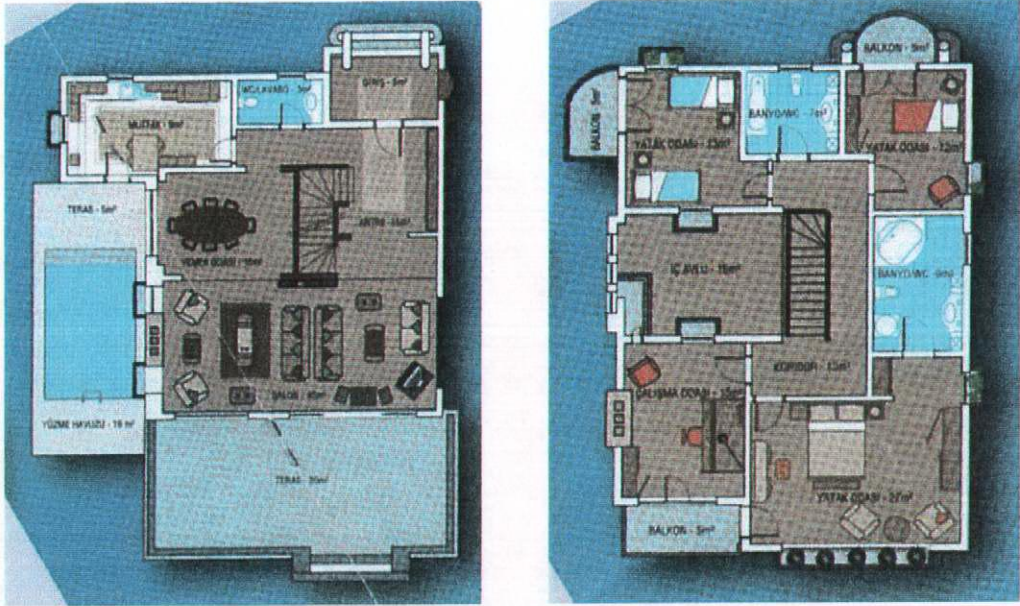
**Figure 17: "Göl Konakları", Gölbaşı,
Ankara**

Figure 18: Entrance floor and first floor plans of Göl Konakları

The term "studio" is used for single spaced flats including bathroom and kitchen, namely all the functions in the house united in a single space. But today, it is observed that flats with one or two rooms, which can be accepted as small, even standard housing units are marketed as studio flats.
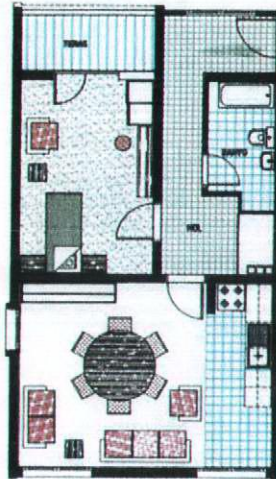
Figure 19: İbrahimağa Konutları, Acıbadem, Istanbul
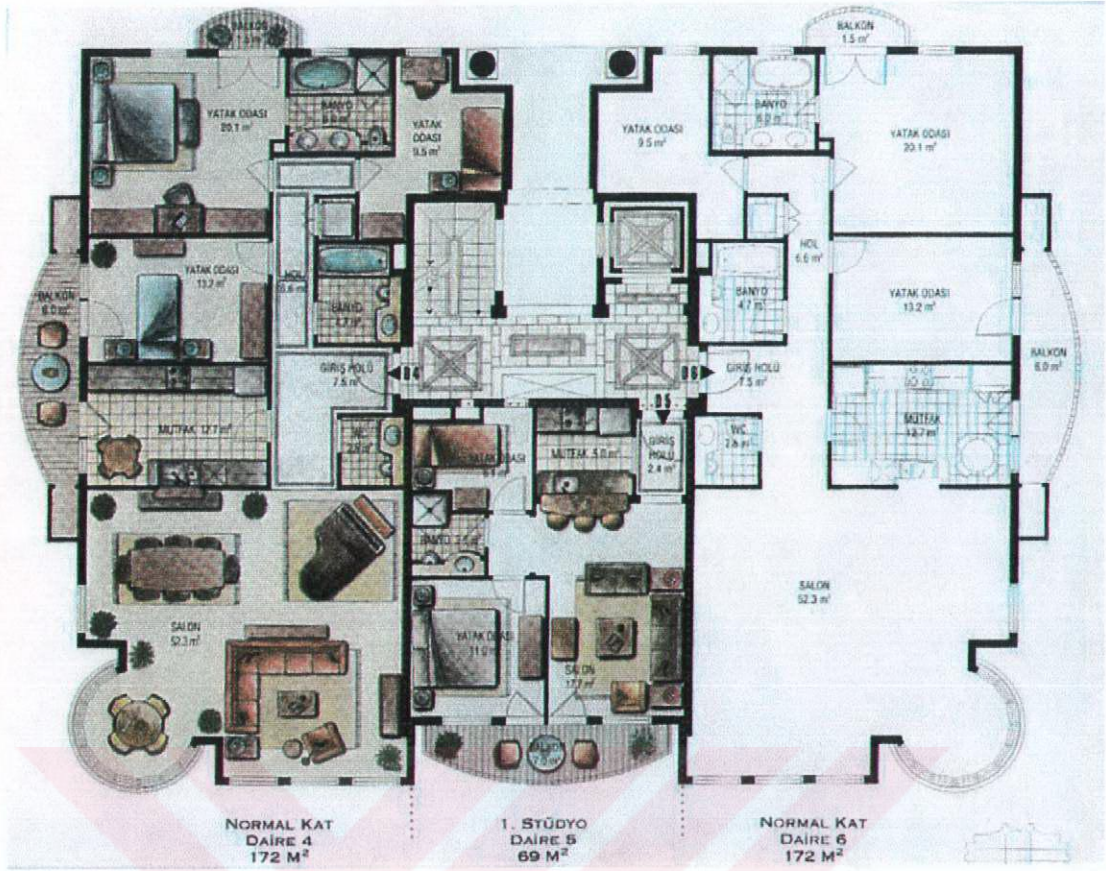**Apartment flat with one room and lounge is marketing as studio flat.**

Figure 20: Floor Plan of Adonis Konutları, Ulus, Istanbul
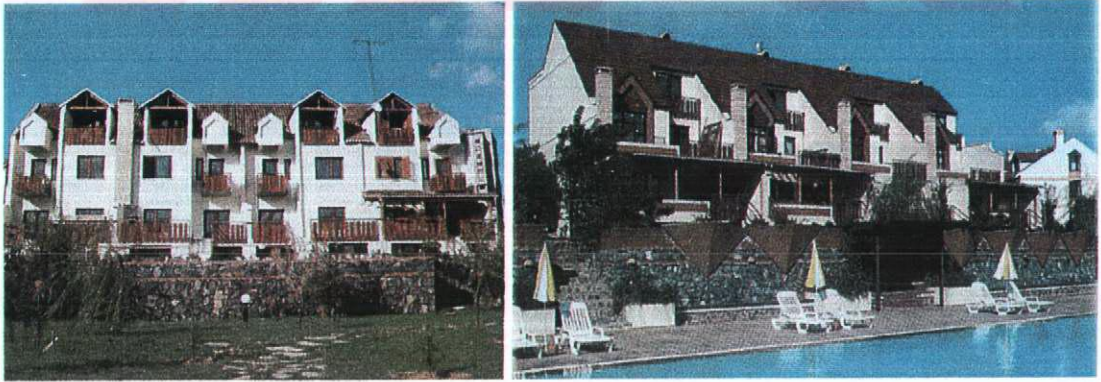**Apartment flat with two rooms is marketing as studio flat.**

Figure 21: Muratkent, Istanbul
Detached houses are marketing as villas.

5.3 Marketing life styles via housing: The Production of Pseudo-identities

Mass media is the most common and effective way for marketing houses. In the housing commercials the major strategy is to make consumers believe that houses' function is not limited with shelter but privileged status via buying a house can be gained.

Figure 22: Commercial ad of Kemer Country

Figure 23: From the brochure of Nova Platin Konutları

Symbols of 'life styles' or various slogans become more important than the house itself and its architectural quality. Therefore, the images that represent the 'life styles' become complementary part of housing projects. Such a mass culture validity

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creates a pressure on architectural practice towards fulfilling its expectations. In such a mediatic medium some symbolic elements of architecture are underlined rather than the design based essence of the projects.

In the brochure of 'Nova Platin Konutları', which address to high-income groups, images such as jewelry, glass of wine that represents well being and being a privileged consumer are presented. On the other hand presentations of houses are limited with two general perspectives of the settlement that do not give any idea about the architectural characteristics.
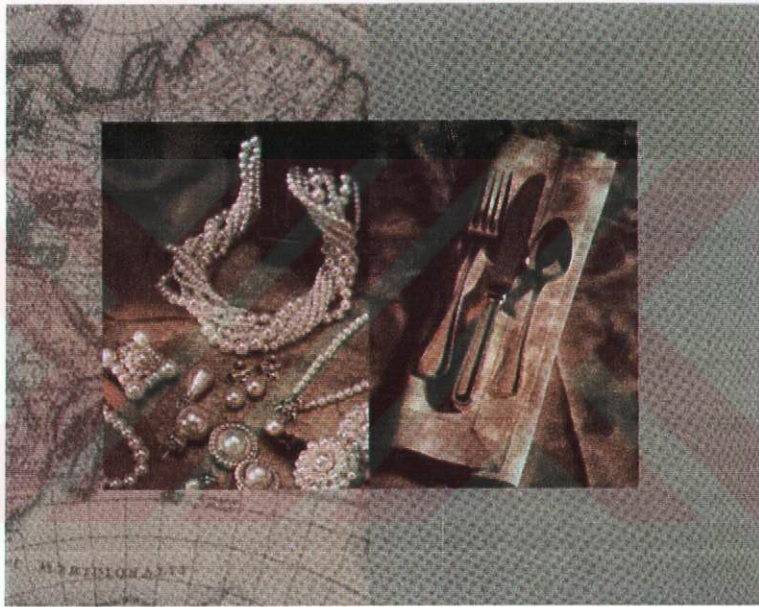
Figure 24: From the brochure of Nova Platin Konutları

Also this situation can be observed in the commercial ads of 'Beykoz Konakları'. In these ads instead of presenting images related to housing, the images represent the symbols of the addressed life style. In this presentation associations and connotations of images gain priority. For example presentation of the piano connotes the classical music that reminds the elitist culture.

Figure 25: Commercial ads of Beykoz Konakları

As Güzer[115] mentions, these houses do not give any reference to elitist culture as it is referred in architectural culture and incline towards to values and expectations of market instead of disciplinary values and expectations. Therefore, the problems

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[115] Abdi GÜZER, <u>Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut,</u> Gazi Sanat Dergisi, Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları, no:2

related to housing or lack of quality in architectural terms could be passed over or hidden by interfering housing with non-architectural facts.
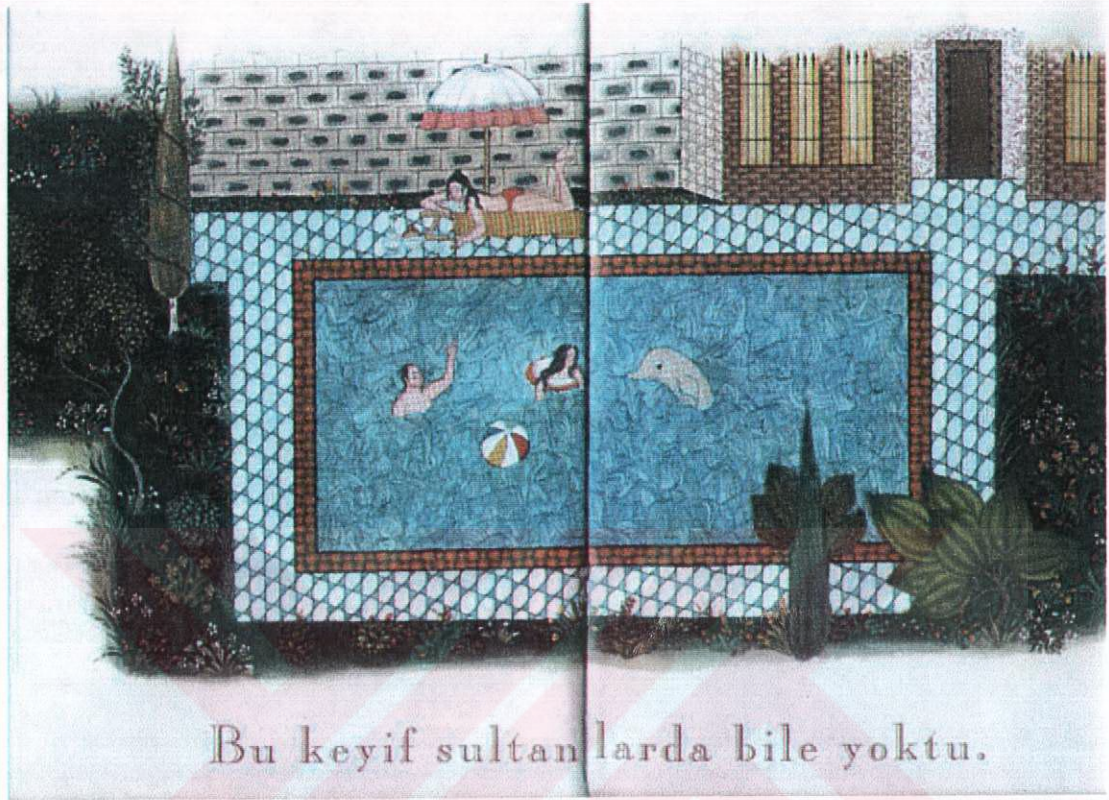
Figure 26: Commercial ad of Mercansaray Konutları

The connotation of miniature that reminds Ottoman period is used in order to establish the relation with palace, luxury life and Mercansaray Konutları. In the commercial ad it is stated that these houses offer a more luxury life than the life in palaces. Moreover, the housing types are named as A type palace and B type konak.

In fact these houses are not the interpretations of Ottoman palaces, even they have no relation with Ottoman architecture or traditional architecture except its

artificial identity. These houses are look like "single family apartment"[116] more than a palace. Within this context in the name of forming identities architectural terminology is consumed.

Figure 27: A view of Mercansaray Konutları

On the other hand with the mediation of computer technology simulations are formed that establish the relation between an imaginary world and housing. "Babil Bahçeleri" is a significant sample for this situation. In the commercial ad it is stated that this project is the first application of the "Hanging Gardens of Babylon" which is one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Also it is stated that this project is today's architectural wonder. In fact this design do not have any significant difference from the apartment typology and do not bring any positive outcome and novelty for the architectural medium. According to Güzer[117] this project indicates that the concepts of originality and creativity is exposed to consumption.

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[116] This definition is used by Merih Karaaslan in order to define a four floored single-family house. see, Merih KARAASLAN, Merih Karaaslan / Yapılar Anılar 1, Merih Karaaslan Ltd. Şti. Yayını, Ankara, 2001, p. 170
[117] Abdi GÜZER, Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut, Gazi Sanat Dergisi, Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları, no:2

Figure 28: Commercial ad of "Babil Bahçeleri"

5.4 Consumption of Architectural Elements: The use of Popular and Cliché Architectural Elements

After the 1980s, popular cultural icons emerge as the commodificated appearances of social formations, in which image replaces the essence. According to Oskay[118], the objects, which also penetrates into houses such as idols, images and attractive furnishings, leads to the formation of a new era of iconology that is more powerful and extensive than the world of icons of the past. He defines this era as the era of plasticized iconology. By means of plasticized iconology individuals become both the consumer and re-producer of popular culture related to their social and cultural status. These icons refer to the commonly accepted clichés, which spring

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[118] Ünsal OSKAY, Kitle İletişiminin Kültürel İşlevleri, SBF Yayınları, 1982, pp. 182-183

into the collective mind related with single-family houses. Gausa mentions about two clichés that are dominant in the production of house. According to him these clichés, which form the authentic fetishes of Western culture, are:

"The first is a diffuse jigsaw of elements forming an essential part of the popular cultural imagination, consisting of ridge roof, traditional pantile, balustrade with handrail, stone chimney, picture-window balcony and brass latches. House of our dreams is the basic model of our intimate desires (nostalgia for the rural, the caricature of well-being, an evocation of the atemporal)

The second cliché alludes to an ambiguous air of "scenography and atrezzo," usually put forward as a "domestic interior": the ubiquitous armchair, the lamp with its parchment shade, the Venetian candelabra, the fitted lace, curtains and ruffled drapes, the Persian rugs and porcelain objects, the landscape paintings mixed with "old-new", electronic artefacts converted into everyday furnishings (the TV set, video, music center) configure an interchangeable setting to which one could (electric) coal fire in its grate, the library with its shelving of brick or wood (with molding): a more or less kitch repertoire which would nonetheless suggest a commercialized and manufactured multicultural feeling of home."[119]

In addition to these clichés, the historical and traditional elements, such as oriels, wide eaves, Ottoman style ornaments and furnishings, vernacular typologies become the clichés peculiar to Turkey. Most of times they are used independent from their architectural contexts in order to establish the desired image. These clichés address wide range of consumer groups. With this characteristic they establish a popular architectural language between the architect and the client. New types and forms, which do not address the collective memory, have the possibility of rejection. Therefore, architects, in order to legitimate their architectural product and address wide range of clients, incline towards to these clichés instead of designing new types and form.

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[119] Manuel GAUSA, Single-Family Housing: the private domain, Actar Publishers, Barcelona, 1999, p. 53

Use of clichés indicates the dissolution of house as exterior and interior decoration. Interior and exterior become dependent from each other. Kemer Country is a significant sample to express this dissolution. All the elevations of houses in Kemer Country are organized by the use of clichés. The traditional architectural elements such as oriels, wooden overlays and buttresses are applied that form a simulation of Turkish House, moreover a revivalism and simulation of traditional Ottoman district. On the other hand plan types are designed independent from elevations that do not derived from the plan types of traditional Turkish house.

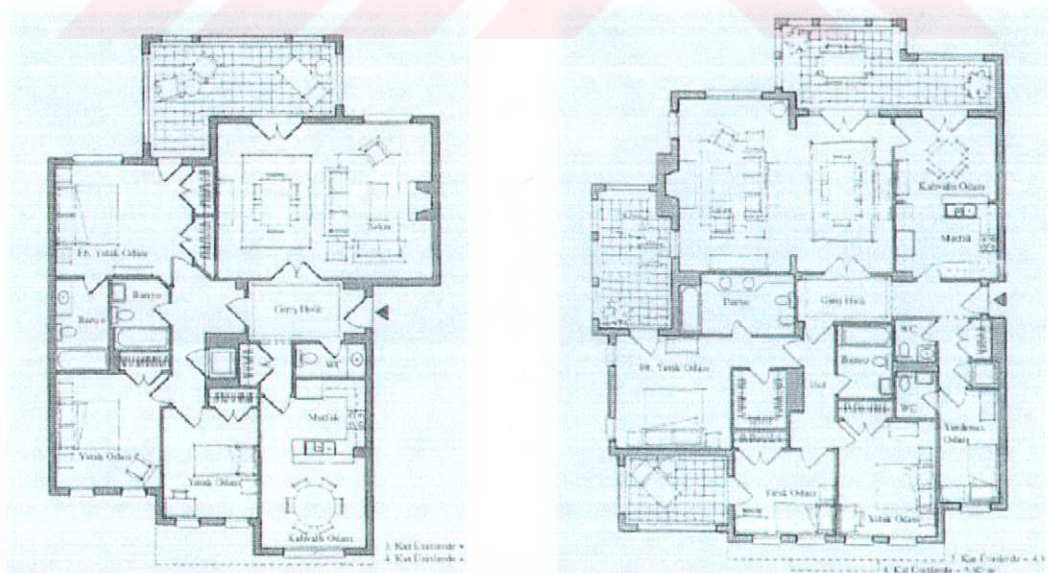Figure 29: View from Kemer Boyu, Kemer Country, Istanbul

Figure 30: Plans of two types in Kemer Country

All the samples, which are mentioned above, conclude the fact that image based approaches are dominant in the architectural production of house. These houses are the indicators of architecture that is promoted with its consumption value within the everyday life. "They are the reflection of the contradictions between elitist / critical culture of art and consumption culture"[120]. Mass media legitimate the existence of such houses under the effects of popular culture and consumption.

On the other hand architecture as a discipline cannot stay away from the assimilating effects of such a culture. In this sense what we experience is a transformation that is not limited within consumers of architecture but architecture itself.

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[120] Abdi GÜZER, Özel Konutlar, XXI Mimarlık Kültürü Dergisi, no:4, 2000, p. 57

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Architectural production of house takes place at the interface between the values of architectural discipline and the values of everyday life under the dominance of consumer culture. In order to discuss the impact of consumer culture on housing, as well as architecture, one should explore dissolution of the dichotomy of high and popular culture, the transformations in perceiving the architectural products referring some radical transformations in all spheres of socio-cultural life.

The results of the work can be discussed within the context of aestheticization of everyday life. Effacement of the boundary between art and everyday life, between high / elite art and popular culture, the collapse of the distinction between real and simulation or the shift from reality to images has changed the public perception of architecture.

In the context of postmodernity, the continuity between function, form and image is collapsed and image became an independent aesthetic norm. 'Image value' has become the central feature of consumer society in which identities are determined according to consumption of goods. It also has become the indicator of social status and prestige.

This situation leads the formation of a demand for difference which is open to lead alternative artistic expressions inclusive of popular forms and kitsch. On the

other hand the rapid changes of representational forms lead the formation of the "desire for the new" that refers to fashion. On that account architecture, which is reduced into image production has exposed to the impact of fashion. These transformations have exaggerated the value of image in architectural products. This situation causes a contradictory relation between the values of architectural discipline and the values of consumer culture. As Güzer[121] mentions, the modernist principles of architectural discipline such as the continuity between the tectonic structure and architectural style lost its relevance within a consumer culture.

The impacts of consumer culture on housing draws attention to the importance of strategies of marketing and the roles of advertising in relation to these strategies. "Media representations of a common commodity culture"[122] creates image-based perceptions and orientates the housing choices. Within this context, it is observed that contemporary housing market incline towards strategies excluding the values promoted in architectural discipline not only meeting the demand but also for the creation of demand. Therefore, concepts such as 'life styles' or 'identities' become more important than the traditional architectural concepts of design. Historical, traditional and cultural values are commodificated in the name of creating an identity. The artificial identities added to houses, which are not established by the self-referential domains of architectural discipline but by the narration of house via advertisements and priority of image values, oriented the demand of consumers.

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[121] Abdi GÜZER, Bir Kültürel Çatışma Alanı Olarak Konut, Gazi Sanat Dergisi, Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları, no:2
[122] Tim PUTNAM, Regimes of Closure: The Representation of cultural Process in Domestic Consumption, Consuming Technologies: Media and Information in Domestic Spaces, Routledge, London, 1994, p.198

Such a dominance leads the legitimization of consuming images in housing architecture which ends up with the formation of their own aesthetic norms.

For the case of Turkey, main problem is the gap between imported solutions of architectural styles and ideologies, and their social and cultural equivalents. Turkish society could not keep up with the transformations and developments in the Western countries and also could not experienced industrialization and capitalism in the sense with Western countries. Instead she has experienced the rapid transformations of capitalism from etatism towards liberalism and privatization. Such imported ideologies and thoughts caused identity crisis.

On the contextual ground of consumer culture, in the case of housing, architects' roles had been forced to legitimate the demands of housing market and clients without criticism and questioning. Historical and traditional values and images, which are the commonly accepted clichés, become the primary source to satisfy the demand for identity. Furthermore, generally it is perceived as almost the only way to acquire identity.

Özer[123] defines tradition as the sum of the actions, events and customary habits, which are related with historical process but still valid and present today. Therefore, in order to characterize the architectural elements as traditional, they should have a context peculiar to today's life styles and cultural structure more than just being an ornament or form. Misconception of tradition blurs the limits between being traditional value and artificial references to tradition.

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[123] Bülent ÖZER, <u>Olumlu ve Olumsuz Uygulanışlarıyla Mimari Yaratmada Tarih ve Geleneğin Yeri,</u> Yapı, no:35, İstanbul, 1980

On the other hand, the traditional beliefs and life habits of Turkish society could not be transformed synchronously with the transformations of the concepts and images that are imported from Western countries. Therefore, an unsound relation exists between the life styles and contemporary housing. This situation leads the development of housing architecture in an eclectic manner where arbitrary references and language based discontinuity is observed. The traditional, vernacular typologies and forms, and also Western architectural vocabulary are consumed disregarding their architectural and cultural contexts.

The technological aspect of production is left behind the cultural, traditional and historical aspects of house. Because of this fact, except some specific samples, technological novelties could not become a dynamic for the formation of new housing types and understandings.

Although the search for a pluralist vocabulary of architecture in the western countries that aims to "communicate with different groups of people in different conditions", in general it cannot be mentioned about such a discourse behind the plurality in the architectural medium in Turkey. The pluralist atmosphere in the post-1980s forms a legitimization ground for the populist architectural tendencies, which brings the satisfaction with the existing order, the imported ideologies and concepts, and brings inclination towards to appropriation of the whole images and styles of all periods. Today, house became an object of popular culture. The contextual problems of house are passed over by daily and temporary solutions. In other words, architects focus on daily and temporary solutions, which address to popular values and tastes, instead of seeking for the potential dynamics of future that can transform the consumed architecture.

In the context of contemporary culture majority of housing production reflect the values of the existing order, daily life and an artificial demand created by consumer culture more than the real, vital needs of the individual. Although it is difficult to perceive the problems of housing within the complex structure of everyday life, it should not been forgotten that the social and cultural formations and transformations are directly related to architecture and their effects are at the center of the architectural practice. Despite its difficulties of practice in the existing system, where the market rules based upon the values of consumer culture have significant impacts on the architectural practice, architects must develop new ideas and designs for housing to form a critical stance against the consumed architecture.

Within this context, to understand, criticize and evaluate the housing, even architecture it should be explored for alternative grounds for a new critical sense towards understanding the architectural object within a multi-disciplinary cross-cultural perspective. In other words the contextual transformation of architecture should be continuously re-evaluated in the frame of contemporary conditions due to the changes in the field of culture, economics, and technology.

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