RE-DEFINING ROLES OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN DESIGN IN THE PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE IN TURKEY: THE TRANSFORMATION OF ÇUKURAMBAR IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

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In Turkey, processes of urban space production and especially transformation of old *gecekondu* settlements into urban neighborhoods take place under the pressure of certain procedures affected by private property relations, excluding original, innovative and alternative idea production mechanisms. Lack of spatial quality in the urban environments, which comes out under these pressures, points out that the present procedures of planning and the resulting end products should be reevaluated. At this point, the field of "urban design" appears to be an important tool to be integrated in the urban space production processes. Definition of the content, limits and necessity of urban design in the urban space production process is among the concerns of this study. Therefore, the conceptual

framework of this study is based on the investigation of different approaches and discussions on the field of urban design. Urban design is considered as a twofold phenomenon: "urban design as a process" and "urban design as an end product". While the former includes subjects, such as, determination of urban design policies and strategies, achieving consensus between different interest and self-interest groups, the latter deals with the spatial, psychological and social aspects of the urban environment, which will be obtained as an end product.

The spatial transformation that has been taking place in Çukurambar neighborhood is discussed and evaluated as a process and as an end product. Accordingly, influences of urban development planning procedures on the formation of the built environment, open spaces and in the occurrence of architectural types are also analyzed. Finally, an alternative organization and urban design model is proposed, in reference to a set of major design principles for a qualified urban neighborhood, developed for Çukurambar.

Keywords: Urban Design Process, Transformation of Old *Gecekondu* Settlements, Çukurambar Residential District, Urban Space Design Criteria, Neighborhood Design

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE KENTSEL MEKANIN OLUŞUMUNDA MİMARLIK VE KENTSEL TASARIMIN ROLÜNÜ YENİDEN TANIMLAMAK: ANKARA-ÇUKURAMBAR ÖRNEĞİ

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Türkiye'de kentsel mekan üretme süreçleri ve özellikle eski gecekondu yerleşimlerinin dönüştürülmesi süreci, mülkiyet ilişkilerinin belirlediği ve özgün, yenilikçi, alternatif düşünce üretim mekanizmalarını dışlayan, sadece refleksler biçiminde uygulanagelen bir pratiğin etkisi altındadır. Bu baskılar altında kentsel mahallelere dönüştürülen gecekondu alanlarının mekansal nitelik sorunu; mevcut sürecin işletilmesi ve sonuç ürünün yaratılmasıyla ilgili başvurulan kriterlerin yeniden değerlendirilmesinin gereğine işaret etmektedir. Bu noktada "kentsel tasarım" bu kentsel mekan üretim süreci içinde yer alması gereken önemli bir araç olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kentsel tasarımın içeriğinin, sınırlarının tartışılması, ve gerekliliğinin tanımlanması bu tezin kapsamındadır. Dolayısıyla tezin kuramsal çerçevesi, dünyadaki farklı yaklaşımların ve tartışmaların ortaya konmasına dayanır. Araştırmacı "kentsel tasarım"ın iki yönü olan bir araştırma alanı

olduğunu savunmaktadır: "süreç olarak kensel tasarım" ve "sonuç ürün olarak kentsel tasarım". Birinci yön, kentsel tasarım politikalarının, stratejilerinin kararlaştırılması, farklı ilgi ve çıkar grupları arasındaki uzlaşmaların sağlanması gibi konuları içerirken; ikincisi sonuçta elde edilecek kentsel çevrenin mekansal, psikolojik ve sosyal özellikleri ile ilgilenmektedir.

Bu araştırmada Ankara'nın eski gecekondu alanlarından biri olan Çukurambar'da gerçekleşen mekansal dönüşüm hem süreç ve hem de sonuç ürün olarak incelenemekte, buna bağlı olarak, Türkiye'deki imar planlaması süreçlerinin kentsel mekanın yaratılmasına ve belli bir mimari tipin oluşmasına etkisi incelenmektedir. Araştırmacı Çukurambar özelinde, bu dönüşüm alanı için izlenebilecek olası bir örgütlenme modelini ve mekansal kaliteye ulaşılabilmesi için temel olacak kentsel tasarım ilkelerini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Tasarım Süreci, Gecekondu Mahallerinin Dönüşüm Süreci, Çukurambar Konut Bölgesi, Kentsel Tasarım İlkeleri, Konut Alanları Tasarımı

to Ulaş

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INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of twentieth century, basic principles and concepts on the modernist modes of urban space production were developed through the congresses of CIAM organized between 1928 and 1954. (Congrés Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) This approach that placed industrialization and its impacts on the constitution of urban spaces into the center of urban space production modes, became later a very strong and effective approach. The basic principles of urban space design that were put forward in these congresses will be followed after the World War II in different geographies of the world.

Basic concepts that rose from the "Modern Town Planning Ideas" that CIAM brought forth were *standardization, rationalization, functional order* and *satisfaction of hygiene* within urban environments. The organization model that was proposed for the realization of these concepts required the emergence of a single authority and existence of a single designer for the development of large urban areas. Therefore, a predeterministic and deductive planning process has been accepted. The proposed model was based on the dominance of public interest, i.e. the subordination of private interest to the public interest. Therefore, the rejection of subdivision of urban land and continuation of open public green spaces were issues that constituted principles of modern town planning.

Although foundations of these were set in 1920's in the Congress of La Sarraz and in the Athens Charter in 1933, the implementation of these ideas particularly in the

form of large scale housing projects became widespread in Europe after the World War II in the cities that were destructed during the war, and in United States by comprehensive urban renewal projects that involved demolition and re-building of large urban areas. However, these implementations of modernist urban space became targets of severe criticisms that attack the very basic concepts of urban development planning after 1960's.

At this point, "urban design" appeared as a critical field of research that searches for alternative organization models and alternative urban space design understandings. Basically, an understanding that appraises well-defined urban open spaces and attaches particular importance to the urban street and the urban square became dominant, in contrast to the leftover and meaningless open spaces of modernist urbanism. Concepts like image, identity, sense of place, and sense of belonging to a place substituted the internationalism principle of modernism. Moreover, it is understood that although there was an emphasis on the dominance of public interest in the modern town planning principles, urban spaces were produced according to the concepts (standardization, rationalization) set by public officials and these alien and abstract concepts were mostly not associated with the actual expectations of the society. Although, the discipline of planning in west evolved in such a way that more flexible and democratic processes can be enclosed in Turkey, it stagnated at a phase where rigid and abstract processes are repeated again and again.

As a result of continuous migration from rural areas to cities, the rate of urbanization, hence the urban population has increased to a great extent since 1950's. This created a tremendous need for housing these populations. Although the basic reasons behind these migration movements have still been discussed, (whether it is rural push or urban pull) it is obvious that it had considerable effects on the development and mutation of urban spaces in Turkey. Two different processes mainly occurred in the production of urban neighborhoods as a response to the increasing dwelling needs in cities; constitution of *gecekondu* neighborhoods and *build and sell* (yap-sat) processes practiced by small

developers. A general definition for *gecekondu* can be made as a settlement type especially on unoccupied land without title or right. Inhabitants of *gecekondu* buildings are usually low-income groups of the society, while *build and sell* is the name given to the building of apartment blocks by individual developers with small capital, on the existing parcels having infrastructure. While the former is an illegal mode of urban space production, which is mostly preferred by the rural migrants but also by other people who reject to pay taxes, the latter is a legal mode of urban dwelling production, which is based on creating surplus value on urban land as much as possible.

In addition to these two types of urban settlement production models, new settlements appeared as a later model developed in Turkey at the peripheries of cities for large areas as big project organizations. This model was first considered as a solution to the occurrence and extension of *gecekondu* settlement areas in metropolitan cities of Turkey. Indeed, illegal *gecekondu* settlements have constituted a serious problem in the spatial history of big cities, yet without any adequate and effective solution. Alternatively, prohibitions and many different amnesty laws for special locations and durations and projects proposed by different institutions for the solution of the problem remained insufficient. This situation continued until 1984 when the amnesty law of 2981, which meant the general legitimization of all *gecekondu* neighborhoods, was enacted. This development, turning illegal settlements into legal urban areas, has given rise to the transformation of these *gecekondu* settlements. For the spatial transformation of these areas, a model that requires the preparation of "Improvement Plans" (Islah İmar Planı), which are, in fact, a type of zoning and construction plans for *gecekondu* settlements has been applied. Although, with its title, this model refers to improving, revitalizing and developing existing spatial formations, in reality, the ongoing process is completely different. The Improvement Plans serve as means of increasing densities, hence the land values in old *gecekondu* areas, through the existing urban development planning procedure in Turkey. One can argue that

the urban development planning brought by these improvement plans carries certain resemblances with the modern town planning principles in appearance, although not with a one to one correspondence. In fact, these common issues, which are standardization, rationalization, functionality, dominance of solids over voids, rejection of context, and the concept of identity, continue to have very critical roles in the current production of urban spaces and forms in these areas.

In this framework, Çukurambar settlement in Ankara will be analyzed as a case study. Çukurambar residential district, which has been a *gecekondu* neighborhood since 1960's, is being transformed since the beginning of 1990's. The district is situated on the southwest of the city center. The legalization of *gecekondu* settlements, and the urban extension in Ankara towards west are the basic reasons behind the acceleration of the spatial transformation in Çukurambar neighborhood. An improvement plan has been prepared for the spatial transformation of the neighborhood. As an urban neighborhood that is being transformed in 2000's, with reference to certain modern town planning concepts, which emerged in the beginning of 20th century, Çukurambar is a significant case of the current mode of urban space production in Turkey.

This study perceives urban design as a crucial phase that lacks in the existing urban space production procedures of Turkey. And, therefore, it focuses on the necessity of developing a model of organization that introduces urban design in order to achieve built environments of better quality. Moreover, this thesis argues that there is a mutual relationship between urban morphology and architectural types. Therefore, insertion of urban design into the existing process will have indispensably important influences on the flourishment of urban architecture. The urban fabric if formed of the collection of architectural types. The opposite of this process is also true; predeterministic urban forms define the architectural types that are designed accordingly. Considering this mutual process in mind, the main thesis of this study is based on the importance of constructing

mutual relations between professions of architecture, and planning. "Urban design" is not perceived as an only "end product" that guarantees the spatial quality of the built-environment, but as a "continuous process" that generates and sustains spatial quality but also public participation, consensus building between different actors…

A brief introduction to the modernist urban design principles and urban design discussions that develop alternative models against modernist space production is made in this chapter, but this issue will be elucidated in the following chapter, in detail. In the second chapter, urban design has been conceptualized as a twofold research field and practice that covers the urban space production process (including consensus between public officials, community and special interest representatives, and a wide range of design professionals), and the design of urban spaces and urban architecture. This chapter discusses the emergence and necessity of urban design as a mediator between the fields of town planning and architecture.

The third chapter basically concentrates on the existing urban space production model (urban development planning) and its influences on the production of urban spaces and urban architecture, in Turkey. Therefore, the problematic relationship and the existing gap between the professions of town planning and architecture have been exposed through a detailed analysis of existing procedures in this chapter. *Gecekondu,* as a spontaneous mode of urban space production in Turkey, its emergence, social, and spatial problems that are resulted by and solutions proposed against these problems are also discussed in this chapter.

The fourth chapter is based on the analysis of Çukurambar residential district and its position within the city context. The transformation process, the basic actors, and their roles are discussed. Both the *gecekondu* environment and the newly created environment produced through the improvement plans are analyzed and evaluated in the chapter. In the

end, an alternative model, and a set of criteria for both on the alternative transformation process and on the spatial design of Çukurambar are put forward.

The fifth chapter consists of a general evaluation on the ongoing space production procedures in Turkey. The stance of the researcher towards urban design and its necessity within the urban space production procedures, and on the urban built-up environment has been declared. Reaching an integrative understanding of urban space design that enhances procedural aspects and aspects concerning spatial, formal, psychological, and social perspectives, is aimed through this study.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINING URBAN DESIGN

2.1 General Background

> *"The difference between the less successful and the more successful attempts to explain urban design lies in the unsuccessful attempts focusing on ends rather than means, on products rather than process, on substance rather than procedure." (George, 1997: 145)*

Urban design is a process as well as a product. There exists a mutual relationship between these two aspects of urban design. The way the process is developed has certain influences on the end product. The urban design process involves *the consensus between public officials, community and special interest representatives, and a wide range of design professionals*, while urban design as an end product covers means of urban space, form, and formation, its visual qualities, and its transformation, as well as its psychological, and sociological aspects. A vast amount of literature is available that focuses on urban design as an end product, while only recently researchers focused on the theories that concentrate on the process of urban design.

2.2 Modern Town Planning Ideas and Its Criticism

While there exists a considerable amount of clashing ideas on how to approach to the urban design profession, -its meaning, process, scope, actors, and criteria- virtually all

authors agree with each other in being unsatisfied with the contemporary urban environment. Most of them direct their criticism onto the "modern town planning" ideas, and their effect on the built environment, foundations of which were laid in the congresses of CIAM. (Congrés Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne)

It would be appropriate to scrutinize briefly certain principles of "modern town planning" ideas that were established in these congresses, and examine significant criticisms focused on these ideas. In fact, to generalize the ten congresses of CIAM that were held between 1928-1954 into a single stance would be reducing them. Needless to say, there have been many different approaches changing and developing in time, or contradicting each other. However, it is obvious that the declarations came out of the Congress of La Sarraz (1928) where certain urbanistic ideas were initially set and the Athens Charter (1933); -which was, without doubt, the most comprehensive congress from urbanistic standpoint, become very influential on the theory and practice of urban space design in the twentieth century. (Frampton, 1997: 269)

2.2.1 Principles of Modern Town Planning

Certain principles, such as, standardization, rationalization, and predetermination in the production of urban environments, functional order, were introduced to organize the realization of the comprehensive goals of "modern town planning", for instance large scale worker housing projects. (Frampton, 1997: 270; Curtis, 1996: 443; Trancik, 1986: 8)

Standardization and Rationalization

In order to achieve the goals of a functionalist scheme in an efficient and rapid way, standardization and rationalization were utilized as appropriate tools, which resulted in rather repetitive architectural forms and generic urban space patterns. How these methods were perceived, interpreted by the theoreticians of modern tow planning ideas can be easily observed in the La Sarraz Declaration. Basically, architectural concepts are to be

simplified, so that realization, or construction process, can be simplified, like repetition of a particular building component or application of a rational geometry for the circulation pattern. It seems that architects tried to establish a balance between the modern technology bringing up mass production and the new architecture. They anticipated a simplification of architectural concepts and realization, to be able to catch up with the speed of new methods. Moreover these new methods of building create an expectation of a transformation even in the forms of social life. Accordingly, in the congress of La Sarraz, it was declared that inhabitants of the modern town should reduce their individual needs parallel to the simplifications foreseen about their physical surroundings. The fourth and fifth articles of La Sarraz Declaration clarifies that:

> *"4. The most efficient method of production is that which arises from rationalization and standardization. Rationalization and standardization act directly on working methods both in modern architecture (conception) and in the building industry. (realization)*
>
> *5. Rationalization and standardization react in a threefold manner:*
>
> *(a) they demand of architecture conceptions leading to simplification of working methods both on the site and the factory;*
>
> *(b)they mean for building firms a reduction in the skilled labour force; they lead to the employment of less specialized labour working under the direction of highly skilled technicians;*
>
> *(c) they expect from the consumer (that is to say, the consumer who orders the house in which he will live) a revision of his demands in the direction of a readjustment to the new conditions of social life. Such a revision will be manifested in the reduction of certain individual needs henceforth devoid of real justification; the benefits of this reduction will foster the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the greatest number, which are at present restricted." (La Sarraz Declaration, Congrés Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne, 1928 in Frampton, 1997: 269)*

Functional order

As a reaction to the problems that industrialization created within the cities, a functionalist stance was accepted, and urbanization was conceptualized as a setting of the functional order. Indeed, "welfare, health, and safety" of the citizens were major slogans of modern urbanism for the legislation of functional zoning. (Trancik, 1986: 12) In order to create necessary conditions for "hygiene", separation of functions was offered, which had often been intermingled in the traditional urban settings. An urban order was defined which consists of four main separated functions; -dwelling, work, recreation, transportation-. Segregation of these functions forms the main principle in land use decisions, which results in the emergence of homogeneous districts. Rejecting the variety of different activities, this homogeneity causes the disappearance of the pre-existing urban social fabric.

> *"... Today, most cities are in a state of total chaos. These cities do not come anywhere near achieving their aim, which is to satisfy the biological and psychological need of their inhabitants.*
>
> *The key points in town planning lie in the four functions: living, working, recreation (in free time), and circulation...*
>
> *The basic nucleus of town planning is the living-cell (a dwelling) and its introduction into a group constitutes a unit of habitation of suitable size... " (Charter of Athens, in Curtis, 1996: 255)*

In fact, Le Corbusier was an important figure who dominated the Athens Charter with his ideas on urban space organization. "The Radiant City", the book, which he later published as a theory book of his dream city, reflects images of the new urban setting besides declaring the modern town planning principles, mentioned above. (Figure 2.1) Le Corbusier's dream city was composed of mainly *skyscrapers within a park*. Le Corbusier was describing his Radiant City, which he developed in 1920 as:

> *"Suppose we are entering the city by the way of the Great Park. Our fast car takes the special elevated motor track between the majestic skyscrapers: as we approach nearer, there is seen the repetition against the sky*

of the twenty-four skyscrapers, to our left and right on the outskirts of each particular area are the municipal and administrative buildings; and enclosing the space are the museums and university buildings. The whole city is a Park."
(Le Corbusier in Jacobs, 1961: 21)

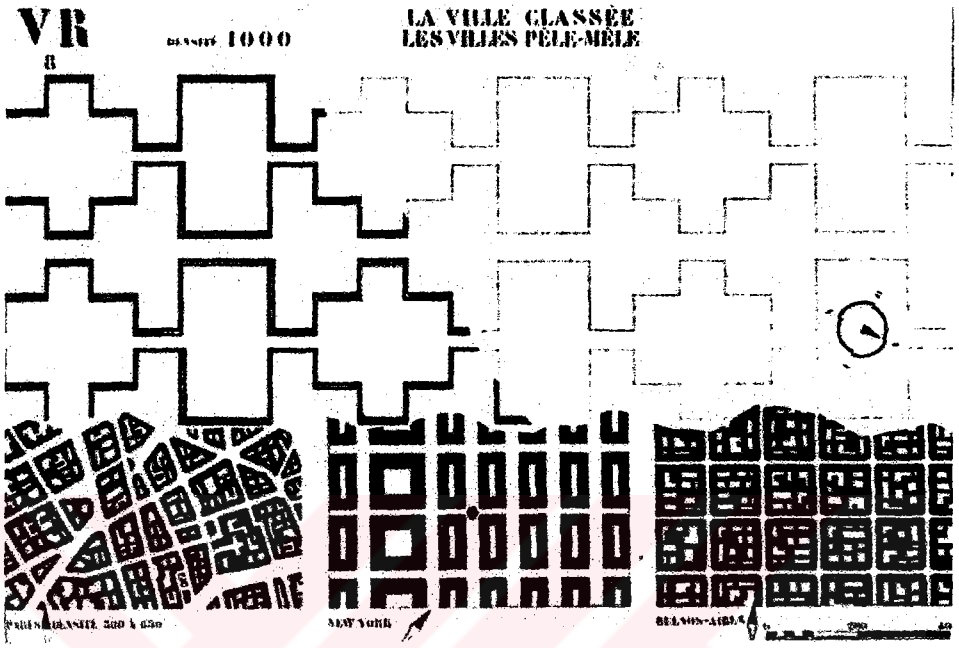


Figure 2.1. The Radiant City, Paris, New York, Buenos Aires (Le Corbusier, 1981: 108)

2.2.2 Criticism of the Modern Town Planning Ideas

Criticisms directed to the Physical Space Organization

Voices that disagree with the functionalist principles of "modern movement" rose initially within the CIAM Congresses, especially after World War II. A change in the space understanding of CIAM occurred from mere functionalism to the consideration of spatial qualities. For example, in the CIAM VIII report, Alison and Peter Smitson, Aldo von Eyck, Georges Candilis, and Shadrach Woods criticized the idea of four abstract functions, and their separation by introducing new concepts like identity, association, building with site, and sense of belonging. (Frampton, 1997: 271) (Figure 2.2) These concepts brought forth the socio-psychological dimension of the relation of human beings with their physical environment rather than the biological ones, like hygiene, health, and safety. They wrote:

"Man may readily identify himself with his own hearth, but not easily with the town within which it is placed. 'Belonging' is a basic emotional need - its associations are of the simplest order. From 'belonging' -identity- comes the enriching sense of neighborliness. The short narrow street of the slum cluster succeeds where spacious redevelopment frequently fails." (CIAM VIII Report in Frampton, 1997: 271)

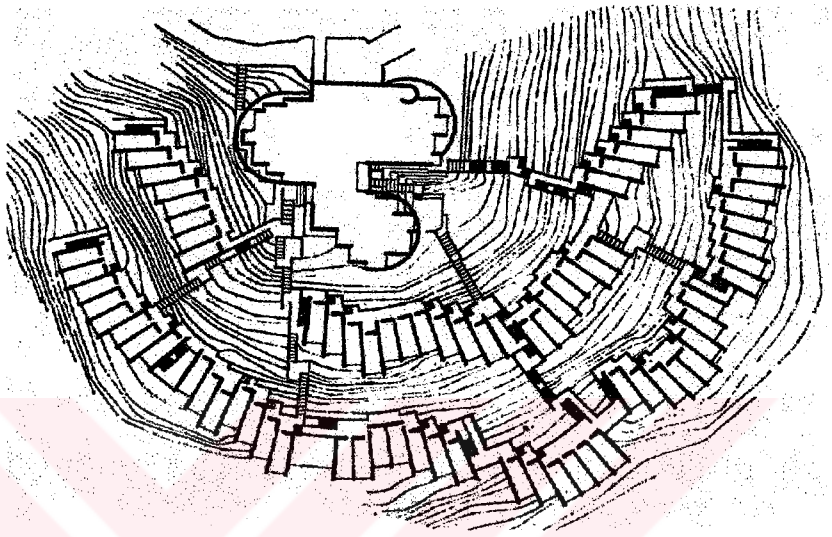


Figure 2.2. University College-Urbino by Giancarlo De Carlo (Eyck in Lewis, 1968: 153)

An important criticism against the declarations of Athens Charter was included in these sentences. Dwelling, the basic nucleus of town planning was replaced by new terms like neighborhoods, clusters, or association. In other words, to be able to construct a real urban structure, design and formation of neighborhoods were attributed more importance rather than the single dwelling. Since neighborhoods have the opportunity to create the emotion of belonging to its inhabitant, or an identity through which someone can define himself/herself. Furthermore, these sentences highlight the priority of a spontaneously emerged urban element, a narrow street, to the rational, generic, and abstract applications of the modern urbanism.

Jane Jacob's book "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" is another serious attack on "the rational organization of the buildings in a park" where urban street is absolutely rejected. (Jacobs, 1961: 39) Based on her personal experiences, Jacobs stresses

property of liveliness property of "real city streets." while focusing her criticism on the safety problems of the "Corbusean City". (Figure 2.3) Furthermore, the concepts she introduces, such as, mix of uses, diversity of urban life, are directly opposed to the "functional zoning" principle of modern town planning ideas of CIAM.

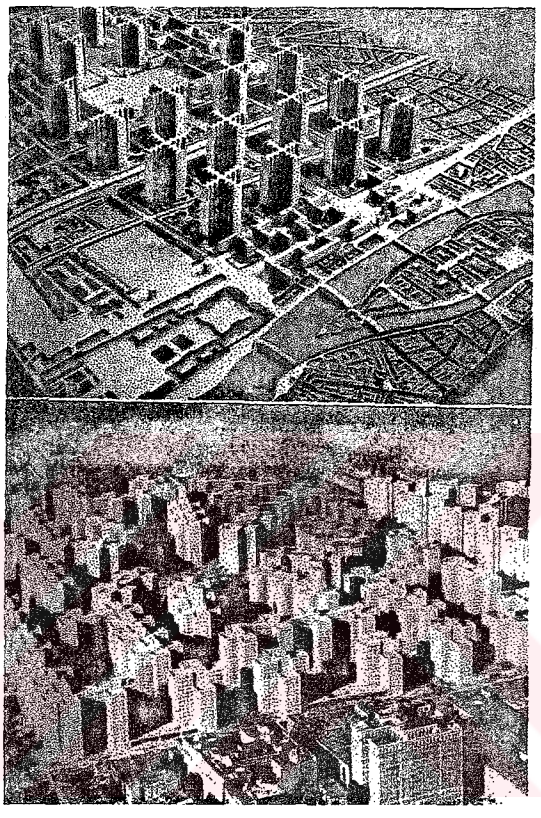


Figure 2.3. Plan Voisin by Le Corbusier and a public housing in Lower Manhattan (Rowe, 1978: 9)

Likewise, Christian Norberg-Schulz, who brought forth a "phenomenological", concrete, and qualitative approach to architecture, agrees with Jacobs and complains about corrupted and irreparably lost qualities of human settlements, which usually consist of buildings "freely" placed within park-like spaces. He specifies his ideas suggesting that "identity", or "character" of the modern urban environments is expressed in the form of "monotony", that is, modern urbanism fails to create meaning, i.e. a relationship between man and space. (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 179)

"In general, the symptoms indicate a loss of place. Lost is the settlement as a place in nature, lost are the urban foci as places for common living... most modern buildings exist in a "nowhere"; they are not related to a landscape and not to a coherent, urban whole, but live their abstract life in a kind of mathematical-technological space, which hardly distinguishes between up and down." (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 181)

Furthermore, Rob Krier, who interrogates modern urban space through a historicist perspective, raise objections against the concepts that "modern town planning" was proposing. He implies that it created nothing more than a jumble. Hence, he concentrates his criticism on the spatial quality of the towns that are composed of forlorn and isolated sections of barrier, battered on all sides by every conceivable stream of activity and with no margin left for meaningful activity or orientation. (Krier, 1979: 81)

As for Jonathan Barnett, the Modern Movement in architecture tended to advocate wiping out existing cities and replacing them with something more "rational" and "hygienic". What began as a romantic vision of modern technology, freeing the individual from the constraints of tradition, has turned out to be admirably suited to mindless bureaucratic repetition, and cost cutting of profit-motivated entrepreneurs. (Barnett, 1982: 7) Indeed, basic reason behind these mindless repetitions is produced as a result of the sum of "rational" decisions made by different groups, such as, engineers, investors, lawyers, and surveyors. In other words, the total sum of these distinct rational decisions isolates the design of possible relationships between man and its environment, and possible meanings that will be created as a result. Another question occurs on the neutrality of the "rational" decisions. For instance, the rational decision made by an investor for himself, may clash with the interest of the public, and may not be rational from this viewpoint.

In fact, Barnett's criticism is basically addressed to the urban renewal projects, or destructive face of functionalist urbanism, implemented in American context during the 1950's and 1960's. (Figure 2.4) Actually, these renewal projects were concrete representations of the modern town planning ideas. Curtis evaluates this destructive

operation as a "backlash" against "modernism" happened in different frameworks, like European welfare states and wealthy patronage in the United States. (Curtis, 1996: 590) Roger Trancik explains that these renewal processes responded to a concern for social hygiene. The loss of traditional qualities of urban space has also been the result of zoning policies and urban renewal projects as well. Moreover, the value system imposed by urban renewal rejected the elements of the old town that were physically structured around a network of street-level public spaces. Trancik goes on to elucidate this process with these words:

> *"The impulse was to clear the ground, sanitize, and promote human welfare through the segregation of land uses into discrete zones and substitution of high-rise towers for ground floor density." (Trancik, 1986 12)*

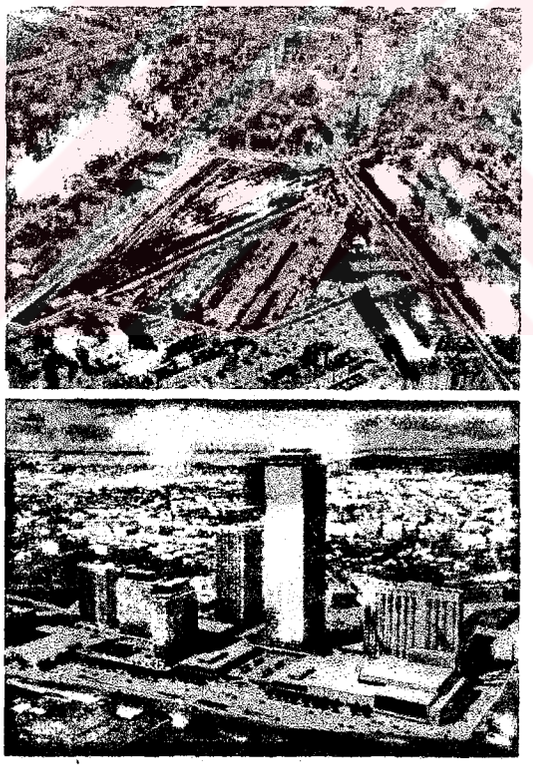


Figure 2.4. Urban renewal project in Boston, Massachusetts, 1959 (Trancik, 1986: 13)

For Trancik, the usual process of urban development treats buildings as isolated objects sited in the landscape, not as part of the larger fabric of squares, streets, and viable

open space. Therefore, what emerges in most environmental settings today is unshaped "antispace". (Figure 2.5) Trancik defines this term as the undesirable urban areas that are in need of redesign, making no positive contribution to the surroundings and users, such as, leftover unstructured landscape at the base of high-rise towers.

Figure 2.5. The unshaped "antispace" (Trancik, 1986:6)

> *"As its zenith from 1930 to about 1960, modern movement was founded on abstract ideals for the design of freestanding buildings; in the process it ignored, denied the importance of street space, urban squares, and other important outdoor rooms." (Trancik, 1986: 8)*

In his seminal paper, "A City is not a Tree", Alexander concentrates on the structure of cities. He interprets designed cities as *artificial cities*, which carry the structure of a simple tree. Alexander criticizes the mismatch of these cities with the society in reality. Referring to the functional order principle of CIAM, he says:

> *"Another favorite concept of the CIAM theorists and others is the separation of recreation from everything else. This has crystallized in our real cities in the form of playgrounds. The playground, asphalted and fenced in, is*

nothing but a pictorial acknowledgement of the fact that "play" exists as an isolated concept in our minds." (Alexander, 1982: 393)

Criticisms directed to the Social Organization Model

It is possible to increase number of criticisms that address against the modern urban space. Indeed, numerous articles have contrasted sense of place, with impersonal, generic, and alienating modern environments that modern town planning ideas were indicating. The criticisms until here were merely on the space organization model that "modern town planning" ideas introduced. However, social and political frameworks, by which modern urbanism was affected or modern urbanism required, constitute the other side of the coin. For instance, domination of public on private interest, the land ownership pattern, existence or necessity of a central authority, call for technocracy, technocratic and formal control processes, and bureaucratic application of formal controls were certain frameworks that modern urbanism was offering. Therefore, a deductive approach that requires *comprehensive planning* supported by a *single authority* established the main urban space production understanding behind "modern town planning" ideas of CIAM.

Subordination of private interest to the interest of community

This idea was explicitly pronounced by CIAM, besides the functional urban space organization principles. In fact, this issue originates from the belief that there exist a common good that can be decided by the architects while creating built-up environments. This conviction is that there exists one state of a physical condition, which can bring about the welfare of any individual in the society. Criticisms were mainly focused on the effective operations originated by private, small-scale interferences that fragmented the public land, the unjust distribution of urban land between owners and the community. However, what kind of a model was proposed for the public domination over the private in the society was not clarified definitely.

According to Sancar and Onaran, the modernist approach to planning is associated with technocratic and formal control processes. Studies of accurate and extensive land records, and careful assessment of all possible courses to determine the best one for the public interest while maintaining value neutrality, are among the characteristics of this approach. (Sancar and Onaran, 2001: 9) Neutrality is a following concept of the comprehensive planning where "standard" and "rational" decisions are made in the name of the society.

So another issue that was introduced by modern town planning ideas came out as "neutrality", which was criticized by Jacobs as well, because the assumption of value neutrality does not work. Since what the technocrats decide for people and what people really want are not usually the same, she claims, by referring to the case of North End in Boston. (Jacobs, 1961: 73) In the case of North End she dwells on the "livability" property of streets although this area lacks certain spatial standards specified by the officials like a minimum density. She highlights the mismatch between the abstract and neutral decisions made by the officials for the urban space and the "real" city streets, which truly create the "public peace".

Rejecting the Subdivision of Urban Land

Accompanying this idea, one more issue seems significant that was mentioned in La Sarraz Congress, and would be later elaborated in Athens Charter. This subject was about the ownership pattern of urban land. While the chaotic division of land resulting from speculations was strongly criticized, collective and methodical land policy was offered. (Frampton, 1997: 275) In fact, rejecting the subdivision of land seems consistent with a deductive approach that would want to hold large amounts of land under control for common good. As Günay asserts:

"The deductive approach is established on the idea that there are generally accepted rules for the benefit of the common good, which should control the environment, and that property should be mobilized for this end." (Günay, 1999b: 17)

Single designer, central authority

Additionally, although not explicitly pronounced in the declarations of CIAM another subject that is required by the comprehensive planning approach was the existence of a central authority and financial support. As Günay declares, this issue is necessary for providing the designer with necessary tools, i.e. land and capital. State was this subject in both socialist and capitalist societies that warranties the common good. (Günay, 1999b: 24)

"...the state tried to control the production of space through increasing the amount of public land, and control of private property through comprehensive planning." (Günay, 1999b: 24)

In her comprehensive book "Postmodern Urbanism", Ellin, refers to a paradigm shift from a reliance on state authority to political decentralization, and non-interference from the central state authority. (Ellin, 1996: 92) According to her there exist a transformation process from modern to postmodern urban design theories including shifts from large-scale interventions to small-scale plans, or, if the intervention is large, usage of a number of architects and a design guide appears.

Moreover, Nan Ellin emphasizes that challenges toward the authoritarian planning, such as social planning, community-based planning, participatory architecture, process architecture, advocacy planning, and self-building since the 1940's appeared in the late 1960's and 1970's. (Ellin, 1996: 96)

2.3 Emergence of Urban Design as a Field of Study and Specialization

Various arguments are made on the occurrence, development, or transformation of urban design that will be depicted below. The researcher believes that the act of designing urban environments obviously existed throughout the time, in different geographies with different names. Nevertheless, the conditions, the exigencies, or the awareness of professionals in the second half of the twentieth century brought "urban design" into the center of attention in urban space studies, such that, today many planners, designers and architects agree on the idea that this field carries certain potentials in succeeding a quality level when designing urban environments.

For instance, according to Barnett, the development of urban design as a separate technical specialty is relatively recent. Nevertheless, Barnett takes the starting point of urban design as an academic curriculum, which begun in 1957 at the University of Pennsylvania, and followed by others. (Barnett, 1982: 23)

However, Michael Southworth states that:

> *"Urban design as a new specialty within city planning in the United States developed rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s in response to the federal urban renewal programme." (Southworth, 1989: 369)*

Renewal projects can be interpreted as the concretization of modern town planning ideas, mainly in large-scale housing projects, both in Europe after the II World War and in US in 1950's and 1960's. Therefore, Southworth perceives urban design field as a reaction against these modern destructive implementations.

Günay considers urban design as a concept emerged in the sixties to fill the gap between planning decisions and the architecture of cities, as an outcome of the prevailing critique of the problem emerging in the production of urban environments. (Günay, 1999a) Similarly, as for Çubuk, a conflict occurred between the disciplines of city planning and

architecture when the urban planning that utilized functional theory became unsuccessful in creating urban fabric and architectural forms. In other words, city planning had direct influences in the constitution of architectural types, and affected urban architecture in a bad sense. And it is this problematic position of city planning that creates urban design as a necessity and a distinct discipline. (Çubuk, 1997: 213)

Whereas, another author, Hamid Shirvani claims that urban design has existed as long as man built cities. According to him what have changed over time are the contexts and approaches to urban design. On the other hand, Ellin dwells on both modern and postmodern urban design theories. Her terminology differs from the other writers who usually accept that urban design is a recent profession that developed since 1960's. According to Ellin, in 1960s, the broadbased romantic reaction to modernism was manifested as a reaction to modern urbanism, which had evolved over the first half of the century, particularly as articulated by the Modern Movement's Athens Charter (1933). Since 1960's, a number of different trend emerged. Against the universalism of Modern Movement, these reactions featured a renewed interest in the domains of regional and historical styles along with a respect for the diversity of urban subcultures ("pluralism" or "multiculturalism"). Hence, she comprehends urban design as a continuously changing process that has been practicing throughout the history. She evaluates urban design as "argumentative" since it has been transformed and redefined in changing and shifting political, social, and spatial contexts, approaches, such as, from a central power into plural authorities, from universalism into multiculturalism.

Wayne Attoe and Donn Logan accept a similar attitude as Ellin's. According to them there exists an argumentative process in which urban design took place. They classify four different stances in twentieth century European urban design theories as functionalist, humanist, systemic and formalist although they do not mention about any refraction point

witnessed in 1960's that was referenced by all the authors above. (Attoe and Logan, 1989: 35)

As seen above, there exist tremendous amount of stances while explaining the emergence of the urban design field. However, there exists a fundamental and implicit indication in all these different views. This is the dialectic position of the urban design against the universal, authoritarian, abstract, and functionalist approaches of modern urbanism, or against its implementations both in Europe and in US, "the urban renewal programme", or against the gap between the disciplines of planning and architecture created under the affect of modernist realizations.

2.3.1 Defining Urban Design

The understanding that encloses the idea that urban design is not just a drawn project by professionals to be implemented by public officials but also a sum of processes experienced by different social groups, their participation in different phases of the project, policy making and consensus building among them constitutes the basic distinction between modern functionalist authoritarian urban concepts and the concepts of "urban design". Therefore, when compared to the process of modern urban space productions, urban design process is more complex, flexible, and fractioned one. In fact, more than one designer or a single authority, such as certain community and special interest representatives besides the public officials and professionals, are involved in urban design process. Therefore a variety of different phases occur in the realization of urban design projects where the users, citizens, landowners, investors, and certain social organizations - concerned with a specific part of urban land- take place. Briefly, the shift in the social structure, that is, subordination of public interest to the private interest (in contrast to the modernist space production processes, where official bureaucratic processes dominate) finds its reflection in the urban space production modes. Accordingly, many new theories

of urban design that attempts to analyze it put their bases on this shift. For instance, the idea of revitalization of private interest and its representation in the urban space, in other words, understanding impacts of private property relations in the creation of urban patterns constitutes the main idea of Günay's book. Although isolated by the researchers, writers, and designers who cope with the end product of the field, this approach is helpful in defining and understanding it due to being an influential step on the creation of built-up urban environments. Indeed, the argument that private interest gained importance explains the reason of fragmentary and flexible processes instead of utopist and frozen master plans prepared on behalf of the public of the modernist approach. Therefore, today, an integrative definition should involve the procedural aspects of the field in addition to the physical, social, and psychological aspects of urban space design. In other words, a comprehensive understanding towards urban design should enclose not only the end product, principles for production of urban spaces, but also the processes experienced by different actors.

According to Varkki George, a definition of the task of designing urban places where the designer is primarily concerned with the sensual, but particularly visual qualities of these places is rather a traditional one. He states that attempts focusing "on ends rather than *means*, on products rather than *process*, on substance rather than *procedure*" results in less successful outcomes. (George, 1997: 14)

Chermayeff and Tzonis in their book "Shape of Community" declare that urban design cannot be defined as a form alone. According to them purposeful social commitment must precede all action in the design process without concern for the techniques or shapes through which the commitment may finally be translated into physical reality. (Chermayeff and Tzonis, 1971) Barnett brings forth a similar approach to urban design. He defines it as the process of giving a direction through physical design to urban growth, conservation, and change and he makes his famous definition, which already became a motto as: "Urban design is *designing cities without designing buildings*." (Barnett, 1982: 25)

Consequently, Barnett's definition becomes an inspiration for George who defines urban design as "a second-order endeavor", which means that the urban designers are only *indirectly* responsible for producing built forms and the spaces in between them; they rather design the *decision environment*, within which others make decisions to make or to alter the built environment. Second-order relationships are indirect relationships. George furthers his view as:

> *"In the days of Pope Sixtus V and Baron Haussmann, and perhaps in the early part of this century, urban design could be a first-order design activity: very little about the project changed during the time it took to become reality; feudal systems allowed decision-making powers to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals or even a single individual." (George, 1997: 150)*

In other words, while in the first-order design, the designer usually has control over, or is directly responsible for all design decisions, in urban design, control over decisions that produce or alter the built environment is distributed across a wide range of private and public entities: decision-making is complex and fractioned.

Lynch also agrees with the idea that urban design does not only consist of project drawing and declares that the task of the urban designer is forming the built environment by certain processes enclosing policy, program, and guideline production rather than by the creation of blueprints that specify shape and location in detail. (Lynch, 1982: 112) In fact, this kind of a definition becomes very critical when specifying the responsibilities of the designer. Therefore it is important to realize that besides drawing design decisions, a designer has a role of creating the policies, programs, and guidelines. Correspondingly, studies of Southworth, Shirvani and George also led to an understanding that developing policies, regulations, and programmes are involved in the field of urban design.

For instance, Shirvani defines policies, plans, guidelines, and programs as products of urban design. While policymaking is defined as calculating and balancing the various forces effective on the urban land, the nature of guidelines are distinguished as

prescriptive and performance in Shirvani's research. While prescriptive guidelines attempt to establish the limit or framework within which individual designers must work, performance guidelines provide the designer with various measures and criteria leaving concept development up to the designer. George considers policies, regulations, and programmes as *tactics* that the urban designer uses. According to him, policies are higher-order tactics that provide the logic from which regulations and programmes are derived. Regulations limit the scope of decisions in urban design, while programmes attempt to encourage certain decisions. Günay, who believes that urban design should become a part of public policies in building or restructuring urban areas, states that very often, urban design is reduced to limited views of the city, disregarding the basic forces, which make it. He strongly stresses that urban design is a much wider concept covering not only the works and debates of the few, but also the town as a whole and the processes, which generate the urban environment. (Günay, 1999a)

2.3.2 Urban Design as a Process

Deductive Design Process versus Inductive Design Process

As it was declared before, urban design brings a critical stance to pure functionalism, standard forms, and generic urban space organizations. Moreover, rigid master plans and bureaucratic application of formal controls are attacked by piecemeal growth processes, flexible design strategies, evolutionary rather than revolutionary processes, participatory design processes, inclusive and pluralistic design approaches. Therefore, these arguments and definitions lead to a duality between modernist design approaches and recent new (post-modern) ones in terms of deductive and incremental nature of their design processes.

For instance, Gosling in his paper, points that urban design frameworks have superseded the rigid master plan concept and replaced it with a flexible design strategy.

(Gosling, 1992: 34) Similarly, Chermayeff and Tzonis argue that a master plan, as Utopia, which presupposes an ideal completed form, can no longer serve the purposes of design in which change and growth are the essential determinants of order. (Chermayeff and Tzonis, 1971: 83)

Ellin declares that "urban design" theory tries to achieve a "dynamic unity", acknowledges the need for flexibility in architecture and urbanism, making evolution obligatory, and revolution unlikely. She summarizes efforts of architects and planners practicing within this paradigm as experimenting with monuments, historical references, historic preservation, restoration, rehabilitation, adaptive re-use, participatory design, and the application of ideas from the social and behavioral sciences and humanities. She writes:

> *"Rather than provide pat answers,* postmodern *urbanism seeks to raise questions and provoke or simply to accommodate post-industrial society rather than shape it." (Ellin, 1996: 93)*

All these properties of postmodern urbanism underlined by Ellin contrast with the authoritarian planning conception that was underlying the CIAM principles, which defended the subordination of private interest to public interest. In contrast, these postmodern processes are the results of a revitalized private sphere.

To explain new processes behind postmodern production of space, Sancar and Onaran argue that the constructs of *place, sustainability, and participation* together form an emergent world-view consistent with the *critical postmodernism.* These three postmodern constructs, by introducing new issues and concepts into design review, have been introduced into the planning and design regulations, resulted in new attitudes among public officials that challenge the conventional bureaucratic application of formal controls, and started a debate on desirability and legitimacy of informal controls of the individuals. (Sancar and Onaran, 2001: 7)

After reviewing the definitions of urban design emerged as a criticism to modernist town planning implementations, it is better to focus on certain theories that have

been developed in accordance with these. These endeavors theorize the modes of piecemeal urban production based on the stance that modernist deductive design processes failed in creating places. These spaces failed in becoming places with an identity. People could not able associate themselves with modernist spaces.

Seven detailed rules of growth are theorized by Alexander to explain how incremental urban space production modes may happen. An inductive approach is mainly accepted as valid in this explanation. According to Alexander piecemeal growth is important in reaching complicated wholeness in urban environments. Here, as in the urban catalyst concept of Attoe and Logan, a web of interactions of a single element within its context becomes very significant. A new increment defines, pins down, completes and creates a hint for a structure that will be the next element for a particular urban space. (Figure 2.6) Indeed this model gives hints of how the urban design process may accelerate step by step. However, there remain questions still unanswered in the theory, especially when organization of large increments is considered, as Alexander and his colleagues admit as well. (Alexander, 1987: 40) However, they are also aware that this approach embodies certain dangers that may break the wholeness of urban environments. Unfortunately, there is not any exact proposal for this problem in the theory:

> *"Piecemeal growth tends, in spite of all good intentions and promises, to be piecemeal in the bad sense, incoherent, scattered, fragmented. It tends to produce aggregation and assemblies... instead of coherent wholes." (Alexander, 1987: 43)*

Figure 2.6. Incremental urban growth (Alexander, 1987: 46-47)

Similar to Alexander, Friedman accepts a piecemeal development approach to urban space design and to the growth processes of urban areas. (Friedman, 1997: 291) But he defines certain procedures considering developing vision, concept, and design code hierarchically whenever necessary. This development process can be easily modified in accordance with market changes. According to the proposal, organizing urban growth through a system of hierarchical progression allows flexibility and freedom in the design of staged developments in a manner, which reflects the rapidity of construction and the needs of society at the time.

> *"Rather than designing an entire community in advance by only building a section at a time, as is often the case today, only those sections for which financing has been secured and are otherwise ready for construction would be designed in the greatest detail." (Friedman, 1997: 289)*

In the process, developers, having acquired a plot of land, would begin developing it by creating a vision of the kind of community that they expect to design.

Establishing an overall concept and generally defining how this concept may be supported through land subdivisions would not in itself be sufficient for ensuring a uniform or even harmonious community character. To further secure this continuity and guarantee a certain degree of homogeneity, the developer would at this stage also be required to create a *design code* for the entire community. So general parameters of design is defined with this code, yet it is important to designate these parameters wide enough of that flexibility is not disturbed. Here the author refers to Alexander's "New Theory of Urban Design", as the code would be more performance-oriented than specific. For example it would not prescribe a certain building height limitation, but might discourage the building of high-rises, so that no high-rises would cast shadow on neighboring buildings. The code would necessarily follow the overall vision of the development.

This proposal forms a direct relationship between the designer and the developer. Similarly, Rowley defends for a better understanding of the relationship between urban design, the development process and the private property relations. He points this as a prerequisite for achieving lasting improvements in the quality of the urban environment.

> *"Private-property decision makers -developers, investors, and occupiers- exert a powerful influence of the property industry on the quality of the built environment and, more specifically, the impact on property values of differing urban design approaches, have attracted astonishingly little attention from academics and others in the property industry and the design professions." (Rowley, 1998: 151)*

The processes that shape urban environments are complex and the search for quality of urban design seems to run in a circle. Society seeks improved quality; the developer aspires to meet the customers' needs, as does the investor; but the requirements and aspirations of most costumers are usually too self-centered to meet society's wishes. The challenge is to find ways of breaking the cycle.

Chapman's proposal widens the perspective of relationship mentioned in Rowley's proposal. He declares that everyone has stake in the process of urban change. The

level of involvement changes over time and there is chance that is moving from being *passive consumers to active shapers* in the urban design process. (Chapman, 1996: 232) He depicts:

> *"If urban design is to spread benefits more equitably, it must solve this problem by addressing two points. It should be inclusive, in that it should seek to include as many of the potential users of the development as possible in the design process. It should also be enabling, in that these users are empowered to meet their needs without compromising those of others." (Chapman, 1996: 230)*

Consequently, Chapman expresses that shaping the future of the built environment may be seen to be concerned with participation as much as design. The activities occur on different spatial and temporal scales. Appreciating the many contributions made by the different actors in the processes of management and change is an important precursor to individual action and collaboration.

2.3.3 Urban Design as an Art of Relations

As a result of the shift in the social structure, various participants started to organize design of urban elements in more fractioned, flexible, and complex processes when compared to modernist modes of urban space production. However, what are the basic subject matters that urban design is concerned with? Basically, urban design can be defined as the design of relationships. It covers relationships and interactions between the elements of the urban environments, between individuals and urban environment, as well as the relationships between the individuals. Modernist design approach brought forth a twofold structure to the constitution of urban spaces. First one is the design of *the elementary cell*, while the second one is the *design of the whole city*. The simple cell to live in and the city as an organism -constituted by four different functions, dwelling, working, greenery, and recreation, in predefined standard percentages- were basic subjects when urban spaces were to be created. However, architectural elements were conceived as

independent and abstract things situated freely on the "urban landscape". Therefore, design of connections, relationships, or interactions of these self-standing single urban components were completely rejected in the production of the urban environments. Additionally, it can be argued that neither interaction between the individual and urban environment, nor the reflections of the social structure on the urban space was among the concerns of the modernist design approaches. In reference to the principle of the single designer and central authority, it is known that participation of users was not even in question; hence their opinions were disregarded. Colin Rowe stressed in, where he conceptualized the marriage of the modern architecture and society as a failure:

> *"He, society was in no way ready to envisage those limpid possibilities of the New Jerusalem, which she (modern architecture) so enthusiastically advertised and, as she continued, he increasingly became fatigued. Indeed he (society) came to discover that, though admired, he too was not accepted; and gradually, the rift became irretrievable." (The Cubbit Lecture in London)*

Therefore, it can be argued that urban design encloses the design of relationship of various elements, as a third construct, in addition to the twofold construct of modernist design approach, -dwelling cell and the whole city-. Design of the "togetherness" of buildings, open spaces like squares, urban courtyards, urban parks, streets, sidewalks, trees, cars, parking areas, and people, or anything that form the urban fabric, can be the subject(s) of urban design field. Most researchers representing different tendencies, like Gordon Cullen, Edmund Bacon, Amos Rapoport, Kevin Lynch, and Nikos Salingaros agree with the idea that basic concern of the urban design is the relationship building of distinct urban components in the city.

For instance, Cullen argues that urban design is an *art of relationship* that seeks to weave together environmental elements like buildings, trees, landscape and traffic. (Cullen, 1961: 38) He emphasizes that using such elements; the nuances of scale and style, of texture and color, and of character and individuality can be manipulated in order to

create collective benefits. *Serial vision* of the unfolding sequences of street scenes is fundamental concern in his approach. (Figure 2.7) Cullen offered a compendium of optimal qualities for a townscape including the architectural, the painterly, the poetic, and the practical. (Cullen, 1961: 43) On this subject, Ellin declares that, in reaction to modernism's "architectural objects", Cullen emphasized the relationship between buildings and all that surrounds them and encouraged the design of buildings to enclose public space rather than sit in the center of it. (Ellin, 1996: 258)

Figure 2.7. Serial vision (Cullen, 1961: 13)

According to Bacon, man relates himself to the urban environment through experiencing the spatial continuities. Therefore he interprets the field of urban design as creating an *experiential continuity*, stressing the issue of movement through space. For him, the purpose of design is to affect the people who use it, and in an architectural composition this effect is a continuous, unbroken flow of impressions that assault their senses as they

move through it. He declares that the architect's purpose in urban design is to define the urban participant's sequence of experiences. (Bacon, 1967: 18)

Bacon underlines that the urban designer's realm contains multiple properties that belong to separate owners, with differing interests, who commission buildings from disparately motivated architect, and, it is this condition that sets up the urban designer's formal compositional challenge: to use *proportion*, *enclosure*, *interlocking points*, *recession planes*, *penetration in depth*, and *ascent and descent*, among other formal relationships, to sustain a satisfying experiential continuity across properties.

Rapoport who is an architect and anthropologist has an approach that is concentrated on relationships between spaces, and their interactions between people. He declares that space is experienced as the three-dimensional extension of the world, which is around us -the intervals, relationships and distances between people and people, people and things, things and things, and space is the heart of the built environment. Organizations and relationships are more fundamental aspects of the designed environment than shape, materials, and the like. (Rapoport, 1977: 234)

Similarly, Lynch emphasizes citizen-urban space relationships in his study on three American cities, "The Image of the City", in which he uses citizen interviews to solve the complex interaction patterns between the user and built- environment. He declares that the urban image is the result of a two-way process between the observer and the observed, in which the external physical shape upon which a designer can operate plays a major role. (Lynch, 1960: 13)

Additionally, Salingaros, who is originally a mathematician, in his paper "Complexity and Urban Coherence" brings an interesting definition for the field of urban design. He applies the theory of complex interacting systems, which has been developed in computer and biological sciences, to the definition of urban design. According to him, this theory can be used to resurrect dead urban and suburban regions, by re-arranging their

geometry to generate connections. The aim is to generate a tightly knit geometrical field by means of mathematical rules. Close to the linkage theory, his theory is based on the idea that every urban element is formed by the combination of sub elements. Complementary elements of roughly the same size couple strongly to form an element of the next-higher size. Different types of connections tie elements of different sizes together, so that every element is linked to every other element. Elements are therefore necessary, not only for their own primary function, but also as elements that link other elements that do not couple directly by themselves. (Salingaros, 2000: 310) His definition of urban space design as a medium of linked elements and the relationships and responses supports our argument that urban design's main concern is the relationship design; relations between objects and objects, objects and individuals, and objects and society.

2.4 Urban Design Principles

If urban design is an art of relationships between space, individual, and society, than these questions are to answer: What are these relations that constitute the urban space? What kinds of relations between solids and cavities should be established to reach a spatial quality in the urban physical form? What factors form the identity and the image of a city or of an urban place for an individual? Which concepts define a good urban structure that constitutes the relations between society and physical space?

Accordingly, urban design principles will be collected under three headings as *physical form*, *image-identity*, and *activity: variety, vitality, and intensity*. In fact, urbanity is the general name that encloses the characteristics of urban quality. (Montgomery, 1998: 98) It covers themes like city form, activity and street life, and urban culture, three concepts that will be discussed here in reference to the urban space literature.

Concept of *physical form* concentrates on the order of urban physical components, buildings, building estates, streets, squares, quarters, trees, cars...etc. conceiving urban spaces as an object.

Concepts of *identity-image* interrogate existential properties of urban space and its relation with the individuals, conceiving urban space as a set of meanings and memories.

Concepts of *activity: diversity, vitality, and intensity* specify possible interactions between society and space, conceiving urban space as a container of human activities.

2.4.1 Physical Form

Counter-arguments against the modernist space understanding started to appear focusing on the urban space organization based on the functions. Main point of these approaches is the superiority of form over function as opposed to functionalist planning. Form was an aspect of urban space, which has been persisting for centuries in the urban space, while function is a rather temporary factor. Therefore, constitution of urban spaces should not be organized by transient urban functions. (Figure 2.8) For instance, in his book "Architecture of the City", Aldo Rossi argues that any explanation of urban artifacts in terms of function must be rejected if the issue is to elucidate their structure and formation. He explains that there are some examples of urban artifacts whose function has changed more than once, or there are urban elements for which there exists not any particular function. (Rossi, 1982: 46) Here, the stress is on the property of "permanency" in the constitution of the urban elements, and function as an unstable determiner is not a strong one that could endure long enough to structure any urban space.

> *"One is struck by the multiplicity of functions that a building of this type can contain over time and how these functions are entirely independent of the form. At the same time, it is precisely the form that impresses us; we live it and we experience it, and in turn it structures the city." (Rossi in Attoe and Logan, 1989: 17)*

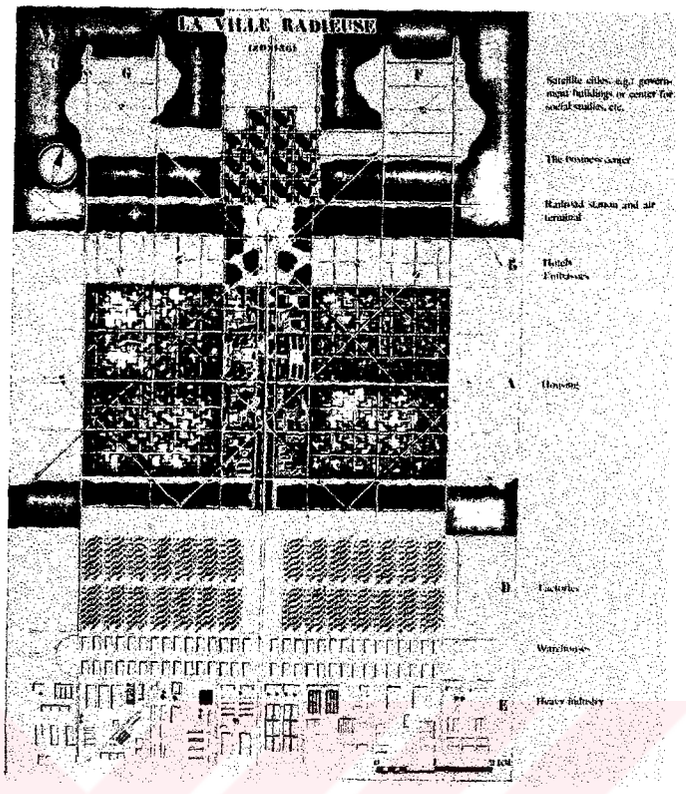


Figure 2.8. La Ville Radieuse (Le Corbusier, 1981: 168)

Moreover, Rossi explains that functionalism presents a simplistic approach towards the city and as a result, denies the complexity of the city. Therefore, he highlights the form of the urban architectural artifacts instead of the function that a building undertakes at a certain moment of the history. As Frampton asserts, Rossi's work is structured on the historical architectonic elements living and sustaining through distinct moments and periods in the continuity of the history. (Frampton, 1997: 29) According to Rossi, places are stronger than people, the fixed scene stronger than the transitionary succession of events. (Rossi, 1982: 84)

> *"Persistence is the generator of the plan, and this generator becomes the principle object of urban research because through an understanding of it, one can rediscover the spatial formation of the city. The generator embodies a concept of persistence, which is reflected in city's physical structures, streets, and urban monuments." (Rossi, 1982: 51)*

Criticisms arose against modernist urban space, especially on the organization of the urban solids because their togetherness does not result in the constitution of livable, and diverse urban spaces in the traditional sense. Therefore, different study areas emerged, - typology and morphology - holding the traditional urban elements like street, square, public buildings and monuments, at the center of their research. In these studies, the city and its buildings do not necessarily seek to satisfy specific needs but accommodate changing patterns of use in timeless forms. (Attoe and Logan, 1989: 15)

This viewpoint in the analysis of urban space occupies a serious place in the literature analysis of urban space. The importance of this approach emanates from the fact that it gives a chance to study urban forms themselves, by isolating research object from any possible impact of any other field. Therefore, in a way, autonomy of urban spatial analysis is provided. Hence, Trancik comes up with a classification of three approaches in urban design theory: *figure-ground theory, linkage theory,* and *place theory*. (Figure 2.9) First two theories are based on the physical formation of the urban spaces with self-reference to their physical properties. The figure-ground theory is founded on the study of two-dimensional relation of buildings as solid masses (ground) to open voids (figure), while unlike the figure-ground theory, which is based primarily on patterns of solids and voids, linkage theory is derived from "lines" connecting one element to another in the urban space. Streets, pedestrian ways, linear open spaces, or other linking elements that physically connect the parts of the city form these lines.

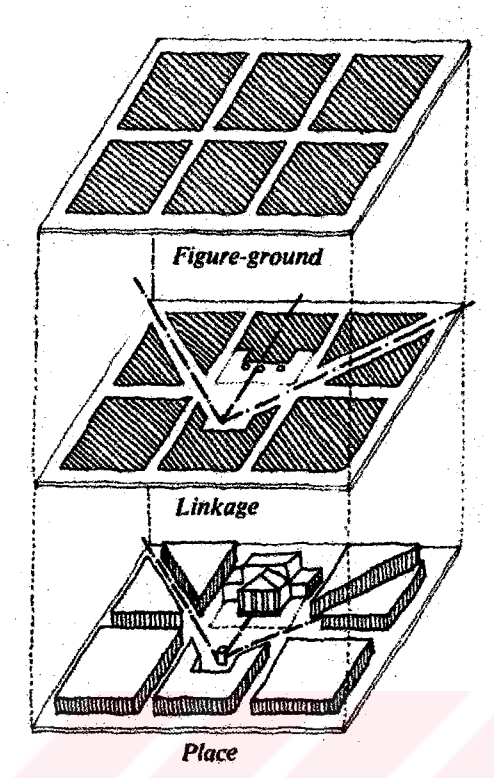


Figure 2.9. Figure-ground, Linkage, Place (Trancik, 1986: 98)

Each urban environment has an existing pattern of solids and voids, often called as fabric. As individual buildings in a city are sustained and completed by the lines of surrounding buildings, the fabric of a city takes form. Steven Holl states that city fabric is formed as urban solids and voids, and these components are arranged to form continuous patterns of blocks and spaces as opposed to individual buildings placed over the landscape. (Holl, 1980: 5) According to Trancik, it is the articulation and differentiation of solids and voids that make up the fabric of the city and establish the physical sequence and visual orientation. (Trancik, 1986: 100) In his book "Finding Lost Space" Trancik comes up with a concept of "positive urban space", where he calls the modernist urban spaces as lost, negative urban spaces. (Figure 2.10) As for him, positive urban space is obtained when urban spaces are clearly defined with the geometry of urban masses. In other words, the easiest way to achieve positive voids is to work with a horizontal building mass where the structures have more coverage than the surrounding open space. (Trancik, 1986: 99)

Conceptually, the space should be carved out of the mass; so that defined, meaningful urban spaces are created.

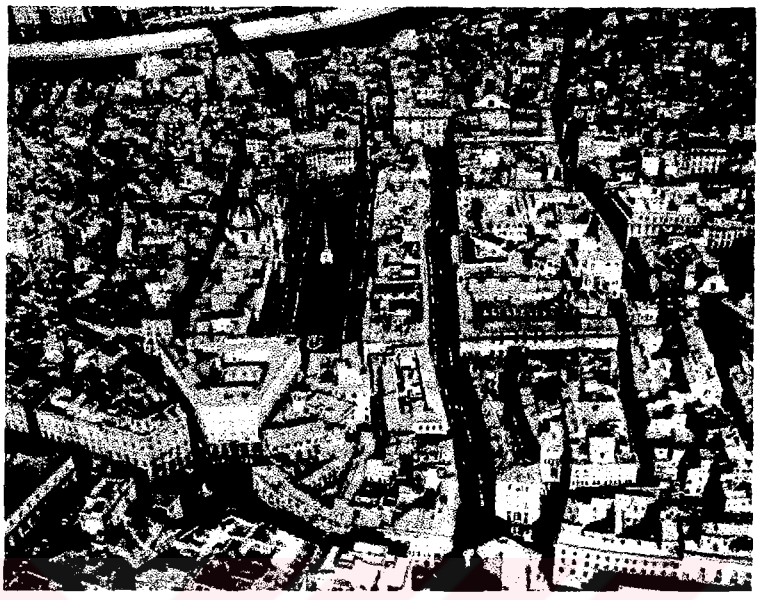


Figure 2.10. Positive urban space (Trancik, 1986: 8)

As for Fumihiko Maki, linkage is the glue of the city. (Figure 2.11) All layers of activity is integrated by the act and this results in the constitution of the urban physical form. Accordingly he defines urban design as a concern with the question of making comprehensible links between discrete things. (Maki in Trancik, 1986: 102) Trancik mentions about three formal types of urban space form; compositional form, megaform, and group form. Compositional form consists of individual abstract buildings composed in a two-dimensional plan. In megaform, individual urban components are united into a larger structure, in a hierarchical and open-ended system. Third type, group form, is the result of incremental accumulation of elements in space along an armature and is particularly typical of the spatial organization of many historic towns. (Trancik, 1986: 107) Rossi, as well, stressed the importance of the street as a communication environment of the city and expressed as:

"The street acquires a major significance, the city is born in a fixed place but the street gives it life. The association of the destiny of the city with communication arteries becomes a fundamental principle of development." (Rossi, 1982: 50)

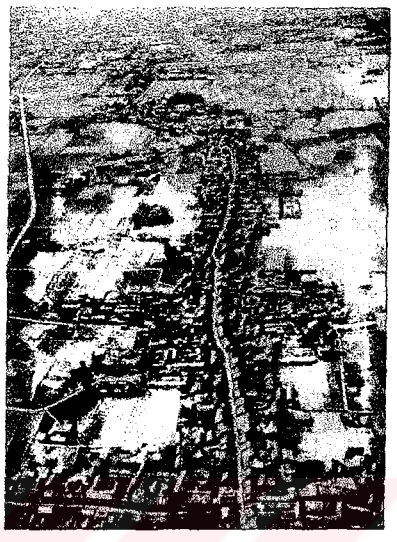


Figure 2.11. Street as an armature unifying the community (Trancik, 1986:109)

The linkage theory is mainly based on the idea of structuring connections between distinct urban components. Linkage elements, pedestrian ways, linear open spaces are idealized as elements that form the necessary relations between urban entities. However, roads, streets, parking spaces, or other linear spaces that Maki calls as armature should be defined by urban solids as Trancik expresses, to achieve positive and vital urban spaces.

In "A New Theory of Urban Design", Alexander also focuses on the positive urban space as a fourth, detailed rule of urban growth. (Figure 2.12) This fourth rule proposes that every building must create coherent and well-shaped public space next to it. Pedestrian space, buildings, gardens, streets, and parking are the five types of elements that Alexander focuses on. Accordingly, in the book, certain subrules are defined to structure the relationships between these elements. The basic relation is constructed on the idea that buildings are the main definers of the spaces like pedestrian space, gardens, streets, and parking. Therefore, Alexander, parallel to Trancik's thoughts, argues that the space created

by the buildings has a positive character, and proposes that: "Building surrounds space, not space surrounds buildings." (Alexander, 1987: 67)

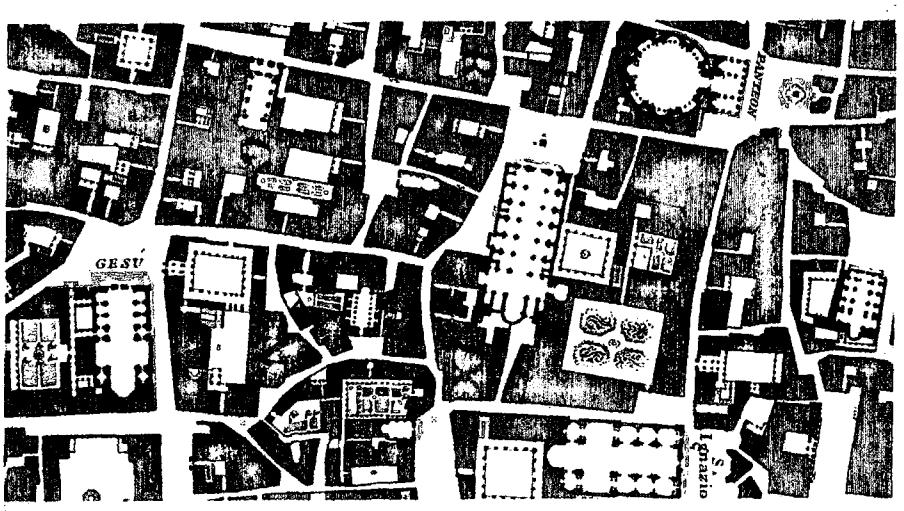


Figure 2.12. Positive urban space (Alexander, 1987:64)

While, the concept of positive urban space implicitly offers definition of urban squares and streets by the continuity of solid blocks, typo-morphological studies introduces streets and squares as persistent components of traditional urban space into the center of attention. An important stance against modernist urban space organizations that recalls historical urban elements, and consequently appreciates the positive urban space is neo-rationalism. Basically, trying to find the fundamental types of the physical setting, -the street, the arcade, the square, the yard, the quarter, the colonnade, the avenue, the boulevard, and the center- is the main target. In fact, the neo-rationalist city is a collage of patterned solids and voids. Attoe and Logan assert that its parts are developing with the tension growing from the inherent opposition of solid and void of figure and ground. (Attoe and Logan, 1989: 14) Ellin interprets this attempt as a tool for achieving the *type*, which began to replace the *model* of the Moderns. (Ellin, 1996: 10) According to Rossi, type is something that is permanent and complex, a logical principle that is prior to form and that constitutes form. Classification in a rational urban architecture takes the form of seeing and

valuing traditional patterns of urban space and building form. Type is a constant and manifests itself with a character of necessity, but even though it is predetermined, it reacts dialectically with technique, function, and style, as well as with both the collective character and the individual moment of the architectural artifact. (Rossi, 1982: 41) Therefore, type should be understood as something that is always in contact with the history, geography, or economy, in contrast to the abstract neutral model concept of the modernists.

Another researcher who regards typological and morphological studies as bases for a new architectural discipline is Leon Krier. (Ellin, 1996: 15) He develops a conception of urban space, which functions as the main organizing element of the urban morphology, and points to the awareness about the history of the city prompting the reconstruction of the street, square, and quarter. Themes of reconstruction for the European city according to Krier are as follows:

> *"A city can only be reconstructed in the forms of streets, squares, and quarters.*
>
> *...The city must be articulated into public and domestic spaces, monuments and urban fabric, squares and streets. (Leon Krier in Ellin, 1996: 18)*

Similarly, Robert Krier expounds aesthetic characteristics of urban space systematically which is classified by type. He indicates two basic forms, which constitute the urban form: the square and the street. (Krier, 1979: 16)

> *"The street. The square. There are almost no other discoveries to be made in architecture." (Rob Krier in Attoe and Logan, 1989: 17)*

His concept of urban space refers to a typological wealth of basic urban forms (types for building sections, elevations, streets, squares, squares with central buildings, open squares building introduced, angled, divided, superimposed squares, circuses, circuses containing buildings, triangular squares, streets...) that should be get from the historical

heritage. (Figure 2.13) Accordingly, Krier asserts to prove the permanency property of type:

> *"As long as man needs two arms and two legs, the scale of his body must be the measure of size for all buildings. That concerns not only the staircases and ceiling height, but also the design of public space in urban context." (Krier, 1979: 62)*

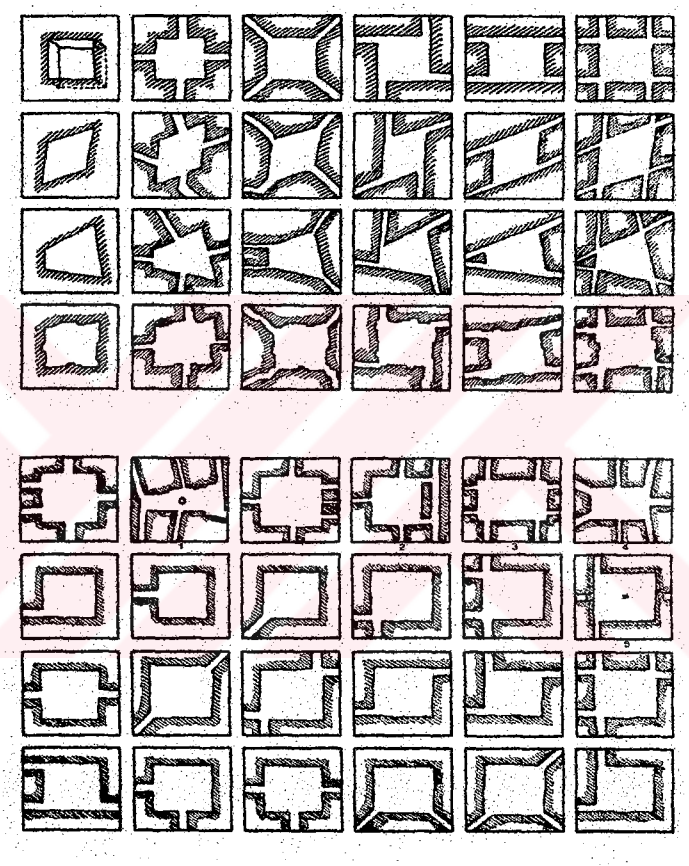


Figure 2.13. Types for urban squares (Krier, 1979: 35)

Therefore, he emphasizes the necessity of a study on the types of urban spaces. He argues that the square must be the first means that man discovered of using urban space, and defines simply that the grouping of houses around an open space produces it. Throughout the history, this courtyard (square) came to bear certain symbolic values, and therefore chosen as a model for holy space, in different cultures, such as, Agora, Forum, cloister or mosque courtyard. On the other hand, Krier defines street as a product of the

spread of a settlement once, houses have been built on all available space around its central square in coherence with his first thesis. (Krier, 1979: 18)

Collin Rowe is another critic of modernist space who urged architects not to ignore the importance of the street, the axis and the role of the building mass as a definer of urban space. He appreciates rather a contextualist approach treating streets and squares as room-like spaces and by emphasizing the outdoor public nature of these spaces at a pedestrian scale. (Rowe and Koetter, 1983)

In fact, when focusing on the idea of positive urban space, the condition of *landownership pattern* should not be forgotten as it has a direct effect on the constitution of urban fabric. In his book "Property Relation and Urban Space", Günay, emphasizes the reflection of property relations on the constitution of urban space. In fact, many scholars working on the topic of urban space choose to preclude this aspect of the field although urban space formations are directly affected by and have an effect on the division pattern and shapes of urban plots and building patterns on these plots. As Rossi states, the shape of plots in a city, their formation and their evolution represents a long history of urban property intimately associated with the city. (Rossi, 1982: 50) Similarly, as for Krier the size, pattern, and orientation of the urban block is the most important element in the composition of public spaces. (Krier in Trancik, 1986: 102)

For instance, at the scale of the street, one of the fundamental elements in the urban landscape is the inhabited real estate and thus the structure of urban real property. Real estate has to do with the registry of land parcel, in which the principal use of the ground is to be constructed. According to Rossi, in the classification of the urban land some considerations can be used that are apparent in urban plans:

"a block of houses surrounded by open space

a block of houses connected to each other and facing the street, constituting a continuous wall parallel to the street itself

a deep block of houses that almost totally occupies the available space houses with closed courts and small interior structures" (Rossi, 1982: 49)

In the third chapter the mutual interaction between property relations and urban space formations will be discussed extensively.

2.4.2 Meaning - Identity - Image

Studies on the meaning, identity, and image of urban space, basically take its roots from the understanding that interprets space as a reflection of the relations between individuals and their built environment. This kind of understanding of space, studied by distinct authors, constitutes a crucial criticism against the abstract and functionalist space understanding of modernism by including the perception skills of the observer. Concepts of meaningfulness, imageability, legibility of places constitute the core of this understanding. Additionally, the concept of place is introduced, therefore abstract and functionalist space understanding is rejected. Accordingly, studying the existential dimensions of place is aimed counter to the other approaches aiming at reaching practical and functional solutions. Norberg-Schulz argues that the conquest of the existential dimension should be the main purpose. He asserts that after decades of abstract "scientific" theory, it is urgent to return to a qualitative, phenomenological understanding of architecture. It does not help to solve practical problems as long as this understanding is lacking. (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 5)

Meaning from a certain environment can be derived as long as there are interactions between the individuals and this environment. Individuals conceptualize meaning in respect to various places. These meanings can change or take different forms in their minds as long as the experiences and interactions increase. The meanings of places may be rooted in the physical setting and objects and activities, but they are not merely a

property of them - rather they are a property of human intentions and experiences. According to Sternberg, of the writers who stress design for meaningfulness, possibly the most influential is Norberg-Schulz. (Sternberg, 2000: 10) Norberg-Schulz stresses that man dwells when he can orient himself and identify himself with an environment, or, in short, when he experiences the environment as meaningful. (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 5) Moreover, by stating that when the environment is meaningful, man feels at home he signifies the importance of meaning for human beings. (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 28)

Interrogating the meaning of a particular built-up environment ends up with questions related to the occurrence of space. In fact, Norberg-Schulz's statement (based on the philosophy and vocabulary of Martin Heidegger) is chiefly constructed on the phenomenology of space. Accordingly, he comes up with the concept of *Genius loci*, spirit of place. Since ancient times the *Genius loci*, or spirit of place, has been recognized as the concrete reality man has to face and come to terms in his daily life. Norberg-Schulz insists that architecture means to visualize the *Genius loci* and the task of the architect is to create meaningful places to help man to dwell. (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 27) In fact, the basic contrast between the concepts of space and place arises strongly through the phrase of *Genius loci*. Basically a place can be described as a space, which has a distinct character. If in abstract, physical terms, space is a purposeful void with the possibility of physically linking things, it only becomes place when it is given a contextual meaning derived from cultural or regional content. (Trancik, 1986: 112) Additionally, it is important to remember Van Eyck's short but useful definition: "Space in the image of man is place." According to him, whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more. (Van Eyck in Lewis, 1968: 96)

Genius loci is integrated with another concept, namely identity, for it at the same time refers to the character or the personality of space. Accordingly, "*Genius loci*" has the capacity to reflect the history, tradition, nature, and other themes that heightens meaning

and therefore constitutes and solidifies identity. This stance designates the permanence of identity(ies) of a particular place, just like formalist approaches towards urban space design highlight the persistence of forms throughout the history. A workable urban environment requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity. This is called identity, not in the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality or oneness. According to Lynch, identity of a certain place occurs as long as recognizable and coherent patterns of urban blocks and buildings are reached. In his famous research on three American cities he differentiates five elements -paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks-that help individuals in understanding their built-up environment. (Figure 2.14) The essence of the book is based on the idea that urban environments cannot reflect clear and coherent identities unless these basic components are not used effectively.

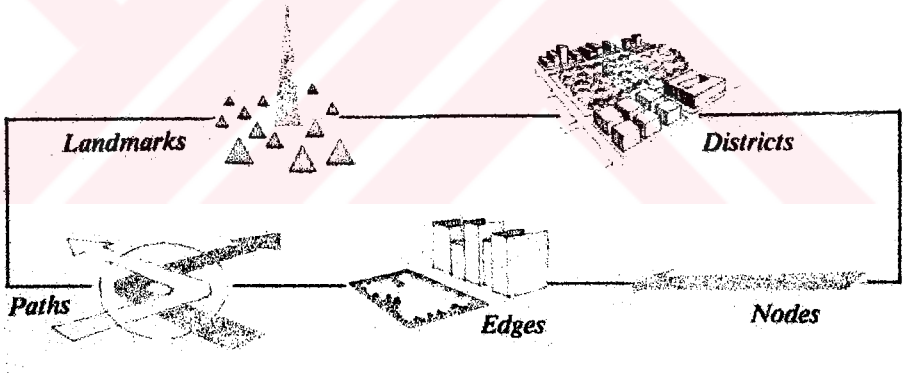


Figure 2.14. Basic components of urban image (Lynch, 1960:12)

On the other hand, Relph argues that identity of a place is not defined only by its physical setting and appearance, but also with the meanings or symbols attached to that place. (Relph, 1976: 58) Every different place exposes a distinct meaning for the individuals, and this is a property that manifests their uniqueness. In fact, this conscious stress on the identity carries a significant meaning when standardized modernist urban space implementations are considered. As Lewis states:

"Urban renewal implementations had high standards of construction and met the needs of the society as outlined by official sociologists, but they lacked some very vital quality; a quality which was undoubtedly necessary in order to achieve active and creative grouping of houses. This missing quality - essential to man's sense of well being was identity." (Lewis, 1967: 17)

It is important to remember that a similar opposition was declared by TEAM 10, particularly by Smithsons. With the concept of identity and association they rejected internationalism. They asserted that every group has its own identity. They conceived the urban structure as an organization of communities with distinct identities gathered along the line. According to them it was the line, or the linear organization of the city structure that brings forth the association and identity. (Günay, 1988: 36) In fact, this quest carries a certain parallelism to the identity discussion of Lynch.

Despite the fact that concepts of image and identity are mostly used together to refer to the uniqueness of a certain place, they have distinct meanings. However, it is true that every place has both identity and an image. While identity refers to a more collectively shared concept, image is a combination of this identity with how a place is perceived. (Montgomery, 1998. 100) To individuals, the image of a place is therefore their set of feelings and impressions about that place. Similarly, according to Relph, every individual has his or her own personality, memories, emotions, and intentions that create the image of that place accordingly, while there exist rather a *consensus identity* of a place, which can be the public identity or mass identity. This concept is mainly based on the commonly agreed physical features and other components of place among the different groups of interest and knowledge. (Relph, 1976: 58)

An outstanding example of stressing the importance of attaching meaning to the man-made environments is Lynch's research "The Image of the City. Lynch stresses the psychology of place, bound up in the notion of "mental maps", which individuals use as internal guides to urban places. (Montgomery, 1998: 101) Two properties, imageability and

legibility, of urban space take their roots from this study. Lynch declares that in addition to the concept of identity, imageability and legibility are prerequisite for designing urban spaces. According to him, imageability is quality in a physical object, which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer, while the legibility refers to the mental picture of the city held by the users on the street. (Lynch in Trancik, 1986: 120)

An individual's knowledge of a city is, according to Lynch, a function of imageability of the urban environment: that is the extent to which the components of the environment make a strong impression on the individual. In turn imageability is influenced by a city's legibility: the degree to which the different elements of the city are organized into a coherent and recognizable pattern. (Montgomery, 1998: 100) As declared by Lynch, a legible city would be one whose districts or landmarks or pathways are easily identifiable and are easily grouped into an overall pattern. (Lynch, 1960: 5) Mentioning about the legibility of a certain environment implicitly states the idea that urban spaces can be read. According to Ellin, conceptualization of built-up environments as a text arises against the confusion and fear generated by modern architecture. Therefore, a desire occurred to diminish these by humanizing the city, and making the city legible was one means of realizing this target. Ellin declares that:

> *"The text became a metaphor for the city and there was an effort to read the landscape." (Ellin, 1996: 45)*

Clearly with these ideas in mind, most recent city development, new towns and suburbs are environments that have failed to create to a concept of place that responds to the social, cultural needs. Symbols and meanings are missing in our built environments; the continuity of time with successive layers intact is lacking, while on the other hand real estate economics has became driving forces of urban developments.

2.4.3 Activity: Diversity, Vitality, and Intensity

Although functionalist town making ideas seem to be concerned with the space production on behalf of the public interest, in fact no real concepts and theories were developed that focused on the diverse spatial expectations of the community. Interactions between the society and urban space were out of interest, and the result was abstract, alien architectural objects flowing on the undefined, leftover open urban landscape, idealized as "greenery". Modern urban space was not a correct representation of the contemporary "multiple" society. (Van Eyck in Frampton, 1997: 276) In other words, complex behavior patterns of the society could not able to find its reflection on the physical space.

Voices that rose from the group of Team 10 were the first ones that introduced the concepts of "human association" or "identity" rather than "functional organization", although they constituted not a total resistance to CIAMist urban space ideas. (Ellin, 1996: 276) What they did was responding to the simplistic model of the urban space by positing a more "complex" urban pattern that would be more sensitive to the issue of identity. Their critical approach resulted in the creation of a more precise relation between physical form of the settlement and socio-psychological needs of the society. (Frampton, 1997: 274) Below is a quotation from Alison and Peter Smithson that effectively summarizes their space understanding.

> *"The situation for the modern architect today is fundamentally the same, we are still functionalists and we still accept the responsibility for the community as a whole, but today the word functional does not merely mean mechanical as it did thirty years ago. Our functionalism means accepting the realities of the situation, with all their contradictions and confusions, and trying to do something with them. In consequence we have to create architecture and a town planning, which -through built form- can make meaningful the change, the growth, the flow, the vitality of the community." (Alison and Peter Smithson in Banham, 1966: 72)*

Similarly, Bakema and Van den Broek were concerned about the concept of the establishment of association of various buildings groups offering different choices. Consequently, they proposed the "line" -pedestrian street- as the linking element of various groups instead of the abstract green space of CIAM. (Günay, 1988: 34) Again Giancarlo de Carlo stressed the pre-industrial city and its complexity against the functional diagrammatic space organization of CIAM understanding. In fact, conceptualization of the pedestrian street as a unifying element instead of the green open areas of CIAM is another inference from the spatial approaches of Team 10. As for Frampton, it was Smithson's first-hand street life experience -the presence of life on both sides of the Bye Law Street had clearly been responsible for its social vitality- that revealed their notions of identity and association. Importance of street life, or pedestrian line as a means of providing the basic association of individuals can easily be inferred from the projects prepared for the meetings of Team 10 or competitions as well. For instance, in the Haupstadt Berlin Competition, (Figure 2.15) Smithsons proposed a circulation system for the pedestrians above the existing street grid explained it as:

> *"In order to keep ease of movement, we propose a multi-level city with residential streets in-the-air. They are linked together in a multi-level continuous complex, connected where necessary to work and to those ground elements that are necessary at each level of association. Our hierarchy of association is woven into a modulated continuum representing the true complexity of human associations." (Lewis, 1967: 26)*

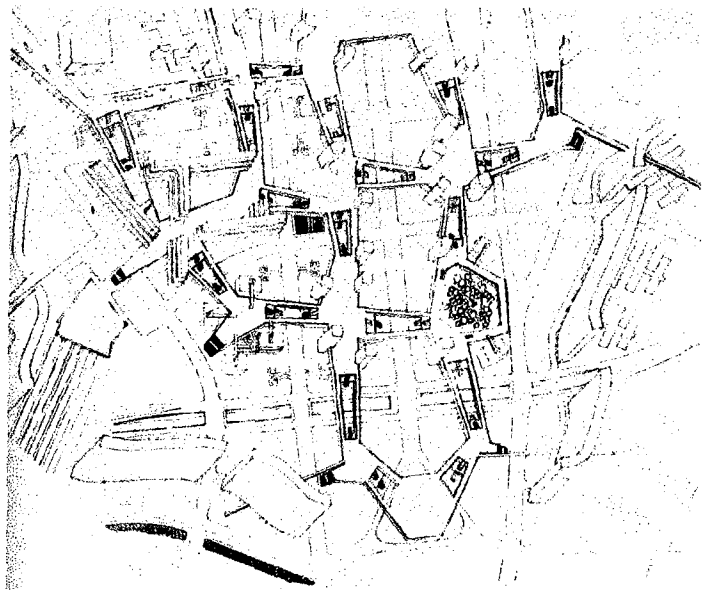


Figure 2.15. Project for Berlin-Haupstadt, 1958 (Frampton, 1997: 275)

According to Frampton, no other Team 10 member, but Aldo van Eyck -who had the benefit of an anthropological experience- attacked the alienating abstraction of modern architecture. In fact, Van Eyck was the only one who stated that the "current" architectural profession was incapable of developing either an aesthetic or a strategy for dealing with the urban realities of multicultural society.

It can be concluded that Team 10 members developed a critical stance towards the mechanical space organizations and absence of relation between the physical urban form and the social structure. In fact, they were mainly focused on the growth and movement structures of cities, but as well as on the concepts like vitality of pedestrian streets or diversity of building types. However, their approaches did not completely succeeded in exposing an urban structure model to bridge the divide between the physical space attributes and social behavior patterns.

At this point, it is important to remember Jacob's approach for the definition of place. She states that places play host to a community of strangers. (Chapman, 1996: 224) According to Montgomery, Jane Jacobs was the first to explore urban quality from the premise that *activity* both produces and mirrors the quality in the built environment.

(Montgomery, 1998: 96) Similarly, as for Sternberg, Jacobs is preeminent among those who have a more gregarious concept of the urbanite who partakes of the city life because of its social, economic, spatial vitality. (Sternberg, 2000: 268) In this context, *activity* is to be interpreted as a sign that represents the existence of relations between man and space. Accordingly, Bradshaw states that activities can be random or organized, conflicting or supporting, accessible or exclusive, but they are almost all a response to the characteristics and attractions of people. (Bradshaw, 1996: 111) Hence, by stressing the concept of "activity", Jacobs pointed out the importance of events performed by the society and their reflections on the urban space. As for Jacobs, mixture of primary functions (eating, shopping, working...), short building blocks and streets, and existence of many corners, therefore permeability of the urban fabric, high concentration of people or intensity, and mixture of building types, ages, and sizes are prerequisite for that the activity occurs. Moreover, Jacobs states that existence of urban choices constitute the urban life. Multiplication and specialization of distinct activities found their body in things like, grocery stores, pottery, schools, movie houses, candy stores, florists, art shows, immigrants' clubs, hardware stores, eating places of many kinds, and so on. (Jacobs, 1961) Obviously, urban street as the very place that hosts all these diverse choices stays at the center of Jacob's study.

> *"Think of a city and what comes to mind? Its streets. If the city's streets look interesting, the city looks interesting; if they look dull, the city looks dull." (Jacobs, 1961: 39)*

Parallel to Jacobs, Montgomery highlights urban street as a multi-purpose space enclosing public contact, public social life, people watching, promenading, transacting, and culture. It is the place that brings together people who do not know each other. (Montgomery, 1998: 113)

If carefully studied, three concepts: -diversity, vitality, and intensity- that are common to many writers, like Jacobs, Chapman, Bradshaw, Montgomery, can be revealed

that they are preconditions for the emergence of activity on the urban street. Accordingly, it can be argued that if activity is the necessary issue for the occurrence of the performance of the society in the physical environment, then these three separated but related themes are required for the occurrence of the activity.

Bradshaw defines *diversity* as a combination of townscape scale and qualities, mix and range of uses and functions, and the commercial, cultural, and leisure activities that are generated. (Bradshaw, 1996: 112) Therefore, different dimensions of diversity exist, such as land use (residential, existence of various shops, street markets, availability of cinemas, theaters, bars, cafés, pubs, restaurants, presence of spaces, including gardens, squares and corners), building type (age, size, form...), usage hours of the urban space (day and night usages), and the profile of the users (people of different ages, of different cultures, of different social classes...) Superimposition of all these properties in the urban space support each other mutually, and build together the public realm. Montgomery states that it is the public realm and associated semi-public spaces, which provide the terrain for social interaction and a significant part of a city's transaction base; the market square, the street vendor, the shop frontage, the sidewalk cafe. (Montgomery, 1998: 101) Diversity along an urban street can be supported both by creating the facility diversity horizontally and vertically. In other words, different functions may be housed in different floors. Utilization of the ground floors for shops, can create an attraction for the residents watching the streets from upper floors.

Vitality is the measure known as footfall or pedestrian flow, which involves counting of people passing a particular point at a particular time. It refers to the numbers of people in and around the street (pedestrian flow) across different times of the day and night, the uptake of facilities the number of cultural events. (Bradshaw, 1996: 118) The word itself implies liveliness and animation. In the long term "urban vitality" can only be achieved where there is a complex diversity of all classes counted above. Therefore, variety

in an urban space should be satisfied so that vitality can be reached; however *intensity* is another criteria that should be fulfilled so that vitality can be achieved.

As for the concentration of people, Jacobs points out that intensity and crowding are different facts. If buildings in any particular area contain facilities of the right kind, successful densities can be reached without the feeling of overcrowding. Hence, it can be concluded that intensity should be found together with diversity, so that monotonous crowds can be prevented.

2.5 Designing Settlements for Community: Neighborhood Design and New Urbanism

Basing its space understanding on some of the Jacob's ideas, the movement known as New Urbanism, proposed making codes for creating a new generation of land regulations. These codes are basically aimed at generating a structured neighborhood where street vitality is required and building blocks establish relations with public urban spaces. Chapman evaluates this movement as an echo of the neighborhood design ideas of 1920' and 1930's where most facilities in mixed use are within walking distance. (Chapman, 1996: 224) This approach puts the neighborhood design at the center of the urban space production and reveals the argument that the fundamental concept is to invest in neighborhoods and people rather than programmes and institutions. (Calthorpe, 1995: 28)

> *"Neighborhoods are conceptualized as the physical and social expression of community and its sustaining infrastructure. Balanced neighborhoods bring together the social and commercial centers of community." (Calthorpe, 1995: 27)*

Clear connections to the region, between neighborhoods and within communities are essential. Fundamental steps in a consolidated planning process are clarifying the structure of neighborhoods within the city and identifying their critical links -social,

cultural, civic, economic, and physical- to the region. (Calthorpe, 1995: 26) Calthorpe defines the fundamental physical elements of a neighborhood as walkable streets, human-scaled blocks, and usable public spaces.

Parallel to Jacobs's thesis, diversity is the key concept in New Urbanism for creating resilient economies and rich local cultures. Heterogeneous communities are considered as having qualities that can generate opportunities for individuals and families. As for Calthorpe the greatest challenges and opportunities exist in neighborhoods with cultural and racial diversity. (Calthorpe, 1995: 26)

According to Lennertz, America since World War II is largely the result of conventional subdivision and planned unit development (PUD) ordinances. Similarly, Calthorpe interprets that mixed-use neighborhoods have been methodically zoned out of existence for outdated reasons. (Calthorpe, 1996: 27) This outdated reason is obviously the smoke stack industries dominated in urban economies and resulted in separation of functions at the beginning of the century. As for Lennertz, these ordinances dictated three criteria for urbanism; the free and rapid flow of traffic, parking in quantity, and the rigorous separation of uses. Therefore, dense car traffic and social isolation had become the central consequent experience of the public realm. (Lennertz, 1991: 23) Alternatively, Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk developed certain principles for walkable mixed-use neighborhood areas, called as TND; The Traditional Neighborhood Ordinance.

> *"The neighborhood area is limited in size, with clear edges on a focused center*
>
> *Shops, workplaces, schools, and residences for all income groups are located in close proximity.*
>
> *Streets are seized and detailed to serve equitably the needs of the automobile and the pedestrian.*
>
> *Building size and character is regulated spatially define streets and squares*

Squares and parks are distributed and designed as specialized places for social activity and recreation.

Well-placed civic buildings act as symbols of the community identity and provide places for purposeful assembly. "

Concluding Remarks

These themes discussed above (urban physical form, meaning, identity, image, variety, vitality, and intensity) constitute basic concerns of urban design, and provide designers with necessary knowledge and criteria for analyzing and creating built-up urban environments.

First theme is concentrated on the togetherness patterns of urban physical components and gives clues about for creating positive urban spaces. Scholars indicate that continuity of building forms bring about urban spaces with a definition, such as streets and squares. These two basic urban space elements have been destroyed initially by modernist town planning ideas of CIAM and later by the urban renewal projects.

Next, lack of identity or a sense of belonging to a particular space is another result that was experienced as a result of the modernist urban space understanding. In fact, if carefully examined, it can be observed that there was no conscious concern for reaching meaningful man-made environments. The main concern was rather on the biological and physical needs of man. It was a program created for curing the disadvantages created by the heavy industries in the cities. Prevention of pollution of air and water became the primary aims of urban space making. However, these necessary concerns did not result in the sufficient environments with which individuals can identify themselves or have the feeling of belonging to somewhere.

Lastly, another result was certainly the segregation affect. Different functions were to be located in different places, and this caused in a weakening process of the urban life. As we have discussed so far, diversity of activities are indispensable in an urban

setting. Neighborhoods, which merely consist of dwellings do not live therefore they should be supported by the existence of different commercial activities, especially by small specialized shops which may result in the increase of people lingering in the streets, which as a result create the public sphere.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN TURKEY AS A FRAMEWORK FOR ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE

3.1 Basic Themes of Urban Development Planning

After defining urban design and concentrating on the basic principles for urban design, now it is better to focus on the urban space production processes practiced in Turkey, and therefore to point out the gap between planning and architectural professions. The word "gap" is used for describing the missing phase in the urban environment production procedure where collaboration of these disciplines is required to achieve at both planned and designed urban spaces. Actually, as a result of this gap urban spaces are not designed at all, while urban architecture i.e. constitution of a livable urban fabric, is affected negatively. Architectural products come out as abstract objects. These individual structures do not have any reference neither to other urban solids nor to the urban voids.

Accordingly, besides this gap, the existing one-way relationship between these professions from planning to architecture is not healthy either. Namely, planning decision processes negatively influence architectural practice in the city. Urban space production

procedures do not enclose a phase where criteria for urban space design are provided, discussed or decided. Consequently, planning decisions become effective to a large extent when physical environments emerge. This chapter is intended to provide understanding about the direct influence of planning on the implementation of architectural practice. For instance, planning decisions, such as, *population distribution (density), floor area ratios, maximum building heights, for plot division patterns, and boundaries of construction area*... bring about repetition of a typical three-dimensional object in the city. They result in the creation of neighborhoods without any character, urban spaces without sense of place, that is to say, cities without identity. Accordingly architectural practice does not have much word to say about the constitution of the architecture of the city, and about its streets, or about any open urban space, relation of buildings to open spaces.

In this framework, it is essential to put forward the principles and concepts in a more detailed way on which urban development planning in Turkey rests. Therefore, it would be possible to analyze the urban space production processes behind the existing urban spaces. The aim is to find out whether there exist any principles for a design understanding behind urban development procedures, and to determine what they are. Initially, it is not revolutionary to say that existing urban development laws, regulations, and plans are products of an understanding that defends the necessity of isolating different urban functions. i.e. zoning. Indeed, today many researchers agree with each other on the idea that the existing urban development system represents modern town planning approaches imported from western tradition. (Akçura, 1971: 69; Bademli, 1993: 227; Pamir, 2001: 23; Tekeli, 2001: 14) Still, existing urban development laws in Turkey are guided by certain concepts that were highlighted at the beginning of the century as a result of modernist planning understanding. Urban development plans tend to exhibit comprehensive and deductive approaches, aiming at planning next twenty years of an urban

settlement although being not so effective in practice. Yet even to complete these plans is mostly not possible. (Akçura, 1971: 75)

Major objectives of Urban Development Planning (İmar Planlaması) in Turkey are public good, welfare of the society, fulfillment of public justice, and happiness of the society. These aims can be derived from the following definition of urban development regulation:

> *"The objective of this regulation is; to construct a healthy structure of the physical environment, which has vital effects on human, society, environment relations and family pleasure, and to provide the balance between the conservation and usage of the urban land, and to guide the selection of land to invest on and tendency of urban growth, and to decide the urban development plans and the bases of changes of these plans". (Regulation On the Composition and Modifications of Urban Development Plans, Article 1, 1985 (İmar Planı Yapılması ve Değişikliklerine Ait Esaslara Dair Yönetmelik))*

To realize these targets urban planning regulations focus on three basic themes. These are *creation of healthy environment, rationalization in the use of urban land, and setting standards*. In fact, they display a resemblance to the CIAMist modern town planning concepts mentioned in the previous chapter. A discussion on these concepts, their positive and negative affects in the formation of urban environments, their consistencies and inconsistencies with the existing social, economic, and spatial structures of Turkey is necessary. Indeed it is possible to observe certain traces of these CIAMist concepts in urban development laws, regulations, and plans.

Basic tools used in reaching *healthy environments* are rationalization and categorization of urban usages, separation of main functions, namely functional zoning.

Basic tools used in reaching *rationalization* in the use of urban lands are rational distribution of properties, rational geometry used in the preparation of implementation plans

Basic tools used in *standardization* are provision of certain standards in green areas, educational units, or health services in the city, provision of standard in population density for fulfillment of healthy environments.

3.1.1 Healthy Environment

Functional zoning is accepted as a keystone in reaching healthy environments. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, according to the functional zoning principle, functions like dwelling, working, and recreation, should be separated from each other. (Le Corbusier, 1969: 101) In fact, this principle emerged from the fact that heavy industries next to neighborhoods create pollution of air and water, and consequently result in the emergence of certain serious diseases for humankind. Actually this fact was harshly experienced at the beginning of the twentieth century in the west. Afterwards application of functional segregation became ossified and turned out to be an indispensable principle of modernist town planning principles.

Accordingly, a parallel approach in development plans of Turkey was inspired by this principle, and separated these basic urban functions. Yet it is open to debate how much, such kind of a decision would fit to existing urban structures in the country. Especially, after the creation of a district formed by housing blocks only, realization of transformations of ground floors into commercial units, such as fruit and vegetable store, butcher, pastry shop, hairdresser, -or even transformations of whole housing blocks into companies, big firms, or management buildings can only be interpreted as urban occurrences against functional zoning principle of the urban development planning system.

Furthermore, certain green areas isolated from zones residential zones are created under the framework of the functional zoning principle. However, mostly, these areas stay as vacant fields, where people arrive at by their private cars, and which only live at weekends. Isolated playgrounds surrounded by high fences are results of the same tendency

as well. As a result, the approach behind this understanding is the separation and packaging of different urban activities that brings about the isolated and vast urban spaces.

3.1.2 Rationalization in the Use of Urban Land

It can be inferred from urban development laws that one of the main aims behind the creation of urban development plans is to make usage of urban land in a most rational way. Insertion of functional order into the urban space production procedures, that is, organizing the structure of the physical environments by the provision of certain functions constitutes one of the main signifiers of this approach. Provision of particular percentages of green areas and social equipments is an appropriate case for this principle. In fact, on the other hand, greenery calculated per person is an extension of hygiene discussions as well.

Another dimension of rationalization of urban land displays itself in the distribution of private properties. Main reason behind rationalization is satisfaction of the public justice. Explanation for provision of typical urban plots lies behind this fact. Accordingly, same floor area ratio for whole neighborhood is designated. The reason for the rational geometry of urban plots drawn by a cartographer in an orthogonal order is a continuation of the same logic as well. Besides the rationalization of urban plots, rationalization of movement system becomes one of the significant subject matters of urban planning system. Even the existence of cul-de-sacs that are traditional urban elements of Turkish culture is accepted as a mistake, and the circulation structures in the historical neighborhoods are destroyed in the name of rational circulation system.

3.1.3 Setting Standards

In fact, what kind of a usage of urban land is the most rational usage is open to discussion. However, accordingly, the answer to this question is given in the "regulation on the composition and modification of urban development plan" through certain universal standards. Coefficient numbers of square meters per person for different public equipment

areas, for instance greenery, education unit, cultural and social spaces per person, are clarified in these lists of standards. (Table 1) For example, according to the tenth issue in this regulation, these standards are valid in the preparation of every plan in any scale. Numbers and ratios specified through these standards are constant for urban development plans of different cities.

Table-1. Urban Social and Technical Equipment (Regulation On The Composition and Modifications of Urban Development Plan, 1985: Appendix 1)

Population	0-15000 (m^2/person)	15000-45000 (m^2/person)	45000-100000 (m^2/person)	100000+ (m^2/person)
Kindergarten	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,7
Primary School	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Secodary School	1,8	1,8	1,8	1,8
High School	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Greenary(Active)	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0
Health Services	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.5
Social and Cultural Buildings	0.3	0.5	0.8	3.0
Administrative Buildings	2.2	3.0	3.5	4.6
Commercial Buildings	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.5
Technical Equipment (exl. Roads and Parking)	0.1	0.2	1.0	2.0

There are standards designated for population distribution as well. This subject has a direct relevance to the creation of healthy settlement concept discussed above. These standards are generally numbers that indicate globally how many people will live in one hectare, which is based on the concern that if population density exceeds these standards, then unhealthy living conditions emerge; in terms of water and air pollution, or insufficiency of technical equipments, and social facilities. One significant issue on this subject is the lack of harmony between universally accepted density standards and certain variables, such as, floor area ratios or maximum building heights. As these variables, at the

same time, determine population numbers indirectly, which sometimes do not match with the universally accepted density standards determined independently apart from the realities of that particular area. (Akçura, 1971: 78)

Another subject that comes out at this point is the existence of certain standards related to the road widths, measurements of building plots, floor area ratios and maximum building heights, which are fixed in urban development plans and planning and building regulations. Indeed, all of them are outcomes of a deductive and comprehensive approaches based on the idea of standardization mentioned above. Furthermore, what they produce in the end is a general predeterminism which even makes decisions about the measurement of street widths, building plots, buildings, entrance facades, inclination of roofs... which means, urban elements that set up the urban whole are not examined according to their particular spatial, social, and economic contexts, but according to general and predetermined rules.

Actually, the thing to criticize here is the way the standards are used in the urban space production processes, rather than their existence. For instance very ironically, urban development regulations of many Turkish cities are obtained in reference to a regulation named "Typical Urban Development Regulation for Municipalities", one case of which is to be found in the "Urban Development Law" (İmar Kanunu). (Typical Urban Development Regulation for Municipalities, 1985 (Belediyeler Tip Yönetmeliği)) As a result, identical and monotonous urban spaces without identity, excluding diversity in form, image, and activity are created. In actual fact, an urban development system dominates that is focused on quantitative problems of urban space in Turkey. Although it is essential to solve quantitative problems, this attempt is not enough to challenge to create urban spaces with certain quality.

3.1.4 Private Property Relations

The effect of property relations on the production of urban development plans is indispensable. In contrast to former concepts, landownership pattern in Turkey reveals an opposition to the CIAMist urban space production understanding. If remembered, an approach that results from the "Modern Town Planning" ideas was the assumption that shaping cities according to the expectations of private interest would create an unhealthy and unjust development, and for this reason it is necessary to interfere with this process for the sake of the public good. (Tekeli, 2001: 27) As it was mentioned, rejection of subdivision of urban land was one of the essential principles of modernist planning. - although it was not elaborated in detail how this principle would be realized by Le Corbusier or others.- Similarly urban development plans in our country are created as documents that bring arrangements and instructions for the development of urban land in the name of the public interest. In the definition of urban development plan, this issue is underlined as "satisfaction of family and society well-being" as well. However, quite the reverse, private property relations, real estate patterns in the country are one of the major determinants of the urban environments. As different authors also asserted it as well, the decisions brought by urban development plans usually protect private interests in countries like Turkey where private property relations dominate. (Altaban, Kızılgün, Sevinç, Tokatlı, 1980: 146) Existing landownership pattern made of small lots result in the piecemeal subdivision of urban land. Such that, today researchers define the urban development plans as tools that serve for the distribution of the surplus value created due to the urban land and accumulated money in the city for the benefit of the individuals. (Aktüre, 1980: 234) So, it would not be wrong to define the urban space production process practiced by the urban development planning in Turkey as a system that is converted into a set of regulation by means of certain concepts and principles exposed at the beginning of the century. But

despite the stress on the issues like public interest, public good, public justice, and welfare of the society, this is a system that performs initially on the behalf of private interest.

Hence we can conclude that imported conceptual frameworks can be valid only if they fit to the existing facts of the country. For instance, standardization, one of the imported approaches mentioned before, complied with rapid urbanization process in the country especially after 1950's. This process brought together a specific mode of urban space production excluding urban space design processes. Nevertheless, the principle that suggests planning on behalf of the public good mostly remained behind the existing private property relations in the implementation of urban development plans. Transformation of green areas into dwellings at a rate as high as 40.2 percent, which is the highest ratio amongst the urban development plan modification causes, is an outcome of this private property bias. (Günay in Aktüre, 1980: 228)

3.2 Urban Development Planning Procedure as an Urban Space Production Method

The question of which kind of processes, urban development planning passes through, is significant as far as urban end products are concerned. In other words, for architects, understanding current procedures carry significance, since planning procedures have direct influences on the architectural production practices in urban environments. Accordingly, the role of the urban designers and architects are clearly defined by these processes. These professionals should develop an understanding and assessment especially if re-defining existing role distribution, deciding their activity areas becomes necessary. To be able to analyze this process, plans produced in different scales, actors taking place in the preparation and implementation of these plans, and roles that these actors undertake should be distinguished. Now, let us elaborate existing urban space production procedures in

special reference to the "Regulation On The Composition and Modifications of Urban Development Plan", and "Urban Development Regulation of Greater Ankara Municipality" (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi İmar Yönetmeliği).

3.2.1 Zoning and Construction Plans

Basically, it is possible to mention about two different urban development plan types in Turkey. First type is "Zoning and Construction Plans" (Nâzım İmar Planı), which are prepared by metropolitan municipalities and approved by metropolitan municipality assemblies. (Urban Development Regulation of Greater Ankara Municipality, Article 29) These plans can be prepared in different scales. Zoning and construction plans are defined in the "Regulation On The Composition and Modifications of Urban Development Plan" as follows:

> *"Zoning and Construction Plans" are plans that display general land use decisions, that fix population densities, and building densities when necessary, development sizes, directions and principles of different settlement areas, and transportation systems, solutions for the problems of transportation system." (Regulation On The Composition and Modifications of Urban Development Plan, 1999:73)*

According to the principles defined above, zoning and construction plans are prepared to make decisions on land uses for the most rational usage of urban lands, on the densities of population and buildings for the creation of a healthier urban environment, and on the organization and improvement of transportation systems according to the development tendencies of cities. It is important to note that only existing or possible quantitative problems of the city are scrutinized in the preparation of zoning and construction plans. Indeed, these concerns match with the principles of modern town planning that were introduced at the beginning of this chapter. The quality of urban physical formation, urban form, urban visual relations, and their interaction with the existing and possible sociological structure and psychological dimensions are not the

subject matters of zoning and construction plans although as a result of the decisions of these plans, such issues will be affected directly or indirectly. The question of identity of urban areas and cities is completely neglected in these plans. In fact, there exist a doubtful conviction behind such a decision mechanism. This conviction is that if urban environments are produced according to the standards of legal planning principles, physically healthy structures will be achieved and this end product will be the best one for the public from spatial, sociological, and psychological viewpoints as well.

3.2.2 Implementation Plans

Another product of the process, "Implementation Plans" (Uygulama İmar Planı), which are prepared by borough municipalities in 1/1000 scale, takes place after the preparation and approval of zoning and construction plans. These plans are legalized with the approval of the mayor of the metropolitan municipality based on the decision of the borough municipality assembly. (Urban Development Regulation of Greater Ankara Municipality, Article 29) Implementation plans are defined in the "Regulation On The Composition and Modifications of Urban Development Plan" as follows:

> *"Implementation Plans" are plans that display building plot divisions of different regions, the density and order of these building plots, and roads in detail according to the bases of zoning and construction plans." (Regulation On The Composition and Modifications of Urban Development Plan, 1999: 74)*

Therefore, the implementation plans designate basically measurements of roads, sidewalks, and plot subdivisions according to the decisions of zoning and construction plans. Additionally, floor area ratios, maximum building heights, and boundaries of construction areas are again designated in these plans in reference to the zoning and construction plans and regulations. This phase of the process can be interpreted as follows: By dividing the urban land into pieces for the preparation of the constructions, again, the

discussions inserted above, -general urban form, formation, visual relations, and interactions with the society- are neglected in this phase of the process as well. Furthermore, these plans contain certain deterministic decisions that will directly affect the matters, such as, floor area ratios, maximum building heights, and construction area boundaries.

3.2.3 Actors and Their Roles in the Production of Urban Space

There are a certain number of actors that participate in the urban space production process through urban development plans. These actors are basically the municipality, -which serves on the behalf of the public and is evaluated by the public- the technical staff, -city planner, urban designer, and architect- the land owner, the developer, and the public, -different forms of which are city citizens, certain civil organizations, inhabitants users...-. The tasks of these actors are organized and determined by the running process. This organization is an effective factor in the urban space creation procedure and determines the quality of the end product. At the outset, municipality chooses a city planner, an urban designer, or an architect, which have certain kind of qualifications and experiences defined in the Sufficiency Regulation for Persons and Institutions Undertaking Production of Urban Development Plans (İmar Planlarının Yapımını Yükümlenecek Müellif ve Müellif Kuruluşların Yeterlilik Yönetmeliği) But whoever the individual, whatever his/her discipline, the decision patterns of his/her are defined by the very predeterministic rules of the laws or regulations.

After the preparation and approval stages, zoning and construction plans are exhibited during one month at places fixed by Metropolitan Municipality Presidency. (Urban Development Regulation of Greater Ankara Municipality, Article 29) Similarly, implementation plans are exhibited during one month at places determined by borough municipalities. Through this procedure, municipalities aim at enabling public participation,

or at least transparency in the approval of urban development plans. Furthermore, urban development regulation gives the right to raise objections against the declared plans during this one-month duration. (Urban Development Regulation of Greater Ankara Municipality, Article 29) However, it is important to be aware of the fact that the public has the right to declare his opinion only at this stage of the process. Nevertheless this right is not in the form of participation of citizens or public organizations, it does neither involve the interpretation of the plan, nor the declaration of suggestions, advices and expectations. It merely allows objections, only after the preparation process is over. Subsequently, it would not be wise to expect appropriation and acceptance of urban development plans by the society with such a restrictive understanding.

Afterwards, next phase of the urban space production process starts where the landowner and the developer try to come to an agreement with each other according to the plot subdivisions that take part in the implementation plans. This is a phase during which the landowner and the developer bargain on the surplus value to be created on the given urban land. Another important point to realize here is that there exist a close relationship between the specifications of the parcels, i.e. size, form, floor area ratios, maximum building heights and their location in the city, and characteristics of the construction firms, i.e. their scale, expertise. (Türel, 1989: 141) After this variable was specified according to certain standards designated in the urban development plan or regulations, the actor who is responsible for the architectural design enters in the process to shape the building mass. The mentioned building mass is an issue, the location and measurements of which within a building plot is already fixed and of which measurements, building construction boundaries are already determined by the urban development plan and its regulations.

Indeed, this phase of the process when the architect enters is a point where many decisions on the built form have already been made. Urban spaces to be created, public, semi-public and private spaces, open areas, relations with surrounding buildings, location

of the building in the plot, exits, entrances, main facades, or other references related to existing urban environment are not within the responsibilities of the architect. Moreover, values such as density, floor area ratios, and building heights, which will clarify the measurements of the three dimensional object are already specified. Hence not much has been left to the architect other than two dimensional façade games on the surfaces of the building or choosing cladding materials of the building. The most important is that during this process space design experiences of this actor are completely excluded.

One of the major characteristics of the running process is the one-way hierarchic flow of the decision-making events. This one-way relationship among the components of the process excludes interdisciplinary collaboration and decision-making acts. That is to say, design and planning disciplines do not come together throughout the process. Consequently, any interaction on the urban space creation, which can occur from the collaboration of these disciplines, is hindered. However urban designers and architects should be involved in the preliminary phases of the urban space production process, since planning decisions made in the beginning are directly related to the obtained physical formations of the city.

To put forward the definitions of design and planning disciplines would be appropriate at this state. In fact, generally both disciplines aim at constructing the togetherness of different tools for the realization of a particular goal intellectually. But it is important to be aware of the fact that a planned area is not necessarily a designed area. Tekeli differentiates these two terms as follows:

> *"The property that makes the difference between design and planning is that design discipline covers form-giving of space or form-giving in the space. Namely, insertion of the spatial formation requires participation of aesthetic and symbolic commentaries in the assessment. However, on the other hand, the planning aims are based on ethical and scientific judgments, and not aesthetic propositions." (Tekeli, 1995: 592)*

At this point, the criticism that can be addressed to the urban space production process through urban development planning is that although a certain planning viewpoint prevails, there is not any design approach that is involved in this process. In fact, it would not be wrong to argue that design action is excluded from the preparation processes of urban development plans of any scale. Hence, it is possible to assess existing urban development process as a formula derived from the principles like standardization, rationalization and segregation of functions. However, this formula does not refer to the spatial, psychological, and social qualities of urban environments.

3.2.4 Urban Development Plans as Determining Mechanism of Architectural Production

These processes that depend on a planning model based on general and abstract standards mentioned above are effective both on the land use pattern and the constitution of urban physical environments. As stressed before, landownership patterns or creation of rational and standard urban plots is the major factor that has direct effects on the production of physical urban forms in addition to these parameters. Basically, urban development regulations, on which urban development plans are based, bring forth minimum plot measurements, minimum garden distances, maximum building depths and maximum building heights. (Urban Development Regulation of Greater Ankara Municipality, Articles 33, 39, 40, 41) Furthermore, as the variables like population density, floor area ratios, and maximum building height are determined for a particular area; volumetric properties of building blocks and indirectly all dimensions of these volumes are predetermined at the same time. Consequently, these parameters work as first-order determinants in the constitution of urban physical forms. After exposing the major determinants of urban environments in Turkey, focusing on themes that should have been enclosed in urban space production procedures seems vital for our discussion. Up to now, it is revealed that

concepts like public justice, welfare of the society, and creation of healthy environments are among the consideration topics of these procedures. However, these necessary concepts are not sufficient in the constitution of urban forms, urban fabrics, and urban spaces of a certain quality.

Urban Form

While private property relations are primary determinants, urban functions (their separation, percentages...) are secondary determinants in the formation of urban environments. Urban spaces are mainly organized according to their functions, while natural and man-made urban forms are not considered as significant themes in space production procedures. However, as Rossi states, urban forms are direct, visual, and physical evidences of urban life. Aesthetic discussion should be held and certain design criteria should be clarified when producing a city's squares, public courtyards, streets, sidewalks, districts, public monuments, trees, parks. Decisions on the design of unique urban fabrics for different district should be provided. However, as long as implementations of urban development planning are considered, repetition of a typical object is observed. Ye, this kind of a form understanding cannot result in the constitution of urban structural forms.

Lynch differentiates the five urban image components as prerequisites of a well-structured urban setting. But how can repetitions of a certain mass help in the creation of these structural elements in the urban fabric? Landmarks cannot emerge and districts with identifiable urban fabrics cannot be reached in such a monotonous urban pattern. Moreover, sprawl of irregular masses occur instead of clear well-defined edges, paths can only work as circulation elements as long as they are not in an urban fabric fostered by architectural elements. An urban fabric that lacks these basic components is a not a structured one.

Urban Image, Identity, and Meaning

As a result of property subdivisions and repetition of typical volumes imposed by urban development plans, anonymous urban spaces are generated. Under these circumstances, urban spaces, neighborhoods, districts, paths won't reveal any identity, image, or meaning for the citizens. Consequently, parameters counted above determine the physical form of urban physical environment to be created, but without any attempt to search on the particularities of the area that will be built up, or to design. For example, the location of a particular plot or building in the city, its topographical and historical properties, or the particularities of the surrounding environment are not included among the concerns of this mechanism. Therefore, it can be asserted that the "*Genius loci*" highlighted by Norberg-Schulz is not among the concerns of the urban space production procedures, either. There won't be any character of urban spaces in a procedure concentrated only on dividing the urban land. Meaning cannot be derived from standardized abstract space organizations. Let us remember Cullen's work that studies the relationship between the observer and the built environments. In a setting where sequences of urban vistas don't change and stay fixed, how different images on different locations could occur?

As it was stated before place is space with a certain character. Hence, an urban space production procedure is only about space production rather than place making, which is a quantitative act rather than qualitative one.

Urban Diversity and Vitality

If diversity is a combination of scale, qualities, mix, range of uses, and generates commercial, cultural, and leisure activities then spaces produced by development planning procedures are obviously not diverse environments. On the contrary, separation of functions results in the creation of monotonous urban settings. Occurrence of different

activities at the same is rejected by these organizations. However, as Jacobs states, mixture of activities both produces and mirrors the quality in the built environment.

In fact, constitution of structured neighborhoods with distinct identities that provide the coexistence of various activities is indispensable in reaching quality in the built environments. Existence of usable urban spaces, walkable urban streets, therefore formation of positive urban spaces is essential. Urban neighborhoods are physical and social expressions of communities. However rational, standard and quantitative formulas inserted into space creation procedures cannot be successful in creating diverse and livable built-up environments.

3.3 Housing Production Processes in Turkey: Squatter Formation as a Second Mode of Urbanization

After all the descriptions and criticisms addressed to the procedure of urban development planning an important thing to remember is that besides these legal mechanisms in Turkey there are also illegal or spontaneously developed techniques in producing urban environments: *gecekondu* building and build and sell (yap-sat) processes. (Figure 3.1) Actually, coexistence of legal and illegal mechanisms in the production of urban spaces has its roots in the duality of the social structure that is accepted today by many researchers in Turkey. (Akçura, 1971: 73; Tekeli, 1995: 7; Günay, 1999b) This twofold structure, highlighted by the rapid urbanization process, which Turkey has been experiencing since 1950's, displayed itself in physical as well as "social and economic spaces". This already existing twofold structure was reinforced as a result of processes like increasing urbanization, increasing migration from rural into urban areas, and population explosion. Thus, on the one hand, first segment of this dual social structure created for the provision of their shelter needs, processes called *build and sell* by choosing utilization of

legal procedures explained above, while on the other hand, second segment of the society, the immigrants, produced "*gecekondu* settlements", which are mostly illegal. Thus after 1950's housing in Turkish cities was produced in the hands of these two segments of the society one trying to increase the surplus value from the urban land as much as possible, and the other trying to escape from paying any urban payment while producing their shelters.

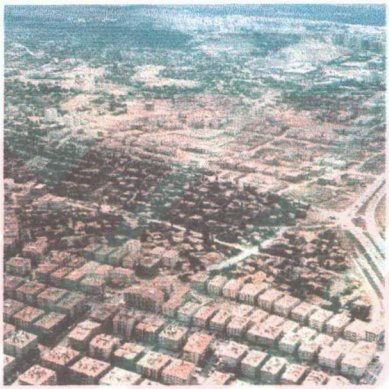


Figure 3.1. Residential areas produced by *Build and Sell* and *Gecekondu* Processes (Özdemir, 1994: 28)

In his research, Tekeli mentions about three different solutions created for the housing needs including public housing production processes developed in 1970's in Turkey, to the classification made above. What Tekeli insistently underlines is that the occurrence of all these processes were realized spontaneously parallel to the developments and changing needs in the country, that is to say not according to any central or local institution plans. (Tekeli, 1995: 6) Or namely, people in Turkey produced their own solutions for their vital dwelling problems, legal and institutional foundations of which came afterwards. As a matter of fact, both processes, -*build and sell* and *gecekondu*-, accelerated after 1950's, gained legitimization after a long time of their occurrence. For

instance, although a limited legalization of *gecekondu* process, "*Gecekondu* Laws, number 775" in 1966, and "Floor Property Laws" (Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu) in 1965 for the sake of the development of small construction sector (yap-sat) resulted in legalization and institutionalization of these spontaneous formations. (Tekeli, 1995) In fact, these are good signifiers of the inconsistency between the legal urban space production procedures and the experienced process in reality.

3.3.1 Defining *Gecekondu* Phenomenon

The spontaneous *gecekondu* settlement process, one of the housing production processes emerged in Turkey, carries significance for the comprehension of the case study area that will be analyzed in the next chapter. Accordingly, a brief descriptive background of *gecekondu*, its emergence and development in Turkey is necessary at this position.

A general definition of squatter is made as "one who settles on land -especially new or unsettled land- without title or right". Inhabitants of squatter buildings are usually low-income groups of the society. (Abrams, 1966: 24) Generally the reason for the existence of squatter settlements is based on the migration mostly from rural areas into urban centers. Though different social or political factors can be mentioned among the primary causes of migration, it is basically economic. Similar settlement patterns are observed throughout the world with different names, such as; "jacale" in Mexico, "ranco" in Panama, "macambo" in Brazil, "favela" in Argentina, "gourbevilla" in Tunisia, "bidonville" in Morocco, "bustee" in India, and "*gecekondu*" in Turkey. (Keleş, 1996: 381) Being illegal and housing the low-income groups of these societies appear as the common characteristics of these *gecekondu* settlements although there are considerable differences among these when their settlement patterns, social structures are examined and economical policies of different countries are considered.

The term *gecekondu* was originally introduced into Turkish language in 1940's. (Keleş, 1996: 402) It means, "built by night". This word signifies a building type, which is hastily built up during nighttime. The reason for haste is the illegal statute of *gecekondu*. However, when *gecekondu* settlement areas are examined, in fact, it can be easily observed that they were not built in haste. Some of them are multi-storey structures; some are made of reinforced concrete. This incoherence between the meaning of the word *"gece-kondu"* and the *gecekondu* formations in reality indicating permanency, demonstrates that *gecekondu* settlements have been in an evolving process since they emerged in 1940's as temporary solutions for shelter needs of rural immigrants.

3.3.2 Emergence and Evolution of *Gecekondu*

In Turkey, first *gecekondu* settlements appeared in 1940's after the Second World War. Kıray interprets this phenomenon as attempts of urbanization and in sociological terms, a break in the feudal social structure based on agriculture in unindustrialized countries. (Kıray, 1998: 19) Şenyapılı explains this issue with the migration of agricultural workers and small farmers from rural into urban areas beginning from 1940's due to the mechanization in agriculture. (Şenyapılı, 1978: 42) Tankut on the other hand, explains this migration with the fact that urban offered many opportunities, while the rural areas had nothing. rural push-urban pull) (Tankut, 1993: 17) As cities receiving migration were not prepared for such a migration, *gecekondu* came out initially as *temporary* solutions found by the immigrants for their immediate sheltering needs, which later turned into permanent settlements.

After their first emergence in 1940's, *gecekondu* settlements spread out rapidly in metropolitan cities of Turkey, like Ankara, Izmir, and Istanbul. With this rapid and unavoidable spread, they gained a certain weight in all aspects of life. Whether these settlements are problematic environments to be prevented or spontaneous solutions for

housing problem of rural migrants is still an arguable matter among the researchers. (Abrams, 1966; Şenyapılı, 1978; Payne, 1979; Tankut, 1993; Keleş, 1996; Kıray, 1998) Yet, in official documents, *gecekondu* is described as "unhealthy", and "illegal". Accordingly, if earlier phases of Turkey's *gecekondu* policy are examined, rejection, demolition, and prevention can be observed as first reactions to these settlements. Keleş summarized three phases of Turkey's *gecekondu* policy before 1960's. First one was declaring *gecekondu* buildings as "unlawful". Second one was defining existing *gecekondu*s as *fait accompli* accepting their legality, which contradicted with the first phase. In the last phase they were left to the responsibility of municipalities. Municipalities were expected to produce land for the *gecekondu* families and offer them necessary estates to build their buildings. None of these policies could be successful in Turkey. After 1960's there is an evident acceptance towards *gecekondu* settlements. (Keleş, 1996: 398) Similarly, Şenyapılı defines 1960's as a period of legitimization *gecekondu* and *gecekondu* family in economic, political, and physical platforms. (Şenyapılı, 1978: 41) For instance, the first five-year plan period of 1963-1967 was mentioning "betterment" of *gecekondu* settlement, "demolishing" only *gecekondu*s in bad condition. (First Five-Year Plan in Keleş, 1996) But, this time, *gecekondu* buildings were not demolished before their inhabitants were offered another place to move in. In 1966, *Gecekondu* Law number 775 was enacted, which can be interpreted as acceptance (although partially) of these *gecekondu* settlements. Furthermore, the fourth five-year plan was declaring the necessity of bringing electricity, running water and sewage systems, and paving the streets of *gecekondu* settlements. Besides, this plan was encouraging to provide longtime property rights of *gecekondu* plots. Actually, governments were giving up with the rejection policy, which was considered as unsuccessful, and turning towards more liberal approaches declared in the first five-year plan program. (Kıray, 1998: 23) New arrangements on *gecekondu* settlements were based on the legitimization and on the acceptance of the need for supplying infrastructures and

necessary services to these settlements. Evidently, *gecekondu* population was growing and becoming a potential political support for the politicians. This reason was lying most probably behind the acceptance policy as well. (Şenyapılı, 1978) Finally, these liberal policies, and certain agreements witnessed between *gecekondu* inhabitants and local political powers came to a peak point with the amnesty law of 2981 in 1984.

3.3.3 Improvement Plans as an Urban Development Plan Type

Indeed, the amnesty Law of 2981, which was approved in 1984, constitutes a breaking point in the evolution of the *gecekondu* settlement developments in Turkey. Because other amnesty laws till that time were limited (according to the building time or according to the location of the *gecekondu*), with this law, the generalization of amnesty for all illegal *gecekondu* settlements was realized. The most important result of this law is that all *gecekondu* owners gained property rights on the land where they settled illegally. Moreover it brought about the transformation of these *gecekondu* enclaves to begin. Actually, the only difference of this law from other many amnesty laws is not the fact that it caused the legitimization of a serious amount of *gecekondus*, but at the same time it gave a start to the transformation process of *gecekondu* settlements according to a model, which is called "Improvement Plans" (Islah İmar Planı). In fact, despite its name, there exists no research, or suggestion for solutions to the problems of *gecekondu* settlements in this model, that is to say, it is not a real improvement process. The presumed solution proposed with this model is the demolition and rebuilding of these *gecekondu* areas according to "Improvement Plans". There is an organic subdivision of land in old *gecekondu* enclaves, which have been formed rather spontaneously. According to Türel, what the model of improvement plans generally proposes is the constitution of a new subdivision pattern for the property relations in that particular area. (Türel, 1994: 641) Similarly, Günay states that the improvement plans are processes that do not interrogate the "problematic" of the

gecekondu areas, but they are rather renewals that aim at re-dividing of the urban land. Moreover, Günay assesses realized operations as speculative actions. (Günay, 1992) In fact, this process can be defined as activation of piecemeal housing production formations (build and sell) in these *gecekondu* settlements. Correspondingly, Seymen and Sevinç argue that the processes practiced through these plans as a practice of build and sell, have negative results that are experienced in cities of Turkey. They define these processes as follows:

> *"... as it always happened, once again, quantity was preferred rather than quality. With this ideological starting point, improvement plans are prepared and put into practice: first of all, property relation patterns are clarified, next existing roads are widened without any considerable research whether that area is appropriate for urban development, then limited social equipments are added, and population or building densities are increased."* *(Seymen and Sevinç, 1989: 44)*

In fact, the occurrence and mode of realization of this process through improvement plans is not different from the processes defined for the zoning and construction and implementation plans. But the only difference is the existence of the property rights of *gecekondu* owners as an input of the process that should be assessed and elucidated. This input has not any direct effect on the urban physical space production modalities, whereas it has certain consequences on the clarification of the developer type. As Türel emphasizes the subdivision pattern of old *gecekondu* settlements is generally not suitable for building new and larger apartment blocks. Accordingly, new parcels are created by improvement plans, that are to be shared by the previous landowners and this fact complicates the transformation of the old *gecekondu* plots by small-scale build and sell contractors. Because it is necessary to persuade *gecekondu* owners who demand new dwellings from the newly built blocks according to the size of the plot he/she owned in the old *gecekondu* settlement. This situation demands denser building patterns to fulfill the expectations of *gecekondu* owners (apartment(s) in the new building block), which means higher buildings, bigger floor area ratios realized by larger-scale housing production firms

so that the proposed transformation could happen. (Türel, 1994) Thus, similarly, newly produced urban spaces, which are created after the demolition of *gecekondu* buildings display similar negative properties with spaces created through other tools of urban development planning.

3.3.4 Special Urban Design Projects

Besides this general implementation, which has negative effects, there has been developed special urban transformation projects realized by a multiplicity of organizations including municipality, special interest groups, and local social organizations for the transformation of defined urban project areas. Consideration of the conditions of the site, flexible decision-making processes, and participation of citizens are basic properties of urban design projects. Göymen describes these projects as processes where resources are used in a planned and coordinated way within a certain budget. Furthermore, the city citizens approve these projects. Another significant property of the urban projects is that they aim at reaching public justice and support. (Göymen, 1997: 54) Namely, in contrast to the generic targets of abstract and comprehensive plans, these urban transformation projects are realized for particularly defined areas. Thus, an important difference between these special urban projects and procedures created by urban development planning is that these urban projects are not based on a deductive and comprehensive approach, rather they focus on the particular problems and targets of the defined project area, on which specific design methods are adopted. Hence, urban design projects do not result in a generalized urban development process, which depends on abstract standards that do not match with the realities of particular urban sites. First of all, an opportunity of making use of particularities of the given space arises for the possible projects that will be produced in the pre-defined urban area. That is to say, a process that enables a research for the potentialities and problems, a proposition for solution and designing process of the urban area is in question.

Moreover, a model that has a flexible structure, that can be effected by the dynamic variables of the urban area and that could keep up with newly emerged conditions of the urban site can be followed (instead of static, comprehensive plans that freeze just after a short time of their preparation was finished). With these advantages urban design projects constitute an alternative for developing successful urban environments. Another advantage of the special urban projects is the opportunity of participation. Individuals, local social organizations are included in decision-making process. Therefore, these projects offer a more democratic process when compared to predetermined, comprehensive master plan procedures. As Bademli states:

> *"It must be a basic event that people living in the city and organized forces would be able to produce projects according to their own policies, but at the same time with a general reference to common urban development plans, and selection of these plans and projects would be possible in a democratic discussion and agreement environment, and consequently definition of a single and common urban implementation program for every relevant institutions would be realized." (Bademli, 1993: 227)*

The citizens that will live in or close to that particular urban area or that will utilize that urban space find a means to play an active role in decision-making and implementation phases of the urban project. Besides, in these urban transformation projects another phase arises that covers a mutual negotiation between the landowners and the competent authority responsible for the space design of that defined area. And this event can be used on behalf of the public and for the development of design decisions. Namely, tactic of persuasion of landowners one by one can create certain alternative land subdivision patterns that can result in the creation of spatial values, which can be shared publicly, unlike the classical model urban development planning procedures. As it was explained, the logic of development planning understanding in Turkey is based on the subdivision of urban land into private real estates, and neglecting creation of livable public street spaces, or urban public parks, squares…

Unfortunately, there are not many examples of such urban projects practiced in Turkey. Dikmen Valley Project, GEÇAK, and Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project can be considered as certain examples for these urban transformation projects. Here, Dikmen Valley Project will be examined in detail. But, first of all, it should be underlined that an urban project definitely may end up with negative spatial environments even though the working process is a true one, or it may contain certain wrong decisions of organization, planning and implementation in spite of positive aspects explained above. However, what we focus here is the way the project is developed, the actors that are involved along this process and their roles.

Metropol Imar A.Ş. a private office established by the municipality produced the urban project in the format of urban development plans, for Dikmen Valley Project. Basically, Dikmen Valley Project considered the valley as a green corridor passing through the urban settlements in the city of Ankara. This decision was taken in reference to the 1/100 000 "Structural Plan" of 2015, and it could be assessed as a continuation of structural planning ideas in urban regional scale. (Kuntsal, 1994: 13) Furthermore, this decision displays that although this was a project that would be designed for and practiced within an area in defined boundaries, an approach that was consistent with structural planning decisions was not overlooked.

Besides being an important green area in urban scale, existence of a *gecekondu* settlement in the valley that was at first illegally built and later legitimized with the Amnesty Law of 2981, constituted another dimension of the project. (Figure 3.2) Removing these *gecekondu* buildings, namely demolition of *gecekondu* settlements, was decided so that new project decisions would be put into practice. An urban transformation model that can support itself financially through the created values was anticipated for Dikmen Valley Project. The municipality afforded financial compensation of the flats that will be provided for the *gecekondu* dwellers, from the profit obtained from the sale of extra building blocks.

Production of extra apartments more than the number of old *gecekondu* buildings in valley signifies to the land speculation made by the municipality through the application of a high density. In fact, one of the controversial aspects of the project lies behind this issue, since an ecological corridor, the Dikmen Valley, is transformed into an urban park with land speculation made especially by the municipality itself.

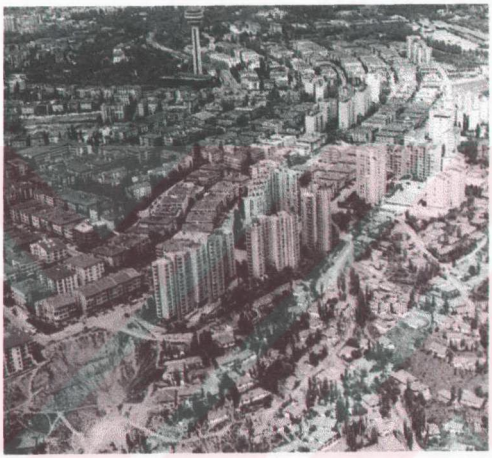


Figure 3.2. Dikmen Valley before spatial transformation (Kuntsal, 1994: 18)

Adapted process sustained participation through the organizations constituted by the citizens of old *gecekondu* settlements in the valley. For example, both *gecekondu* owners and *gecekondu* tenants conveyed their ideas, desires, and expectations from the project through the organizations called "cooperatives". On the other hand, communication of the fundamental planning and design decisions was supported through "decision committee" organization where all the actors, directors of cooperatives, general manager of Metropol Imar A.S., mayor of Greater Ankara Municipality, mayor of Çankaya municipality, general manager of ASKI, come together and find ability to convey and share their opinions.

Another important phase is added to the process, which is the preparation of design scale, which is 1/500 scale urban design plan besides 1/1000 and 1/5000 scales. This new scale appears as a new medium where outer forms of architectural components, trees, parks, squares, paths and other linking elements like pedestrian bridges between urban building blocks are considered, designed and expressed. This phase carries importance since it offers an environment where necessary linkages between urban forms and architectural types can be built.

This special process, without doubt, had its effects on the configuration of the created urban spaces. First of all, established organs during the process, such as, *gecekondu* cooperatives, decision committee led to the formation of an alternative private property pattern instead of what a classical urban development plan may propose for this area. The property relation aspect of the project was overcome bye one by one persuasion of *gecekondu* owners, and by explanation of the proposed transformation model developed for the valley to the relevant citizens and organizations. Thus, as a result of the formation of the private property model, an "urban park" is accomplished along the bed of Dikmen Valley, which became a part of an urban green belt, as presumed in the structural planning decisions of Ankara. (Kuntsal, 1994: 21)

The important thing to emphasize about the process is that planning decisions and urban space design decisions maintain support and strengthens when they can be in contact throughout the decision-making process. (Figure 3.3) On the other hand, along both sides of the valley building construction sites were proposed and realized, which physically highlighted this geographical place and brought more dramatic proportions to the valley. Moreover, housing towers on both sides of the valley are connected to each other with a pedestrian bridge. This element, at the same time, connects Hoşdere and Dikmen roads, and creates the continuation of pedestrian circulation in the city. Location of solids around the periphery of a public and green void is a positive decision from spatial point of view.

Ramps and stairs are main circulation elements that connect surrounding building blocks to the park, while there are also elevators, which serve for the direct vertical circulation between the bridge and the park. Urban terraces attached to the stair system provide observers with different vistas within the valley. Ramps and stairs are linked to a promenade at the bed of the valley. This promenade is accompanied by a water system extending along the valley. Squares and a great variety of vegetation -trees, bushes, and flowers- accompany the promenade. However, on the other hand, architectural components proposed for Dikmen Valley Project are produced in a similar way to the urban development planning practices. That is, repetition of typical buildings next to each other constitutes the solid spatial structure of the valley. Basically, two types of building blocks exist in the valley. While five-storey

Figure 3.3. Organization model adapted in "Dikmen Valley Project"

high buildings produced by prefabricated concrete elements are occupied by the gecekondu dwellers, multi-storey building blocks are created for upper-middle classes. Furthermore, architectural weakness in the constitution of solid elements displays itself in the organization and design of landscape elements used in the valley besides the residential units.

In spite of the architectural weakness of the project, this green valley as an urban transformation project reveals an interesting character when compared to standard implementations of urban development plans. First of all, valley is a well-defined topographical figure in the city of Ankara, and developed urban design project successfully analyzes and strengthens this property of the area. It works as an edge defining the districts of Dikmen and Ayranci. While the pedestrian bridge is a successful path for the pedestrians in the city, high blocks on both sides of the valley function as significant landmarks in the area. (Figure 3.4) They are easily distinguished with their height, form, and color from different spots of the city. Hence, this well-structured urban setting with distinct urban components exposes a distinct identity, which is also celebrated by intense usage of the people. However, on the other hand, there are also certain aspects that can be criticized in the Dikmen Valley Project. First of all, proposed density, for an ecological green corridor is a very destructive decision, besides the land speculation made on this land piece. Moreover, the building types fail in creating successful architectural environments. Spaces produced through the repetition of a typical element cannot achieve in forming an urban spatial structure.

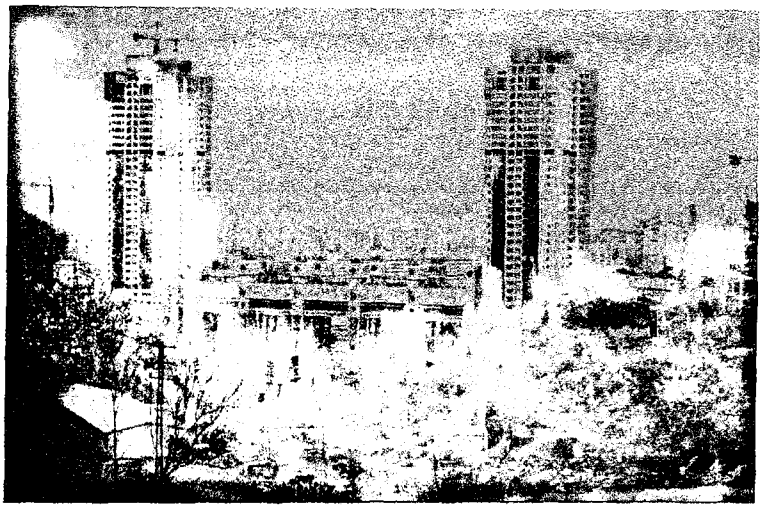


Figure 3.4. High blocks and the pedestrian bridge in Dikmen Valley (Altaban, 1998: 63)

Therefore, it can be inferred from the case of Dikmen Valley Project that adaptation of a relatively successful organization model (process) does not necessarily mean that architecturally successful urban environments (end product) will be achieved. On the contrary, urban space design criteria that can bring forth urban environments with quality and constitution of successful and various architectural types should be composed and practiced as well. That is why urban space design is conceptualized as a twofold filed research. Only integration of these two aspects (structuring a democratic and flexible organization model + following necessary space design criteria) would result in livable, vital, and, diverse urban environments.

Concluding Remarks

Acceleration of procedures, which brings about one-way hierarchic relationship between planning and architecture, excludes design phase of urban spaces from the ongoing process. In other words, although physical urban formations are mostly designated by "zoning and construction" plans, actors that equipped with design education and ability (architects and designers) are not included in the preparation of these plans. This problem

won't be solved unless professionals with design formations are enclosed in decision-making processes of urban space production.

Accordingly, second point is on the determination of private property relations on the formation of physical form. Concerns on the subdivision of urban land for private interest dominates when compared to concerns on the design of urban forms on the behalf of the public interest. Namely, urban space organizations like squares, urban courtyards, urban parks, urban corners, streets are most of the time disregarded while interests of private groups are considered by the primary targets of zoning and construction plans.

Insufficiency of principles clarified and implemented in urban space production is another point. A balance between the current principles of urban development planning - standardization, rationalization, creation of healthy environment- and urban design principles should be satisfied in decision-making process. Thus lack of design concerns, monotony, lack of identity, vitality and diversity cause unhealthy urban environments without sense of place.

Moreover, ongoing procedure is not a democratic process that supports participation of different interest group in the society. Desires, expectations, and propositions of citizens, certain social organizations are not considered besides negligence of those of the designers. Therefore comprehensive, up-to down organized master plans are never appropriated and accepted by the community. This issue signifies a significant problem in urban space production as well.

In order for these problems to be solved, urban land should be divided into urban design project areas, instead of comprehensive attitudes distributing urban land in reference to private property relationships, on behalf of the private interest. This suggestion does not necessarily ignore urban landownership pattern but subordinate this factor to obtaining a quality level in the urban environments by enclosing a design phase.

Preceding points explicitly approve that there is not any stage where designers and planners come together and produce ideas about the constitution of urban spaces, patterns of urban fabric, design of identifiable districts, well-structured walkable streets, usable side walks, squares and courtyards, urban parks... As we introduced at the beginning of the chapter, there is a phase missing (urban space design) between the planning principles and interior and facade design of single solids designated by planning principles.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYZING SPACE ORGANIZATION OF ÇUKURAMBAR RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT

4.1 Objective of the Case Study

In this chapter, Çukurambar residential district will be assessed in reference to urban design principles discussed in the second chapter. Before the assessment, the process experienced in the area and former space organization of the district will be examined. Basically, Çukurambar can be described as a residential district, a continuing construction site, and an area of transformation. In fact, this area has been covered by a *gecekondu* settlement since 1960's. The revision of the implementation plan, -a kind of urban development plan discussed in the previous chapter- for this area was finished and put into practice in 1993. Today, it is rather a high-density settlement area, where most of the residents are accommodated in typical eleven-storey high residential building blocks. There still exist *gecekondu* buildings of the old settlement in certain parts of Çukurambar, which will be demolished in one year or sooner and replaced by new urban constructions. Thus, with a mixture of "luxurious" multi-storey apartment buildings and one or two-storey *gecekondu*s, Çukurambar reflects a typical scene from an urban transformation experience. (Figure 4.1)

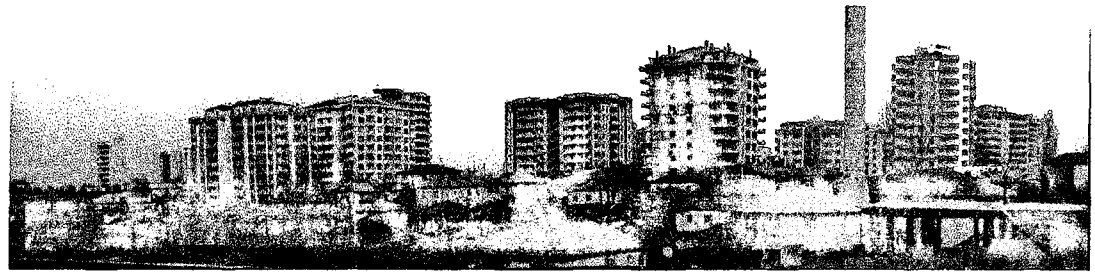


Figure 4.1. General outlook of the site

As it was mentioned before, the researcher tends to assess urban space production as a two-way experience, covering both process and the end product created as a result of this process. Similarly, the spatial transformation of Çukurambar from an old *gecekondu* enclave into a "planned" urban residential area has this twofold aspect. First, there exist a process, which is rather a transformation that results in the replacement of old the *gecekondu* settlement. And second, there is a newly created physical product representing the new face of Çukurambar by the constitution of single isolated, and high-rise housing blocks. Therefore, both of these aspects need to be analyzed and evaluated so that an understanding on the proposed "urban structure" of this residential area is developed.

An analysis and an evaluation on the procedural and spatial properties of the newly built Çukurambar should cover the spatial organization pattern of the old *gecekondu* settlement as well. Accordingly, it will be possible to figure out the actors participated, and their roles during the transformation procedure in Çukurambar. Besides, to be aware of the factors and the causes that accelerate the transformation process of the old *gecekondu* settlement is significant. Indeed, this area is a neighborhood located on the Western corridor of the city of Ankara. This is the direction towards which the new development areas of Ankara extend since 1970's. (Altaban, 1998: 59) Correspondingly, an old *gecekondu* neighborhood is affected, without doubt, by the active forces of development in the city. Alteration process of old Çukurambar settlement will be interpreted in this framework.

This ongoing transformation is a significant process, as it clearly displays the modes and methods of production of urban neighborhoods. Through this case study, modes of legal and illegal urban space production will be studied and qualities of created urban spaces will be evaluated in relation with these modes of production. To examine the fabric of old *gecekondu* settlement is necessary for a comparison on the spatial organization of the newly created and old fabrics. Therefore, visual and spatial urban structures of the old neighborhood and of contemporarily created environment in this part of the city will be evaluated with regard to urban design principles articulated in the second chapter.

4.1.1 Location

Çukurambar is located on the southwest of the center of Ankara. It is surrounded by the Eskişehir highway and Kızılırmak neighborhood (another *gecekondu* settlement area) on the North, by Maden Teknik Arama Enstitüsü on the West, by the Konya highway and Balgat district on the East, and by Yüzüncüyil neighborhood on the South. The neighborhood is situated very close to the junction of the Eskişehir and Konya highways. The Konya highway constitutes the boundary between Balgat and Çukurambar neighborhoods, while the Eskişehir highway separates Söğütözü from the site. (Figure 4.2) In other words, highways define the limits of Çukurambar from the North and the East.

Figure 4.2. General outlook of the site from the Eskişehir highway

4.1.2 Topography

The topography of the site is in the form of a pit down from Eskişehir highway, Balgat district, and Yüzüncüyıl neighborhoods, the Çukurambar neighborhood is located at the bottom of this pit. In general, slight slopes from different directions define the topographical form of the area. (Figure 4.3) Name of Çukurambar may imply both its topographical form, and its historical land use. Turkish word "çukur" refers to hole in English language, a form resembling to the topographical form of this place, while "ambar" is a storehouse for cereals.

Figure 4.3. Site sections

The site has an undisturbed vista towards the North. One reason is that in this direction Kızılırmak neighborhood, which is also a low-rise *gecekondu* settlement extends, while another reason is the level difference between the Eskisehir highway and Çukurambar. Therefore, the façade of Eskisehir highway; buildings of Undersecretariat of Turkish Treasury and Foreign Trade (Hazine ve Dış Ticaret Müsteşarlığı), and Ministry of Social Security and Labor (Çalışma Bakanlığı), and Ankara Chamber of Commerce (Ankara Ticaret Odası), which are located on the other side of Eskişehir highway can easily be observed. East and West directions are blocked by high-rise buildings, while in the southern direction, five-storey buildings of Yüzüncüyıl neighborhood can be observed.

4.1.3 Inhabitants

As a result of the rapid urbanization process in 1950s, Turkey experienced an unavoidable migration process from rural to urban areas. Ankara was one of these cities that received considerable amount of migrants as the capital city. It is known that already in 1960s, *gecekondu* buildings constituted 65 percent of Ankara's settled area. (Kıray, 1998) In 1980s, 70 percent of Ankara's population was *gecekondu* inhabitants. (Keleş, 1996) Interviews with the inhabitants of the Çukurambar area gives information about the origins where they came from. Migrants that moved to the district in 1960s were from rural areas of different provinces of Turkey's, such as, Sivas, Nevşehir, Kars, Erzurum, and Çankırı. There were also migrants from other parts of the province of Ankara as well, like Bâla, Ayaş, Beypazarı, Gölbaşı, and Polatlı. Therefore, Çukurambar is a neighborhood founded by the inhabitants from different rural parts of the Anatolia who built their shelters, struggled together for satisfaction of necessary urban services of the settlement, and organized a community. One important thing that differentiates Çukurambar neighborhood from other illegal *gecekondu* settlements is that these people did not settle on other people's

land or state-owned land without permission. On the contrary, these lands were their own property bought from the field owners in Çukurambar.

4.1.4 Formation of *Gecekondu* Neighborhood in Çukurambar

According to the statements of early inhabitants of the neighborhood, we know that Çukurambar was an agricultural area, which was occupied by wheat fields before 1960s. However, after 60s the agricultural character of this site started to change due to the increasing migration to Ankara from rural areas, as mentioned in the previous section. After 1960s, Çukurambar gradually turned into a built-up environment or *gecekondu* neighborhood when migrants from different rural parts of Turkey were settled in the area and built their houses one after another. While the new residents of the area were building their dwellings, a hard struggle started for them. They had their shelter to dwell in, however basic needs for a healthy urban life were not satisfied yet. Problems like undefined muddy and dusty streets; lack of running water in the houses, lack of electricity, and sewage system had to be solved. Obviously, transportation was another important problem for the residents of Çukurambar.

In fact, the story about the physical improvement of the *gecekondu* settlement is not uncommon for Turkey, which can be briefly defined as "bargaining" about residents' votes in the election and the necessary urban services between the politicians (local and central authorities) and the civil organization founded by *gecekondu* inhabitants, organized under an association; Association for the Embellishment of Çukurambar (Çukurambarı Güzelleştirme Derneği) As a matter of fact, urban services could only be satisfied after 1965s as a result of such a bargaining with the mayor candidate of Ankara before the election and as a result of persuasion of the prime minister of that date. (The prime minister was Süleyman Demirel) Current headman of Çukurambar neighborhood, one of the early migrants of the site explained the struggle of the inhabitants, for satisfying necessary urban

services of their settlement. Here the researcher dwells on the explanation of the headman, who was a member of Association for the Embellishment of Çukurambar at that time, and experienced all steps of struggle for the neighborhood.

> *"Although we came to an agreement with the candidate to mayor in 1964 and used our votes for him in the election, nothing has changed in Çukurambar after he won the elections. This conditions in the neighborhood continued until one day, when the prime minister of the time who was passing through Eskisehir highway saw and decided to visit our neighborhood, Çukurambar. It was a rainy winter day; his car was stuck in one muddy street of the neighborhood. So this was the chance for us to express our basic complaints about the settlement. We said that we have been drinking water from well, we have been sitting in the light of gas lamp at nights, and our streets were unpaved. He promised us to help in our problem with the settlement." (Interview with the Headman of Çukurambar Neighborhood)*

Initially, General Directorate of Highways (Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü) paved main roads passing through the neighborhood, as a result of the instructions of the prime minister. In 1966 electricity posts were erected, afterwards running water reached Çukurambar with a ceremony prepared by the municipality. Old residents of the neighborhood explain that three sheep were sacrificed, water was splashed in the air, and the mayor declared in the ceremony that he himself would afford running water system of the central mosque of Çukurambar. (Interview with the Inhabitants of the Çukurambar Gecekondu Settlement) Subsequently, streets of the neighborhood were arranged and widened. The pavement of the roads was repeated whenever a new infrastructure was introduced into the *gecekondu* settlement area. Social facilities, such as a primary school, and a health center were also brought to the area with the initiatives of the residents. The residents gathered money and bought necessary land for school and health center from the field owners. Old residents of Çukurambar explain that in 1967, 145 kuruş were gathered from every householder, and 1100m^2 land was bought for these facilities. Again, they were the inhabitants who looked for and decided the convenient place to build these facilities.

The sewage system was the last facility brought into the neighborhood, which was piped in 1987, again as a result of the endeavors of the Çukurambar *gecekondu* inhabitants. Natural gas system, which is not satisfied for the entire city of Ankara yet, did not enter this old *gecekondu* neighborhood, either. All these anecdotes witness the existence of a sense of community and solidarity amongst the members of the community who worked together for their own survival and well-being.

4.1.5 Reasons for the Realization of Urban Transformation in Çukurambar

In his research on Ankara of 1971, Akçura sketches the urban structure of the city after defining the main structural elements of the city, the urban units and subunits according to land-use, population distribution and densities. (Akçura, 1971) Besides, he checks his findings on the city with reference to certain approaches, such as, *concentric zone theory* and *sector theory*. In accordance with the concentric zone theory, three rings surrounding the two nuclei (Ulus and Kızılay) of Ankara were defined as inner, middle, and outer rings. In this study, areas identified as Çukurambar neighborhood today, lies in-between the boundaries of the outer ring, which was 4 and 7 kilometers far from the southern nucleus of the city, Kızılay. On the other hand, according to the "sector theory", the case study area belongs to the southwest sector of Ankara. Actually, this area is defined in the study as a rural settlement area or among the poor housing areas, next to the newly urbanized village of that date, Balgat. (Figure 4.4) Additionally, as for both of the analyses, Çukurambar area was one of the least crowded regions of Ankara with 14 person/ha. Correspondingly, old residents of the Çukurambar *gecekondu* enclave elucidate that they had to take first a twenty-minute walk to Balgat to be able to find a vehicle like a "dolmuş" to Ulus or Kızılay. Indeed, Çukurambar was connected administratively to Balgat neighborhood till 1972, and only after this date it became an independent neighborhood.

The information provided by the old inhabitants is consistent with the explanations in Akçura's research that Çukurambar was not a distinct neighborhood, but a rural and law-density area until 1970's.

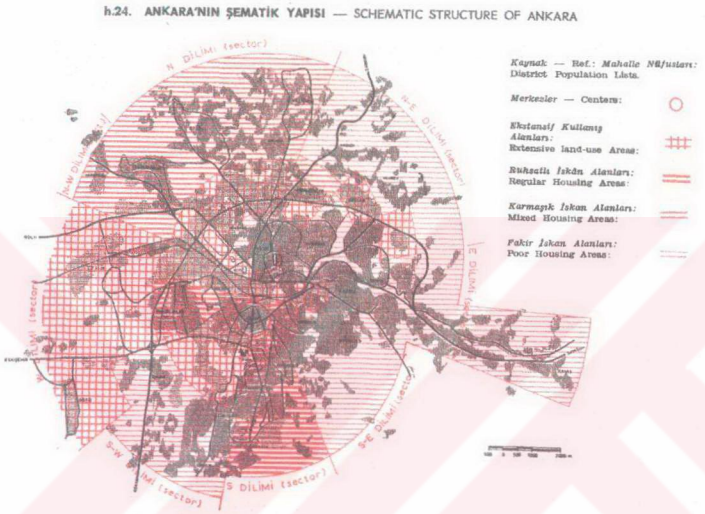


Figure 4.4. Application of both Zone and Sector Theories to the City of Ankara (Akçura, 1971: 59)

1973, the date when the Ankara Metropolitan Planning Office published the report of 1990 structural plan for Ankara marks another breaking point in the spatial evolution of the area. Because decisions that foresee decentralization of Ankara, along the *Western Corridor* beyond the existing urban settlements were concretized in this report. (Altaban, 1998: 62) Through this structural plan, the direction for the growth of the city was clarified. In fact, this decision would have a significant effect on the acceleration of the transformation process in the old Çukurambar settlement as well.

Another fact that had a direct effect on the spatial condition of this illegally built environment was the amnesty laws enacted in 1983 and 1984, as explained in the previous

chapter. This law was a very comprehensive legitimization with regard to the illegal settlements in the country. Although in Çukurambar, inhabitants were not settled on someone else's land or on public land, but on their own lands, their houses in Çukurambar were illegal constructions. Finally, due to these laws; the legalization of Çukurambar area was provided and the area was completely ready for an improvement plan. Contents and targets of improvement plans were examined in the previous chapter. An improvement plan was prepared for Çukurambar. Later, since improvement plan was not accepted as successful as reflecting and solving the problems of the area, Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara revised this plan. (Interview with Prof. Dr. Raci Bademli)

Finally, when the "revision plan" of Çukurambar area in 1/5000 scale was prepared by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara in 1993 and put into implementation, the status of this old illegal poverty settlement radically changed. Therefore, it is better to focus on the analysis of the changes that Çukurambar underwent and the evolution after these changes. However, in order to be able to understand these transformations, the spatial and social properties of the old Çukurambar settlement will be examined first.

4.2 Spatial Properties of Çukurambar *Gecekondu* Settlement

The neighborhood expanded in time and continued to survive until 1993, the date when the "revision plan" was put into practice for Çukurambar. However, even today, Çukurambar appears as a continuing construction site. It has an outlook of semi-demolished *gecekondu*s together with multi-storey buildings rising just next to them. (Figure 4.5 and 4.6) A group of *gecekondu* buildings, which are inhabited, still exist here, yet they will also be demolished soon and leave their place to high-rise apartment blocks or to green areas or social facilities planned according to this revision plan of 1993. Hence, two basic contrasting fabrics currently co-exist in the area due to the ongoing replacement process of

the preexisting fabric of the *gecekondu* settlement by the newly built environment introduced by revision plans. It is a positive issue for the sake of research that one part of the settlement is still inhabited by the *gecekondu* fabric. This piece gives significant clues about the space organization of the old Çukurambar neighborhood as it makes possible to observe old paths, junctions, clustering of buildings along paths, geometry of building plots, property relations, usage patterns of inner and outer spaces, and means and techniques of construction. Furthermore, it enables the researcher to be informed about the occurrence and development process of area as well.

Figure 4.5. Gecekondu buildings and new building blocks in Çukurambar.

Figure 4.6. Gecekondu buildings and new building blocks in Çukurambar.

The emergence and evolution of the Çukurambar *gecekondu* settlement is rather a spontaneous process. *Gecekondu* dwellers created their own environment themselves. Therefore, the spatial qualities that will be explained below which resulted from the attempts of the neighborhood inhabitants, without any planning procedure. Although it is very difficult to come up with a clear conclusion for the formation of the spatial organization patterns in Çukurambar, there are certain clues that help to understand it when this fabric is examined in detail.

4.2.1 Built-up elements

Solids in the settlement fabric display an organic organization. They are attached to each other as a result of an additive process of building that has constructed a settlement fabric gradually. Hence, separated dwelling units usually with gardens are the major elements of the built fabric in the Çukurambar neighborhood, which forms an aggregation of *gecekondu* houses. These dwelling units are small scale, single or two-storey buildings. (Plan of Çukurambar Gecekondu Neighborhood in 1990, Appendix A)

Any open space formation resembling to a square or a public courtyard is absent in the neighborhood. Instead, dwelling units are usually concentrated along paths, namely, along outer edges of the building islands. For instance, along the *Çukurambar Ring Road*, buildings are concentrated so densely that they establish a continuous façade and define the form of the road. (Figure 4.7)

Figure 4.7. Çukurambar Ring Road

However, it is important to realize that concentration of buildings along streets does not necessarily mean that these people built their houses according to a continuous geometry of a certain pre-existing path. Rather, the emergence of circulation elements and constitution of a building island is a synchronized mutual process. Accordingly, the street widths in the neighborhood are not constant and standard; rather they are expanding or shrinking according to the position of the houses.

Usually, houses along the streets have their back gardens, so the fabric of the settlement gets looser towards the inner parts of the islands and offers a more private space for their inhabitants. In wider building islands, if another building row is established, usually a cul-de-sac occurs that serve for the inner building row. (Figure 4.8) Sometimes these cul-de-sacs end up with a house, sometimes with the backyard wall of a house.

However, it is not possible to generalize these patterns for the spatial formation of this *gecekondu* neighborhood, as there is considerable number of exceptions as well.

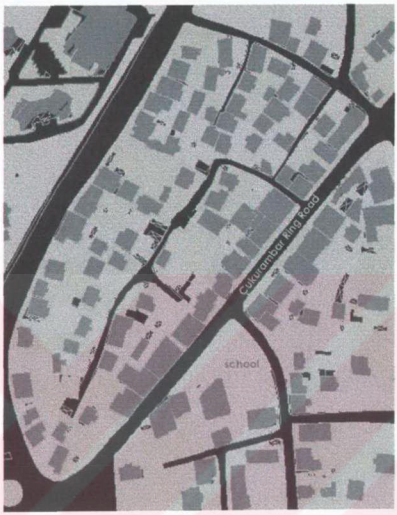


Figure 4.8. Cul-de-sacs in old Çukurambar settlement fabric

Corners are advantageous locations for a *gecekondu* building, according to the statements of the inhabitants. Corner refers to easier access to infrastructure systems especially in the early phases of the neighborhood. In fact, infrastructure is one of the serious problems of a *gecekondu* settlement. Indeed, the junction of today's *Çukurambar Ring Road* and *60. Sokak* where the mosque stands was one of the oldest places in the neighborhood since 1962. (Figure 4.9) However, there is not any clue that indicates that the development of the settlement was generated around this point.

Figure 4.9. Corner of Çukurambar Ring Road and 60. Sokak

Junction of two paths and public building(s) on the corner that brought people together and enabled social contact appears as a recurrent pattern in the spontaneous fabric of this *gecekondu* settlement. For instance, corners, which emerged with the intersection of Çukurambar Ring Road and secondary roads in the neighborhood were occupied by certain public buildings such as, the office of the headman, coffee houses, the mosque, and the school. (Figure 4.10) Furthermore, for these public buildings visibility is a necessity satisfied by being located on the street corner. Especially the corner where the Çukurambar mosque was built is the most typical example of this pattern in the neighborhood. There is an open space in front of the mosque functioning as the main square of the neighborhood. Moreover, the mosque and the school building are the only differentiated buildings in shape from the other *gecekondu* buildings. The Merkez mosque building is a two-storey reinforced concrete building. It has a minaret, which was the highest built element in the neighborhood. (Figure 4.11) So, the mosque has been a landmark in Çukurambar pinning

down the junction with its distinct vertical form. Additionally on the next corner of this junction the only three-storey reinforced concrete building is located. On the ground floor of this building there is the pastry shop and a real estate agent, while first and second floors of the building are residential units.

Figure 4.10. Corner of Headman's Office and Coffee House

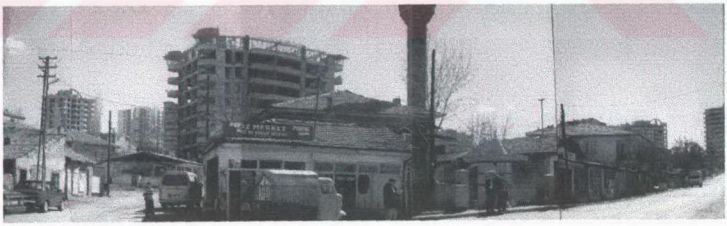


Figure 4.11. The Merkez Mosque.

The school, another corner building, is situated topographically on a higher part of the neighborhood, so that it becomes visible from different spots in the neighborhood. As mentioned before, the inhabitants decided on the location of the school in the neighborhood

themselves, and this decision seems very consciously made. In addition to its education function, the garden of this building is utilized as a playground in the holidays.

Furthermore, two coffee houses and the office of the headman are also situated on different corners of the same junction. Coffee houses are places where most of the male inhabitants spend their time during the day and evening. These semi-public spaces create a kind of control mechanism works in-between, which the researcher herself experienced during her observations in Çukurambar. When an unfamiliar person enters the semi-open place in front of the coffee house, the headman who occupies his office on the next corner of the coffee house saw him/her, comes and joins the conversation. The opposite happens as well. When a stranger enters the headman's office, a number of people in the coffee house who saw him/her entering come to understand the purpose of the visit and the personality of the visitor. This can be interpreted as a kind of control, which occurs around common places in such a community where everybody knows each other.

The general outlook of the buildings in the neighborhood signifies that these people did not use the construction techniques, which are practiced in the legally developed "urban areas" of the city. However, their houses are not temporary shelters with tin roofs or walls either, since these people conceive their houses as permanent and used rather long-lasting materials in the construction of their houses. Besides a few reinforced concrete constructions, masonry is the ordinary construction technique in the neighborhood. A variety of traditional and new building materials were used in the construction of houses. Mud brick, briquette, and brick are certain elements, which are used in the construction of walls. Tile, wood, and plastic are materials used in the construction of the roofs of certain buildings. Furthermore, there are examples, which were built by utilizing all these materials in different parts of the house. This is a result of a long building process. Concept of flexibility is valid in the togetherness of different materials as well.

These buildings are not entirely prevented from the impacts of nature. Dump and dust penetrate houses, and threaten the health of residents. Female inhabitants especially stress this aspect of their shelters. They frequently complain that it is impossible to keep house interiors clean. Although their owners conceived these houses as permanent shelters, it is clear that rural kind of building knowledge, and bricolage kind of construction techniques are not enough to reach healthy results in the production of residential units.

4.2.2 Open Spaces

It is essential to recognize that Çukurambar is a poverty settlement, which has rather a rural type of spatial organization. Generally, shelters are unable to prevent people from impacts of nature, like water, heat, dust, and wind. So, they cause unhealthy living conditions. Interior spaces of the dwelling units are not effectively differentiated, which causes certain difficulties in usage. On the other hand, open spaces are highly used in the daily lives of the *gecekondu* inhabitants. Residents of Çukurambar *gecekondu* settlement are not exception to this fact. Even today, some inhabitants don't have a television in their house. Some still have to cook their bread at home, in the garden. These reasons result in a way of life that passes mostly around the semi-private or public open spaces like, gardens, streets, and unsettled vacant lands. Accordingly, it is possible to observe the life of the household in the gardens, streets, or other open spaces except the very cold winter days. Therefore, the exterior spaces surrounding the *gecekondu* buildings present liveliness in the Çukurambar neighborhood.

Streets, junctions of streets, small, vacant lands between dwellings, unsettled larger lands, and gardens are major open spaces of Çukurambar. When open spaces are considered, it is possible to observe a continuity, and hierarchy of open spaces from the most private to public. A wide range of activities is performed in these officially unplanned, spontaneously shaped, and poor-conditioned areas.

Gardens, which are semi-private open spaces are extensively used by women. Here, bread is baked; tea is drunk at teatimes with neighbors, or clothes are washed and hung. Furthermore, gardens are convenient places for observing and controlling small kids playing outside, or they are quiet places after a hard workday. In many of the gardens there exist fruit trees, and some of the inhabitants grow vegetables. There are not any animals like cows, or poultry around; rather some families have their dogs in their gardens. Usually, gardens are fenced by low structures made of different materials like stone, timber, or bush. These materials are utilized as separators of the semi-private life from the street's public life.

The most frequently used public open space is the junction point on the intersection of Çukurambar Ring Road and 60. Sokak as mentioned above. This works as a kind of central place of the neighborhood where the Merkez Mosque, the pastry shop, and kebab restaurant are located. Karakusunlar - Kızılay bus line has a stop at this junction as well. According to the accounts of early inhabitants of the neighborhood, this was the place where the ceremony, which was organized for running water, took place, where the mayor had his speech.

Empty spaces between buildings constitute playgrounds for children. They enable social contact between neighbors, and make them meet, talk to each other. Unsettled larger areas utilized for certain purposes like football matches or for wedding ceremonies during which drums and traditional flutes are played and folk dances are performed.

A huge open space of 5,6 hectares attracts attention within the dense fabric of the neighborhood. This space blocks the development of settlement towards the north and forms the boundary between Kızılırmak and Çukurambar neighborhoods. This void is the land, which belongs to the Atatürk Orman Çiftliği. Large open space of AOÇ is utilized for activities like open market place and football ground by the inhabitants of Çukurambar, which are rather temporary uses

4.2.3 Paths

Since the paths that traverse Çukurambar neighborhood have not changed by the revision plan except for of widening of existing roads, the descriptions below are valid both for the old *gecekondu* fabric and for the newly built fabric. (Figure 4.12) The Eskişehir and Konya highways block Çukurambar on the northern and eastern directions. Within the neighborhood there are two relatively larger roads; Öğretmenler Road, and Çukurambar Ring Road. The former crosses the area from the southwest to the North and reaches to the Eskisehir highway, while the latter, which extends from the southwest to the East reaches to the Konya highway. These two roads serve for the connection of Çukurambar to the city centers, Kızılay and Ulus. In fact, Çukurambar Ring Road is divided into two branches and the branch that extends towards the north becomes Öğretmenler Road or vice versa.

Figure 4.12. The circulation structure of the *gecekondu* settlement

Çukurambar Ring Road had a central route through the Çukurambar neighborhood. It functions as the commercial center of the neighborhood. It still inhabits certain public facilities of the neighborhood, such as, Arjantin Primary School, Merkez Mosque, the office of the headman, and certain shops. Among the shopping units, which are situated along this road, there are two coffee houses, a pharmacy, a pastry shop, a grocery, a butcher, and a kebab restaurant. Moreover, there exist offices of different construction firms and several real estate agents today. So educational, religious, administrative, and commercial units of Çukurambar are located along this road. This road is still very actively used despite the destruction of the 4/5th of the *gecekondu* settlement. On the other hand, Öğretmenler Road is a wider road when compared to Çukurambar Ring Road, and it draws the boundary between the *gecekondu* settlement and institutional settlements like MTA campus, social foundations of Türkiye Fertilizer Industry (Türkiye Gübre Sanayii), laboratories of Ankara Public Health (Ankara Halk Sağlığı), and Mehmet Emin Resulzade Anatolian high school. Therefore, in comparison to Ögretmenler Road, Çukurambar Ring Road seems more vital with regard to the daily activities of the Çukurambar inhabitants, as this road is occupied by the social activities mostly utilized by the residents of the neighborhood.

Despite the lack of accuracy in the measurements, the streets in Çukurambar have relatively a regular geometry. The reason of this regular geometry may lie behind the traces of older wheat fields. (Figure 4.13) As it was mentioned before, this area was an agricultural land. Field owners put up their lands for sale to the newcomers when the migration to Çukurambar started in 1960's. Migrants built their houses on this agricultural land and surrounded their properties with walls. Obviously, the paths they used followed the geometrical subdivision pattern of the wheat fields, and private properties were created dividing the agricultural land into small pieces in time. Eventually, narrow streets between

residential units are straight in general. This is overruled only on the areas where topography did not permit.

Figure 4.13. Regular geometry of paths in Çukurambar gecekondu settlement

Besides the main roads (Ögretmenler Road and Çukurambar Ring Road) and streets, cul-de-sacs are significant elements of the circulation in the neighborhood. Cul-de-sacs usually extend towards the interior parts of wider building islands to serve for the inner buildings. (Figure 4.14) They are narrower than other streets. As it was mentioned above, cul-de-sacs are pedestrian oriented spaces, and they support social interaction of the inhabitants. Moreover, they constitute suitable places where small kids can play; adults can linger and chat together. The formation of the streets and cul-de-sacs in the neighborhood displays rather a pedestrian oriented pattern. Indeed, even today there are not many cars on the streets except for a couple of worn-out Anadols. Obviously, this pedestrian organization was not consciously decided or designed issue like other spatial formations in this

gecekondu neighborhood, rather this is an occurrence as a result of the economic status of the *gecekondu* dwellers.

Figure 4.14. Cul-de-sacs in old Çukurambar settlement fabric

4.2.4 General Assessment on *Gecekondu* Space of Çukurambar

Complexity, diversity, control over the built environment, and flexibility are basic concepts that can be used in discussing the formal, spatial, and social structure of the *gecekondu* neighborhood.

Complexity

The building plots in the neighborhood are organically attached. Here the word "organic" is not used only to express the lack of a regular geometry in the subdivision of building plots, or order, or a predetermined form in the organization of buildings. Since, this word has another meaning as well, which is defined as "gradual and natural" rather than "sudden and forced" change and development. (Collins Compact English Dictionary, 1994) In fact, this is what happened in the formation of *gecekondu* settlements. Correspondingly, the Çukurambar *gecekondu* area was not built at once, but the agglomeration of buildings created by the addition of buildings one after another in time

produced the ordinary pattern of the neighborhood. Furthermore, this is the reason lying behind the difficulty of defining a particular settlement fabric, or generalizing a type for the organization of the buildings. However, at the same time, this property constitutes the logic behind the constitution of the settlement fabric and spatial organization in the neighborhood. Addition of piecemeal elements to the system in time generates and increases the complexity of the settlement fabric. The existing composition of buildings is affected whenever a new element is added to the system. So a newly added element both is affected by the preexisting condition, and it affects, or creates a new condition.

Diversity

The building plots that form the settlement fabric have not any standard dimension. The area of a building plot depends mostly on the needs and economic condition of the migrant family who bought that land. Thus there is a variation in the sizes of building plots, and this creates diversity of the plot subdivision pattern as well. Furthermore, it is important to be aware that this formation is opposed to the urban spatial organization pattern introduced by the urban development plans, as explained in the previous chapter. In contrast to standardized building plots in the middle of which typical blocks are located, *gecekondu* fabric contains plots of different sizes and forms, with a variety of building patterns.

As stated above, there exist a considerable variation in sizes of the building plots and building areas. Ground floor areas of buildings are in the range of 27,5 m^2 -188 m^2. The average floor area of a house in the neighborhood is 75 m^2 and, houses with two bedrooms and a living room is the most seen house type in the area. Building plot areas change in the range of 80 m^2-500 m^2, while an average area for a building plot is 180 m^2. This fabric contains approximately 188 inhabitants per hectare, which is rather a loose population distribution for a residential settlement. This number is important for comparing it with the new density proposed for the Çukurambar neighborhood by the new revision plan.

Diversity in many aspects of the spatial formation of Çukurambar is observed; not only in the sizes of building plots, but also in the building sizes, forms, colors, heights, proportions, and locations in their plots. Locations of the *gecekondu* houses in the plot are decided according to the neighboring *gecekondu* and so display a variety as well. This is an important property that the researcher believes is a positive feature in defining the identity of each household.

A segregation of functions can be observed in the neighborhood. As explained above, while there are certain buildings, clustered along wider roads, which are utilized for educational, administrative and commercial purposes, residential units are isolated from these kinds of activities with the exceptions of groceries and religious buildings. Yet, not only the buildings but also open spaces in the neighborhood support the emergence of a considerable range of outdoor activities. As it was stressed before; gardens are places used as extensions for doing the housework, putting neighbors up, or resting under shadow of a tree after hard workday.

Control over the Built-Environment

Geoffrey Payne has already stressed this aspect of *gecekondu* settlements. In his article "Housing: Third World Solutions to First World Problems" he gives Ankara as an example and states:

> *"The second lesson is that the most socially and economically viable way of improving large areas of housing is to increase local control over it, so that people can participate actively in making decisions, which affect their daily life." (Payne, 1979: 109)*

Similarly, after building their shelters to live in, the initiatives of the Çukurambar *gecekondu* neighborhood fought for necessary urban services, as well as certain social facilities like a school or a health center. They gathered money, bought necessary land for them, and decided on their locations in the settlement. This gives important clues about the structure of the neighborhood in Çukurambar: the inhabitants made Çukurambar a livable place, which created a sense of belonging to the place. Consequently, this neighborhood led

inhabitants, which were originally from different parts of Anatolia, to come together, and to form a community, cooperating for the same purposes.

Flexibility

Flexibility is the concept that can best describe the spatial organization pattern of this *gecekondu* neighborhood. According to Şenyapılı, flexibility is the reflection of the socio-economic position of a certain social group on the physical space. (Şenyapılı, 1981) Parallel to the assertion, structure of *gecekondu* neighborhoods can keep up with the social, economic changes of the life of the households. That is to say, most of the inhabitants of the Çukurambar *gecekondu* settlement are not employed in regularly paid jobs. The majority of them find rather temporary jobs in disorganized sectors. Therefore, new units like kitchens or more bedrooms for children were added, or the house was repaired whenever the inhabitant has gathered necessary money for it. The spatial structure of the *gecekondu* neighborhood permits these kinds of flexible interferences.

Furthermore, this flexibility enabled the togetherness of the three generations in one *gecekondu* cluster as well. For instance, *gecekondu* owner's son and his family continued living in the same building plot, by adding certain new units to the house or by building a new house in the garden (if there is enough space). Therefore, plan arrangements of *gecekondu* buildings display rather an incremental and spontaneous development pattern. In a number of examples, wet spaces are added after the main *gecekondu* building was constructed. As for the expressions of the *gecekondu* inhabitants, mostly, a corner where the oven is located is utilized as the kitchen of the house in first years of settling down. Then a kitchen unit is added to the house. For example, some houses still do not include a lavatory inside. A small unit is built in the garden for this purpose. Besides being flexible all these physical properties at the same time give the evidence of a rather rural type of spatial and social organization.

4.3 Spatial Transformation Process in Çukurambar

Three main phases can be considered in the spatial transformation process of Çukurambar from an old *gecekondu* settlement into a legal residential district. The first phase consists of the preparation of the 1/5000 revision plan by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. The second phase comprises the 1/1000 implementation plans by Çankaya Municipality; while the third phase constitutes the realization process of the decisions made in these urban development plans. (Figure 4.15)

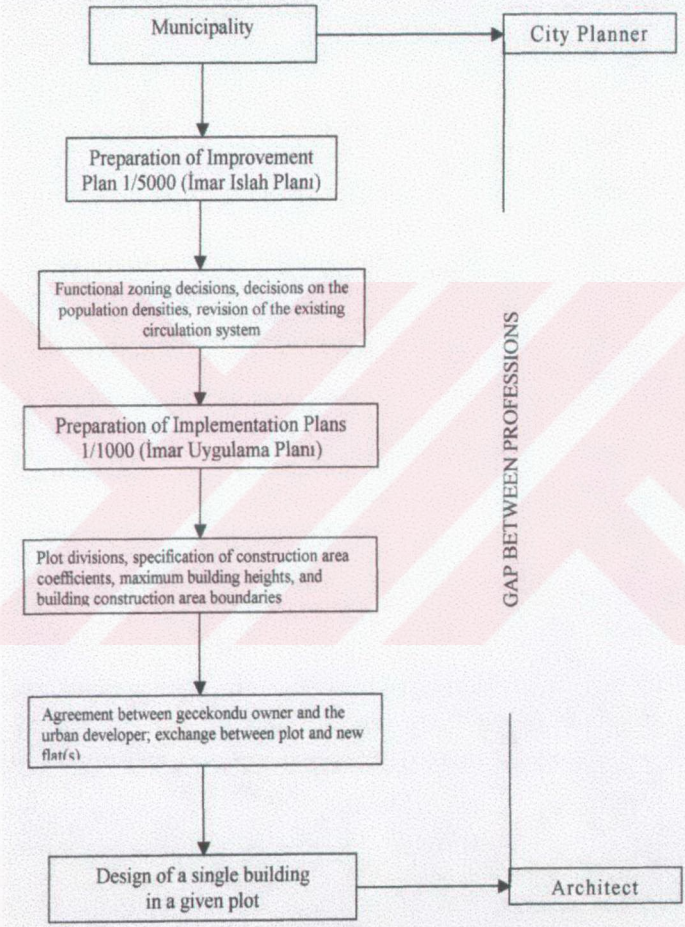


Figure 4.15. One-way hierarchical procedure of the ordinary urban space production model

Actors and their behavior patterns in these three different steps will be defined; and their role in the generated end product will be discussed. It is important to highlight and argue about the ongoing process in Çukurambar since it reveals rather a problematic model. Namely, certain actors are absent in the process; while some actors enter the process in a wrong phase, most actors do not find any possibility to communicate with each other through the entire process.

4.3.1 Revision plan

The revision plan is a type of urban development plan. (Çukurambar Revision Plan, Appendix B) According to the definition in the "Regulation On The Composition and Modifications of Urban Development Plan", a revision plan is the plan prepared according to the planning techniques when an existing zoning and construction plan and implementation plans are not sufficient or valid for any particular area. Accordingly, in our case the revision plan was prepared because the improvement plan drawn for the *gecekondu* area was found insufficient. (Interview with Prof. Dr. Raci Bademli) As clarified before, improvement plans are basically proposed as a model for transforming *gecekondu* settlements by a complete reorganization. The revision plan of Çukurambar-Karakusunlar that was prepared by the city planners of the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara was approved in 28th June of 1993. Namely, the first actor, the city planner started the transformation process of the area by drawing a 1/5000 scale plan. A circulation system for vehicular circulation and land use decisions are main subjects that the city planner was concerned in the preparation of this plan. While today there does not exist not any report or any written document about the revision plan in the municipality that may clarify the criteria, and priorities that professionals followed during the preparation of the plan; there exist five plan decisions written on the left below part of the revision plan. These are:

"1.There cannot be any construction activity before 1/1000 scale urban development plans are approved by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara.

2.Public, Tourist, and Health Institution Buildings, Commercial, Office, and Service Buildings, Commercial Centers, Exhibition-Sale, Press-Broadcast, and Cultural-Recreational Institution Buildings, and Dormitory buildings can take place in urban service areas.

3.In urban service areas, where implementation plans are already finished, building plots and floor area ratios are as follows:

Building Plot Area (m2)	*floor area ratios*
2500-5000	*1*
5001-10000	*2*
10001-	*2.5*

*(**Building construction area** is calculated through the multiplication of **building plot area and floor area ratios.**)*

Minimum plot area in urban service areas is 2500 m2.

4.In urban service areas, where implementation plans are not finished, building plots and floor area ratios are as follows:

Building Plot Area (m2)	*floor area ratios*
5000-10000	*2*
10001-	*2.5*

Minimum plot area in urban service areas is 5000 m2.

5.In the zoning and construction plans, it is important to pay attention to the determination of construction area boundaries and construction floor areas in such a way that the surface of green areas are maximized and the ratio of landscaped areas within the building plots are increased.

6. Liquid fuel sale and service stations may take place in urban service areas." (Revision Plan, 1993)

These decisions bring forth standardization and comprehensive attitudes towards urban organization and the creation of urban spatial environment, which were clarified in the previous chapter. Although the location of specific plots in the urban service area is not known; building plot areas, floor area ratios are already fixed. What kind of plot(s) will be

its neighboring plot(s), what kind of visual and spatial relations will occur on what kind of a topography between these elements are not questioned either. This is a simplistic method of space production, and it homogenizes the urban spaces. This method only gives clue about the quantity of the construction area and is only concerned with how many square meters of space will be created at the end. Fifth issue stresses on the necessity of increasing the amount of green areas in the neighborhood and advices explicitly minimum floor usage and maximum height, in order to gain more open spaces within the urban environment. The nature of this issue expresses again a comprehensive approach to urban space production process imposing the repetition of standard, typical building blocks in the city. This issue can be evaluated as a determination that directs developers and architects to one specified type of end product. In fact, it is this understanding that result in generation of generic spaces. Moreover, to create adequate open space for the use of community is one of the major tasks of the zoning and construction plans, as declared in the preceding chapter. Therefore, to expect the creation of green areas from the private interest does not cohere with the basic goals of these plans.

The Circulation System

The circulation system of the old Çukurambar neighborhood has a rather spontaneous and unplanned structure. Obviously, the old private property relations in the area created the subdivision pattern of building plots and the street pattern respectively. As mentioned before, *gecekondu* plot sizes are smaller than the new building plots brought by the revision plans. Therefore, a difference occurs between the street patterns of old and new settlement fabrics. Hence, many old and narrow streets of the old *gecekondu* settlement are cancelled during the formation of the new larger building plots, while certain main arteries of the old fabric, like Ögretmenler Road and Çukurambar Ring Road are only widened, and preserved as they are. (Figure 4.16) Raci Bademli stated that although the revision plan

enclosed a new circulation structure, which is decided in accordance with the general structure of the city, politicians The mayor of the date was Doğan Taşdelen abstained from the implementation of totally a new structure. (Interview with Raci Bademli) For instance, one significant proposed change in the transportation system was the entry of the extension of the Söğütözü Avenue in the neighborhood as a new artery. In the revision plan, it was introduced as a 35 meters-wide road through the urban service zone until the residential units. Beginning from the residential zone, it shrinks to a 25 meters-wide road, similar to the other inner road of the settlement, Çukurambar Ring Road. However, in reality this artery has not been built.

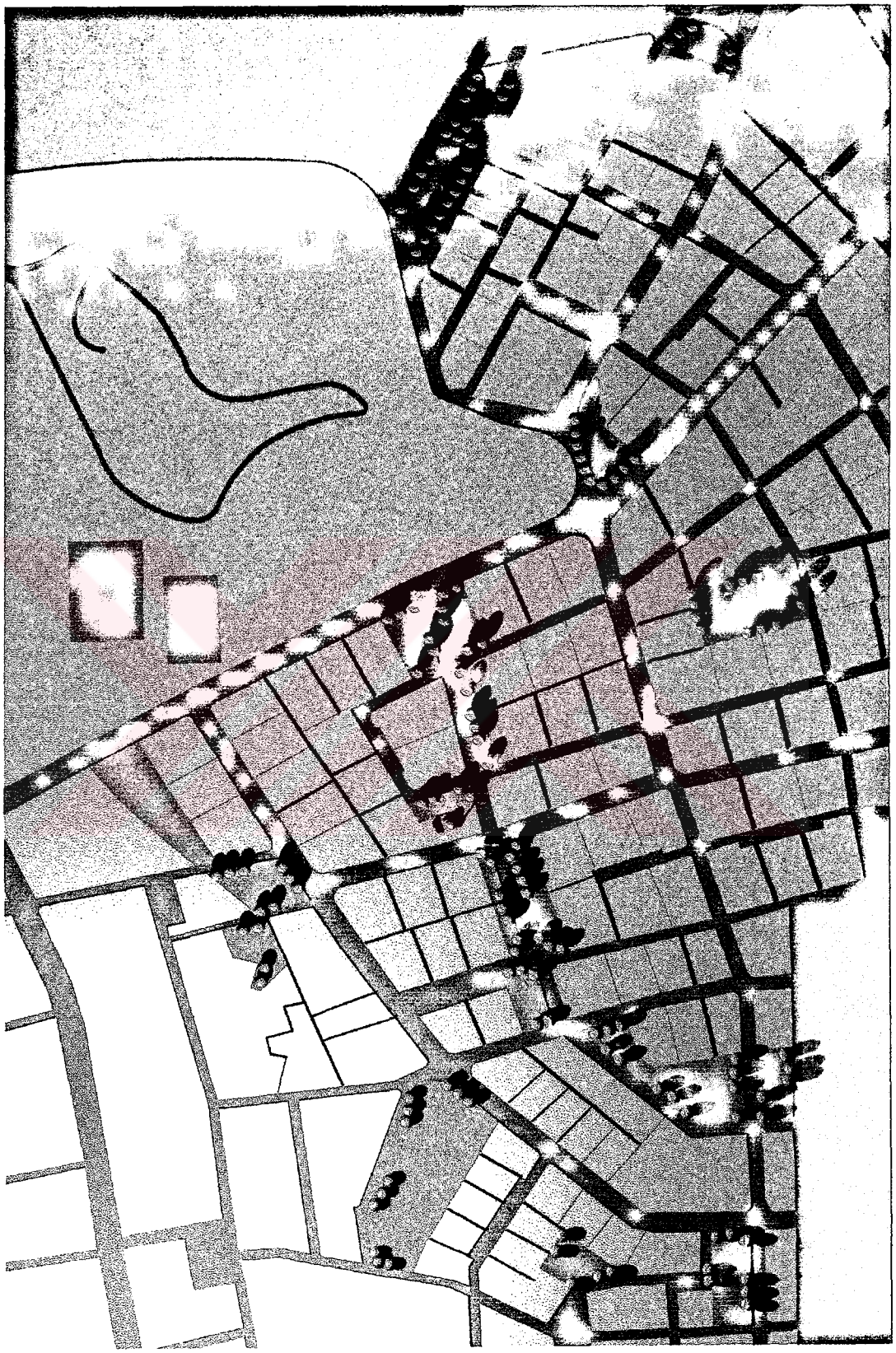


Figure 4.16. Path structure of the new settlement fabric

Land Use and Density Decisions

As mentioned before, Çukurambar was a *gecekondu* neighborhood; therefore residential usage already existed in the area. Similarly, in the improvement and revision plans, this area was kept as a residential area; but this time with a considerably higher density. High-density residential units occupy a large amount of the neighborhood area. The density in the region is clarified as 500 people per hectare, hence as a high-density residential area, while middle-density residential units, defined as 250 people per hectare, constitute a small portion of the neighborhood. It is important to realize that these decisions made on the population distribution of the residential zone have a direct impact on the created physical space. Therefore, it can be said that even in the phase of 1/5000 scale revision plan, certain choices about the spatial organization and visual outlook of Çukurambar are already fixed, without any design process is involved. Namely, building plot sizes, building heights, construction area boundaries are predetermined so that the aimed population density is achieved. Population density of the old *gecekondu* settlement was approximately 170 people per hectare. Therefore, population distribution in the area is increased three times of the old density in Çukurambar. "Why this density was foreseen for the area?" is a crucial question to explain the principle reason behind the transformation in this area.

An outcome of these decisions is that these numbers determined in the phase of the 1/5000 revision plan determine the built-environment with a homogenous population and building density. For example in Çukurambar, the same type of building blocks of residential use will occupy 60 hectares of the settlement area. This is to satisfy the determined population distribution fixed by the revision plan. However, 60 hectares of the same kind of usage will obviously create certain problems as well. As it was stressed before conditions required for creating urbanity reject mindless repetition of the same element with identical use.

In addition to the residential use, commerce and greenery are other two usages identified in the area. Both the greenery and the commercial units are planned as linear continuous zones that cross the site of Çukurambar. (Figure 4.17) An urban service area of approximately 150 meters wide is located along the Eskisehir and Konya highways, which works as a buffer zone between the residential area and the highways. Again, functional zoning principle of the functionalist town planning understanding frames the practice of the professionals who created this plan.

Figure 4.17. Green continuities in the neighborhood

4.3.2 Preparation of Implementation Plans

Preparation of 1/1000 scale implementation plans according to the approved 1/5000 scale revision plans constitutes the second phase of the process. (Çukurambar Implementation Plan, Appendix C) The physical environment in Çukurambar, its spatial and visual qualities that are going to be created consequently in this area is drawn in detail in the implementation plans, while the revision plan concentrates on the items, such as, the main circulation network, land use and population division patterns. Parameters that

directly affect the built environment, such as, building plot boundaries, construction area boundaries, maximum building heights, floor area ratios (FAR), and road widths are clarified through these plans. (Figure 4.18) Building plot and island numbers are also fixed in these implementation plans. Moreover, urban functions and building types are defined on these plots, such as, service area except for residential use (Konut Dışı Servis Alanı (K.S.A)), municipality service areas (Belediye Hizmet Alanı) (B.H.A), education institutions, health centers, social and cultural buildings, elementary and high school buildings. Obviously all these decisions are based on the decisions already set in the revision plan. These plans are prepared by the municipality of Çankaya, since Çukurambar neighborhood is situated officially within the boundaries of this borough. Therefore, the second actor in the space production process of Çukurambar neighborhood is again a group of professionals, cartographers, and city planners, who are working in the municipality of Çankaya and those working for an engineering firm, called "Özlem Mühendislik" chosen by the municipality of Çankaya.

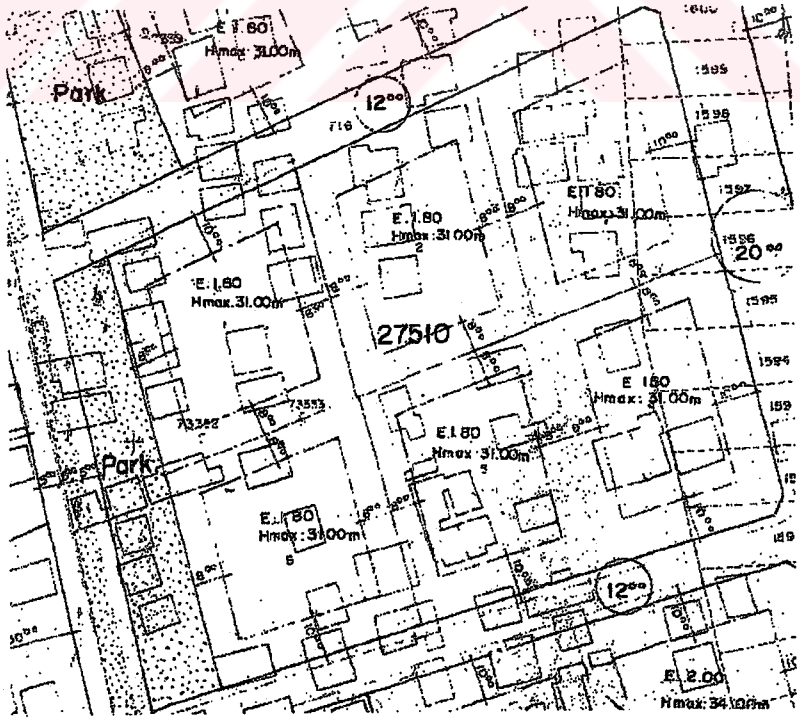


Figure 4.18. Typical building island in Çukurambar (Çukurambar 1/1000 Implementation Plan)

The subdivision of urban land into pieces constitutes the basic logic of the implementation plans. As decisions in these plans follow the land use and density decisions fixed in the revision plan, it can be said that properties of building plots, the functions attributed to the plots are clarified accordingly as well. Building plots in Çukurambar are larger in size when compared to other residential settlements in Ankara, such as, Dikmen, Balgat, or Bahçelievler. Most of the building plots are approximately 3000 m^2; the floor area ratio (FAR) on these areas is fixed as 1.8, while maximum building heights are given as 34 and 31 m. These values are not determined by chance. However, they are not outcomes of certain design decisions either. These are values, which correspond to the planned density in the Çukurambar neighborhood. These values are valid for parts where the population density is fixed as 500 people per hectare. There exist also certain building plots in the area, on which FAR is decided as 1.75 and maximum building height is given as 22m on the areas where population density is defined as 250 people per hectare. However, these determinants have only one goal, which is satisfying population density decisions fixed by the revision plan. As a result, the urban form, the urban fabric that is made of typical urban elements built on typical building plots, street patterns, sizes, measurements, and proportions of the urban components are determined at the end of this second phase.

Another issue that should be highlighted at this phase of the process is the main reason that lies behind the population density decisions, consequently behind the dense urban fabric created in the area. As a matter of fact, transformation can take place only when high densities are applied on these areas. As it was stressed before, law of 2981 legitimized and turned the old Çukurambar *gecekondu* area into legal urban building islands. Therefore every *gecekondu* owner has expectations of exchanging their lands with a certain number of apartments. The expectation of the *gecekondu* owner with relatively

smaller lands can be fulfilled if larger building plots are created and if high FAR and building heights are applied. The developers who will construct the blocks have certain expectations as well. Their main motivation is to gain maximum rent. Therefore, it is one of the main conditions of the transformation to constitute larger building plots so that expectations of both the landowners, and the developer can be satisfied. This is the basic fact behind the high density determined for the neighborhood. To summarize, creation of high densities becomes a requirement for the transformation of the gecekondu settlement into "orderly" built-environment.

In fact, all these standards, measurements, sizes related to plots and buildings occur as a result of a certain understanding that is only concerned by quantitative properties of the built-environment to be created. These standards are obviously necessary in creating a planned and an arranged environment, for the satisfaction of concepts like justice, healthy environment in the name of public good. Yet they are not sufficient in reaching urban environments that have spatial and visual qualities that could satisfy psychological, social, and aesthetical needs of people. Most importantly, this approach implies a predefined urban environment type, which will be evaluated later in this chapter.

4.3.3 Realization Phase of the Prepared Plans

In the third and last phase of the process; developers, landowners, and real estate agents are involved. Architects constitute another group who joins the process at this phase, mostly as employees of the construction firms. All these actors collaborate in the realization of the urban environment, which was previously foreseen, or planned by the professionals who participated in the preparation of the revision and implementation plans. Professionals who are working actively on the production of the urban development plans until this phase of the process are isolated from the realization process while actors concerned by the

sharing out of the created profit on the Çukurambar undertake various tasks in designating the final physical form of the neighborhood.

To begin with, *gecekondu* owners have to come together and unite their lands, according to the determinations made by the municipality in reference to implementation plans, so that larger building plots can be constituted. Re-membering old *gecekondu* plots is necessary in order to achieve the regular and larger building plots defined in the implementation plans of the new Çukurambar neighborhood. As the *gecekondu* dwellers are not capable of accomplishing the construction of ten-story high apartment blocks by their own means, they require a developer for this task. Therefore, these landowners should find an appropriate developer, or a construction firm. The task of finding the developer and gathering a certain number of *gecekondu* owner is realized by real estate agents emerged in the area. These agencies serve as mediators who organize the exchange agreement between the developer and the landowner.

The developers in Çukurambar are not the usual build and sell contractors who build the four-storey building blocks in ordinary residential areas of Ankara. These are mostly construction firms, which can utilize more developed and expensive construction techniques, capable of constructing multi-storey building blocks. In Çukurambar, the agreement between the developer and landowners can be realized if as a result, the developer can possess fifty percent of the apartments in one building. The other fifty percent is shared out among the landowners, namely *gecekondu* owners, with regard to the size of their lands.

Architect is the next actor of the process working for the developer to design the multi-storey building block. However, the domain within which this actor operates is limited in the process, which is at work in Çukurambar. As it was explained, the decisions made in the first and second phases namely during the planning processes affect directly the end product: the urban environment, the forms of urban solids and voids. Namely, an urban

fabric is shaped without being designed. Moreover, the area within which an architect can intervene is limited within the construction area boundaries, which are already arranged in the 1/1000 scale implementation plans, such as, location of the building block in the plot, main entrance, building height, floor area. This actor is only in charge for organizing the interior plan and façade arrangements of the building blocks. But, the relationships between building blocks and open spaces created among them are not the subject matters of neither the architect's nor any designer's responsibilities. Furthermore, neither the silhouette of the built-environment that is being created in Çukurambar, nor the general form and the three-dimensional structure of the urban neighborhood within the city context -formal, visual, social relations with the center, or surrounding settlements- is among the considerations of the process. In other words, the way this process accelerates, excludes certain actions and actors who are supposed to develop design solutions on the shaping of the urban environment.

Additionally, the way the actors are organized reveals a hierarchic and one-way process model where every subject does his pre-defined task and conveys it to the next subject without sharing his perspectives, without any contact, any reflection, or any discussion. However, the decisions, which directly effect the creation of urban spaces, should be made together with all the actors, city planners, architects, developers, landowners and the groups that are going to live in any given place. Here another actor, which is absent in the urban space production process of Çukurambar, should be highlighted: the future inhabitants of the neighborhood. This group has not any direct or indirect role on the formation of spaces in any phase of the process, although they are the first-order users of the built-environment. Neither *gecekondu* inhabitants who have been living in the area for forty years, nor the new inhabitants who move to the area had been

any chance to express their expectations, comments, or proposals on the created spaces throughout the process.

As a matter of fact, it should be emphasized that even the professionals who worked for the production of urban development plans are not as much effective as the private property relations which dominate all through the process from the very beginning. The major factor that shapes the environment in Çukurambar is the property relations, and not certain concerns that focus on the spatial and visual urban qualities in the area. This transformation process is mainly determined by the exchange agreements between the landowners and the developers. The professionals participating in the space production process make only decisions that, as a result, serve for the redistribution of the urban land and sharing out the surplus value created as a result of the plans they prepare.

4.4 New Çukurambar Residential District: Description of the Built Environment

After the transformation of the old *gecekondu* enclave, a new urban neighborhood environment is appearing in the case study area, Çukurambar. (Figure 4.19) This new environment will be analyzed in terms of physical form, identity-meaning, and social structure. These concepts were introduced as basic principles of urban design in the second chapter. New Çukurambar neighborhood will be examined from these viewpoints to reach a comprehensive analysis and a true criticism of the district.

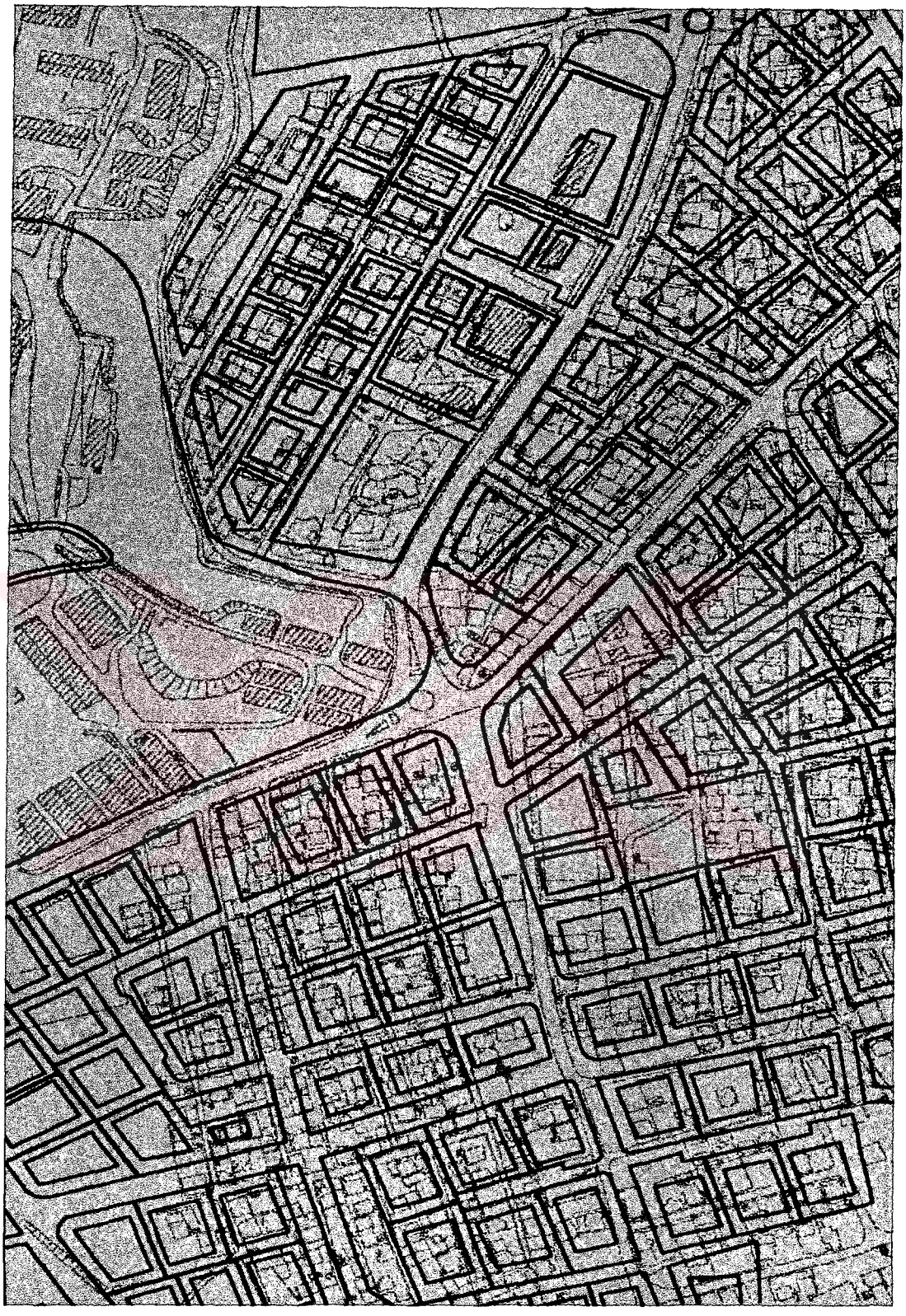


Figure 4.19. Old and new settlement fabrics of Çukurambar

4.4.1 Physical Form:

"It is precisely the form that impresses us; we live it and we experience it, and in turn it structures the city." (Aldo Rossi, 1982)

Separated high-rise building blocks placed in the middle of urban plots and surrounded by fences are the major elements of the new built-environment of Çukurambar urban neighborhood. (Figure 4.20) Principally, solid elements of Çukurambar district are taking their forms and find their locations depending on the land subdivision pattern imposed by implementation plans. These plans are basically prepared for setting down the subdivision of the building plots and islands. They are the first-order determinants of the physical form appearing in Çukurambar district. Direct effects of certain values, -maximum height, FAR (floor area ratio)- which are determined on these plans, have been widely discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, physical forms in this neighborhood become the direct outcome of the landownership pattern. Here, the question arises whether what kind of a subdivision pattern of urban land is anticipated for the area and what is its possible consequences in the organization of physical forms of Çukurambar neighborhood.

Figure 4.20. Typical building blocks in Çukurambar

In Çukurambar, land is divided into building islands enclosing plots almost equal both in form and size. Occurrence of these building islands is organized around the traces of the old *gecekondu* settlement fabric. Therefore old major paths of the *gecekondu* settlement are preserved, while narrower, transitional ones are omitted so that plots of standard widths can be created. The new distribution is mainly based on the rationalization efforts, widening paths, opening cul-de-sacs. In fact, producing standard urban plots with standard FAR and maximum height values is based on the satisfaction of "justice", by the help of rationalization explained in the chapter of urban development planning in Turkey. It is important to realize that forms as persistent elements of the urban environment, are not end products of a design process. (Figure 4.21 and 4.22) It is clear that property relations on the constitution of physical form is the most dominant concern. Result is a monotonous environment, which consists of single, isolated, and similar solid components. (Figure 4.23)

Figure 4.21. Plan view of Çukurambar residential environment

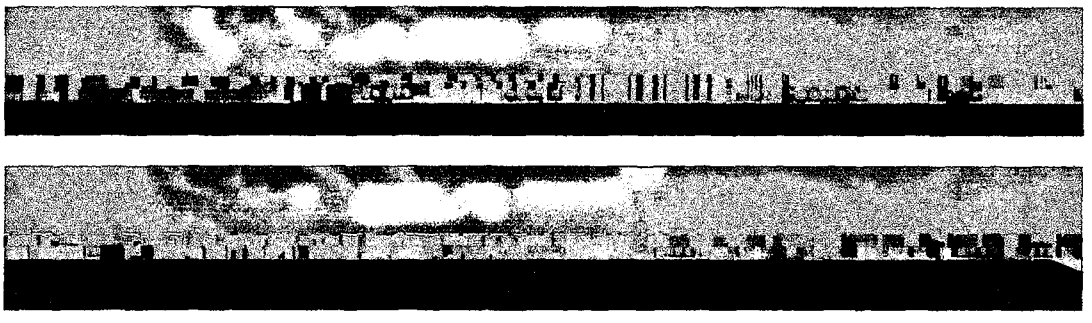


Figure 4.22. Site sections

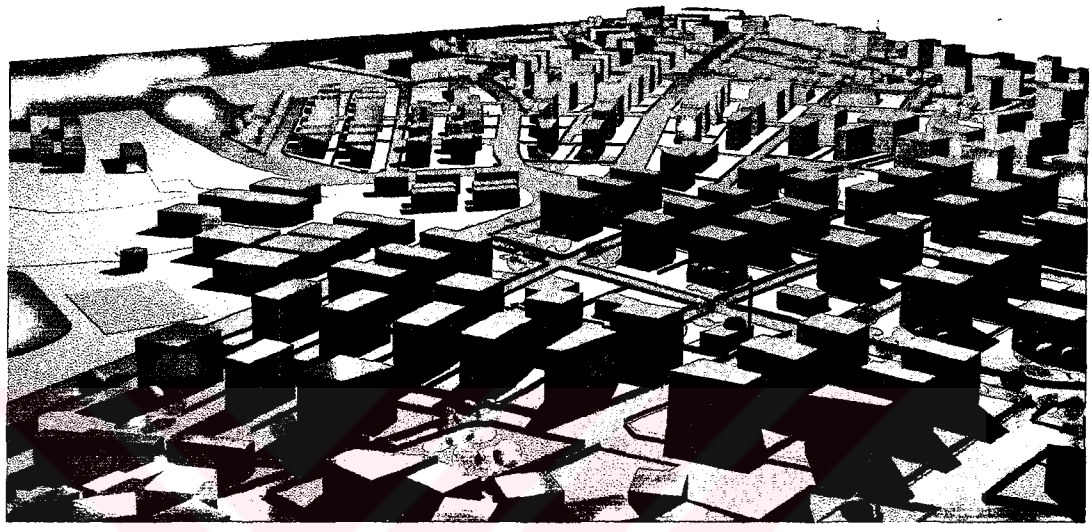


Figure 4.23. Perspective view of Çukurambar residential environment

However, Çukurambar is a special case when compared to other urban neighborhoods, which are produced through "urban development planning procedures". Main difference of Çukurambar residential district from other urban neighborhoods of Ankara, is the higher density, and its consequences in the space organization of the district. Certainly, this factor has a direct influence on the space formation of the neighborhood. Although it is obvious that over density settlements are mostly unhealthy, it is significant to remember that basic criteria of reaching successful urban places, such as variety, vitality, can only be satisfied by the existence of certain population intensity.

Nevertheless, density designated for Çukurambar has rather negative effect on the built environment of the district. Thirty-four-meter high buildings of the district are not successful in establishing any relation with surrounding exterior spaces. They are removed ten meters from the sidewalks and surrounded by the fences. This distance is decided so that necessary sunlight, air circulation, and more greenery is provided. Yet consequently, as

solid components of the settlement fabric, building blocks lost their capability of form giving to or defining the open spaces. By the term, relationship between open spaces and urban solids, it is meant the satisfaction of active building fronts, enclosed and well-defined pedestrianized public spaces, livable street spaces supported by various activities, which are contained on ground floors of surrounding solid elements, arcades, and other urban armatures rather than blank fences without any expression. (Figure 4.24 and 4.25)

Figure 4.24. Street space in Çukurambar neighborhood

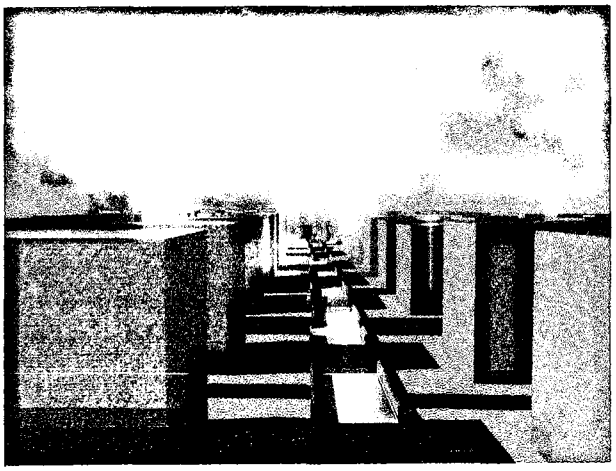


Figure 4.25. Street space in Çukurambar neighborhood

As stated above, maximum heights of the solid elements are classified in the implementation plans as 31 and 34 meters. This is a decision made for the fulfillment of the required population distribution. Observed in the latest built apartment blocks of the site, developers prefer to utilize the maximum possible volume of the building. This decision has not much relevance to the spatial, formal, or aesthetical concerns; neither in reference to the city's overall physical outlook, nor to the spatial or formal coherence of the district. But this choice is a consequence of gaining utmost profit from any given building plot: Higher the building, more the number of flats; more the number of apartments. In fact, this logic is dominant in almost every case and therefore becomes one of the most valid determinants in the formal organization of the area.

Therefore, specified density can also be interpreted as a factor creating a typical characteristic of the neighborhood. If remembered, the common method introduced by urban development planning implementations is to have smaller building plots for five-story high apartment blocks removed five meters from the road, three meters from neighboring building plots. In this sense, Çukurambar differs from other residential districts. This time building construction area boundaries are removed ten meters from the road, and eight meters from the neighboring plot. Consequently, solid-void relations, open space organizations bring about an absolutely different formation: Vertical solid blocks are isolated both from each other and from streets. Here, it is important to remember figure-ground theory and the concept of positive space, which was especially emphasized by Roger Trancik. According to Trancik the easiest way to achieve positive voids is to work with horizontal building masses where the solid structures have more coverage than the surrounding open field. (Trancik, 1986: 100) He mentions about a space organization where, conceptually, spaces are carved out of mass. In other words, while voids are figures, solid elements constitute the backgrounds. On the contrary, in Çukurambar solid elements are figures on a background of voids. Therefore, this urban fabric fails in the constitution of

necessary relations between the components of urban space, which is characteristic to a modernist understanding of urban spaces although they do not fulfill all the requirements of modernist planning either.

Next, as an extension of the freely placed and single blocks, streets do not display a formal consistency with the built-up elements of the neighborhood. (Figure 4.26) The distance between building fronts and pedestrian paths increases and consequently building a healthy relationship is hindered. Moreover, heights of building blocks make the necessary interaction impossible. Distances between building fronts and paths and the heights of solid elements do not allow for any contact. (auditory, visual, or physical)

Figure 4.26. Freely placed building blocks in the settlement fabric

On the other hand, when compared to other urban residential districts; existence of green areas within the private boundaries of each building constitutes another important difference or basic advantage of this settlement. Mostly there is an arrangement of certain

landscape elements in these areas. Playgrounds for younger kids and sometimes basketball grounds, or small swimming pools are also included. At this point, a striking spatial property can be realized as long as impact of private and public interest in the formation of open spaces in Çukurambar are concerned. Private gardens of residential blocks are well kept by the gardener or the doorkeeper. On the other hand, common streets under the responsibility of the municipality are still in mud as they were in the old *gecekondu* settlement. (Figure 4.27) In fact, Çukurambar carries the image of a cooperative housing project realized by public incentive such as Eryaman 5th phase although it is formed by independent building blocks produced through an incremental process by different private developers. The same understanding of urban space and similar principle dominate in both types of housing areas.

Figure 4.27. Muddy street spaces of Çukurambar

Here, an interesting inconsistency in the formation of the physical components arises: Çukurambar is being built by the private enterprise but it appears as a public housing project. Although one expects to see the various and distinct representations of private identities, sameness and monotony are the primary concepts defining the properties of the

settlement. In fact, the main cause of this fact is the obligatory standard regulations and implementations that urban development planning introduces. As stressed before, spatial diversity, formal variation is completely excluded from the process.

Quite the opposite, boring and simple repetition of building plots becomes the basic spatial code of this urban residential district. Isolated, single, and standard high-rise buildings are located on a landscape by a monotonous order, yet without a legible structure. In fact, as long as solid-void relations are considered, this description has certain resemblances to the urban space of Le Corbusier that is composed of "skyscrapers freely placed within a park-like space". As stressed through the study this attitude has been criticized from different viewpoints by numerous researchers. Accordingly, this fact can be interpreted as realization of the Corbusean urbanistic dreams of 1920s in Turkey in the year of 2000.

But there are certain differences: First of all, modernist aesthetical concerns prevail in Le Corbusier's schemes. Furthermore, Le Corbusier defends for the abolition of private ownership of the land in order to allow free circulation of pedestrian and unobstructed visibility. However, boundaries of every plot are emphasized by fences, balustrades, walls or hedges according to plot divisions depicted in implementation plans in Çukurambar. (Figure 4.28) These boundary elements are fundamental representatives of the ruling private property system in the urban space mentioned above. However what in Le Corbusier's mind was continuity of open spaces, flow of greenery outside the building areas, which belongs to the public. (Le Corbusier, 1969) Moreover, open green areas as background elements in Le Corbusier's proposal have relatively more coverage than that of in Çukurambar. Modern town planning principles, which were set by CIAM in Athens Charter, put forward the dominance of public interest to the private interest. Necessity of taking wide urban lands into the public sector was also declared explicitly for the implementation of comprehensive urban projects in the CIAM congresses. (Le Corbusier,

1969) Yet, in Turkey implementation plans serve basically for dividing urban land into pieces on behalf of the private interest, on which separated buildings can be constructed.

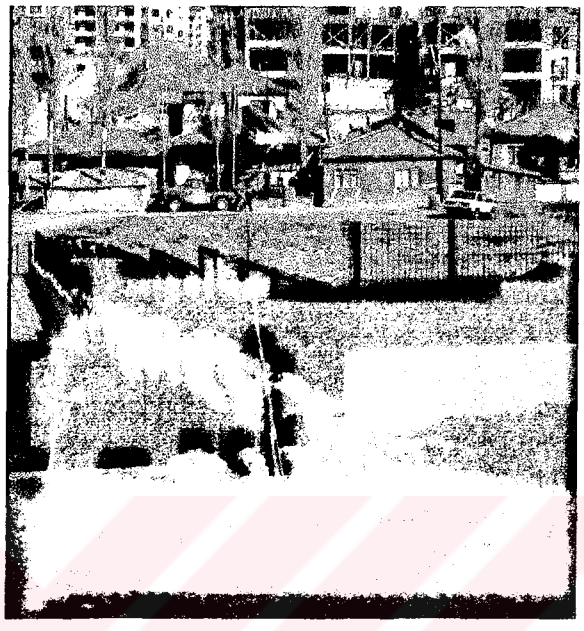


Figure 4.28. Private property boundaries clarified by fences in the neighborhood

Lack of spatial and formal variety, weakness of architectural expression leads to seeking diversity, expression of identities superficially especially in facade arrangements of apartment blocks. Accordingly, Çukurambar becomes a space where variety is sought through coloring the exterior facades of the blocks. (Figure 4.29) A considerably wide range of colors; purple, orange, green, claret red etc. has been used in the district. Another method in the search of variety is utilization of cliché elements meaninglessly attached to the facades of the thirty meter high building corners, like false towers having no spatial contribution neither to the mass of the building nor to the interior organization of the apartments. (Figure 4.30) It is apparent that in cases where spatial and formal qualities are absent in urban space production processes, these kinds of endeavors become dominant and result in less successful urban environments. This criticism does not necessarily undermine the importance of color, or any façade ornamentation. However, these elements would be meaningful, only if they are used in accordance with the spatial, symbolic, or functional

components of a design question. Since there is not any mechanism arranging and controlling utilization of these elements, the result is a chaos in façade arrangements of standard, vertical building masses, rejecting harmony.

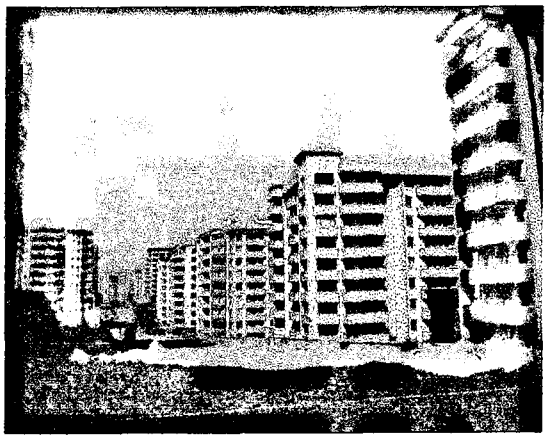


Figure 4.29. Variety sought through colors

Figure 4.30. Identity sought through false towers

4.4.2 Meaning-Structure-Identity

> *"After decades of abstract "scientific" theory, it is urgent to return to a qualitative, phenomenological understanding of architecture. It does not help to solve practical problems as long as this understanding is lacking." (Norberg-Schulz, 1980: 5)*

Studies on the meaning, structure, and identity of space provides us with one of the fundamental criticisms against the urban space production implementations where real

estate economics, therefore standard and rational implementations of urban space production ignoring existential dimensions of place are the major driving forces. This perspective requires a special perception of space that considers the interactions between individuals and their built environment. Therefore, what are the possible meanings and images that will occur in the minds of users, passer-bys, and inhabitants of Çukurambar become an important question. However, as discussed in the second chapter, image and meaning are rather subjective concepts depending on the individuals; changing from one person to the other. Therefore, studying any neighborhood from psychological point of view requires a distinct methodology of research. Namely, only making a detailed study together with the inhabitants could expose meanings or images that can be created in the minds of individuals. Hence, it is hard to make comments on the meanings and images of Çukurambar residential district in individual's minds; in return it is possible to concentrate on the structure and the identity of the neighborhood. At this point, Lynch's book "The Image of the City" becomes an important source on developing an analysis on the structure and identity of a given urban settlement. Lynch identifies basic structural forms of the city as paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. According to Lynch, effective usage and integration of these forms result in the reinforcement of meanings and images that are created in the minds of the observer.

First of all, since Çukurambar is an urban residential settlement, analyzing it as a *district* has precedence over other components that Lynch asserts. Factors, such as, figure-ground relations, building types, spaces, textures, and forms are basic determinants in the constitution of a district. Consistency, and continuity in the usage of these elements, their variations mainly reveals identity for a particular district. Furthermore, by proposing unique relations between solid and void components of the settlement fabric, one neighborhood can be effectively differentiated from other surrounding districts. Accordingly, when implementations in Çukurambar are examined, it can be easily understood that this chance

had been missed by the application of the same kind of solid void organization. However, use of multi-storey blocks is an important issue that differentiates Çukurambar from a neighboring district, such as Balgat.

Actually, when the land subdivision patterns of Balgat and Çukurambar are examined, it is seen that there does not exist any recognizable difference between the fabrics of these neighborhoods. (Figure 4.31 and 4.32) In fact, it is very difficult to differentiate these two neighborhoods from each other, when the solid-void relations are examined. The same logic, -repetition of a typical mass on equally divided building island-, is being re-implemented in both of these districts. However, one difference between these two neighborhoods comes from the repeated building types. As explained, due to the high population density specified for Çukurambar, eleven story-high building becomes the typical mass of the neighborhood, which is different from the four-story high building block of Balgat. Yet, as it was discussed, high density results in a rather negative urban space organization in Çukurambar instead of supplying a unique identity. Moreover, since neighboring residential districts, such as, Çiğdem Mahallesi, Yüzüncüyıl Mahallesi, are also organized by similar high-rise building block types that it is nearly impossible to discern in which district one is. Therefore, instead of establishing a unique identity for the neighborhood, this building type results in the constitution of an unsuccessful space organization in regard to the lack of structure and hierarchy thus lack of legibility.

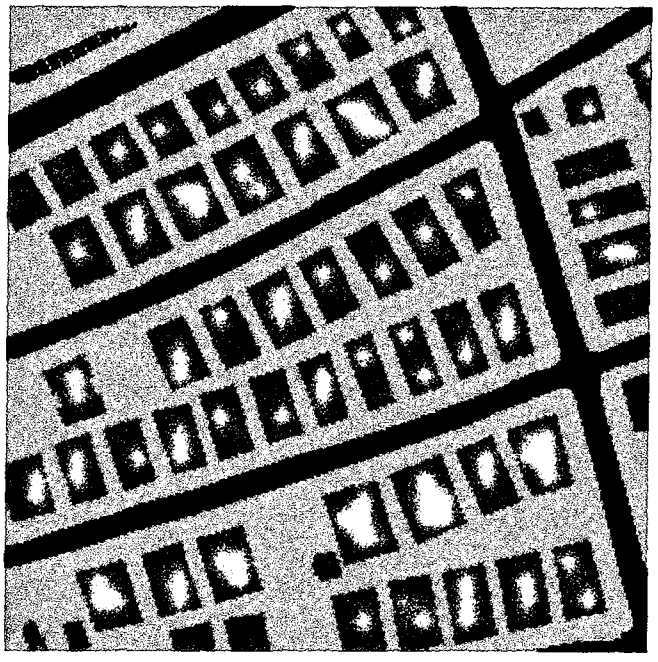


Figure 4.31. Balgat settlement fabric

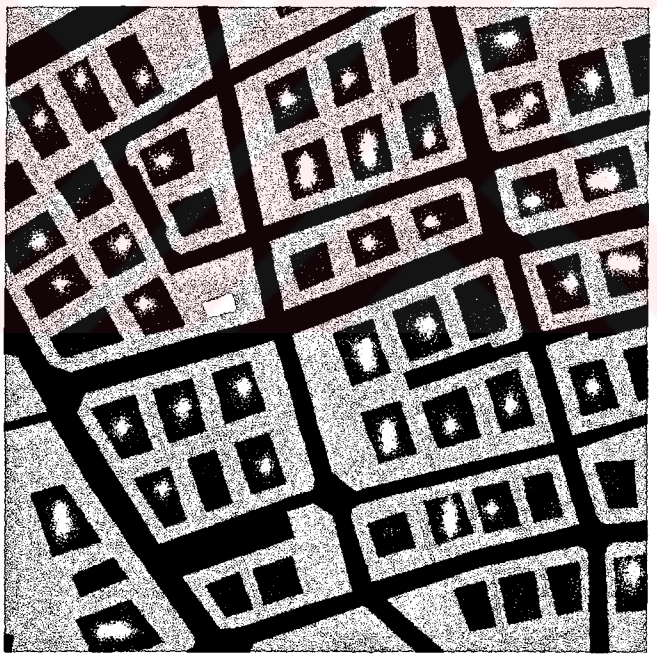


Figure 4.32. Çukurambar settlement fabric

Attention should be paid in the name of creating distinct district patterns that may represent their unique contexts. Cultural, historical qualities of the region should be studied; topographical properties should be taken into account so that unique properties of a place can be revealed and reflected in the formation of the settlement fabric. *Genius loci* can only

be caught by considering unique existential properties of place, as Norberg-Schulz asserts. The question why the new Çukurambar area has been built in the way it is built has not any understandable answers displaying any concern on the characteristic properties of the area. What is being constructed in Çukurambar may have been built in any location. In fact, these kinds of settlements based on only rational and quantitative concerns are being implemented everywhere. Consequently, this fact is the basic reason behind our criticism on the loss of identity and sense of place, lack of originality.

In addition to the concept of identity, imageability is another factor that brings to mind a strong image of built-up environment in any given observer. Imageability is dependent on whether a built-environment is legible or not, and Lynch's five basic urban elements (paths, districts, edges, nodes, and landmarks) are important in testing the legibility of urban environments.

Lynch declares that *paths* are predominant elements in the image of the individuals. People observe their built-up environments while moving through these elements. (Lynch, 1960: 46) Therefore, along the paths, the other environmental elements are arranged and related. In Çukurambar neighborhood, two clashing issues are effective in the constitution of the path vocabulary. First one is the preserved organic order of paths of the *gecekondu* settlement, while the other one is the so-called rationalization of the old structure of the *gecekondu* paths, by eliminating the cul-de-sacs, canceling narrower streets, and creating streets with standard dimensions and properties. (standard width, standard sections...)

On the one hand, the course of the spontaneously established paths and their intersections (due to the angles which are not perpendicular) are not so easy to grasp both for a pedestrian and for an observer in a motorized vehicle, because paths follow the old and irregular pattern of the *gecekondu* settlement. As a result, the network of streets in the district has a rather confusing character raising difficulties in the orientation. On the other

hand, when streets are examined one by one, monotony and dullness are the most appropriate properties that describe these elements. Common width, common building type result in the resemblance of streets to each other, while in contrast to the monotony of building masses, building facade arrangements create chaos rather than a coherent, and recognizable character for any given path.

Usage or activities could be another factor that may result in the constitution of identity of a circulation component only if they are associated with that space. Namely, only when activities can add something to the life in any given linkage element, then paths can be distinguished with this property. In fact, Çukurambar, as an urban neighborhood carries the potential of a residential use combined with small-scale commercial activities that can end up with a network of streets each having a unique identity. But both by zoning out different activities and by singling out building blocks from the paths; relations, therefore possible meanings and images in user's minds of these elements have been declined in this neighborhood.

Edges are other structural components that define the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity. Lynch exemplifies water elements like river or sea, mountains, and valleys as elements clarifying the borders of a settlement. (Lynch, 1960: 54) These elements are important organizing features, particularly in the role of differentiating areas. In the case of a residential district, edge can be interpreted as element(s) that defines the outer boundaries of that settlement. If there doesn't exist any natural edges, built-up forms can be effectively used for this purpose as well. In case of Çukurambar, however, there are no clear physical edges that define the district except the artificial boundaries. Only names written on signboards makes one understand that he/she is in the boundaries of the neighborhood. Maybe, Eskişehir and Konya highways can be considered as edges that define the limits of the neighborhood from North and East. But these highways are not

preferred elements in being an edge of a residential district as long as noise and air pollution they create are considered.

Nodes are strategic spots in a settlement into which an observer can enter. They may be primarily places that gain importance from being the condensation of some use or physical character, as a street corner hangout or enclosed square. As long as building plot subdivisions in the neighborhood are considered, it can be easily inferred that there is neither special treatment of corners or corner buildings nor any possibility of emergence of an enclosed square. There is not any specialization in the plan arrangements of corner plots. Furthermore, as it was discussed, for the emergence of an enclosed urban square, a positive urban space order should be followed. Accordingly, voids should be perceived as figures on the settlement fabric unlike the Çukurambar settlement fabric.

Landmarks are another type of point-reference but in this case, the observer does not enter within them, they are external. Their use involves singling out of one element from a host of possibilities. As all elements constituting the neighborhood are similar, it is very unusual to expect the appearance of one element (it can be solid, void, or linkage element) that can be singled out from other components in the neighborhood. Homogenous, monotonous urban fabric constituted by similar forms and established by same activities does not allow occurrence of an element differentiated in the proposed settlement fabric.

As discussed above, when implementation plans and the emerging neighborhood is studied, there is not any clue about the possibility of producing any of these elements. As a result of the lack of these components, it would not be unfair to claim that Çukurambar neighborhood does not have any legible structure that organizes the physical forms that might result in the occurrence of clear identity. Structure of a settlement cannot be

reproduced all through the region. Character cannot be constituted as long as special properties of the local context are disregarded.

4.4.3 Correspondence of social structure and physical environment

Principles of the urban development planning elaborated in the previous chapter (standardization, rationalization, satisfaction of healthy environments) do not allow any association between social and physical space of the Çukurambar neighborhood. As these criteria do not focus on the properties of the community or its relation with the created physical form, standardized spaces alien to their inhabitants come out as a result.

First of all, in the case of Çukurambar residential district, half of the inhabitants of the new neighborhoods are known beforehand. These inhabitants are the *gecekondu* owners, who exchange their lands with apartment(s) in the new blocks. In fact, knowing future inhabitants is an advantage and can be used as a very effective input in designing the new urban environment and establishing required interactions between physical and social space. Trying to understand and to know these people and their expectations, would be a big step in satisfying the association between social and spatial structures. However, on the contrary, these people (old *gecekondu* owners) prefer to sell the apartment(s) attributed to them and move out to other neighborhoods of Ankara. This fact has various reasons behind. One of them is the mismatch of the spatial organization and the way of life these high-rise apartment buildings put forward. For instance, old *gecekondu* residents cannot pursue their outdoor living habits in the newly created built-environment. Furthermore, a single flat in the apartment is not as suitable as the *gecekondu* building for the togetherness of families of different generations (grandmother, mother, children, and their children). In addition, there is a mismatch of social groups in the neighborhood. While it was intentionally clarified that new Çukurambar residential district would be organized according to the needs and

aspirations of upper-middle class, a solution was not produced for the existing inhabitants of the area. Since homogenous character of the built-up environment of the neighborhood doesn't support the togetherness of different social classes, the majority of the *gecekondu* owners choose to leave the district and move to the peripheries of the city. While the question whether the spatial organization is the best one for the assumed social group still exists, rejection of social diversity is one of the most negative properties of the space production model implemented in Çukurambar. Therefore, as a result, the isolation of the old *gecekondu* owners and obviously *gecekondu* tenants occurs in the area. While *gecekondu* owners have a considerable benefit (apartment(s) in the new building blocks), tenants of *gecekondu* houses are expelled from their dwellings without any solution as a result of the application of the improvement and revision plans prepared on behalf of the public interest by the municipality (!)

4.4.4 Variety, Diversity in Activities

Whether there is an association between the physical space of the neighborhood and the social behavior patterns of the new residents is the next question. Does the standardized and similar spatial environment constituted by the typical building blocks and leftover open spaces of the Çukurambar district match with the social properties of these groups? In fact, it is very difficult to agree with the idea that this stereotyped neighborhood space pattern can correspond to the multiplicity of any social group's behavior patterns in the community.

In fact, locating numerous residential buildings next to each other and keeping apart other facilities is not a realistic tactic, which does not match with the vital needs of any individual. In other words, the isolated dwelling blocks cannot afford the diversity of activities that a human being performs in his/her daily life. On the contrary, variety of activities should be brought together closely, and this should be considered as an

indispensable design understanding when urban neighborhoods are structured. In Çukurambar, aforementioned problem exists. Although there are certain plots reserved for social equipments, such as, parks, sport areas, health clinics, nursery schools, primary schools, mosque buildings, and commercial buildings, the neighborhood is organized in such a way that residential units are grouped at a distance from these activities.

The only facility, which is inserted in-between the residential blocks in Çukurambar, is parks. Especially, a linear continuity of public green areas along 3rd Road strikes attention both on the revision and implementation plans. However, although this is a continuous line in these drawings constituted by different urban plots in different building islands, there is not any spatial continuity that individuals can experience in reality. Since motorized streets usually cut across this green band, it is very hard to reach a sense of a green corridor situated throughout the neighborhood. However, still, this is an affirmative experiment, in the name of giving a character to the road. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that while gecekondu buildings, which are located on the areas specified as residential use in the revision plan of Çukurambar are already transformed into multi-storey building blocks, although old *gecekondu* buildings built on these public park areas are not even demolished. That is, implementation plan is practiced in private property regions, whereas parks or any social equipment building for the public interest has not been realized yet.

While Çukurambar neighborhood fails in reaching a composition of diverse activities in the plan, it is also unsuccessful in satisfying any diversity of facilities vertically. That is, building blocks are attributed to only one activity, mixture of activities is not allowed in the district except for a few examples. However, vertical diversity can be very effective in creating lively urban public spaces. The lack of vertical mixture of activities lies in the fact that there is not any study carried on the third dimension of urban spaces. For example, while there are implementation plans showing the building plot and

islands in Çukurambar, there are no proposed section drawings concerning building and street sections, or elevations. In fact, this is a significant point that makes clear that there are no ideas developed for the third dimension of this urban settlement. Determinations made only on the plan create rather insufficient results in the creation of both formal and social diversity.

Vitality of a neighborhood depends both on the existence of diverse activities and the population intensity. While Çukurambar is a residential district of isolated activities, there is a considerably high density of inhabitants in the neighborhood. This fact results in the occurrence of a crowd rather than a healthy intensity and vitality supported by various facilities. Therefore, a usual scene from the neighborhood is people searching parking places for their cars rather than people walking, lingering, talking to each other or shopping on the street. This consequence has also relevance to the organization of the neighborhood around a motorized traffic rather than the pedestrian circulation. Furthermore, vitality experienced in different hours of Çukurambar district is also an important subject. Coexistence of residential activities with certain commercial facilities like cafes, restaurants, bars, present shops, ice-cream sellers, sport clubs, cinemas, can pursue the vitality of the streets at night as well.

In fact, as discussed in the second chapter, the very places where diverse activities take place or vitality is observed are the streets of a neighborhood. A neighborhood street is a multi-purpose space, which encloses public social life. To satisfy public contact, streets should be walkable. The term walkable refers both to the existence of designed pedestrian paths and the proximity between residential and social and commercial facilities. Unfortunately, in Çukurambar, neither the arrangements of pedestrian pathways nor the facility planning give clues of a pedestrianized settlement. In contrast, a car-based community has been assumed. Isolation of residential units and existence of big shopping centers (malls) are the basic signifiers of this fact.

Insufficiency of social equipments, lack of mixture of activities, and of a pedestrian-based circulation structure signify the lack of a socially satisfying environment and its reflection on the constitution of the physical organization of the neighborhood. Pedestrian streets, squares, public courtyards, or urban parks, which are the places of the publicity, are not integrated components of the neighborhood.

4.5 Proposal For an Alternative Transformation Model; Setting Criteria for the Spatial Design of Çukurambar Residential District

The question of what kind of an urban space production model should have been followed in Çukurambar so that spatial, psychological, and social quality in the formation of this urban neighborhood could be achieved constitutes the core of this section. As emphasized throughout the study this problem requires a dual analysis embracing both the organization model and the design of the built-up environment. Handling both of these faces, an alternative process will be defined and criteria for the formation of a successful neighborhood space will be determined.

- **Alternative Transformation Model for Çukurambar Neighborhood**
    1. Defining a special urban design project
    2. Re-defining the position of the discipline of architecture in the urban space production process
    3. Enabling a participatory design process
    4. Achieving consensus between the actors
    5. Constituting a balance between the private and public interest

- **Setting Criteria for Designing Çukurambar Neighborhood**
    1. Clarifying the structure of the neighborhood within the city

2. Positive and Harmonious Urban Space Understanding instead of an Aggregation of Isolated Single Building Blocks
    a. Designing continuous building blocks
    b. Creation of well-defined open spaces
    c. Creation of well-defined street spaces
3. Fulfillment of diversity in the constitution of architectural types and therefore in the urban fabric
        a. Diversity and mixture in the community structure of the neighborhood
        b. Variety and Diversity in Architecture for an Imageable Neighborhood
4. Satisfaction of the legibility of neighborhood spaces
    a. Setting a structured path vocabulary in the district
    b. Composing different settlement fabrics in the district
    c. Design of linear elements in the neighborhood
    d. Specialization of nodes
    e. Well placed public buildings that can act as landmarks in the fabric of the neighborhood
5. Coexistence of pedestrian and vehicle circulation
6. Constitution of activities and fulfillment of mixture of diverse activities within the neighborhood
7. Insertion of computer-aided drafting and design as a tool to the project production process

4.5.1 An Alternative Transformation Model for Çukurambar Neighborhood

1. Defining a Special Urban Design Project

An alternative transformation model in Çukurambar should be given start by formulating an urban design project for the area. Namely, first of all, Çukurambar neighborhood should be declared as an urban design project area. Boundaries of Çukurambar neighborhood should be clearly defined so that basic problems of the area can be clarified more accurately. A project carried on a limited area will be more successful in specifying the unique properties or respecting the specific context of the area when

compared to any comprehensive master plan that mostly fails in the consideration of sophisticated facts of local areas. Urban development plans in Turkey, which comprises considerably wider areas, impose on whole neighborhoods or districts the same dimensions of plots with a single building type without allowing any variations. While it is very hard to develop unique ideas in comprehensive planning understanding, standardization of urban spaces therefore monotonous and dull urban fabrics without any identity and structure are unavoidable results. However, solving problems in respectively narrower and defined urban design project areas, constitutes a serious alternative to these centralistic and generalizing approaches toward urban space production processes. Obviously, there should be master plans or structural plans to define principal directions in the development of sites. However, making decisions on the formation of urban forms, settlement patterns, and organization of the architectural building types should be held by small-scaled and clearly defined project organizations. While developing special design strategies, the project organization of Çukurambar should also refer to the more comprehensive structural plan that would define strategies for the future developments of the city.

Defining Çukurambar neighborhood as an urban design project area would result in a healthier process, since as a result actors who will be responsible for the preparation and implementation could be identified more effectively. Organizing and clarifying necessary actors and their roles in Çukurambar neighborhood project would result in the representation of both public and private interests more efficiently. Constitution of public and private organizations that will participate and declare different viewpoints can be more efficiently adapted to a special project organization rather than the existing bureaucratic and formal urban development planning procedures. The existing organization model in this neighborhood brings forth the expression of private interest, while public interest is not even represented by any organization other than the municipality services during the constitution of built-up environment in Çukurambar.

Moreover, a special urban design project that is concentrated on developing strategies about solving unique problems of the area can more easily respond to the changing facts of Çukurambar neighborhood. Flexibility in defining problems and their solutions, insertion of a new actor or its withdrawal would respectively be easier in a special design project than in an inflexible and frozen procedure of urban development planning. In fact, coping with the dynamic properties of an urban neighborhood and its position within the city context is very important and the special project organization that is concentrated on Çukurambar neighborhood can adapt its strategies more easily than a more central and formal organization.

2. Re-defining the Position of the Discipline of Architecture in the Urban Space Production Process

Decision-making mechanism for the project area should be organized in such a way that interactions between different professions, especially planning and architecture can be supplied. The experienced procedure in Çukurambar clearly illustrates that planning decisions have very direct influences on the formation of the physical space of a neighborhood. How any given density and land subdivision decisions result in the occurrence of an architectural type has been discussed widely in the previous chapter. Consequently, planning practices have precedence over architecture as an absolute determinant of both the urban fabric and the architectural types. However, "designing the space", or "designing in the space" is not considered among the responsibilities of planning, obviously in the current practice of the discipline in Turkey. Therefore collaboration of disciplines of planning and architecture should be provided in order to incorporate design within the process of production of the built-environment.

Besides the necessity of integration of these disciplines, another problem that should be solved in an alternative model is the existing negative influence of private

property relations on the constitution of urban space formations in the area. This claim does not necessarily imply rejecting the existence of property relations. However, it is about transforming the role of property relations into a positive contribution in structuring urban spaces. In fact, taking the private property relations as a design question and proposing adequate solutions can be an active stance against the negative influences of this institution. However, isolating the discipline of architecture, introducing it at a final phase is not a good tactic. Designers, or architects can be involved in the process of designing urban islands and lands, urban streets, and other urban spaces like, squares, urban parks, parking areas, sidewalks as well as buildings... namely in the design of urban fabric and in the constitution of successful architectural types. As it is experienced in the existing procedure in Çukurambar, an architect employed under the developer of a single urban plot cannot be effective in developing successful and creative urban architectural solutions, since his/her field of operation is extremely restricted.

3. Enabling a Participatory Design Process

Formation of a democratic and participatory structure in the re-organization model of an old *gecekondu* neighborhood is another crucial requirement. The transformation period in Çukurambar could have been organized in such a way that different actors could be gathered around an urban neighborhood design project. Therefore, representation of different social and economic groups during the preparation period could be effective in clarifying basic targets of the project. The potential actor groups in Çukurambar transformation project comprise a wide range of individuals and private and public organizations: municipalities, interest groups, (organization of *gecekondu* owners and landowners, organization of *gecekondu* tenants, organization of developers), professionals (planners, urban designers, architects, sociologists, economists...), local and regional communities, politicians, families, individuals... Participation of all these actors in

a democratic environment to carry out an urban neighborhood project is imperative for organizing a healthy design process, and for constituting successful neighborhood environments where both public and private realm can be represented effectively.

First of all, Greater Ankara and Çankaya municipalities are the indispensable actors in such an urban design project in Çukurambar. These are the institutions, which can declare Çukurambar as a special urban neighborhood project area. They can define or form professional organizations, which will define unique problems of the neighborhood and develop certain design codes accordingly in a participatory design process. Selection of professionals can be accomplished through competitions or through adaptation of certain criteria evaluating works and carriers of professionals. Functioning of these groups can be organized in a "planning, design, and construction" organization structured by the municipality. (Figure 4.33)

Çukurambar is an old *gecekondu* district, which means that there are already inhabitants in the new construction area who have been living in the area since 1960's. This fact should be taken into consideration in organizing a participatory transformation model as well. These people who have built a *gecekondu* neighborhood by themselves and formed a community in this neighborhood should be integrated in the design project; not only at the level of bargaining on their landownership rights, but also as new residents of the neighborhood, their social and economic structure, ideas and expectations should be studied and taken into consideration as well.

Organizing workshops that citizens and organizations can attend to, organizing meetings with different interest groups, professionals, politicians, and communities, doing interviews with the inhabitants of the neighborhood, organizing trips, and doing observations are some of the activities that can help achieving a participatory design process. Therefore, actors of the process would find the possibility to display their own stances about the *problems*, and their expectations. Consequently, it would be possible to

generate primary *concepts* for designing the neighborhood, and, these concepts can be elaborated as possible *solutions* to design questions. Accordingly, professionals can produce policies, programs, and necessary design *codes* by means of a participatory process. Therefore as a result of consultation of different groups and individuals, collective goals of the urban design project can be set forth.

4. Achieving Consensus Between the Actors

As it is known, different groups have different interest and expectations from such an urban space design project. However, the possibility of declaration of distinct ideas through consultation might enable reaching to collective goals. Therefore, arriving at a consensus building among different social groups constitutes one of the crucial phases of an alternative model. Discussion and agreement on certain common points about the Çukurambar project is one of the biggest steps in achieving harmony between social structure and physical environment of a neighborhood. In fact, this tactic might lead to a more successful built-environment providing society with "happiness" and "health" more than the neutral, abstract, bureaucratic procedures of the urban development planning. Consequently, appropriation of neighborhood spaces among the citizens can be supplied.

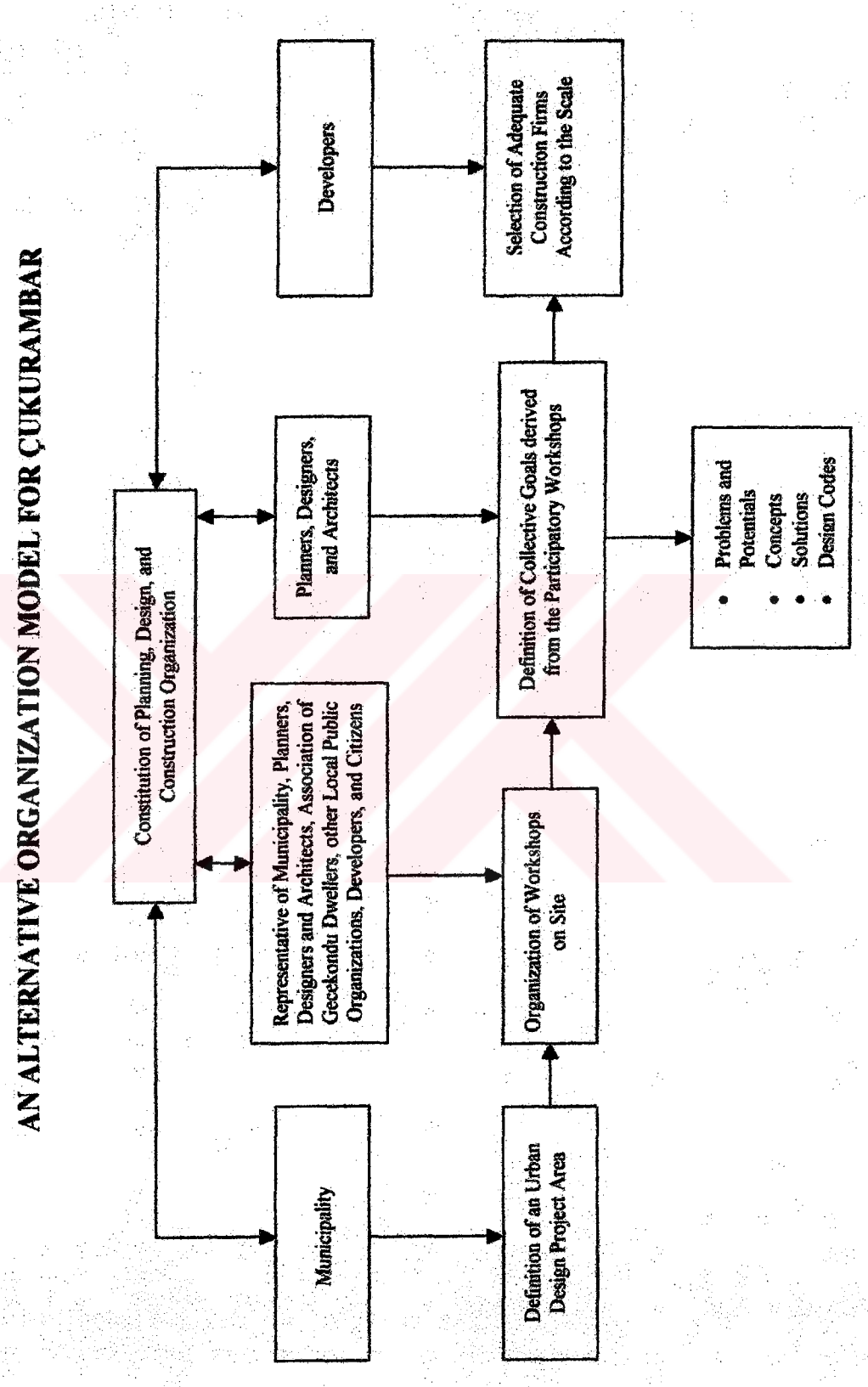


Figure 4.33. Alternative organization model for Çukurambar settlement

5. Constituting a Balance Between the Private and Public Interest

To achieve a balance between public and private interest should be one of the most important issues of an urban neighborhood design project as in Çukurambar. While private interest groups; landowners, developers try to get maximum profit from this valuable urban land, municipality, local communities should represent their stances as public interest groups. While it is usual that developer firms expect maximum floor area ratio for the urban plot that is going to be constructed, representatives of public realm should defend creating and maintaining the public spaces and uses in the neighborhood. Therefore they should ask for spaces like wider, continuous, well-designed pedestrian pathways, streets, public parks and squares. Public organizations especially municipalities should stand for the formation of a strong public space structure and social equipments and bargain on this subject with private interest representatives in such an organization model in Çukurambar. For example, the municipality can declare that the developers who finance or build the "Çukurambar Public Square" can utilize a higher floor area ratio than that of other developers. Developers who build the sidewalks or support financially making the arrangements of parks and green areas can utilize a building height more than that of others. However, these decisions should be made in accordance with basic concepts of the design project. Since public organizations are absent in the process, and municipalities are not aware of the importance of the public spaces in the constitution of a neighborhood design, the Çukurambar neighborhood is becoming today a place where public space system is not structured and the public realm does not constitute a significant issue for the lives of its inhabitants.

On the other hand, in the actual process in Çukurambar, there is an agreement on the dominance of private interest. Curiously, a meaningless satisfaction in all actors exists, although the result is an unsuccessful neighborhood environment with many problems. The municipality authorities consider the operation satisfactory since an old and poor *gecekondu*

neighborhood is removed, the developers are happy as they gain considerable profit from the new and expensive high-rise blocks, *gecekondu* owner became an owner of a modern flat in the apartment building, in which he never dwell, and new inhabitants are proud of their new "luxurious" flats, although streets of the neighborhood are still in mud. Maybe only the *gecekondu* tenants are unsatisfied since they don't know where to move. The basic reason behind this scene is that all actors are concerned about the quantitative aspect of the process.

4.5.2 Setting Criteria for Designing Çukurambar Neighborhood

1. Clarifying the Structure of the Neighborhood within the City

First of all, defining the location of Çukurambar residential district within the city of Ankara is a preliminary requirement that will inevitably effect the physical formation of the district. The structure of the neighborhood should be in harmony with the physical and visual decisions as well as land use decisions that are made about the "general form" of the city of Ankara. Basically, the building types that will characterize the three dimensional form of the district should be designed in reference to the city form. In deciding the physical form of the Çukurambar residential area, forms of surrounding urban elements- highways, other neighborhood settlements- should also be evaluated. Moreover, the street structure and pathways should be organized so that necessary continuities in the linkages can be satisfied. In fact, urban context comprises many properties that can be evaluated as basic inputs in designing an urban neighborhood. Besides the physical and visual aspects, social and economic aspects of the neighborhood should also be evaluated with reference to the general structure of the city. In the case of Çukurambar, although the general tendency is the settlement of high-middle income groups in this area, since there is an existing population already in the neighborhood, besides the assessment of the location of the area within the city, these inhabitants should also be considered in the design question.

2. Positive and Harmonious Urban Space Understanding instead of an Aggregation of Isolated Single Building Blocks

a. Design of Continuous Building Blocks

To be able to represent following written descriptions of alternative spatial properties of Çukurambar, 3D images are produced through computer aided drawings. These 3D model images depict an integration of spatial possibilities (continuity of urban solids, passageways, well-defined street spaces, and courtyards, height differentiations...) according to the inclination of the researcher that could be utilized in the urban space design of Çukurambar neighborhood. However, they do not constitute a design proposal, or "the model" that should be applied in Çukurambar. In fact, the act of designing requires a more comprehensive process and organization of planners, urban designers, and architects as argued throughout the thesis.

Positive urban space understanding is mainly based on the continuation of solid masses where streets and squares are defined by the geometry of these building blocks. The urban fabric that is constituted by these kinds of solids does not contain undefined, leftover open spaces, as opposed to single and abstract solid elements standing without any relation to other solid blocks in the middle of open spaces. Besides these advantages of this organization of solids and voids in creating well-defined urban spaces, it would be appropriate to apply this type of urban fabric to the Çukurambar settlement, which is foreseen as a high density urban neighborhood, composed of relatively larger urban plots. In fact, a discussion that interrogates on the existing private property relations is not preferred in this thesis, since variants affecting the current private property system in Turkey are outside the limits of a spatial study. Therefore, instead, how possible urban space organizations would be produced as an alternative to the model that the current urban development planning practice proposes with the existing property relations is discussed. Construction area boundaries, maximum building height decisions, and therefore the

building "type" that urban development planning implicitly imposes is interrogated in this study. This type is the ordinary building volume placed on each urban plot surrounded by unsuccessful open space arrangements in today's Çukurambar.

However, even with the same floor area ratios, and building plot arrangements, and only by changing the construction area boundaries, it is possible to propose very different urban space formations. (Figure 4.34) Canceling building construction boundaries is necessary for developing a variety of configurations and establishing direct relations between architectural elements and urban open spaces, hence for the constitution of positive urban space organizations. Since floor area covered by this type of an urban order where buildings are extended horizontally to define urban spaces, would be larger than the current model of Çukurambar neighborhood. The same density can be achieved with lower building heights. In this model, since exterior walls of building blocks usually define the public void and therefore defining the boundaries of their urban plots, blank fences with mostly negative formal expressions will not be necessary elements that follow the private property traces.

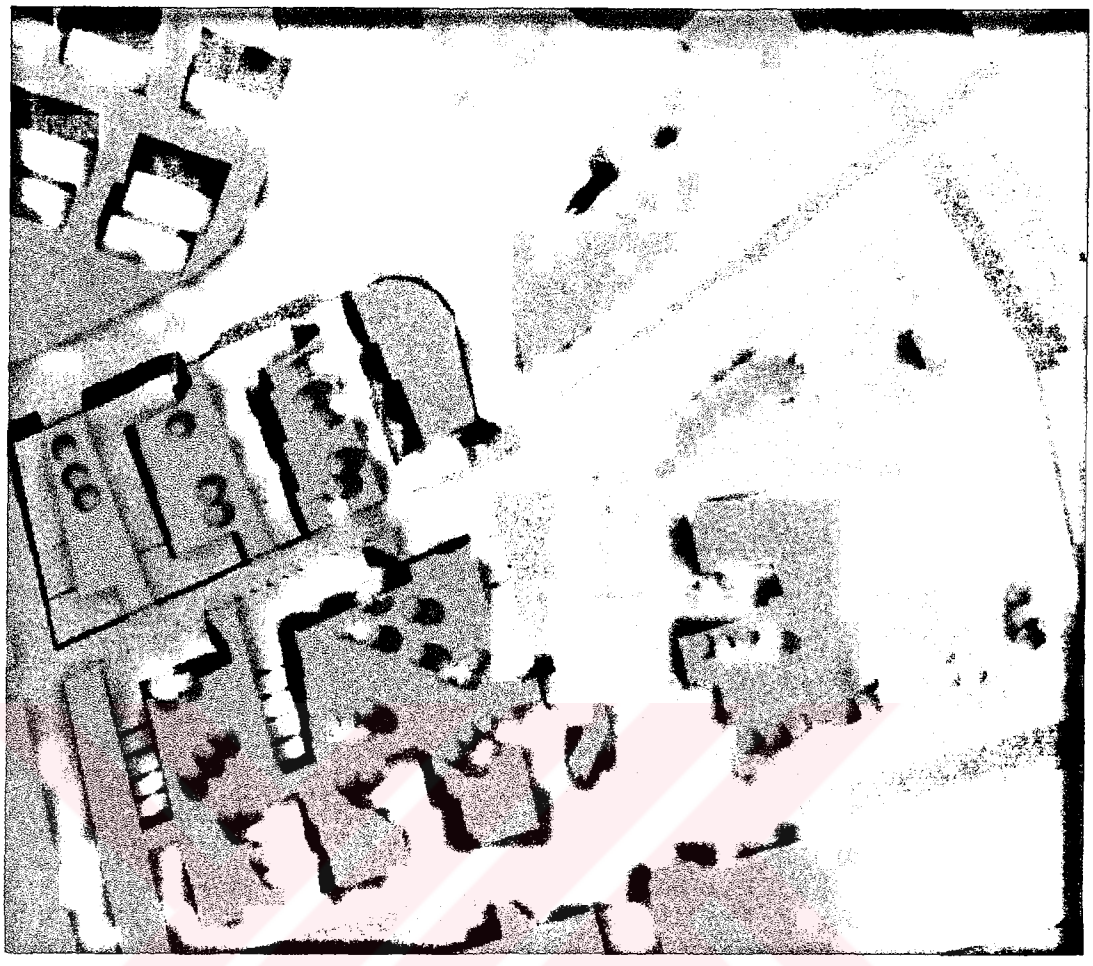


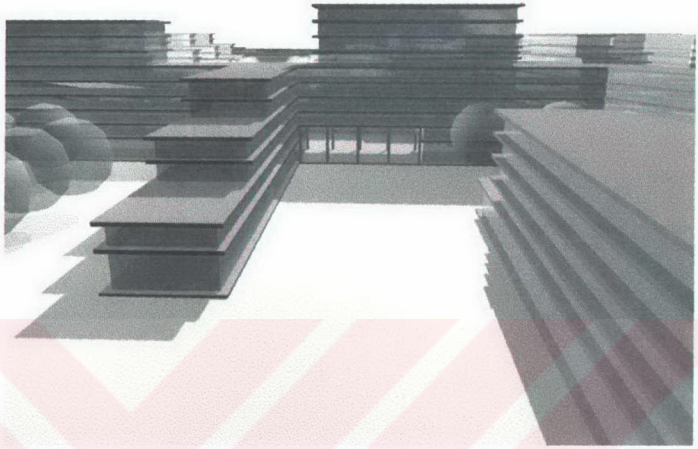
Figure 4.34. Alternative urban space approach

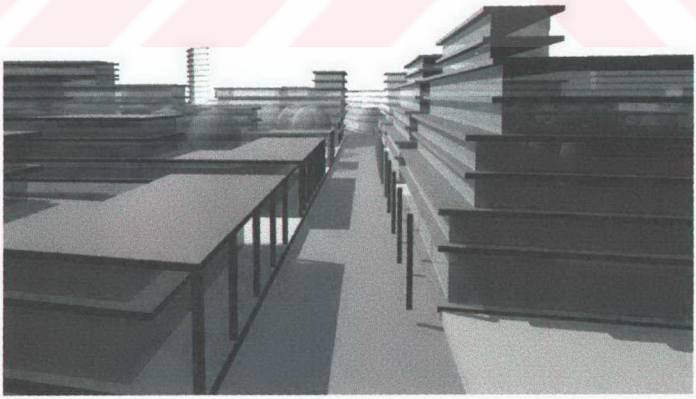
To abstain from the simplistic repetition understanding in the neighborhood design, mutual relationships between the general concepts of the project, topographical qualities, certain linear, nodal specialization areas and architectural types located on urban plots should be constituted. In fact, setting certain design concepts according to the problems or properties of different areas in the neighborhood is a basic requirement for the achievement of uniqueness of certain areas in the neighborhood and of the neighborhood as a whole. In this framework, different architectural types become the basic elements that are going to structure particular urban patterns belonging to different design concepts. Topography is another factor that may affect the forms of architectural types in the neighborhood. Differentiation of building heights, or usage of different architectural types

that can harmonize with the topographical qualities would be appropriate in the residential district of Çukurambar, to achieve variety within unity. (Figure 4.35) Moreover, as it will be elaborated below, there can be certain nodal or linear regions that can be highlighted in the overall spatial context of the neighborhood. Again, specialization of these parts will be achieved with the introduction of various architectural types.

Figure 4.35. Diversity of building heights creating a recognizable neighborhood silhouette

For a positive urban space organization, surfaces that limit and shape the open space become important. Walls, colonnades, arcades, basic components of architecture, become defining elements in the constitution of urban spaces. (Figure 4.36) Therefore richness and complexity in the urban fabric can be achieved by building formal and spatial relations between these architectural elements. Therefore how they are brought together, how variations of architectural types are produced, which common and different materials are used in the constitution of these architectural components, become basic questions in building relations between these elements.





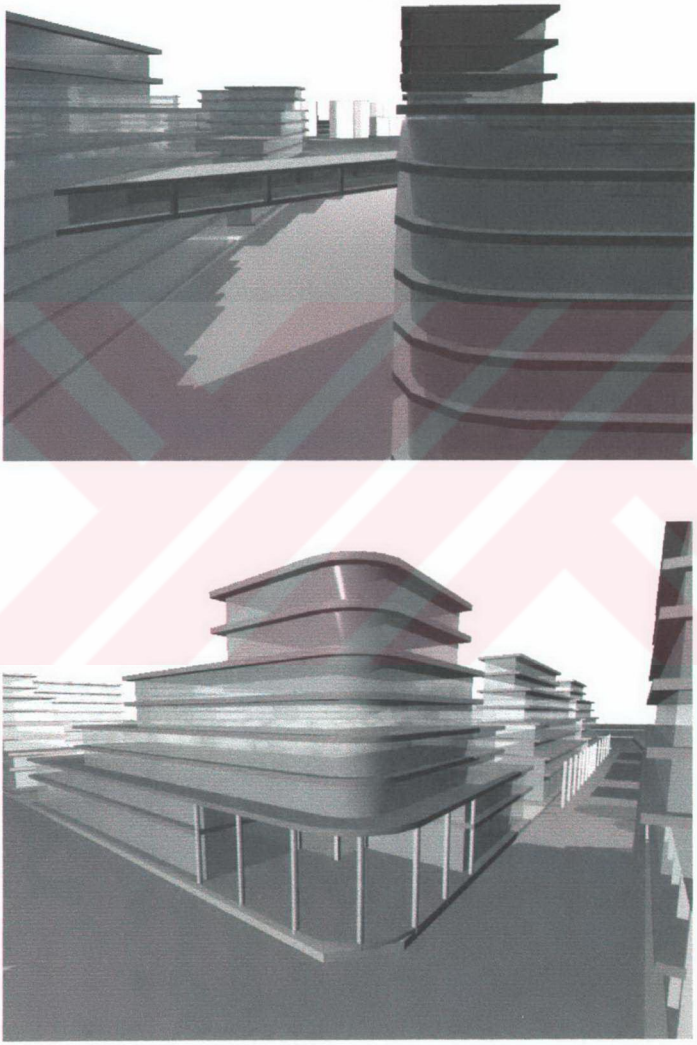
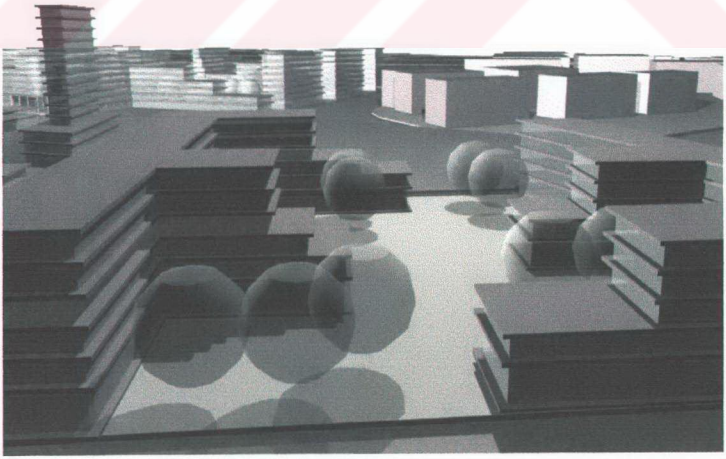


Figure 4.36. Cases showing use of different architectural elements

b. Creation of Well-defined Open Spaces

Constitution of open spaces, as figures on a background of architectural elements requires a formal, spatial, functional design understanding. (Figure 4.37) Squares of different scale and form can occur in the fabric. Some of these can have symbolic functions, while some would be utilized as commercial, administrative centers of the neighborhood. Additionally, as a result of horizontal, linear, and continuous formation of solids, semi-public, and private courtyards surrounded by building blocks would also occur in the settlement. Therefore, while exterior building facades confront public and vital street spaces, interior façades would find the possibility to face up to a more quiet and green courtyard with trees, offering more privacy. Moreover, underground level of these courtyards can be organized as parking area, which can save public streets from the occupation of parking cars. Furthermore, well-defined open spaces can also be designed with the use of landscape elements, lines of trees, walls, and level differences.



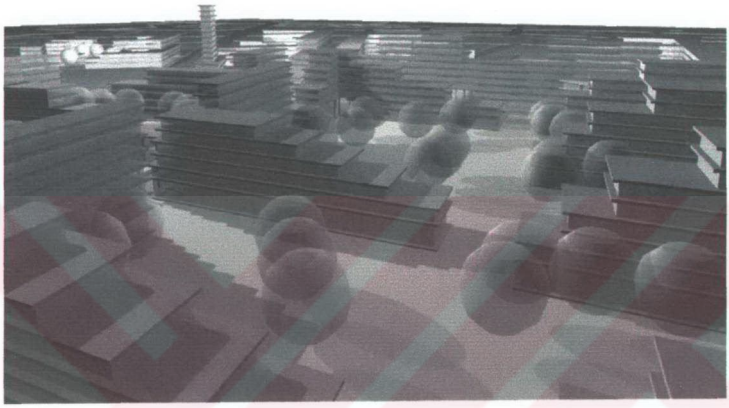


Figure 4.37. Formation of positive open spaces by building blocks

c. Creation of Well-defined Street Spaces

Application of a positive urban space organization to the Çukurambar settlement would also result in the redefinition of the street as a generating space concept in the urban neighborhood context. This understanding brings forth the idea that creation of living neighborhood streets is of utmost importance in the formation of neighborhood spaces of good quality. In addition to being urban voids that provide the flow of pedestrians and vehicles, the street in an urban neighborhood could be conceptualized as linear, spatial components that structure the space organization of Çukurambar neighborhood. (Figure 4.38) Indeed, this model offers definition of street space directly by architectural or landscape elements, instead of private property fences behind which single urban blocks rise.

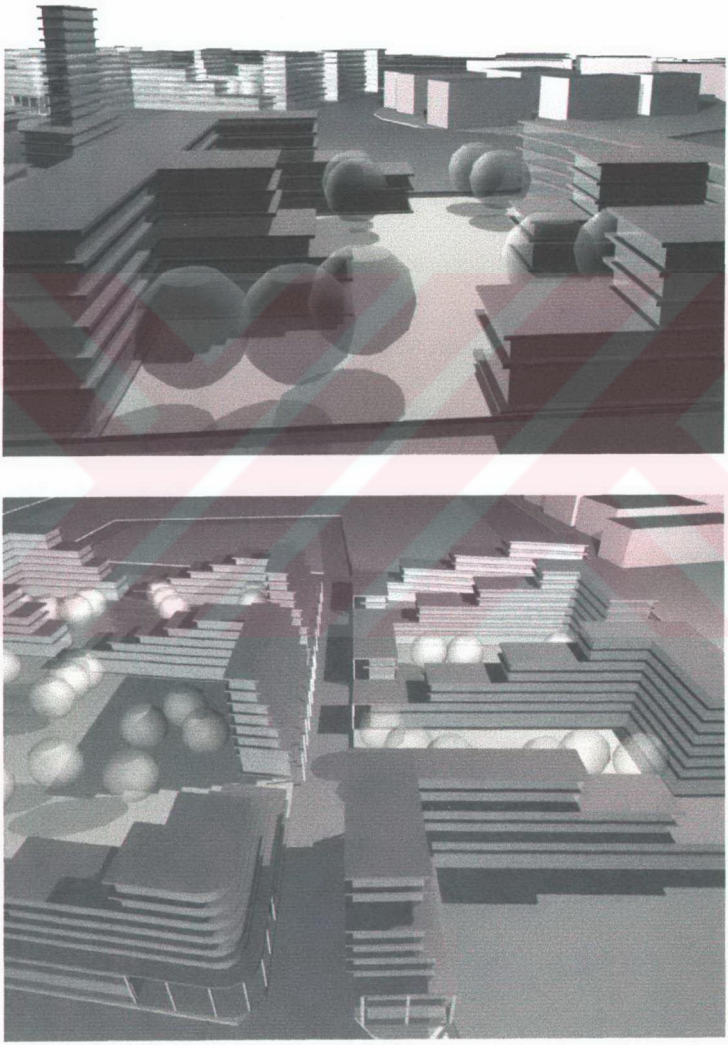


Figure 4.38. 3D Model of alternative street spaces

Such a configuration of streets defined by architectural elements could be improved by the use of various architectural types. Differentiation of the widths of streets with reference to the general hierarchic street structure contributes to the legibility of the neighborhood. This variant would be useful in reaching various street sections in the neighborhood. Usage of colonnades, arcades, shelters, or constitution of gaps within the linear building blocks for giving vistas and shortcuts to the inner courtyards or other streets could be other factors of achieving a more complex street space. Moreover, this kind of space organization would attribute a special importance to the design of building fronts, which can support vitality of street spaces. These spaces should be designed in such a way that people can easily linger, watch the street, talk to neighbors... Furthermore, insertion of civic, commercial, cultural activities on the ground or first two floors of buildings could be a contribution supporting the vitality and diversity of streets.

3. Fulfillment of Diversity in the Constitution of Architectural Types and therefore in the Urban Fabric

a. Diversity and mixture in the community structure of the neighborhood

As a result of the literature research and the observations carried on the Çukurambar residential district, it can be concluded that today residential settlements should respond to the existing structure of the community, which is complex. Therefore, a settlement fabric that would mirror (correspond to) the multiplicity of human behaviors, should enclose various space organizations. This variety should be supported in every level of the neighborhood spaces, from the plan types of apartments to building block plan types, building block heights, from street sections, and street plans, to open space arrangements, squares, courtyards, and parks ...

Plan types of the residential units in the whole Çukurambar neighborhood are designed in the same manner as three rooms and one living room plan type, inhabitants of

which are assumed as families with two children. Actually, this fact is a strong evidence of a simplistic attitude towards the social structure of the community that will live in Çukurambar neighborhood. Single individuals young or old, female or male, old couples whose children get married and left, students or more crowded families living two or three generations together are not considered in the design of interior space organizations. The same simplistic understanding is also followed in the constitution of building block types in the neighborhood. However, the variety of inhabitants within the neighborhood community should be reflected on the interior plan types and therefore in building block types as well. Even, every social class has certain variations in themselves. In case of Çukurambar, different building types should be constituted so that both needs and expectations of the targeted upper-middle income classes and existing lower-income *gecekondu* inhabitants could be satisfied, and a successful and healthy social fabric (provision of a mixture of different age groups, people of different family structures, level of education, mixture of singles, families, elderly and the young etc.) without social segregation could be achieved.

b. Variety and Diversity in Architecture for an Imageable Neighborhood

This kind of a space production understanding, producing spaces with regard to social structure of the inhabitants, can be an infinite source of creating various housing types. Formal diversity, or occurrence of different types, that results from such a reasonable spatial organization can be an opportunity for reaching meaningful environments, and urban fabrics. In fact, this model would be the one that could bridge the gap between the social structure and the abstract space organizations. Moreover, it would give rise to the occurrence of a more adequate and imageable space organization than usage of random exterior façade colors on similar building blocks, which happens in the actual process of the neighborhood.

Building height is another variant that can be utilized in the satisfaction of the spatial variety of the neighborhood. Differentiation of neighborhoods in a district,

constitution of certain distinct areas, or creation of lines for defining edges, or emphasizing certain paths within the neighborhood by the use of a variety of building heights can be means of designing an imageable built-environment. Variation in building heights may also result in the formation of imageable street spaces with different scales and forms.

Existence of a diversity of public urban spaces; such as squares, courtyards, or parks is another factor in providing the richness of a neighborhood fabric. Public places symbolizing different events and reflecting the cultural background of the neighborhood constitutes an important function of the cavity elements of a settlement fabric. Squares of different scale and form can be strong elements in defining an imageable structure within the neighborhood as well. A variety of parks and other green spaces used by adults, young people, children, should be designed to fulfill the various needs of different expectations in the community of Çukurambar.

In fact, diversity of architectural elements, -variety of building types, street section types, urban public space types- is a preliminary requirement in reaching a complex and diverse settlement fabric in an urban residential district like Çukurambar, housing diverse sets of human behaviors. Constitution of a successful urban fabric in Çukurambar is directly dependent on the production of different architectural types and its correspondence with the social and cultural structure of the neighborhood.

4. Satisfaction of the Legibility of Neighborhood Spaces

Satisfaction of legibility is also a vital criterion in the production of an imageable neighborhood environment. Legibility of the urban fabric in a settlement is closely related to the *structure* of that settlement, the combinations of architectural elements, continuity and discontinuities of urban forms, contribute to the *identity* of the neighborhood, which is the unique property that differentiates one formation from others through its characteristic

properties. Identity, hence legibility of the built environment in Çukurambar is important, particularly for supporting sense of belonging among its inhabitants.

a. Setting a Structured Path System in the District

A circulation pattern that is organized around a clearly recognizable element, natural or built-up element can be useful in orientation in Çukurambar. As two principle channels of circulation, the Eskişehir and the Konya highways provide the connection of the district to the city center and to other cities as well. Moreover, these two arteries are visible from many viewpoints of the neighborhood as a result of the level difference of the topography of the area. Therefore, in the case of Çukurambar, these two highways as noteworthy edges can also be very effective as references and main accesses to the path structure to be created in the district.

A path network that can be associated with the built-up environment and the existing topographical qualities of the area might bring forth a more imageable circulation structure. Furthermore, use of continuous landscape elements, and composition of covering patterns of different color, material... can be significant contribution in constituting a legible path structure in the neighborhood.

b. Composing Different Settlement Fabrics in the District

The use of different patterns in one residential district that correspond to distinct neighborhood units would be another important factor in increasing the legibility of the neighborhood space. Distinction can be created by the application of different solid void relations, or the use of different building types in the neighborhoods according to the design decisions given at a larger scale. Different concepts can be produced for each neighborhood with respect to it location, or specific topographical and natural qualities in the district. Accordingly, a variety of settlement patterns results would come out in reference to the main concepts of the neighborhoods of the Çukurambar residential district.

c. Design of Linear Elements in the Neighborhood

In order to define edges of the Çukurambar residential district, it would be a valid approach to protect the district from two highways situated at the northern and eastern boundaries of the district with high-rise continuous and linear office blocks toward the highways. While the neighborhood would respond to the highways with urban building types of a larger scale, inner, western, and southern parts of the area would be organized by building blocks of lower height, and by a less dense urban fabric in order to create human scale. This attempt would also result in the occurrence of the distinct neighborhood environments, which rises from the unique features of the area.

Furthermore, certain linear axes can be differentiated in the neighborhood, by the usage of distinct building types, or concentrating certain activities along these lines. These attempts would be useful in stressing a certain axis along the settlement therefore in reaching imageable linkage elements.

d. Specialization of Nodes

Nodes are certain potential areas in creating public places in the Çukurambar neighborhood. These places can be junctions of motorized roads, or certain spatial and formal arrangements where pedestrian axes cross each other. Arrangement of these points can be highlighted by special architectural compositions. Unique building types can be designed on corner plots to emphasize the form of a junction or a square. Usage of landscape elements can be differentiated in these places, ground coverage can be specialized, different tree types can be used to focus these places, plastics, or statues or monuments that can refer to the collective memory of Çukurambar neighborhood community can be placed to stress these points.

e. Well Placed Public Buildings that Can Act as Landmarks in the Fabric of the Neighborhood

As long as the usage and form of solid elements are concerned, residential units in Çukurambar neighborhood form the background, as they constitute the majority of the solid components. In the proposed model, besides these background buildings that are designed as variations of a certain urban fabric order, there would be also certain buildings with a distinct character in the neighborhood fabric. These buildings can be designed in such a way that it would be easy to distinguish them from the rest of the solid elements due to their unique forms. The activities they shelter can also differ from the ordinary function of the settlement. To increase the sense of publicity in the neighborhood, these buildings can house public activities; such as community centers, mediateques, public libraries, sport centers... so that symbolic meanings, which can be publicly shared, can be assigned to these elements.

5. Coexistence of Pedestrian and Vehicle Circulation

Integration of different movement systems, which adds complexity to the neighborhood space, is an important issue for an urban neighborhood like Çukurambar. A common mistake that has been made in the design of current neighborhood areas is the dependence on the motorized traffic and the negligence of the pedestrianized and walkable neighborhood spaces. The dominance of motorized traffic and negligence of pedestrian continuities can be even inferred from the casual sidewalk realizations. Discontinuity of sidewalks, inconsistency in the usage of materials, and the measurements, and even absence of sidewalks in many places of urban neighborhoods point out to the significance of the problem.

However, in neighborhood scale, formation and maintenance of pedestrian paths, which can also be supported by bicycle lanes, is very easy and effective. Besides provision

of this kind of pedestrian spaces and pathways will result in a significant increase in the number of people participating to the street life. Walkable space organizations have also consequences like prevention of noise and air pollution in the neighborhood environment. Therefore, this kind of space arrangements will contribute to the vitality of Çukurambar neighborhood. Increase in the number of people on the streets of a neighborhood refers also to the concept of safety.

Furthermore, coexistence of different circulation patterns, -pedestrian, bicycle, and cars- brings complexity and a variety of options in a residential settlement, which is a feature that lacks in many simplistic design approaches of neighborhoods. This is a complexity that matches well with the multiplicity of the individuals' behavior patterns. However, healthy integration of these circulation patterns, which are distinct in nature, should be satisfied as well. This issue requires certain specific implementations, for instance, slowing down the motorized traffic in the residential environments where there exists considerable number of nursery schools, primary schools, etc

6. Constitution of Activities and Fulfillment of Mixture of Diverse Activities within the Neighborhood

As Jacobs asserts, it is activity that produces and mirrors the quality of urban spaces. It is the sign of vitality in urban space. Constitution an urban space organization that can host various types of activities is a factor that can raise the quality level of the urban space in Çukurambar neighborhood. First of all, constitution of successful street spaces is prerequisite for the occurrence of activities within a neighborhood. In return, the street as a space where private property ends, and a common space shared by every member of the neighborhood community starts, can be revitalized by the occurrence of different activities that are performed by the neighborhood inhabitants. Therefore, how streets and other open spaces are designed, how the relationship between these spaces and surrounding

buildings is structured is of importance. It is clear that, the actual model being implemented in Çukurambar, which proposes removing the building blocks from the street or sidewalks, isolating and enveloping them within private property walls, does not create the expected relationship that can succeed in a vital street life and the occurrence of different activities. The street space should be surrounded by different set of activities. This can only happen if streets are surrounded by continuous building blocks. In other words, it is obvious that solid void relation of the neighborhood fabric has a direct role on the constitution of a street life that offers a multiplicity of choices to the inhabitants.

Constitution of an appropriate physical structure in the neighborhood should also be supported by a detailed necessity program, which includes various activities that could be utilized in Çukurambar neighborhood. This program should supply social equipment units necessary for a residential area, such as education, health, cultural, recreational facilities, and a variety of commercial activities. Existence of various types of distinct and specialized, small-scale shops is necessary in providing a fine grain activity pattern for the requirements of the community. Moreover, the activity program referring to an urban neighborhood like Çukurambar should not isolate and separate different activity types from each other, on the contrary, it should give opportunity of mixing different activities in a legible structure both within the urban fabric and within the building units.

7. Insertion of Computer-Aided Drafting and Design as a Tool to the Project Production Process

In addition to the criteria describing the spatial, psychological, and social properties of an alternative space organization for Çukurambar neighborhood elaborated above, the insertion of computer-aided design skills to the project production process would be helpful in the urban neighborhood space design. This method becomes an indispensable technique as it gives the opportunity to demonstrate the site of the neighborhood and the

physical form of the project before construction in a three-dimensional environment, which is uncommon in the existing physical planning techniques in current planning methods used in Turkey. Not only demonstrating the proposal, but also producing different variation or alternatives of an urban design project in a very short time period becomes possible through this technique. Accordingly, if urban design is a process, the computer-aided design techniques can also be used for further development of the neighborhood. The insertion of each new element in the future within the built-environment can be first tested on three dimensional computer models before being implemented.

As it is obvious, both in large-scale plans and in detailed implementation plans, two-dimensional drawing documents are usually produced for representing three-dimensional spaces. However, an alternative three-dimensional would be useful in the development of creative method ideas for the creation of a three-dimensional environment. Moreover, with this technique it is very probable that the whole city can be modeled and the relations of an urban neighborhood within the whole city can be developed more successfully. Therefore more accurate and true design decisions can be made through the use of the technique of three-dimensional computer modeling.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Today's urban development planning practices in Turkey result in an urban space production procedure, which is instigated and accelerated by private property relations. In the way this procedure is implemented, building construction area boundaries, floor area ratios, building height limits, density decisions become first-order determinants of not only the physical urban space, but also the architectural production. A serious problem on the formation of urban form occurs since these determinants are utilized automatically for the production of extensive areas without any particular attention to the characteristic properties of the site on which they are applied. Moreover, why urban spaces and urban architecture should be specified by these determinants is open to discussion. In the end, generic, monotonous, and characterless urban spaces occur in Turkey as a result of the deterministic urban space production procedures where urban space design phases are completely excluded.

Initially, the ongoing procedure contains mistakes and gaps in the organization of professions of planning and architecture. The basic tools of planning become the first-order determinants of the physical urban environment but also of the architectural practice in urban context, while, in the procedure, the architect can mostly find himself/herself a place of an employee of the developer of a single building plot. Decisions to be given by the designer such as, three dimensional volume and location of the building block on the urban plot are already defined through other determinants like property relations and other

coefficients that planning has already imposed. This fact points out a serious mistake in the relationship between the disciplines of planning and architecture since while creation of urban architecture is under the responsibility of planning only, architects and designers cannot participate in a decision-making mechanism where architectural types and urban forms are to be decided. Namely, the decision-making domain of the designer and the architect is restricted and this field is exclusively occupied by planners as a result of the modalities by which the procedure operates.

Furthermore, it is important to recognize that there is a mutual relationship between the urban morphology and architectural typologies. On the one hand, the design of architectural types, their togetherness realized by a particular structure, which provide their togetherness, constitution of relations among them brings about questions on the formation of the urban morphology. On the other hand decisions made on the overall urban form have direct influences on the constitution of architectural types. Urban building blocks, therefore single architectural types could be designed in such a way that required harmony in urban form could be constituted. Therefore, urban development planning procedure should be re-assessed and architecture has to play its role in the definition of urban form; as architecture is a discipline, which decides on the form of architectural volumes, which finally affects the formation of the whole urban environment and which is also affected by the determinations about the overall urban form.

In addition to the problematic relationship between planning and architecture, there exist also a gap between these disciplines in the procedure, which results in the exclusion of innovative ideas on the constitution of urban fabric and relationships between architectural types, design of urban spaces like squares, streets... As a result of this gap between these disciplines, the design of the urban fabric and open spaces remain untouched. In fact, the two basic design concerns of modern town planning; "the design of dwelling cell" and "the whole city design" seems to dominate urban development planning

understanding in Turkey in the way the built-environment is produced. To an extent, today there exist master plans for all cities and single dwelling cells are considered as places to be designed by architects. However the urban fabric a well as the urban architectural type(s) are not really considered as subjects of design. The procedure has be accelerated in such a way that these disciplines can not come together and find any possibility to discuss on the means of constituting more structured and meaningful urban fabrics. While the planner prepares a master plan that contains the whole city design, or urban pieces, the architect designs the interior spaces of an urban building the volume of which was clarified automatically in the implementation plans. The gap between the disciplines and the overall lack of design concerns both in the production of architectural types and urban spaces.

Moreover, the concept of producing urban environments through comprehensive master plans does not fulfill the necessary conditions where "urban space design" can occur. Namely, since a process that requires definition of a project area, its boundaries, clarification of important and unique problems (social, economic, and spatial) of the area within the city context and in itself, is needed in considering an urban space design. Next, concepts, which are rooted in the problems of the particular area, should be set and design solutions for the formation of physical urban space can be developed accordingly after this process. As long as comprehensive planning processes, which exclude the context and uniqueness of particular areas and bring forth standard solutions for every part of any settlement are kept, the inconsistency between the generalist and contextualist understandings can be easily realized and how the phase of "designing urban physical spaces" is neglected can be recognized.

The concept of flexibility is another basic quality that lacks within the rigid and deterministic urban planning procedures. As known, development and implementation plans are mostly produced for extensive areas, moreover application of these plans can be realized as early as ten or more years after their preparation. This delay results in a

mismatch of current realities of a construction site and planning criteria used in the preparation of plans. In fact, complex and changing dynamics of urban areas can be better followed by well-defined and smaller scale urban design project organizations than comprehensive and frozen planning approaches.

The urban development planning procedure also fails in including other actors within the process in addition to the planner and the architect. Rigid and comprehensive master plans are productions of a central authority even if this might be a municipal authority, rejecting a democratic and participatory organization model. Actors like private and public interest groups, local organizations, and citizens are excluded from the decision-making stages and have no opportunity in formulating, declaring ideas, and participating in discussions on their surrounding built-up environment. During the procedure, the actors have only the right of objection to the decisions after the declaration of development and implementation plans only for one-month duration. Yet, it is open to discussion how this kind of a participation understanding can result in consensus building among different actors and how appropriation of prepared plans among the citizens can occur.

All these criticisms point out the breakdown of current ongoing procedures. At this point urban design appears as an important field, which might fill the gap and correct the problematic relationship between the professions of planning and architecture, and provide a more flexible, democratic, and participatory urban space production process through definition of special urban design project areas. Most importantly, urban design is a required and necessary interface, that is the design of urban spaces and urban forms. Namely, design of the urban fabric, decisions on urban morphology and innovations in urban architecture can be realized if this critical field of design could be included in the urban space production procedures of Turkey.

Urban design is an art of relationships. Relationships between urban forms and spaces, relationships between individuals and urban spaces, relationships between the

society and urban spaces are among the concerns of this field. Constitution of special urban design project areas will allow definition of unique urban spaces with clearly specified boundaries. This will result in the definition of unique and special character of different urban areas within the city context. By referring to a more general structure plan, harmony among different urban design projects will be satisfied. Moreover, definition of actors and their organization will occur in a more democratic, flexible and participatory environment when compared to the current centralized bureaucratic procedures.

However, definition and application an organization model does not necessarily mean that the end product, the urban physical form, will be successful as well. While a good organization model is necessary, setting basic design criteria for the production of urban spaces and realizing them is also required for achieving quality in the built environment.

The researcher believes that well-defined open space is required for spatial quality in urban space. For achieving this, one approach of design might be designing continuous urban blocks. As a result of this type of a space organization model, spaces like streets and squares will gain a new spatial and formal meaning as long as urban leftover open spaces produced through urban development planning model are considered. Yet, it is important not to forget, continuity is required both in solids that define these open spaces, and also in open spaces, green areas, linkage elements.

However, proposing application of a positive urban space understanding as a formula would be as incorrect as the urban development planning, which formulates constitution of urban spaces with a couple of determinants. Obviously, considering the context, special properties of the site, considering the "*Genius loci*" as an indispensable design input in the application of the positive urban space organization is necessary. In other words, the topographical, historical, cultural qualities of the area should be carefully studied. Integration of these unique qualities with the proposed model should be realized.

Respecting context is the basic requirement in the creation of identity and character of urban settlements.

Studying existential properties of a site is necessary in exposing important problems of the area. This would enable to reach the basic concepts of the project to be utilized in the design proposal. Formulation of certain concepts within the project area will be helpful in the production of spatial variations taking their roots from these concepts.

Constitution of creative architectural solutions and architectural types in reference to general form decisions and concepts is another issue included in well-designed urban spaces. Instead of simple repetition of a typical building mass based on a generic architectural solution throughout the site, the use architectural forms and their combinations would result in more imageable urban space organizations.

Achieving legibility in urban built-up environments is another aspect that should exist in successful space organizations. This property refers to the interactions of individuals with their surrounding physical environment. Legibility of urban spaces is realized through utilization of certain urban components that Lynch emphasizes. Paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks are these basic five elements. Constructing the structure of urban spaces around these components would result in more legible, recognizable urban patterns. It is obvious that a legible and recognizable environment brings about the sense of belonging among inhabitants.

As a part of composing relations between individuals and urban spaces, providing associations between the society and urban spaces is another important issue in reaching urban environments of good quality. At this point, correspondence between the social structure and the urban physical environment is of importance. There are certain different social groups in the society. Correspondence of a physical space to social, cultural properties and structure of a community can be reached by analyzing possible distinct expectations of different groups, and considering these as important design inputs, and

interpreting them in the formation of the urban spatial structure as well as architectural solutions. Building healthy communities has a direct relationship with the quality of the environment in which they live.

Supporting and enhancing activities is basic for successful urban environments. As Jacobs points out, "Activity both produces and mirrors quality in urban space." It is not revolutionary to say that, today, complexity and multiplicity of human behaviors should be supported by diverse set of activities. In fact, provision of various activities has a direct influence on the occurrence of vitality in urban spaces. This vitality should also be fed by a considerable intensity and fine grain that provides flexibility. Population density can only be saved from being crowd, when it is supported by diversity of activities and spaces.

In conclusion, the current urban space production practices that result in generic, characterless and low quality urban environments need to be replaced by a flexible and participatory process of urban design. For achieving successful urban places with quality, it is necessary to develop a model based on basic urban design criteria that integrate the space, individual, and society triangle.

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