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**LEFTOVER SPACE AS A VALUE AND POTENTIALITY  
FOR THE PUBLIC REALM IN THE CITY**

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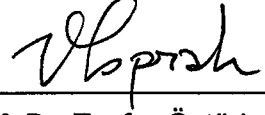
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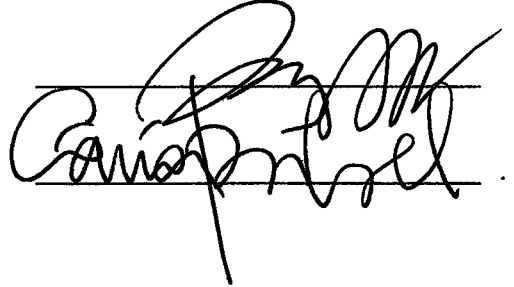
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **LEFTOVER SPACE AS A VALUE AND POTENTIALITY FOR THE PUBLIC REALM IN THE CITY**

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This thesis is an inquiry on leftover spaces, regarding their values and potentialities for the city, according to their contributions to the public realm. To develop a consistent understanding of the public realm in the city, it encompasses a comprehensive survey of theoretical approaches towards urban space, including a discussion on the concept of appropriation as a specific mode of using spaces which contributes to the public realm. Design attitudes in applied projects are researched through literature, and a critical model of public realm is obtained concerning the elaborated concepts and objectives.

The thesis demonstrates the peculiarities of leftover spaces and a contemplative design attitude towards them, in relation to the developed model. Both actual use and physical characteristics of spaces are matters of concern, with the claim that such disregarded urban spaces can be conceived as values for the city. The study ends with a discussion on the characteristics of leftover spaces in the context of Turkey, as values or potentialities for public realm, discussed in relation to the types observed in the city of Ankara.

**Keywords:** leftover space, appropriation, public realm, self-expression, action.

## ÖZ

### KENTTE KAMUSAL ALAN İÇİN BİR DEĞER VE POTANSİYEL OLARAK ARTIK MEKAN

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Bu tez, artık mekânların, kamusal alana katkılarına göre, oluşturdukları değer ve potansiyelleri araştırmaktadır. Kentte kamusal alan konusunda tutarlı bir bakış açısı geliştirmek için, kent mekânına –kamusal alana katkıda bulunan bir kullanım özelliği olarak sahiplenme kavramını da içeren– teorik yaklaşımlar ele alınmıştır. Bunun yanısıra, uygulanmış projelerdeki tasarım yaklaşımları araştırılmış, ve elde edilen kavramlar ve değerler göz önüne alınarak kamusal alanın bir modeli elde edilmiştir.

Tez, geliştirilen bu modele göre, artık mekânların kendine has özelliklerini ve onlara uygun bir tasarım yaklaşımını ortaya koymaktadır. Genelde pek önemsenmeyen bu mekânların bir değer olarak düşünülebileceği iddiası ile, mekânların hem kullanım özellikleri, hem de fiziksel özellikleri göz önüne alınmıştır. Çalışma, Ankara kentinde gözlemlenen tiplere referansla Türkiye'deki artık mekânların özellikleri –ve kamusal alan için oluşturdukları değer ve potansiyeller üzerine bir tartışmayla son bulmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: artık mekân, sahiplenme, kamusal alan, kendini ifade, aksiyon.



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This study was inspired by observations, in the city of Ankara, of people enjoying urban spaces –which we may name as ‘leftover spaces’, often disregarded as unkempt and insignificant pieces of land. Some of these spaces are actually ‘left over’ spatially beside or among building blocks and other elements like highways and railway trails, some of them are somehow unbuildable areas, and some are in a transitory situation as a pre-condition of a new project / construction like vacant lots, underused and derelict areas.

The ultimate question was, whether these spaces –because of and with the uses and enjoyment of inhabitants within–, could ever be conceived as values for the city, and sources of inspiration for the design of urban public spaces. If we could conceive them as urban assets, it was essential to detect what kind of an evaluation of their characteristics would promote preserving and improving their qualities contributing to the public realm in the city.

One critical task has been to determine the spaces which might constitute the subject of this study. Both actual use and physical characteristics of spaces have been considered in sorting out the spaces to be studied, for the claim was that disregarded urban spaces which were mostly ruined and seemingly unused could as well be conceived as values for the city with a new, alternative approach. In that regard, unused / underused / misused urban spaces having rather unpleasant appearance due to the lack of maintenance have been elaborated as the study subject. Thus the experience of urban spaces as ‘leftover’ is what primarily determines their inclusion in the study; rather than the processes which bring them about –though these processes may be considered as critical in differentiating the types of leftover spaces.

It is evident through observances that leftover spaces comprise a huge body of land in cities. The reasons in the emergence of leftover spaces are various and they may be grouped as:

1. Inattentive use of the “open-plan principle” of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Modern urbanism which led to undefined / underdefined open spaces in the city, lacking activity –thus public use;
2. Effects of building codes regarding set-backs and positioning of buildings within their parcels, causing piecemeal leftover spaces with many owners;
3. Recession in the use and maintenance of designed / established public urban spaces like parks and plazas, due to improper design or management problems;
4. Abandonment of activity zones like industrial areas, factories, dockyards, military sites, railyards, pits, mills, warehouses, etc., leaving behind large derelict areas waiting for re-use;
5. Delays in the period of (re-)building / (re-)making the spaces, due to various reasons like investment or legal problems (the unorganised historical sites, as a special case, may also be included in this group).

These reasons bring about leftover spaces in two ways: due to design decisions and due to management processes. Spaces that remain leftover due to design decisions may be considered to be permanent in the sense that they are somehow incapable to hold (anticipated) activities with their physical characteristics, whereas spaces that are leftover due to management processes are temporary for they are under construction or waiting to be developed –expected to be organised and actively used subsequently.

The first two reasons above –inattentive use of ‘open-plan principle’ and effects of building codes– give rise to mainly architecturally leftover spaces that emerge due to design decisions, whereas the last two reasons –abandonment of activity zones

and delays in the period of (re-)building— give rise to leftover spaces in terms of management. On the other hand, recession in the use and maintenance of public spaces may be related to either management problems or to failures / insufficiencies in their design decisions.

The studies on leftover spaces, as have been rendered in a literature survey, have mostly dealt with one kind of leftover spaces; usually leftover spaces in terms of management, as in Burrow's (1978: 7) study who defines 'vacant urban land' as "all land lying within the boundary of an urban authority which appears to be unused", distinguished by rough vegetation or gravel strewn surfaces; and categorises them as derelict and spoiled areas, demolition areas, and neglected wasteland.

Leftover spaces are very valuable as opportunities for public space especially in congested city centres where it is very difficult to obtain space for public amenities. In a study by Önür (1996:1) spaces among building blocks have been suggested as important urban land resource and they have been presented as a subject of (re-)design for enhancing the public realm in the city.

Trancik's (1986) approach, in that context, is more comprehensive with regards to the variety of spaces included: leftover unstructured landscape at the base of high-rise towers, unused sunken plaza, parking lots, no-man's land along the edges of freeways that nobody cares about maintaining, much less about using, abandoned waterfronts, trainyards, vacated military sites, industrial complexes that have moved out to suburbs... Trancik (1986: 4) introduces the concept of 'lost space'<sup>1</sup> – spaces which have no positive contribution to the city– for defining these spaces, and claims that they offer tremendous opportunities to the designer, for rediscovering the many hidden resources in cities, for urban redevelopment and creative infill.

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<sup>1</sup> Trancik (1986:4) defines "lost space" as "antispaces having no positive contribution to the surroundings or users"; for they are ill-defined, without measurable boundaries, and fail to connect elements in a coherent way.

The present study, though conceiving leftover spaces as urban land resources in a like manner, also attains a specific value to them as they are; regarding that they somehow play actual public roles in the city. The peculiarity of the present study originates from its attempt to bring together the potentialities of these spaces as urban land stock with the possible values they attain through their existing characteristics and uses –claiming that they are not always 'lost' spaces. In that regard, this study, as an alternative approach, investigates the implicit positive role they may have been playing in the city, to be tested with regards to an understanding which distinguishes a lively human experience within urban spaces as the essence for enhancing the public realm.

Many leftover spaces in the city come forth due to problems of ownership, ensuing from laws and regulations in force. There as well exist many leftover spaces without such problems, which belong to state or private owners –like abandoned industrial zones, vacant lots, etc. When dealing with the reality of urban environments, it is essential somehow to consider these dimensions, yet the main emphasis in this study is on the relation of inhabitants' use (and their right to use it for the public realm) to the urban space. For accomplishing the convenient decisions in leftover spaces, specific models may be developed regarding local laws and regulations. In that sense, the legal and administrative problems faced should not be disregarded, nor should they be regarded as unsolvable. Studies in the field are necessary for evolving realistic and applicable models.

A very important dimension of the problem evolves as the design approach to leftover spaces: Altering these spaces does not always contribute, and sometimes even causes loss in their virtues, with regards to their contributions to the public realm. Thus, re-making these spaces necessitates a specific urban design approach so as to achieve the expected use and enjoyment within the actual everyday life. In that regard, design may be presented as an attempt to achieve good fit between form and behaviour, concerning not only satisfying human needs, but also communication through it –as introduced by Snyder and Catanese (1979: 53), proposed as a study field named 'proxemics': "the interrelated observations and theories about face-to-face interaction".

Effects of physical features of environment on face-to-face interaction have been the subject of many studies<sup>2</sup>, yet Gehl's (1987) approach is more relevant to the study subject of the thesis, for he elaborates 'passive contact' in publicly accessible spaces –that is low intensity contact like seeing and hearing unknown people– as “spontaneous, unplanned, yet valuable” and a prerequisite for high intensity contacts (Gehl, 1987: 53). Investigation of the value of this kind of contact in the context of public realm, and the ways to preserve / achieve it by means of design – especially in leftover spaces– has been an objective of this study.

Use in anticipated spaces has been conceived as a virtue and an indication for the success of design. On the other hand, in many cases, planned public spaces may emerge as “dreary, ugly and deserted” whereas “most urban areas seem to have informal gathering places, not planned for in any real sense, that capture the very essence of what it is that makes for a vital and interesting urban experience” (Mugavin, 1992: 406). Realising that any space may have harmonious features with the inhabitants' behaviours and its rules and purposes, the purpose of design should be to remove the sources of misfits, while leaving fits intact, as Snyder and Catanese (1979) propose.

Depending on the fact that leftover spaces do form the ground for many activities of the inhabitants, without being designed to be so, it may be accepted that it is first of all the inhabitants that make the city (Barré, 1980: 7), in contrast to much criticised formalistic and self-imposing design attitudes:

“Town planning and its representatives have turned the city into an indistinct sensorial 'background' that cancels contrast and levels sensations. We have to rediscover colour, noise, gradients, materials, the rhythm of lighting, the atmosphere of a city full of accidents. Surprise must remain possible, the eruption of the non-assigned, the force of diversion, sudden and then gradually accepted. The framework of order and the control of the city should not stifle spontaneous practices, the expedients for survival that people the streets with craftsmen; the nocturnal rites that redesign the city and form secret gardens for its outpourings; private boundaries of public property, signatures, trespassing. It

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<sup>2</sup> Effects of distances and settings as investigated by Sommer (1969), Hall (1966) in 1960s, and later in many other observative studies like that of Carr et al. (1995).

is obvious that we cannot recreate the city by repainting its walls, but we can gradually destroy it by wanting to establish rules for its use. Finally, the city must keep its blank pages, its waste areas, its pockets of adventure, zones and barriers that owners know how to use.”

(Barré,1980: 7)

In the context of leftover space, the qualities and contributions offered to the city and its inhabitants have to be specified in detail. The present study has mainly aimed to make this clear and to define the criteria to be regarded in (re-)designing these spaces. For developing the proper design approach, an understanding of the users' approach to urban spaces, revealed in the expressions of their spontaneous acts has to be elaborated. Rapoport (1982:19) claims that “designers react to environment in perceptual terms, whereas public (users) react to environment in associational terms.” In that regard, the present study aims to overcome the difference between the “users' meaning” and “designers' meaning” and to derive principles for achieving extensive public use and enjoyment in the anticipated urban spaces.

Throughout the elaboration of concepts and principles for convivial urban spaces, ‘meaning’ is regarded as an issue related to actual use, rather than to specific symbolic values of spaces and structures:

*“Meaningful spaces are those that allow people to make strong connections between the place, their personal lives, and the larger world... A continuously used public space with its many memories can help anchor one’s sense of personal continuity in a rapidly changing world“*

(Francis and Hester in Carr et al.,1995: 20)

This approach is different from, however alike in certain points, the attitudes of certain architects adopting the language of spontaneously evolved built environments (Venturi, 1966; Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour, 1972). Alike in the sense that the value of existing / spontaneously evolved environments is accepted and appreciated; and different in the sense that urban experience becomes the primary concern in this study; whereas Venturi has been criticised to have little concern with “the experience of life”, by “divorcing an environment from the people who use it –disregarding the way how people use architecture-, and by focusing simply on visual characteristics...” (Goodman,1971: 127).



If well-used public spaces are to be designed, how to create and maintain them should be evaluated in accordance with “an understanding of why people go to spaces, how they actually use them and what they mean to their users over time” (Carr et al.,1995: 20). The actual involvement of designer him / her self in that life and experience is proposed for an insight understanding. The methods of preference investigation based on personal experience are necessary, as Lynch (1981) suggests for building theories about value dimensions of the built environment:

“The most telling methods are those that deal with immediate experience. The firmest ground is the here and now place and the actual action in it, the round of repeated daily behaviour, the common ground of experience.”

(Lynch, 1981:154)

When elaborating the experience in the urban space as a means of relating inhabitants to spaces, this study aims to encompass any kind of inhabitant / user and any kind of urban space. In this context, Boyer’s (1996) critics on the city may be mentioned as a related discussion; the city as a matrix of (well-)designed fragments with its apparent intervals and disconnected places, pushing the interstitial spaces out of its view; and where “the deindustrialised and deterritorialised, displaced and disadvantaged, have no seat” (Boyer,1996: 2-3).

A dimension of the subject which is not covered by this study comprises the actions of inhabitants / users of space as related to their cultural backgrounds: “It is beyond dispute that the ‘liveability’ of any specific city has a lot to do with the cultural norms existing among the residents, and urban design therefore needs deeply to reflect these norms... “ (Mugavin,1992: 406). However, within the limits of this study, cultural preferences and definers of behaviour for various groups –like, for example, in the discourse developed by Bourdieu (1984)– are not discussed. Though this issue is one of the important dimensions of the subject, in particular of the concept of ‘appropriation’, it involves another related field of study.

The study begins with an attempt to define the concept of ‘leftover space’ and the concept of ‘appropriation’ as a specific mode of using these spaces which

contributes to the public realm. Appropriation is introduced as the type of behaviour which promotes the identification of the individual with space(s), and thus makes possible the expression of his / her self in the city. Appropriation, in that regard, emerges as a concept through the understanding of which the behaviour and preferences of users may be evaluated and adopted in new projects for urban spaces. Thus, if well understood and intended / implemented by designers of urban public space, appropriation may become a tool in making urban spaces which contribute to (re-)enhancing the public realm.

Public realm, within this study, has been recognised as the state of togetherness where expression and communication among individuals take place, as defined by Hannah Arendt in her 1958 book 'The Human Condition'.

In that context, Chapter 3 elaborates a discussion on the city as a medium for human togetherness and expression / communication, and renders the ideas of various authors to contribute to Arendt's (1958) discourse. A critique of contemporary urban processes –due to the defects related with the capitalist way of production of urban space and experience of everyday life– has been held for a long time –by Baudelaire, Benjamin, Lefebvre, Debord, Situationists and de Certeau. This critique is part of a continuing general approach which asserts the primacy of human experience as the fundamental aspect of any definition of urbanism (Crawford, 1999: 8 –referring to Louis Wirth). Lefebvre (1991: 83) defines this approach as 'a philosophy tested by life'. In that context, a specific value is attributed to the activities in spaces where everyday life is lived –of which leftover spaces are part. This approach brings forth the value of mundane and ordinary experiences as contributing to the public realm in cities; thus, the concepts elaborated within that context form the basis on which to evaluate the potentialities of leftover spaces as a specific type.

Suggesting design criteria for leftover spaces is one objective of the study. In that context, first an overall evaluation of ideas on the design of urban spaces are rendered: Chapter 4 comprises a study of approaches to the design of urban spaces, particularising the ways to anticipate the human action and experience in the city. Ideas regarding the cities in history and today are numerous, yet present study basically elaborates those related to the actual enjoyment and involvement of



inhabitants in urban space –to achieve the city as a communicative medium. In that regard, the approach of this study is parallel to Gehl's (1987); in appreciating 'living cities' as those in which people can interact with each other, which are stimulating because rich in experiences.

Both related theoretical works and actual practices of making of urban spaces are included in the survey. After the foundation of the theoretical basis of an approach which elaborates the experience-based evaluation of urban spaces with regards to public realm, a comprehensive study of urban projects becomes essential for developing the convenient design criteria. Through a literature survey, it is possible to distinguish the ways to approach and work on the production of new urban public spaces, in relation to the concepts and definitions elaborated.

In Chapter 5, the design of leftover spaces, in particular, is investigated. Leftover space, with its appropriation, in some cases, may appear as urban space that is being extensively used and appropriated by people; and thus already contributing to the public realm. Taking into consideration these uses and appropriation patterns may help understanding the way people relate to urban open space, and these spaces may be maintained and, if necessary, improved.

Yet, though some leftover spaces may present satisfactory examples for public space, for those that can offer more than their present contributions to the public realm in the city, (re-)generation, thus (re-)design is to be suggested. In order to evaluate the proper design approaches and principles for well-used and well-appropriated urban spaces, the attitudes in the design of leftover spaces evolve as significant research subject. Many projects and their applications have been proposed and realised for leftover spaces in cities, mostly in US and Europe. In that context, a survey including projects for the reclamation of leftover spaces is held, and the criteria within a proper design attitude are elaborated.

Ultimately, in Chapter 6, a discussion on leftover spaces as a general fact in Turkey has been held and some general patterns of urban spaces in Turkish culture and the groups active in certain appropriation types –depending on the observations in Ankara– have been investigated. The study includes observations concerning both the types of leftover spaces and the patterns of appropriation

within them. Presented through photographs, this part of the study aims to exemplify briefly both the variety and vastness of leftover spaces and appropriation patterns, which we usually disregard; and their existing and potential values for the public realm. Thus the last part of the thesis comprises a demonstration of leftover spaces in the centre city Ankara, as an example, evaluating their possible contributions to the public realm in the city.



## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR EVALUATING LEFTOVER SPACES

In this part of the study, primarily the concept of 'leftover space' is defined and its characteristics are evaluated, so as to clarify which spaces are to be named as 'leftover space's in the city and in what ways it may be inaccurate to name so. Leftover spaces usually are conceived as inconvenient for the city. A precise definition of the concept gives clues about the ways for ameliorating them, since their critical properties are also properties to be altered for the better. There is one specific condition that defines leftover spaces already as benefits for the city; appropriation by urbanites that contribute to the public realm. In this context, appropriation has been defined as a specific way that individuals and groups relate themselves to space. The overall properties of a leftover space may help defining its potentialities for the public realm –which will be discussed in the next chapters–, but it is only through particular appropriations within that leftover spaces may be evaluated as living values for the city. In that regard, appropriation has been defined and discussed in detail throughout this chapter. Lastly, the specific connection of appropriation to the public realm, how, in which cases and through which of its specific characteristics it becomes a critical concept for enhancing the public realm in urban space, has been demonstrated.

#### 2.1. Leftover space

'Leftover space' may briefly be defined as space that is not 'possessed' by people. 'Possession', being different from 'ownership'<sup>3</sup> implies maintenance and keeping control over the object (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1958). In 'possession', there is

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<sup>3</sup> Buckland and Mc Nair (in Günay, 1999: 35) define property or ownership roughly as the title, and possession as roughly the actual enjoyment.

the notion of actual seizing or occupancy which may legally be rightful or wrong (Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary, 1913). As an example for 'possession', squatting may be mentioned –people taking possession of space that they do not own.

Thus, we may assert that possession implies actual occupancy whether legally owned or not. In this regard, the notion of 'use' emerges as an important issue in the identification of leftover spaces. Occupying a space implies in it 'use,' as that space gets into the service of the possessors. The word 'use' connotes "the act of employing anything, or of applying it to one's service" (Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary, 1913). Yet 'use' should not be considered in merely practical means, but in a broader sense; it should include theoretical, aesthetic services as well as practical services expected from an object.

Related to the concepts of maintenance and control implicit in 'possession', there emerge two critical notions: a specific 'care' towards an object through which one may maintain and keep control over it; and the concept of 'time' as maintaining and keeping control over an object necessitates a certain period of time.

Though 'use' is one of the characteristics of possessed spaces, it does not determine by itself the state of being possessed; maintenance and control over time has to be detected besides use. Maintenance and control have effects on the physical properties of space so as to indicate that space is being cared by a person or a group. In that regard, Carr et al. (1995: 233) state that "one value of control is that it provides evidence that someone cares for the place, that it belongs to someone, and people, even nonusers, respect it and value its presence."

Leftover spaces, accordingly, may be said to lack a specific care by people, through a certain period of time, observable in their physical properties. Leftover spaces are relatively unused, underused, but in some cases, even well-used spaces may be named as leftover, due to lack of maintenance and control, which is reflected in their appearance.

Leftover spaces –particularly the undefined / underdefined leftover spaces emerging due to design decisions–, share some characteristics of 'lost space's,

which Trancik (1986: 4) defines as undesirable urban areas that are in need of redesign –antispace, that make no positive contribution to the surroundings or users. As for the general attributes of lost space, he mentions them as being ill-defined, without measurable boundaries and failing to connect elements in a coherent way. However, leftover space refers to another body of spaces, which may be well-defined, with measurable boundaries and in a systematic relationship with surrounding spaces; but with poor physical qualities for not being possessed by people –and for being mostly underused (for example; vacant lots of future buildings, spaces ‘designed’ as urban parks, resting areas, etc. but that are unused or underused). It may not be possible to claim that leftover spaces have no positive contribution to the city and inhabitants, for they are sometimes used and appropriated; but probably they contribute less than what their potential values offer.

In connection to ‘leftover space’ defined thus, the criteria are:

1. Use properties of space; unused, underused or misused ones,
2. The control exercised on space; those not controlled through time,
3. The maintenance of space; those not maintained as reflected in their physical appearances as well.

In some cases, the space emerges as leftover space even though one of the properties appears to be not pertinent. Control over space does not always involve actual care about the space; many spaces having seemingly controlled access (by owners) do appear as leftover, for the lack of use and maintenance.

## **2.2. Appropriation**

‘Appropriate’ as a verb connotes numerous meanings:

- “1. To take to one’s self in exclusion of others; to claim or use by an exclusive right; as, let no man appropriate the use of common benefit.
2. To set apart for, or assign to, a particular person or use, in exclusion of the others; –with to or for; as a spot of ground is appropriated for a garden; to appropriate money for the increase of the navy.

3. To make suitable; to suit.[Archaic] –Paley.
4. Eng. Eccl. Law) To annex, as a benefice, to a spiritual corporation, as its property. –Blackstone.”  
(Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary, 1913)

In its common use, appropriation may also connote illegality and violation of rights in claiming on something as belonging to one’s self or using it by excluding others. Though mentioning this issue, social scientists and architects working on the subject have not often used the word in this specific connotation.

When public space is considered, Lynch (1981), and Hanen (1989) propose appropriation as a right, and also Carr et al. (1995:37) mention ‘claim’ (corresponding it to appropriation) among the rights of public, as one of the factors determining the degrees of freedom of use and control.<sup>4</sup>

Within the definition of appropriation, there emerge two notions which identify the verb: Firstly, there is the exclusion of others, whether as other people or as other uses when something is appropriated for a certain person or use; and secondly, there is assigning, matching, fitting, making suitable something for, again, either a certain person or use.

These two connotations have been well implied in the discussions held on appropriation of space. Referring to the notion of exclusion of others in appropriation, some social scientists have defined it as a means of exerting control and mastery over space. Korosec-Serfaty (1975, in Korosec-Serfaty, 1977) defines appropriation as dynamism aimed at exercising mastery over space and claims that it represents an effort at making the latter congruent with the individual, including by-passing of the rules prohibiting certain uses of spaces. Moles (1977: 78) also points at this notion in his definition of appropriation: “Appropriation of space means primarily... the tendency of the individual to exert control over a portion of the world by his very presence whether actual or vicarious”. The person’s

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<sup>4</sup> One important matter of discussion is the relationship between ownership and public rights, including appropriation. Many spaces may be owned by those different than the ones appropriating them; and the owners may make the decisions for people to use these spaces and they may modify them as they wish to (for these are their properties). There exist many public spaces, which are privately owned in cities (Forseth, 1989; Whyte, 1990), and up to which point they may be controlled by owners –use hours, and other restrains – emerges as a problem.

behaviour, in appropriation, in the sense of establishing the space as his (Proshansky, 1977: 33), and the act of taking it as one's own or making it one's own (Graumann, 1977) brings into question the relationship between appropriation and taking possession.

Concepts of appropriation and taking possession are comparable in the sense that both imply control over the object. Control in taking possession is related to the actual occupancy of the object which is, for a certain period of time, being cared for and it goes along with maintenance. On the other hand control in appropriation is related to exclusion of others in taking or assigning the object by a person / persons for a certain use / uses. In appropriation, control always runs parallel to fitting, making suitable the object for that person and use. Lefebvre (1991:165), defining appropriation, states that "it may be said of a natural space modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group". This modification; fitting, making suitable the object for that person and use is critical in the relationship between appropriation and taking possession, since appropriation becomes the means for establishing self-identification along with exclusion of others. Appropriation in this sense can be defined as a dynamism directed at asserting an identity (Korosec-Serfaty, 1977). It is this issue which has made appropriation a favourable concept in discussions related to meaning in space.

In this context, when space is considered, meaning in a possessed space is enhanced through appropriation. Both appropriation and taking possession require some period of time. However their durations, rhythms are different. A possessed space may be appropriated and reappropriated for several times during the period that it is being possessed (even by the same person). On the other hand, every appropriated space is not necessarily possessed. People are inclined to make suitable and relate to themselves spaces they live in; Sansot (1977: 69) mentions that our sensorial apparatus does not content itself with receiving information, it appropriates them knowing well that it does not possess them. Thus some spaces, though having been objects of self-identification for people, are not comparably cared and maintained by them. This may lead to annihilation of meaningful spaces and may be considered as a loss. Such a loss may be claimed to be relevant to what Lefebvre (1991: 133) calls 'silence of users'; aiming to drive attention to the



value of appropriated space so as to encourage people to claim right on their spaces.

### **2.2.1. Appropriation: individual or collective**

Korosec-Serfaty (1977: 47) states that space appropriation is an active experience linked to assertion of a specific image and power, which may be individual or collective; and that its modalities will be linked to a personality, to a self image as a member of or actor in a social group. Proshansky (1977: 35) states that the appropriation of space (in all contexts; family, work, school, recreation...) could involve one, a few, many or even no individual regardless of their presence in the social contexts. He gives two examples for appropriation held by individuals and social organisations: "individual achieving a momentary control of space in some public setting" and "a housing development tenants organisation... attempting to establish its control over a community space that is adjacent to the site of the housing development".

Whether one, a number of or an organisation of individuals, appropriators inevitably express their identities through behaviour patterns developed or being developed by the society. In appropriation, there is the notion of establishing the space as the appropriator's; and this message is directed to others even though the behaviour may be directed only to space itself by adapting it to the needs, giving it particular characteristics, etc. In this regard, Proshansky (1977: 34) claims that appropriation plays a critical role not only in establishing the self-identity of the appropriator, but also the values of the society.

Moreover, Raymond (1977: 72) suggests that there exists a specific space belonging to each society as there is a specific time, and appropriation is practised according to that in each society. So society, as a whole, determines space appropriation.

Marx's conceptualisation of appropriation (in Graumann, 1977) introduces a model in which individual appropriation appears as a process of interiorisation of socially defined meanings. Marx defined appropriation as man's relation to nature –that he has to appropriate in order not to be alien, and this can only be made through



work. As man is, in this model, an animal which can develop into an individual only in society, the real subject of appropriation is not the individual, but the society. In this context, not object (places) but objective meanings, not things but modes of relating to them are appropriated; and history is the continuous change of appropriating men and appropriated nature –‘meanings’ are settled in that process where individual reproduces historically formed human abilities and functions (Graumann, 1977: 120).

### **2.2.2. Modification or acceptance**

How identification in appropriation is revealed is another important question to be answered in order to understand the character of appropriation. Sansot (1977: 62) states that appropriation is achieved through various processes of identification which may or may not be linked to a practice. In this context, space to be appropriated may or may not be modified by appropriator(s). When physical modification is considered, a modified space is more likely to reflect appropriator's identity to others (the society) . However, there exist as well only mentally appropriated spaces –natural space with no physical modification- where merely examining the physical characteristics would give no idea about the appropriator: Australian aborigines (in Rapoport, 1975) appropriate space, for generations, by making stories out of it without any physical modification. A third case comprises spaces designed and made by others and being appropriated by users as it was planned to be –in this sense designer's (maker's) attributions to the space have been accepted as they are. Sansot (1977: 65) states that appropriation can take place very satisfactorily, in places where reality has been made by others –e.g. cottages and buildings constructed by professionals; and in places where it can only be gone through, recognised but not transformed –e.g. the overall city form. In this context, for appropriation, the reactions of inhabitants as accepting or refusing the existing physical attributes of space, appear to be definitive as much as modifying space. Korosec-Serfaty (1977: 61) explains the issue: “The acceptance by inhabitants of the global status of a place without any personal intervention is certainly appropriating a cultural code”.

### 2.2.3. Conscious or preconscious

There are different views on the question, what kind of a behaviour appropriation is – in the sense whether people are aware of appropriation as their behaviour.

Sansot (1977: 67) states that appropriation proceeds in its own way, which is neither an instinctive behaviour nor a reasonable one. On the other hand,

Proshansky (1977) gives an explicit account claiming that as a reaction to physical setting, appropriation includes a behaviour system reactions of which the individual is not consciously aware, as well as a psychological system reactions of which he is consciously aware:

“ ...our own early environmental research revealed in no uncertain terms that the person is generally not aware of his behaviour and experience in that continuing process of responding the kaleidoscope of physical setting that he enters and leaves in the course of his day-to- day existence. Ostensibly the person knows where he is and indeed with continued or regular use of a physical setting he can even describe its design and how he uses it in general, but there is much that escapes him particularly with respect to specifics of movement patterns, locational preferences, sensory adaptations, and even inner feelings (such as stress produced by noise). If we consider the specific issue of the individual's appropriation of space, then like other environmental processes we must assume that the individual's responses probably involve as many reactions of which he is not aware as reactions in which he is judging what space to appropriate and what steps to take in order to gain control or mastery over it”.

(Proshansky, 1977: 39)

For the appropriation that is a reaction which one is not aware of, it is difficult to discuss the objectives of it and means for obtaining these objectives. However, appropriation itself may be the unintended consequence of other objectives: “living in, playing in, or working in a given space or place express complex human needs which in their continuing satisfaction lead to and in turn are served by the resulting appropriation of these space and places” (Proshansky, 1977: 34). Yet, even in cases where appropriation is an intended action, there are partly unintended consequences of it as well.

#### **2.2.4. Reappropriation**

Conceptualisation of environmental phenomena necessarily includes dimension of time, and appropriation accordingly emerges as a process based on time duration and continuity (Proshansky, 1977: 35). However, appropriation does not necessitate stability in the type of use, user, the way space is appropriated, etc.

Appropriation, as defined to be an activity for asserting self-identity, reflects stable and changing elements in the life of both individuals (home) and societies (city). On the other hand, appropriation itself becomes a factor which leads to changes on the appropriator; so space is both appropriated and appropriating (Petit, 1977: 219). Proshansky (1971 in Proshansky 1977) claims that "in appropriation of space, the individual not only projects, but also introjects," he / she not only expresses, but also creates his / her individuality (self-identity) by incorporating selected aspects of the form and substance of his environment. The same is true for the society as well.

So, in any case, appropriation of space becomes a process in which appropriators require continuing reappropriations in order for the efficacy and value of the appropriation or its designed consequences to be maintained (Proshansky, 1977: 35).

The factors, according to which space is reappropriated, evolve as important issues in the study of appropriation and its rhythms. Voye (1977: 363) states that space is appropriated in different ways during the time sequence as function of social and cultural determiners. Proshansky (1977) mentions that reappropriation takes place due to changes in the appropriator, in the space itself and in the broader social context.

#### **2.2.5. Ways (modes) of appropriation**

Appropriation of space, though not always leading to the modification of the physical setting, necessitates 'use' of the physical setting. Graumann (1977:120) states that each appropriation of something dialectically implies self-realisation and

development, so having space available without utilising it (in the broadest sense of theoretical, aesthetic, practical activities) is not appropriating it.

However, 'use' of space in appropriation is not always visible, constant and recognised. For example; building one's house is one way of appropriation which is easily observable. In such a context, Moles (1977) defines the ways of space appropriation as differentiating the place from the others (walls, closure, etc.) and installing objects or things, or increasing their intensity in the place "here" versus the others.

On the other hand, there are many ways of appropriation which are not so easily observable in the physical setting; like appropriation through familiarisation, sight, photography... Proshansky (1977: 34) mentions that "reassuring predictability" or "familiarity" with a space may lead to its appropriation, that is feeling control and mastery over it, then the individual feels a strong personal identification with it. This kind of appropriation is neither reflected to the physical setting nor to the body movements of users. Contrarily some ways of appropriation include taking position, standing, moving... in the physical setting. Korosec-Serfaty (1977: 47) states:

"It may be true that the appropriation of space "at its lowest level" may be nothing but a series of stereotyped social acts. Nevertheless it remains by its very nature the cause of conflicts between the temptation towards passivity and the temptation towards activity."

So a detailed study of appropriated spaces would result in many ways of appropriation which happen through a wide range of activities like; noticing, familiarisation, building homes and cities, etc. Samie (1977), Raymond (1977) and Korosec-Serfaty (1977) have exemplified ways of space appropriation.

Grauman and Kruse (in Graumann, 1977: 123) have made a classification of modes of appropriation<sup>5</sup>. In that sense, historical and contemporary examples of

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<sup>5</sup> Grauman and Kruse (in Graumann, 1977: 123-124) mention two categories of modes of appropriation due to; 1. The anthropological (historical) perspective –which includes modes of defining, ordering, changing the environment; changing nature into culture by means of language and work–, and 2. The psychological perspective –which is the developmental aspect, including also taking possession and personalisation of spaces.

space appropriation are found in relation to studies on meaning generated in physical environment –thus in cities.

### **2.3. Appropriation as a means of (re-)building the public realm**

Appropriation – as a dynamism aimed at exercising mastery over space and thus directed at asserting an identity (Korosec-Serfaty, 1977) can be considered as a step in the process of enhancing public realm.

The expression of identity through appropriation is what basically contributes to the public realm. Public realm is identified with the urban milieu of the *polis* in ancient Greek culture “where everybody had constantly to distinguish from all others, to show through unique deeds or achievements that he was the best of all”, and it was “reserved for individuality; the only place where men could show who they really are and inexchangeably were” (Arendt, 1958: 52).

In this context, the notion of ‘excluding others’ in the definition of appropriation may be a contributive condition for the expression of the individuality of appropriator, only when it refers to a behaviour aiming to develop a particular intimacy with the space –which forms the basis of self-expression–, without blockading the ways to communicate to ‘others’ (because the emergence of public realm necessitates not only expression of individuality, but also the perception / experience of this expression by others).

Today, modern cities are claimed to have diminished in public realm and thus individual expression within urban space has faded away. The audience lost a sense of itself as an active force, as a “public”, and people became fearful of betraying their emotions to others involuntarily (Sennett, 1990: 261) :” The result was more and more an attempt to withdraw from contact with others, to be shielded by silence, even to attempt to stop feeling in order for the feelings not to show. The public thus was emptied of people who wanted to be expressive in it.”

In that regard, appropriation of urban space may be praised as an opportunity for (re)enhancing the public realm. Appropriation –as a spontaneous and comparably self-expressive activity– presents the freedom of users’ actions and attempts on

(urban) space to reveal their identities. On the contrary, in cases when public realm is eradicated, according to Arendt (1958: 40), society imposes innumerable and various rules to make its members exclude spontaneous action and outstanding achievements.

Public realm implies an individual or a group that presents his / its specific qualities and a 'public' observing them from diverse perspectives and aspects (Arendt, 1958: 57). Thus, as the self-revealing individuals or groups have diverse peculiarities, the observing public also has manifold features as being formed by individuals / groups from different formations. For the public realm to emerge through the object seen simultaneously from innumerable perspectives and aspects, public spaces are expected to acquire diverse groups of users. These may be users from different ages and genders or users having different social and ethnic properties.

When appropriation is considered as a means for building the public realm, it should be taken into consideration that appropriation is not always a public phenomenon. Appropriation of space includes examples which lead to extreme privatisation of space where relationship between the appropriator and public seems to degenerate –cases of appropriation where physical, visual, informational access to the appropriated space is obstructed; so it can in no way be observed / experienced by the public.

As private realm becomes dominant in the city, “with people envisioning communities on restricted scales, the self is narrowed to intentions and thus the sharing of this self is narrowed to exclude those who are much different in terms of class, politics, or style” (Sennett,1990: 263). This incommunicative situation is aimed to be overcome by introduction of public spaces which re-unite the spaces and communities within the city. Consequently, the diversity of the user profile and how intensely and frequently the urban space is used become important matters in that space's contribution to the public realm. Yet, for developing a convenient approach in evaluating and designing cities / urban spaces, the ideas on urban space as an expressive medium are to be investigated in detail.

## CHAPTER 3

### URBAN SPACE AS A MEDIUM FOR ENHANCING THE PUBLIC REALM

The aim in this part of the study is to trace the (emergence of) ideas and concepts which are relevant for a comprehensive understanding of urban space as a medium of public realm. A criticism directed at the modern city with regards to the processes of formation and everyday life within, forms a basis on which to elaborate some key concepts to be considered in evaluating the public realm in urban spaces:

“Until the Industrial Revolution, the urban complex may have been a semiotic system, whose elements were related synchronically within the context of rules and a code practised by the inhabitant and the planner alike.

By virtue of its relationship to all other social systems (political power, learning, economy, religion), the urban system asserted itself as one of communication and information.”

(Choay, 1969: 7)

Choay (1969) claims that there has been a semantic impoverishment in the cities since the Industrial Revolution in accordance with the change in the character of space which was no more informative and formative as it was in the earlier epochs. City, formerly being a medium of communication, changed into an object of examination by specialists including the social scientists, urban sociologists and planners.

Strassoldo (1990:13) states that the correspondence between the social and the spatial –social relations expressed in the spatial relations- was clearer in the simple societies where the spatial order was the unplanned result of spontaneous activity; whereas in modern advanced societies, spatial order can only be realised through conscious, rational public regulation (planning), and society is no longer easily “legible” from its urban, spatial forms.



Choay (1969: 10) terms this situation as 'alienisation'<sup>6</sup> for it indicates the loss of partial conscious and implicit subconscious control of communicative tools in the formation processes of cities, and criticises the critical eye and examinations of the specialists that they remove the city from its context in their analysis.

Alienisation may be discussed as a prominent issue in the discourse on urban space as a medium and tool for enhancing the public realm; in the scope of Arendt's (1958) definition of the concept of public realm based on the expressive / communicative relationship among the inhabitants. For Arendt (1958), the disruption in self-expression and experience of others' expressions leads to the loss in the public realm.

Alienisation (Choay, 1969) brings about this disruption with the change in the processes of life and formation of public space. On the other hand, Lefebvre (1991: 60) introduces a theory of alienation that he establishes on the Marxist notion of (self-)alienation in the capitalist era in which "life itself appears as a *means of life*". Against alienation, Lefebvre (1991: 97) proposes a true understanding of everyday life:

"In it are expressed and fulfilled those relations which bring into play the totality of the real albeit in a certain manner which is always partial and incomplete: friendship, comradeship, love, the need to communicate, play, etc.

The substance of everyday life –'human raw material' in its simplicity and richness –pierces through all alienation and establishes 'disalienation'."

Discussions on everyday life bring forth certain concepts to comprehend this 'human raw material' and investigate how they are reflected in the physical milieu – the urban space which is the habitat for public realm –Arendt's (1958) *polis*.

Arendt (1958: 162) introduces the public realm as the counter-concept for self-alienation, and presents the *polis* as the place where human togetherness and

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<sup>6</sup> The terms 'alienisation' and 'alienation' have been used by various authors. 'Alienation', lexically refers to "the act of alienating or the state of being alienated", as the verb meaning to become alien; whereas 'alienise' as a verb means "to make alien" (Funk and Wagnals – New Standard Dictionary, 1953).



expression of the individual to public is accomplished. However, if conceptualized as the place where so many numbers of individuals live together without getting in touch with others, the city may be claimed as the site of alienation in which expression and communication among individuals -public is minimised.

Investigating how to relate this issue to the contemporary urban space, it is seen that the issue has been discussed by numerous theoreticians and architects of the post-industrial era. In spite of theories claiming the decline of physical space as a communicative milieu (discussions on cyber-space...), urban space is still the only space where many people may come together in face-to-face relations, and for that it is important in the generation of public realm. Many theoreticians like Strassoldo (1990: 13) believe that communication technology will never wholly overcome the "friction of space" because love, affection, friendship etc. need at least periodic 'propinquity': "Spatial proximity is an essential condition for sustaining intimate, face-to-face relations; which in turn are essential for the functioning of the society and the well-being of the individuals."

Whyte (1990: 34), likewise, claims that the city is still the prime place for the meeting of people (not conferences, hotels, airports, or increased communication tools...); and it is because of the great likelihood of *unplanned*, informal encounters or the staging of them: "...as the city has been losing functions it has been reasserting its most ancient one: a place where people come together, face-to-face."

As a medium for the public realm, urban space becomes the milieu for both the spontaneous / self-revealing formation and actions to take place, and the observation / experiencing of these by (many) others: Public realm involves the self-expressions of individuals or groups and in addition to that; the observation of these expressions by other individuals or groups from diverse perspectives (Arendt, 1958).

### 3.1. Modern city –the public realm generated through ‘action’ in urban space

Many authors in 19<sup>th</sup> century commented on how the psychological / social life altered in cities after industrialisation. Urban congestion was a major issue that changed the public life in cities. Crowd and the new life style in big cities were to be discussed in various manners –mostly as a pejorative reality of the post-industrialised era:

“Interpersonal relationships in big cities are distinguished by a marked preponderance of the activity of the eye over the activity of the ear. The main reason for this is the public means of transportation. Before the development of the buses, railroads and trams in the nineteenth century, people had never been in a position of having to look at one another for long minutes or even hours without speaking to one another”.

(Georg Simmel, in Benjamin, 1973: 40)

Though this situation –and the likely new practices of social life in cities– did not please many figures including Simmel, Poe, Engels<sup>7</sup> etc., Baudelaire managed to enjoy the crowd and sought the meaning(s) in this new type of living: “The pleasure of being in a crowd is a mysterious expression of the enjoyment of the multiplication of numbers” (Baudelaire in Benjamin, 1973: 58).

Though the modern city presents certain difficulties and different patterns of public encounter, the expansive crowd in modern cities may be claimed to present new opportunities for self-expression and communication. As a primary factor in the generation of public realm, ‘human plurality’ is the basic character of both action and speech through which the human distinctiveness is revealed. Sennett (1990: 123) states how Baudelaire saw that “the modern city can turn people outward, not inward; rather than wholeness, the city can give them experiences of otherness.”

Charles Baudelaire introduced the concept of being ‘individual’ in the crowd of modern city. It is remarkable that Baudelaire in fact loved the solitude ‘in’ the crowd

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<sup>7</sup> Poe’s ‘Man of the Crowd’ and ‘The Black Cat’ are typical examples. ‘Philosophie des Geldes’ by Simmel and ‘Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England’ by Engels is mentioned in Benjamin (1999: 447-8).

when loving the crowd; he guarded the threshold which separated the individual from the crowd (Benjamin, 1973: 66). Baudelaire's being an individual in the crowd is what makes him relevant in the discussion about the public realm; his situation presents the individual expression and its experience by a variety of people from different groups in the city:

“...the phenomenon of an individual mind confronted by the city crowd provides a focus for the exploration of profound tensions between individuality and conformity to the group. It is the locus of a paradoxical reversal: the infinite fecundity of the individual, solitary imagination (its *multiplicity*) contrasts with the atrophying and simplifying force of the ‘collective’ mind with its anti-vital subservience to cliché (its *singleness*) ...this is a central theme of a work whose own structure constitutes... a play on the concepts of singleness and multiplicity”.

(Evans, 1993: 21)

Human togetherness in the crowd of the modern city may be said to generate a particular kind of public realm, for therein so many people –though not knowing each other and mostly not even speaking to each other- experience an encounter. This kind of human togetherness presents a rather indefinite relationship; and it may present a proper milieu for “sheer human togetherness” (Arendt, 1958: 180) where people are *with* others and neither for or against them, and where the revelatory quality of speech and action comes to the fore.

Apart from any kind of public organisations –communities or other groups of affinities /societies... (Tönnies, 2001), there emerges a public realm which is rather loose and vague: the public realm enhanced through the random and fleeting encounter in urban public space. This presents a communication milieu for urban dwellers which is different from the Greek *polis* or any form of pre-industrial urban settlement. Baudelaire's viewpoint, as also carried further by Benjamin, emerges to be the introduction of this vague communication in city as a valuable issue.

Weintraub (1995) defines the two powerful images of the city as firstly, the city as *polis*, self-governing political community whose citizens deliberate, debate and resolve issues in the form of collective outcomes –as in Arendt (1958) and inspiring the communicative society model of Habermas (1989); and secondly, the world city of enormous scope, which is the opposite of a community through its heterogeneity

and lack of citizenry –where the inhabitants do not share a common political tradition of democratic citizenship. This latter possesses a tolerance of diversity, the co-existence of various groups, which mingle in an active street life.

Sennett (1990) introduces an essay by James Baldwin as the representative of this second image of the city where subjective life undergoes a transformation so that a person turns outward, is aroused by the presence of strangers and arouses them; and for him the power of the city to reorient people in this way lies in its diversity.

At this very point, the concepts and approach of Baudelaire may be claimed to introduce the public realm in the world city where it is no more possible to actively communicate with one another –as was in the Greek *polis* –, because of the huge scale / crowd and new ways of living. Thus it may be stated that Baudelaire contributed mainly in two ways to the discussions on the enhancement of public realm:

First, in the way he expressed himself: though he was always in the crowd, strolling in the streets with other inhabitants he was different from them; either as a dandy distinguishing himself from the crowd by his appearance / style or through his lack of activity due to the fact that he was not limited within the capitalist working-time system as his business was ‘doing nothing’ –just strolling whenever he liked (Gilloch, 1996: 154). The *flâneur* is that character who retains his individuality while all around are losing theirs, and his persistent aloofness (Gilloch, 1996: 153) may be said to constitute his self-expression. In his poems, he –the outsider- is an ‘*homme singulier*’, ‘singular’ in his oddness or difference: *one* man outside the *multiple* collective consciousness of the group; “His voice expresses a difference from the norm and the ‘portrait’ functions more to interrogate society’s mental habits than to evoke a ‘rounded’ individual persona...” (Evans, 1993: 23-24).

Second, he perceived the metropolis differently: for him the disliked or / and disregarded features (both figures like beggar, rag-picker, prostitute... and elements of everyday life like window shops, urban transportation instruments, cafés...) in the city meant much. These features reveal themselves within their living processes –though mostly unnoticed-; and the disliked actors of street life

also present a criticism / rejection of the systems of the capitalist order. Through Baudelaire's poems, these figures attain their identity and expression.

Baudelaire's and Benjamin's works, in which experience and revelation of identities occurring through action in the city are disclosed in poems and writings, present the public realm of the modern city. This may be said to be the way stories of modern city are produced and told: "Even though stories are inevitable results of action, it is not the actor but the storyteller who perceives and "makes" the story" (Arendt, 1958: 192).

For Arendt, action produces stories with or without intention, and it is action through which the new comes forth –thus it is how man is revealed:

"The new always happens against the overwhelming odd of statistical laws and their probability, which for all practical, everyday purposes amounts to certainty; the new therefore always happens in the guise of a miracle. The fact that man is capable of action means that the unexpected can be expected from him, that he is able to perform what is infinitely improbable. And this again is possible only because each man is unique, so that with each birth something new comes into the world."

(Arendt, 1958: 178)

### 3.2. Self - expression in urban space

The urban space –as in the works of Baudelaire and Benjamin– may become the 'space of appearance' (Baird, 1995), in the sense Arendt (1958: 198-199) defined it; "the space where I appear to others as others appear to me, where man exists not merely like other living or inanimate things but make his appearance explicitly".

The space of appearance is created by action and by speech, as men show who they are, reveal actively their unique personal identities, through speech and action:

"This revelatory quality of speech and action comes to the fore where people are *with* others and neither for or against them – that is in sheer human togetherness... Because of its inherent tendency to disclose the agent with the act, action needs for its full

appearance the shining brightness we once called glory, and which is possible only in the public realm.”

(Arendt, 1958: 95-96)

Referring his discussion to Arendt's notion of 'action' that depends on the existence of a 'public realm' for its full appearance, Baird (1995: 23) proposes that the unexpected relationship of the 'action' to architecture should become apparent.

Action takes place in architectural – urban space. Space – the urban space as the space of all inhabitants – may serve for the action to occur, makes it possible for man to freely reveal himself as he is, and be exposed to others. In that sense, the characteristics of urban space may or may not support the formation of public realm.

Another way action relates to architecture –the built environment– is that buildings / cities tell the stories (produced through action) of people. Being human artifices they have the capacity to reveal expression to the public; for they have permanency. Permanency of built environment is what makes it an expressive medium for future inhabitants as well so public realm, in a broader sense with regards to the time concerned, is achieved:

“The whole fractual world of human affairs depends for its reality and its continued existence, first, upon the presence of others who have seen and heard and will remember, and second, on the transformation of the intangible into the tangibility of things...

The reality and reliability of the human world rest primarily on the fact that we are surrounded by things more permanent than the activity by which they are produced, and potentially even more permanent than the lives of their authors. Human life, in so far as it is world-building, is engaged in a constant process of reification, and the degree of worldliness of produced things, which all together form the human artifice, depends upon greater or lesser permanence in the world itself.”

(Arendt, 1958: 95-96)

Like written works, works of architecture and cities may reveal inhabitants' values and stories, thus may become the means of their self-expression. This quality may be related to Choay's (1969) and Lefebvre's (1991) definition of the cities in the pre-industrial era, which were built by dwellers –and builders among them sharing the same value / communication system. Alienation, on the other hand, has been

identified with the separation and specialisation of roles, activities and spaces in the modern city –including the production of urban spaces by specialists (Choay, 1969) and technocrats (Lefebvre, 1991).

Parallel to compartmentalisation, the kind of relationship among the inhabitants of the contemporary city has been criticised as having diminished in terms of spontaneous expression:

“Characteristically, urbanites meet one another in highly segmental roles... The contacts of city may indeed be face to face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental. The reserve, the indifference, and the blasé outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunising themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others...”

(Wirth, 1965: 71)

Comparing the metropolitan way of living to the living in a small community, Wirth (1965: 72) claims that “whereas the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of freedom from personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society.”

On the other hand, Arendt reproaches the rise of (modern) society for limiting the occurrence of spontaneous action –as it comprises everybody as though having the same characteristics and thinking the same way – and so conquering the public realm by concealing their individual identities:

“...society, on all its levels, excludes the possibility of action, which formerly was excluded from the household. Instead society expects from each of its members a certain kind of behaviour, imposing innumerable and various rules, all of which tend to “normalise” its members, to make them behave, to exclude spontaneous action or outstanding achievement.”

(Arendt, 1958: 40)



### 3.3. Concepts derived from a discussion on communicative urban experience

Investigating how to enhance the public realm through 'action', the concepts defining the means that make possible inhabitants' self-expression and encounter / communication in urban space should be elaborated.

'Action', when conceived as an agent through which man reveals himself ('speech' also as Arendt proposes, but not considered in the scope of this study), resembles the individual's existential performance as he is – that is the absolute expression of the self. Among the etymological connotations of the word 'action', which best defines this predicament is; "to perform-on the stage of existence; to perform actions, to do things, in the wholest sense" also with reference to the reality of doing in opposition to *think, speak* etc.

“ **Act** [ f.L. *act*-ppl. Stem of *ag-ere* to drive, carry on, do...]

1. trans. To put in motion, impel, to actuate, influence, animate.
2. To bring into action, bring about, produce, perform, work, make do (a thing or process).
3. To carry out in action, work out, perform (a project, command, purpose).
4. To carry out or represent in mimic action (an ideal, incident or history); to perform (a play).
5. With various complemental phrases...
6. *To act a part, or the part of: orig.* To sustain the part of one of the characters in a play, hence to stimulate.
7. To act (anyone): To personate, assume the character of, to play.
8. *intr.* (object suppressed). To perform on the stage.
9. **To perform on the stage of existence; to perform actions, to do things, in the wholest sense.**
  - a. With special reference to the reality of the doing, as opposed to *think, speak, etc.*
  - b. With reference to the manner or mode of action, and hence: behave, comport, or demean oneself....
10. Of things: To put forth energy, produce effects, exert influence, fulfil functions....”

(The Oxford English Dictionary, vol.V: 62-63)

Defined this way, 'action' has specific peculiarities and conditions, which are significant for the unfolding of the public realm in urban space. These come forth in



the discussions on everyday life in the modern city, and may be investigated within three categories:

1. Spontaneity,
2. Porosity – the re-unification of everyday life,
3. Experience of immediacy in urban space: Chaos, movement, distraction.

The concepts evaluated within these categories may provide the framework for examining the everyday life in our present urban space, for finding out which occurrences / actions within it contribute to the public realm. Furthermore, they become tools in the projects intended for the public realm in the urban space, along with the other conceptualisations and methods developed by designers.

### 3.3.1. Spontaneity

Spontaneous action is expressive in the sense that it is motivated by the *free will* of the actor. By definition, spontaneity liberates the self from the constraints, schemes of action induced from outside, whether by the features of space itself or by the pre-programmed process reigning in the daily living of individuals.

Thus, as spontaneous action engages the opportunity to act freely as one wishes / feels, the individual can reveal himself in urban space as he is, and others can experience his expression through encounter.

**“spontaneous** [ f.L. *spontane-us*, f. (formed on) *sponte* of one’s own accord, freely, willingly...]

1. **Of personal actions: Arising or proceeding entirely from natural impulse, without any external stimulus or constraint; voluntary and of one’s own accord.**
  - a. Of persons: Acting voluntarily and from natural prompting.
  - b. Of utterances, etc.: Coming freely and without premeditation or effect.
2. Of motion: Arising purely from, entirely determined by, the internal operative or directive forces of the organism.
3. Of natural processes: Occurring without external cause; having a self-contained cause or origin.
4. Spontaneous generation, ...
5. Growing or produced naturally without cultivation or labour...
6. Quasi –adv. =next.”

(The Oxford English Dictionary, vol.X: 659-660)

Based on the Latin word 'spons', 'spontaneous' may as well be claimed to connote acting with inspiration and fascination; willingly performing without obligatory induction (in Latin again, 'spons' is related to 'spanst', which is analogous to stimulus and attraction):

**"Spons [spanst 'stimulus', 'attraction']**

**1. Will, volition.**

2. *-nte mea, sua, etc.*; Of my (one's, etc.) own accord, without prompting, voluntarily,...

3. *-nte ...* By the will (of some person, etc., other than the doer of the action)....

4. *-nte*, Deliberately, purposely.

5. *-nte sua, etc.* By one's own agency, by oneself, alone;...

6. *-nte sua, etc.* Considered in oneself (itself), essentially, inherently;...

7. *suae -ntis*, In the exercise of one's own will, i.e. one's own master; (occurring) naturally or spontaneously."

(Oxford Latin Dictionary, fasc.VIII: 1809-1810)

The unrestrained and enlivening character of spontaneous action has rendered it a valuable concern in the everyday life of the alienated society in the capitalist era.

Lefebvre (1971) presents the *programmed* living of the era as a problem:

"The great event of the last few years is that the effects of industrialisation on a superficially modified capitalist society of production and property have produced their results: a programmed everyday life in its appropriate urban setting. Such a process was favoured by the disintegration of the traditional town and the expansion of the urbanism."

(Lefebvre, 1971: 65)

Vaneigem (1967) recognises spontaneity as the immediate experience, consciousness of lived immediacy threatened on all sides, not yet alienated, not yet relegated to inauthenticity. For Vaneigem (1967), consciousness of the necessity is what alienates us, and solely in that unique space-time of the lived experience we have the conviction that reality exempts us from necessity: "The centre of lived experience is that place where everyone comes closest to himself".

Benjamin presents the spontaneous actions as techniques of dwellers' inhabiting the urban space, with an example from Paris streets:

“...Men were at work repairing the pavement and laying pipeline, and as a result, in the middle of the street there was an area which was blocked off but which was embanked and covered with stones. On this spot the street vendors had immediately installed themselves, and five or six were selling writing implements,... Even a dealer in secondhand goods had opened a branch office here and displaying on the stones his bric-à-brac of old cups, plates, glasses, and so forth, so that business was profiting, instead of suffering from the brief disturbance. They are simply wizards making a virtue of necessity.”

(Stahr in Benjamin, 1999: 421)

Such kind of a spontaneous occurrence may indicate the unexpected and lively atmosphere of actions which are free of rules and repression in urban space. Though sometimes these actions may present problems in accordance with the hindrance of use of space by everyone equally (as space is appropriated for some specific use by some actors), spontaneous actions are worth attention for understanding how the inhabitants like / enjoy to use the space within their daily living.

While presenting the enthusiasm and preferences of inhabitants, spontaneous action also shows how they challenge to confront the proposed scheme of actions within the urban space. In that sense, spontaneous action may be presented as a critical action. In this regard, spontaneous action is comparable to practices constituting ‘tactics’ in De Certeau’s (1984) definition. He introduces two opposing terms –strategy and tactic– to be adapted as inhabitants’ attitudes in urban space:

“A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper (*propre*) and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, adversaries, clientèles, targets, or objects of research)... a tactic insinuates itself into the other’s place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance.”

De Certeau (1984: xix)

De Certeau (1984: xix) mentions that tactic takes the form not of a discourse, but of the decision itself, the act and manner in which opportunity is “seized”. Thus the emergence of tactic, including many everyday practices, depends on time, and it is unprogrammed as spontaneous action.

The particular suggestion of De Certeau (1984) is that types of tactics can be modelled through the discipline of rhetoric (the science of “the ways of speaking”) – for it offers an array of figure-types for the analysis of everyday ways of acting. He establishes this idea on the assumption that the daily activities of individuals present meaning through a particular language of their own:

“As unrecognised producers, poets of their own acts, silent discoverers of their own paths in the jungle of functionalist rationality, consumers produce through their signifying practices something that might be considered similar to the ‘wandering lines’ (*lignes d’erre*) drawn by the autistic children...: ‘indirect’ or ‘errant’ trajectories obeying their own logic.”

(De Certeau, 1984: xviii)

De Certeau questions whether the trajectories (movements –strategic and tactic) can be deciphered as unconscious expressions of concealed concerns of consumers. Likewise, spontaneous actions may be claimed to present the wills and likes of inhabitants, expressed through typical patterns, to be deciphered. This issue may present one of the possible ways of dealing with the self-expression in urban space through ‘action’, assuming that individuals’ actions have been improved to a level of a common language –though not so rigorously.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> De Certeau (1984) introduces specifically walking as an activity which brings about self-expression, remarking that there exists a contradiction between the collective mode of administration and an individual mode of reappropriation. Pedestrian movements within the city form one of the real systems whose existence make the city; and the act of walking has an enunciative function by being a “process of appropriation of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian (just as the speaker appropriates and takes on language)” (De Certeau, 1984: 97-98). Though the spatial order organises an ensemble of possibilities and interdictions, the walker actualises some of these possibilities:

“In that way, he makes them exist as well as emerge. But he also moves them about and he invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements... the walker transforms each spatial transformer into something else. And if on the one hand he actualises only a few of the possibilities fixed by the constructed order (he goes only here and not there), on the other he increases the number of possibilities (for example, by creating shortcuts and detours) and prohibitions (for example, he forbids himself to take paths generally considered accessible or even obligatory). He thus makes a selection...”

He thus creates a discreteness, whether by making choices among the signifiers of the spatial “language” or by displacing them through the use he makes of them... (that) leads into a rhetoric of walking.”

(De Certeau, 1984: 98-99)

Derivation of certain 'types' within spontaneous action in urban space is possible; and these may be investigated as types of appropriation / reappropriation contributing to the public realm (they do form types by being repeated spontaneously by many inhabitants as their individualistic expressions).

### 3.3.2. Porosity – re-unification of everyday life

One of the basic agents of alienation in the post-industrial era has been presented as the compartmentalisation in everyday life. As re-enhancing the public realm is possible through the restoration of everyday life, bringing together the pieces improperly separated by the patterns of modern living is necessary:

"The problem is to put an end to the separations of 'daily life-leisure' or 'daily life-festivity'. It is to reconstitute the *fête* by changing daily life. The city was a space occupied at one and the same time by productive labour, by oeuvres, and by festivities. It should find again this function beyond functions".

(Lefebvre, 1996: 168)

Lefebvre (1991) believes that in the earlier times, all the aspects of everyday life moulded a whole, and their spatial and temporal co-existence provided an urban milieu for better communication (self-expression and its experience in urban space).

Yet in the capitalist era, time has been compartmentalised due to the activities to be performed (as working time and leisure time). Debord (1995) states that this separation, based on a determinate form of production, presents a consumable time; *pseudo-cyclical* time which is restrictive for individuals:

"Pseudo-cyclical time typifies the consumption of modern economic survival – that of augmented survival in which daily lived experience embodies no free choices and is subject, no longer to the natural order, but to a pseudo-nature constructed by means of alienated labour. It is therefore quite 'natural' that pseudo-cyclical time should echo the old cyclical rhythms that governed survival in the pre-industrial societies. It builds, in fact, on the natural vestiges of cyclical time, while also using these as model on which to base new but homologous variants: day and night, weekly work and weekly rest, the cycle of vacations and so on."

(Debord, 1995: 110-111)

For breaking the restraints that capitalist notion of time exposes on individuals, Lefebvre (1991) proposes the reintroduction essentially of 'festivity' to everyday life:

"Certainly, right from the start, festivals contrasted violently with everyday life, *but they were not separate from it*. They were like everyday life, but more intense... Feeling no deep conflict with himself, (man) he could give himself up... to his own spontaneous vitality. No aspect of himself, of his energy, his instinct, was left unused."

(Lefebvre, 1991: 207)

Re-unifying festivity with everyday life, transgressing the limitations of time (leisure, celebration days...), would encourage man to reveal himself excessively with all his aspects. Within this discourse, leisure time and idleness, in spite of and resisting the still dominating capitalist system, are appreciated.

In that sense, Baudelaire's and Benjamin's works present a critical position towards the capitalist system, by not recognising the categories of time for work and leisure (for being a full-time stroller / flâneur), and categories of urban space (making the functional street space enjoyable and expressive).

Lefebvre (1991: 33) characterises leisure as distraction producing a break from worries, obligations and necessities which alienate the individual. And idleness as well is evaluated for presenting the proper condition for immediate experience.

"Idleness can be considered an early form of distraction or amusement. It consists in the readiness to savour, on one's own, an arbitrary succession of sensations."

(Benjamin, 1999: 804)

Compartmentalisation in time brings forth compartmentalisation in space. Separation of activities in urban space may be altered by the inclusion of festivity in everyday life so as to obtain all the urban space as its location. "The space is appropriated in the *fête*..." (Lefebvre, 1996: 173), so festivity introduced into urban space contributes to public realm by making the inhabitants establish a specific intimacy to the space.



Benjamin uses the term 'porosity' to indicate the situation which presents a merging together of different moods and life processes, with the street life –a togetherness of public and private, of leisure and work, etc.

"Porosity, in the meaning as 'the quality or fact of being porous, porous consistence', refers to an intermingling, penetrating into each other of different substances, for being porous is 'having minute interstices'; which lets pass 'water, air, light, etc.' in physical materials..."

(The Oxford English Dictionary, vol.X: 659-660)

The connotation in Benjamin's use of the word may be rendered among the meanings of the word 'pore', as 'any inlet or means of absorption or communication':

"Pore, n. 1. (1) A small orifice or opening, especially a minute perforation in a membrane or tissue, for absorption or excretion; as the pores of the skin, (2) A minute dot or spot likened to the above; as the small dots seen upon the surface of the sun,...

2. *Phys. Sci.* A minute interstice between the parts or molecules of a body,

3. The spore-bearing tube in certain hymenomycetous fungi,

4. **Figuratively, any inlet or means of absorption or communication.**"

(Funk and Wagnals –New Standard Dictionary, 1953)

The important point about this connotation of the word 'pore' and thus 'porous' is that this quality makes possible the absorption and communication between different modes, atmospheres and time sequences within everyday life.

In Naples, Benjamin's exemplar city for indicating the features of porosity, 'irresistibly the festival penetrates each and every working day' (in Gilloch, 1996:29). Benjamin has elaborated the term 'porosity' for defining the impermanence and fluidity of spatial and temporal boundaries in urban space and he claims that porosity facilitates spontaneous activity (Gilloch, 1996: 35). Porosity refers to a lack of clear boundaries between phenomena, a permeation of one thing by another, a merger of, for example, old and new, public and private, sacred and profane (Gilloch, 1996: 25):

"Just as the living room reappears on the street, with chairs, hearth, and altar, so, only much more loudly, the street migrates into the



living room... Poverty has brought about a stretching of frontiers that mirrors the most radiant freedom of thought. There is no hour, no space, for sleeping and eating.”

(Benjamin in Gilloch, 1996: 27)

Porosity may be asserted to contribute to the public realm by conveying the freedom of action from inside to outside; from the sphere of intimate group / community to the urban space of the modern city, thus to the gaze of strangers. In that regard, porosity emerges as an agent through which the individual can overcome the temper of the modern city; the dissimulation of his own personality – the impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental expression which Wirth (1965) mentions.

### **3.3.3. Experience of immediacy in urban space: chaos, movement, distraction**

Living in urban space means coming face to face with many others, being exposed to various appearances, sounds, smells and sometimes physical impacts.

Experience of immediacy in the urban life comprises interpenetration of multiple perceptions that the togetherness of great numbers of people and activities / processes produce.

Lefebvre proposes the 'rhythmanalysis' as the method for understanding the complex and chaotic exposition of the everyday life in the city. Kofman and Lebas (1996: 48) state that rhythmanalysis yields significant insights on presence and absence, multiple temporalities, and the interplay of time and space.

“The study of rhythmanalysis was intended to be pluridisciplinary integrating chronobiology, living rhythms of speech, thought, music and the city, and of which each city has its own. Starting from the everyday rhythms of the body and its subjection to training and rules..., he (Lefebvre) precedes to analyse a system that is built upon contempt of the body and its life times.”

(Kofman and Lebas, 1996: 31)

However, apart from understanding the temporalities of urban space, evaluation of how the individual may develop an intimacy with this complex and chaotic exposition is important for the comprehension of the way public realm is generated.

In the works of Baudelaire and Benjamin, an inclusive model of immediate urban experience was developed. Their stories are expressive of encounters of people, events and spaces having come upon by coincidence, during an unprogrammed stroll in the city.

Gilloch (1996: 61) states that Benjamin transforms the urban setting by presenting it to the reader as it is perceived 'at first sight', as yet unobscured by familiarity and habit; for the work of habit engenders indifference, unconcern, disinterest, thus boredom and forgetfulness. This constitutes the significance of 'experiencing immediacy' for the generation of public realm; the stroller lays himself open to all impulses coming from his surrounding; from others / their actions and from the features of urban space.

Immediacy, thus emerges as an important concept for revelation / communication of urbanites. Immediate connotes "having no intermediary or intervening member, medium, or agent; that is in actual contact or direct personal relation" (The Oxford English Dictionary, vol.V: 62-63) –it is the type of relation in that kind of experience:

**"Immediate** [ad. Med. L. *immediatus*...]

1. Said of a person or thing in its relation to another: That **has no intermediary or intervening member, medium, or agent; that is in actual contact or direct personal relation...**
2. Of a relation or action between two things: Acting or existing without any intervening medium or agency; **involving actual contact or direct relation...**
3. Having no person, thing, space intervening, in place, order, or succession; standing or coming nearest or next; proximate, nearest, next; close, near...
4. Of time: Present or next adjacent; of things: Pertaining to the time current or instant...
5. That directly touches or concerns a person or thing; having a direct bearing.
6. Uninterrupted in course; direct."

(The Oxford English Dictionary, vol. V: 62-63)

Walking, as the form of kinaesthetic experience, makes possible the immediacy within the city; as faster means of movement in urban space may cause losing the

face-to-face encounter and thus the experience of expression / reaction. Though omnibuses are mentioned by Benjamin (1999) as the means of watching the urban space and people in 19<sup>th</sup> century in Paris, travelling by a vehicle in the city is not conceived as a way which accommodates immediate urban experience starting mutual impressions between individuals, and between individual and urban space - with all its expositions.<sup>9</sup>

Idleness was evaluated for presenting the proper condition for immediate experience as it provides the openness to taste the peculiar sensations within the urban space. Benjamin adjoins solitude to idleness for a true openness to the impacts in immediate experience:

“Among the conditions of idleness, particular importance attaches to solitude. It is solitude, in fact, that first emancipates –virtually- individual experience from every event, however trivial or impoverished: it offers to the individual experience, on the high road of empathy, any passerby whatsoever as its substrate. Empathy is possible only to the solitary, therefore, is a precondition of authentic idleness.”

(Benjamin,1999: 805)

Throughout the idler’s stroll, changing atmosphere and people within the urban setting present the vivacious life in the city, introducing the possibility to face the unexpected at any time, in any location. Motion ‘involves the individual in a series of shocks and collisions’ (Benjamin,1973: 132). For Benjamin, shock is a category of awakening (Gilloch,1996: 173). Distraction becomes the circumstance of perception for the over-stimulated individual.

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<sup>9</sup> As the characteristic of perception through walking in the city, dialectical image emerges which is fragmented within continual movement and fluctuation of vantage points. Benjamin defines the character of immediate urban experience in relation to unconscious of the individuals; as a specific process:

“Experience is no longer a continuous development,... Coherent, integrated experience is destroyed within the urban multitudes. Benjamin articulates this process in terms of the transformation of *Erfahrung* to *Erlebnis*... *Erfahrung* (derived from the verb *fahren* meaning ‘to travel’) refers to experience in the sense of being widely travelled, of having witnessed many things, of having gained wisdom... coherent, communicable, readily intelligible. *Erlebnis* is concerned with the domain of inner life, with the chaotic contents of psychic life. The shocks of the metropolitan environment are unassimilable by the consciousness of the individual, and are parried or deflected into the realm of the unconscious where they remain embedded...” (Gilloch,1996: 143)

“The lover of the universal life enters into the crowd as though it were an immense reservoir of electrical energy. We might liken him to a mirror as vast as the crowd itself; or to a kaleidoscope endowed with consciousness, which, with each one of its movements, represents the multiplicity of life and flickering grace of all the elements of life.”

(Baudelaire in Benjamin, 1973)

In that regard, the exposition of multiple expressions through the routes of walking –pedestrian movement, comprising different ambiances and qualifications of both physical formation and individuals’ actions would provide the experience of immediacy in urban space contributing to the public realm.

Inquiry of the existing urban spaces favouring the experience of immediacy, in that context, along with the spaces embracing spontaneity and porosity, would provide the basis for evaluating the urban spaces to be considered as substantial for the inhabitants’ communication through action.

The elaboration of concepts for understanding the formation of public realm in urban space, as carried through in this chapter, have significance also for the investigation of the (possible) values of leftover spaces: In that context, leftover spaces are specific for the ‘action’ within them –to be examined according to the elaborated concepts. These concepts may also be considered as critical in the design of urban spaces, in relation to design attitudes and strategies for enhancing the public realm, which will be investigated subsequently.

## CHAPTER 4

### ENHANCING THE PUBLIC REALM THROUGH DESIGN

After surveying the ideas on urban space as an expressive medium for enhancing the public realm, an investigation of relevant design approaches –with regards to their methods appreciating the public realm in anticipated spaces– becomes substantive for evolving convenient design criteria. This part of the study comprises, for this purpose, first a discussion on ideas and concepts within design approaches, and then a survey on applied projects –as published in international periodicals in the last 25 years.

#### 4.1. Concepts of public realm within design approaches

The concepts derived from the study of everyday life (spontaneity, porosity and the concerns of immediate experience), in identifying and describing the public realm in the city, have been sources of inspiration for anticipated spaces by the designers who have been seeking for appropriation of their proposals when built. How the public realm has been considered by designers of urban spaces emerges as an issue to be discussed.

Among the approaches of designers towards the constitution / enhancement of the public realm, Baird (1995: 337-339) distinguishes two distinct attitudes: One is the consideration that the public realm can only proceed from the individual act cumulatively outward to the *resultant* collectivity; and the other is the attitude of using the iconographic power of architecture to constitute a new public realm.

Baird (1995: 340) claims Hertzberger as the representative of the first attitude, eschewing the power of architecture to symbolise the human artefact; and Krier representing the other, invoking in his work such power, but in a manner that

limited itself to pure iconography, thereby forsaking any possibility of human action in spontaneous terms.

In relation to appropriation of spaces as a tool for the expression of identities, constitution of public realm proceeding from the individual act outward to the *resultant* collectivity evolves as the relevant attitude for the subject of the present study, as it is an outcome of action in urban space. In this study, symbolic and iconographic power of built environment is in no way ignored or underestimated, but is considered as part of another body of investigation and discussion.

Within the discourse on how everyday life becomes the medium of self-expression(s), the meanings are not searched in symbols -through iconography-, but in the living processes of inhabitants and reflections of these processes / traces on the physical formation:

“Benjamin himself ‘passed by’ the landmarks of the city, and instead was preoccupied with, and stressed the significance of, apparently banal and trivial features of the metropolis... Benjamin is engaged in the representation of the city as ‘a landscape of noisy life’ “

(Gilloch,1996: 7)

Action is reflected in the urban space in two ways contributing to the public realm:

1. Through spontaneous action -itself as a temporary occurrence- and its experience by way of porosity and immediate experience
2. Through the traces / permanent remains of spontaneous action in urban space.

Spontaneous action is temporal, but still it remains as stories by means of storytellers; it may remain in inhabitants’ consciousness moulding types of action or intimacy with the space, or it may live longer than the actors (as stories told, written or somehow expressed as human artefacts).

“(For Benjamin) The buildings of the city, and its interior setting in particular, form casings for action in which, or on which, human subjects leave ‘traces’, signs of their passing, markers or clues to their mode of existence. Benjamin states that ‘living means leaving

traces' (in Charles Baudelaire: 169), and these traces left behind by the modern city dweller must be carefully preserved by the urban physiognomist, and their meanings deciphered."

(Gilloch, 1996: 6)

When spontaneous action begins to modify the urban space, that space becomes the storyteller, so the space contributes to the public realm as long as it remains as an experienced –thus somehow accessible– space by others. The space contributes to the public realm as the tangible and permanent (though may partly alter in time) element that reveals the inhabitants of a place to others.

In that regard, designers' attitudes and proposals for enhancing the public realm may be discussed in relation to both the inclusion of 'action' itself in the anticipated spaces; and the inclusion of the characteristics of urban spaces –covering the traces of action– to be used as derived principles and inspiring physical qualities.

The attitudes of designers and theoreticians, in this sense, may be investigated in three groups referring to different methods to enhance the public realm in anticipated spaces:

1. Investigation of the urban space accommodating action –historical cities
2. Investigation of action and the urban space accommodating action – contemporary cities
3. Inclusion of action in the design of spaces

#### **4.1.1. Investigation of the urban space accommodating action –historical cities**

Ancient cities have been mentioned as settlements enhancing the public realm where inhabitants could reveal themselves to others; and the shared values were present in both the formation processes and in the end product (Arendt, 1958; Rykwert, 1988).



How the physical qualities of these urban settings could lead to enchanting spaces, achieving the public realm by favouring the public activities to take place within themselves, has been investigated and presented as applicable principles in designing new urban spaces by Camillo Sitte (1965). In that regard, Sitte has produced a convincing argument for the connection between the architectural quality, the experiencing of attractions, and the use of the city (Gehl, 1987: 183).

Sitte (1965), in his book 'City Planning According to Artistic Principles', analyses ancient and modern cities so as to discover their compositional elements emphasising the way the ancient cities held the inhabitants' public life in the urban

spaces. He (1965: 5) mentions that in ancient times "the main plazas were of primary importance for the life of every city, because such a great deal of public life took place in them", and later in the Middle Ages and Renaissance;

"A considerable share of public life continued, after all, to take place in the plazas... people trafficked, public celebrations took place, plays were put on, state proceedings were carried out, laws proclaimed, and so on."

(Sitte, 1965: 8)

For Sitte (1965: 132), only the freedom in the composition of plazas can instill life and movement into the total architecture of the city, and therefore everything must be considered in great detail. Sitte suggests that the intellectual investment of inhabitants themselves is what makes them feel belonging to that specific space:

"Whenever one peruses the chronicle of a famous old town, it becomes clear that tremendous sums of intellectual capital have been invested therein... To think about the level of intellectual investment in any modern grid-layout is literally embarrassing. As a consequence of this, the pleasure that the inhabitants take in their city... amounts to zero, and for this reason their attachment to it, their pride in it, in short, their feeling of belonging, amount to nothing, as one can in fact see among the dwellers of the artless, tedious, new sections of cities."

(Sitte, 1965: 132)

Sitte's conception of inhabitants' intellectual investment in the ancient and medieval cities may be compared to Lefebvre's (1991) definition of the pre-

industrial cities –namely the city of Western Middle Ages– where the merchants loved their cities and adorned them with every kind of works of art:

“So that, paradoxically, the city of merchants and bankers remains for us the type and model of an urban reality whereby use (pleasure, beauty, ornamentation of meeting places) still wins over lucre and profit, exchange value, the requirements and constraints of markets.”

(Lefebvre, 1991: 102)

Sitte (1965: 16) claims that characteristic of the enchantment of old plazas is today absent and relates this to the loss of involvement of inhabitants in the formation of urban space, and searches for new means of bringing together the principles that produced enchanting urban spaces in the past with the facts and necessities of today:

“One must keep in mind that city planning in particular must allow full and complete participation to art, because it is this type of artistic endeavour, above all, that affects formatively everyday and every hour the great mass of the population,... It is therefore desirable to demonstrate how far it might be possible to harmonise the principles of the ancients with our modern requirements”

(Sitte, 1965: 112)

Historical cities have been investigated as examples of enchanting settings where users may easily and more comfortably act with a sense of association and pleasure. Gordon Cullen (1971) and Ian Nairn (1958, 1961, 1963) developed a sensibility towards spontaneously formed architectural qualities of cities, through a series of articles in *Architectural Review*. While Cullen explored the aesthetic principles beyond visual effects of these urban settings, Nairn notified some successful and unsuccessful effects in urban settings including the contemporary alterations in cities, and proposed new arrangements for the latter.

On the other hand, Alexander (1987) has suggested a formation process which resembles the piecemeal formation processes of urban spaces in historical cities. Questionable in relation to rapid building processes due to the developments in technology today, these approaches may still be taken into consideration for the formation of urban spaces in which inhabitants would not feel alienated.

Patrick Geddes has also developed a specific approach to existing cities taking into account the life process in cities as the critical core of city development. He placed an emphasis on the right of the individual to shape his environment (Mairet, 1957: 5). In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Geddes experienced the problem of renovating and rejuvenating historic city centres –in the case of Edinburgh:

“He saw municipal housing schemes as a threat, not only to the fabric of the city, but to the people as well. What he wanted was the preservation of the best traditions of the past, the involvement of the people in their own betterment and the rediscovery of the past traditions of city building which deliberately expressed the aesthetic ideals of the community.”

(Meller, 1993: 190)

For Geddes, inhabitants' contribution to the formation of urban spaces could only be realised through making them conscious and responsible about their settlements by way of education:

“He anticipated by some fifty years the idea that the average citizen has something positive to contribute towards the improvement of his environment. Geddes was convinced that each generation had the right to build their own aspirations into the fabric of their own. In order to achieve this a basis of civic understanding had to be created through education.”

(Mairet, 1957: 13)

Aldo Van Eyck (1993), another figure, who believed that man desires more and more to exercise his own individual choice in matters that concerns houses, gardens, streets and plazas, introduced individuality, freedom and spontaneity forming an ever-strengthening antithesis to the control of technology in contemporary living.

“There are then two conflicting extremes –the major structures which have long life cycle and which, while restricting individual choice, determine the system of the age, and the minor objects that we use in daily living which have a short life cycle and which permit the expression of free individual choice. The gap between the two is gradually growing deeper. The important task facing us is that of creating an organic link between these two extremes and, by doing so, to create a new spatial order in our cities”.

(Van Eyck, 1993: 356)

#### 4.1.2. Investigation of action and the urban space accommodating action – contemporary cities

Interest in the action of users / inhabitants in urban space within contemporary cities may be said to have started among designers of urban space with the approach and works of Team 10, including Alison and Peter Smithson.

Smithsons dealt with the “patterns of associated identity” which they improved after studying the children playing in the streets of Bethnal Green (Sadler, 1998: 20). They stated the continuous analysis of the human structure and its change as the first principle of town planning, and proposed to evolve an architecture from the fabric of life itself, criticising the application of same type of housing for every country, every type of community and every variation of climate:

“The first principle of town development should be: *Continuous objective analysis of the human structure and its change...analysis would try to uncover a pattern of reality that includes human aspirations...*”

(Alison and Peter Smithson, 1970: 123-126)

In this regard, Smithsons, along with the rest of the Team 10 group, introduced concepts of ‘street’, ‘district’, and ‘cluster’ as social elements within the city. In Team 10 manifesto declared in 1959 CIAM Congress in Otterlo, the role of inhabitants and existing physical setting (site, climate, built environment...) emerged as primary concerns within the formation process of cities. It was no more only the designer / architect’s preconceptions, but also the principles derived from the values of the specific ‘place’ and life therein that should shape the new urban settlements.

Sadler (1998: 20) states that like Smithsons, the Situationists –Guy Debord and Asger Jorn particularly– sought ways of illustrating and addressing the social ecology of the city, professing an empathy with the habitual behaviour of the city’s lowly. Situationists’ concepts of ‘drift’<sup>10</sup> and ‘psychogeography’<sup>11</sup>, considered along

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<sup>10</sup> Situationist concept of ‘drift’ is a specifically defined type of movement in the city in which the pedestrian experienced the city spontaneously and in a mode of play. Drift (*dérive*) meant an aimless drifting, a technique of transversing frequently changing urban environments into an instrument for investigating the psychogeography of cities. “Drift would take a fixed amount of time (preferably 24 hours) and involve a small group of people

with their reactions against the demolishing of Les Halles marketplace in Paris and Chinatown in London for new urban projects, indicate their appreciation of living urban spaces and the diversity of experiments in these spaces. Much affected by Lefebvre's writings, Situationists' approach may be seen parallel to Jane Jacobs' (1961) sensibility towards the metropolitan liveliness as valuable apart from designers' and planners' interventions.

The diversity and richness in lively urban spaces have been inspiring for the principles of Unitary Urbanism<sup>12</sup> and the design of Situationist city –namely New Babylon<sup>13</sup> (Figures 4.1 and 4.2) by Constant (Nieuwenhuys) –both anticipating an experimental life for the inhabitants.

Comparable to the Situationist approach, Tschumi (1981) emphasises the experience in the perception of urban spaces through action and he offers this experience as a tool producing meaning; he introduces 'movement' and 'event' that cannot be pre-determined nor even predicted, as the makers of space.

Investigating the physical qualities of spaces where people can freely reveal themselves in contemporary cities depends mostly on observation of people's actions –use and joy in these spaces leading to communication with others. There have been quite many studies on behaviour and preferences of users in urban

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whose path is determined by a combination of system and randomness. The aim is to move through a city without purpose, thus provoking unexpected occurrences and encounters (Heynen, 1999: 153). The drift, Debord explained, 'takes on a double meaning: active observation of present-day urban agglomerations and development of hypotheses on the structure of a situationist city' (Sadler, 1998: 81).

Drift had to alert people to their imprisonment by routine... Cutting freely across urban space, drifters would gain a revolutionary perception of the city. (Sadler, 1998:94).

<sup>11</sup> Psychogeography, on the other hand, suggests to "make a relief map of the city, indicating constant currents, fixed points, and vortices by which urban environments influence the emotions of passerby and inhabitants" (Heynen, 1999: 153).

Psychogeography, according to Debord, explores the influence of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals (Heynen, 1999: 152-153).

<sup>12</sup> The theoretical basis of Situationists' approach cities, mostly shaped by Debord's works...

<sup>13</sup> The exemplar city, which remained as a project, designed by Constant in accordance to Situationist principles. In New Babylon, "the principal activity of the inhabitants will be CONTINUOUS DRIFT',..." (Sadler, 1998: 138). Situationists specifically intended to enhance experiencing different modes and atmospheres while moving in the city –in Constant's New Babylon by the continuous change of elements.

space, yet those, which relate to the aim of designing spaces where the physical setting promotes encounters and the freedom for expression, emerge as significant approaches for enhancing the public realm.

Dense use of public spaces has been considered as a virtue –though the crowd had been generally claimed as a social ill in late sixties and early seventies– and accordingly, well-used urban spaces are considered successful in terms of public realm to be investigated in reference to the characteristics of physical setting (Carr, et al. 1995; Whyte, 1990). Whyte (1990) investigated people's use of streets and public spaces of several cities, and derived some principles for the design and management of urban spaces through observations. As an amelioration of the city centre as a successful –lively urban space, the method Jan Gehl used in the pedestrianisation project of Copenhagen is mentioned:

“Gehl has kept detailed records, and they show a dramatic increase in the simple pleasures of downtown –strolling, sitting, window shopping. They also show great increases in planned and unplanned activities, even in winter. A new ‘tradition’, started in 1982, is the Copenhagen Carnival, a three-day affair that has people samba dancing their way to the centre.”

(Whyte, 1990: 2)

Gehl (1987: 14), in his examination of the outdoor activities –the everyday life– in publicly accessible spaces, observes three types of activities, as necessary, optional (recreational) and resultant (social) activities and he claims that optional and resultant activities depend more on physical quality than necessary activities do. He makes a distinction between ‘active contact’ which is a high intensity contact form and ‘passive contact’ which is of low intensity, and makes a gradation of social interactions between these two; from close friendships to acquaintances and chance contacts. Passive contacts comprise of seeing and hearing unknown people, which are likely to take place in city streets and city centres. For Gehl (1987: 21) these low-intensity contacts, though appearing insignificant, are valuable both as independent contact forms and as prerequisites for other, more complex interactions, for low intensity contact is a situation from which other forms of contact can grow. It is a medium for the unpredictable, the spontaneous, the unplanned.



In this context, living cities emerge as important examples to be examined, for being the ones in which people can interact with one another, and which are always stimulating and rich in experiences, in contrast to lifeless cities, poor in experiences and dull, no matter how colourful and variable in shape of buildings (Gehl,1987: 23). Architects and planners play an important role in making living cities for they can affect the possibilities for meeting, seeing and hearing people (though not intensity, the content and the quality of social contacts). Gehl (1987) derives principles –including physical dimensions, functions, forms, microclimatic properties,... considering different groups of age, gender, etc.– for preferable physical environments, so as to be used in designing urban spaces enhancing the public realm. The principle of smooth physical transition between private and public spaces, which Gehl (1987: 123) introduces to be encouraging people to get into contact with others, is comparable to the concept of porosity.

For the design of successful public spaces Hood (1999) proposes ‘improvisation’ method, which juxtaposes an awareness of history with the observation of rhythms of everyday life, making possible the designers’ eyes and ears to open up to the community. Based on the observation of what people do and how people interact with other people in neighbourhood space, this method examines the everyday life in order to help to transform real social and cultural patterns into physical form:

“Understanding everyday activities forces the designer to confront a neighbourhood’s dynamic economic, physical, and social structures. This comprehension creates a direct link between planning and true-to-life community issues, fully incorporating the human condition into the design process... Improvisational design strategies make these indigenous patterns and issues visible to the neighbourhood and to the outsiders, which allow the residents and their daily lives to shape their own communities.”

(Hood,1999: 153)

#### **4.1.3. Inclusion of action in the design of spaces**

Investigation of users’ action in historical and contemporary urban spaces aims to relate the physical characteristics of space to the users’ patterns of action in space, so as to lead to the design of spaces incorporating these patterns to let users reveal themselves as they are. In that sense, action in anticipated space comes forth as a goal apart from and repressing the formal considerations.



This characteristic is well reflected in the designs of Aldo Van Eyck, producing places prime concern of which is to be inhabited, and architecture is seen as a liberating event:

"Architecture becomes a humus for stimulating and provoking encounters between people from different social and racial backgrounds... The scope of each building is not the progress of the discipline of architecture, but the progress of the relationships between the human beings. This is why each building necessitates, according to the use and the user, a special idea probably different from any other, probably unique..."

(Brandolini, 1985: 18)

In Van Eyck's works (Figure 4.3), design is developed in accordance to the small gestures of everyday behaviour, and this "does not only affect the corresponding spatial notation, but pervades, in a direct manner, the whole of his architecture, with an affectionate ...idea of humanity; this turns real through participation in each specific case the value of pace" (Gregotti, 1985: 6).

A likely attitude may be seen in Smithsons' ideas, introducing an alteration of the conception of planning / design of cities:

"What is proposed... is an abolition of planning as we know it; the disappearance of the 'master-plan' and all detailed town-form planning. The procedure for developers would be, first, a thorough briefing as to the existing facts and the principles deduced from them. Secondly, the individuals would assess the briefing and the form-demands of the existing built situation, and then get on with it. There should be no further control."

(A. and P. Smithson, 1970; 126-127)

Within this definition, shaping the urban environment becomes a rather open-ended process where, not only the architect, but also the inhabitants themselves play an active role. Validity of spontaneous use within the urban environment may be traced in Smithsons' conception of ideal city and its design. Smithsons (1970) searched for means to create 'social space' when placing new buildings on a site; for them, in ideal city "the communication net should serve (and indicate) places-to-stop-and-do-things-in."

Kalinski (1999), in a like manner, criticises the urban design which he claims to elude classical aspirations of symmetry, order, and control; and suggests 'city design' instead, as an architecture of situational tactics in social space:

"If city design as situational architecture becomes a discourse of spatial tactics, city residents as well as architects and other specialists continually encounter one another in conversation to shape further what already exists...

The methods, means, and aesthetics of this craft are barely defined, which makes the transition from theory to practice a difficult one. The architect in the present city must produce work that embraces the spontaneous and discursive multiplicity."

(Kalinski, 1999: 105-106)

Through the insistent inclusion of factors within a framework of everyday situations, in the making of the city, city design implodes time to achieve urban vitality: "To construct a communicating city means to provide spaces within buildings and landscapes where both programmatic and symbolic difference and commonality are expressed" (Kalinski, 1999: 108).

The expression of diversities may not always coincide with the physical setting, especially if the urban space is designed as an entity restricting and defining rigorously the uses and expressions within. As an alternative approach, Hood emphasises the adaptability of space to spontaneous actions and change as the first goal of his design method 'improvisation':

"The designer must accept as a given that cities and communities are in constant flux; spaces should encourage free individual and community expression."

(Hood, 1999: 172)

Tschumi meditates on the same question, stating that architecture is no more related to the appearance of a stable image, of anything, and unforeseen change should be considered as the basic element in design: "How can architecture maintain some solidity, some degree of certainty? It seems impossible today – unless one decides that the accident or the explosion is to be called the rule, the new regulation, through a sort of philosophical inversion that considers the

accident<sup>14</sup> the norm and the continuity the exception” (Tschumi,1994: 219).

Hood (1999: 154) states that conflicts arise when unprogrammed uses occur, and the clashes between programmed and unprogrammed uses of community facilities raise critical questions for designers, particularly in urban neighbourhoods. On the other hand, these clashes may be conceived to provide the medium for varying meanings in space –as in the diversity of experiences in lively urban spaces:

“...Kuleshov’s experiment where the same shot of the actor’s impassive face is introduced into a variety of situations, and the audience reads different expressions in each successive juxtaposition. The same occurs in architecture: the event is altered by each new space. And vice versa: by ascribing to a given, supposedly ‘autonomous’ space a contradictory program, the space attains new levels of meaning.”

(Tschumi,1994: 130)

Another conception, action as the definer of space is conceived when the contribution of users to the use and formation of space, by their free will and

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<sup>14</sup> Jencks (1995) theorises a similar approach to chaos and unpredictability, referring to the Complexity Theory, Chaos science, self-organising systems, and nonlinear dynamics which “reveal the universe as a single, unfolding, creative event reaching new levels of self-organisation.” Within this context self-transformation, unpredictability and even catastrophe become the principles of normal becoming of the universe and thus of the urban environment which is considered as an organism as part of the universe. In such a discourse, the role of the architect as contributing to the formation of physical environment is totally open to discussion:

“When a new building or new town springs to life there is always an unpredictable element of self-organisation (otherwise it would not be alive).

The philosophical question is whether the architect can predetermine emergence... The answer is ‘yes’ and ‘no’... *There must be an unpredictable emergent* in a creative building, or city, and that leads to two consequences. In the end, there is no shorter program or smaller model than the building itself and, secondly, to exploit surprising wholes, the architect should pay close attention to process. ...emergence favours those who watch for serendipity. Great architecture exploits accident.”

(Jencks,1995; 63)

Jencks mentions the properties of an architecture, which aims at expressing this new understanding as; *organizational depth, multivalence, complexity* and being at *the edge of chaos* referring to the works of Frank Gehry, Peter Eisenmann, Charles Jencks and Rem Koolhaas (1995: 167).

actions, is possible. Designers have worked on peculiarities of design methods, in order to achieve this contribution in anticipated spaces.

This approach may be traced in the works of several groups and architects. One of them is the Situationist group, which defended “the rights of ‘ordinary people’ to make their own choices of objects,” and expected artists and designers to “behave as consultants and providers rather than dictatorial tastemakers, and to enjoy a material world of change and spontaneity” (Sadler, 1998: 34).

In both the principles of Unitary Urbanism and the project for New Babylon, designed in accordance to Situationist principles, it is possible to observe the active role of inhabitants. Debord, suggests ‘unitary urbanism’ to “provide a basis for a life whose driving force is continuous experimentation” (Heynen, 1999: 154); and in the ideal city, the creation of *situations* which can liberate currents of energy would permit people to make their own history. He believes, this way, people may overcome their predicament in modern society, where they, as parts of spectacle, become passive individuals who are alienated from their own existence.

In a like manner, New Babylon accommodates an ever-changing panoply of forms and effects chosen by the New Babylonians themselves (Sadler, 1998: 32).

Constant claimed that he created a “dynamic labyrinth”, within which the flow would be determined by the users:

“The flow of the dynamic labyrinth... would be determined by the users of the labyrinth, since they could choose their trajectories at macrolevel (between sectors), while retaining the option to reshape the labyrinth at the microlevel (using the ‘mobile elements’ provided within each sector). Constant argued that no matter how impressive the classical labyrinth may be, it could never match this ‘creative’ use of space. In the dynamic labyrinth activities would not be constrained by the spatial form.”<sup>15</sup>

(Sadler, 1998: 146)

Constant himself declared that ‘the real designers of New Babylon will be the Babylonians themselves’ (Heinen, 1999: 164). In that regard, Situationists criticised

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<sup>15</sup> New Babylon was formed of sectors which could be imagined as ‘abstractions’ of unities of ambience in existing cities: The predominantly abstract facilities of New Babylon (like ‘spatial colour’ and ‘movable elements’) were pointed in sectors; like ‘Hanging Sector’, ‘Red Sector’, ‘Yellow Sector’. (Sadler, 1998: 139)

Team 10, claiming that although Team 10 was right to pay attention to 'patterns of association', those patterns could not be congealed into fixed 'place-forms'; for in their anticipated spaces the choices were being made by the designers, not by the inhabitants (Sadler, 1998).

"Labyrinthine clarity", as proposed by Van Eyck (Sadler, 1998: 30) to substitute a hierarchy of spaces with a multifarious order, has been considered to grant the individual user of the building or city a relative freedom of choice in use and discovery of its spaces and places. In that sense, Van Eyck's Amsterdam Children's Home (Figure 4.4) and Peter Smithson's 'Cluster City' (Figure 4.5) may be considered as examples with labyrinthine quality where joyful experimentation of users is anticipated.

Van Eyck's playgrounds, where each child has the freedom to choose and invent his own game, find his own sit and desired atmosphere; and the Psychiatric Clinic where the need of patients to express themselves and learn, and their communication and accessibility to the outside world are considered in design – each patient possessing his own small garden– (Brandolini, 1985: 16), are examples of his interpretation of the relationship between the human being and the artefact he inhabits.

Hertzberger (1991) has also meditated on the role of users' actions in the design of spaces:

"In the design of each building the architect must constantly bear in mind that the users must have the freedom to decide for themselves how they want to use each part, each space. Their personal interpretation is infinitely more important than the stereotyped approach of the architect strictly adhering to his building programme... we must create this potential for personal interpretation by designing things in such a way that they can indeed be interpreted."

(Hertzberger, 1991: 170)

As the design method for achieving the users' active contribution to space, Hertzberger states that it is not enough to stop designing at an earlier stage –resulting in flexibility–, but there must be choices open to people, by way of the possibilities of usage, embedded in the design as intentions under surface:

“As long as there is no real expansion of the choices open to people, the stereotyped pattern will not disappear, and this expansion can only be achieved if we start out by making it possible for the things around us to play a variety of different roles, i.e. take on different colours while remaining true to themselves.”

(Hertzberger, 1991: 170)

Within this discussion, spontaneous action of users, by way of the freedom of choice, emerges as the agent which makes possible the mutual appropriation between built environment and user; “the more involved a person is with the form and content of his surroundings, the more those surroundings become appropriated by him, and just as those surroundings become appropriated by him, and just as he takes possession of his surroundings, so they will take possession of him” (Hertzberger, 1991: 169). This way identity of the user is revealed by the object and thus much more care and dedication is invested as it becomes part of the user. Incentives ( “invitation for completion and ‘colouring’ by the people who live there, while the people too extend an invitation to the things to complete, colour and fill in their own existence” ) proposed by the designer are important to evoke associations in the users, for this way interpretation comes forth (Hertzberger, 1991: 169). The architectural form becomes an instrument which offers each person to do what he has most at heart, and to do it in his own way (Figures 4.6 and 4.7).

To make possible the users’ contribution to the anticipated landscape, Bernard Lassus aims to question the role of the designer: In his method, ‘Minimal Intervention’, the visible evidence of the designer’s intervention is minimised: “It is enough for him that the desired effects should be obtained” (Bann, 1999: 239). Creating visual ambiguity, he suggests that the user should entail desired meaning to space:

“... a reason for the significance of visual ambiguity: it prevents any ready-made sense of place to be imposed upon inhabitants; and it leaves open the ways in which personal or collective meanings can be ascribed.”

(Conan, 1990: 47)



On the other hand, Tschumi (1994: 258) claims that “the image hardly ever exists without a combined activity.” Though placing ‘action’ in the centre of his design approach, he does not anticipate a certain –predictable– behaviour or contribution of user to the physical environment. He defines architecture “as the pleasurable and sometimes violent confrontation of spaces and activities” (Tschumi, 1994: 4), and for him, spaces and actions are not dependent on each other:

“Spaces are qualified by actions just as actions are qualified by spaces. One does not trigger the other; they exist independently. Only when they intersect do they affect one another.”

(Tschumi, 1994: 130)

Tschumi (1994: 257) introduces the term ‘event’ for action / sequence of actions as a ‘turning point’ in which erosion, collapsing, questioning or problematisation of the very assumptions of the setting happens; and this happens through shock:

“The very heterogeneity of the definition of architecture –space, action, movement– makes it into that event, that place of shock, or that invention of ourselves. The event is the place where rethinking and reformulation of different elements of architecture... may lead to their solution... it is the place of combination of differences.”

(Tschumi, 1994: 258)

#### **4.2. A literature survey on applied urban projects**

The diversity of the user profile and how intensely and frequently the urban space is used have been elaborated as important matters in the contribution of that space to the public realm. Obtaining numerous and diverse users –as achieving intense and continuous use– is an issue related both to the actual design and to processes through which projects are decided upon, implemented and presented for use.

Appropriation of urban space can be achieved both through (spontaneous) use and transformation processes by user, and through decision, design and implementation processes made by professionals. For spaces designed and implemented by professionals, users take an action by accepting or refusing the setting -though they may not modify it; and their acceptance without any intervention means their appropriating a cultural code (Korosec-Serfaty, 1977) that is produced by the designer.



Consequently, designer's approach and his understanding of use patterns and conceptualisations, properties, problems and potentialities of urban spaces become critical for the success of his design. For the appropriation of urban spaces through design process, initially 'use' should be achieved as the designer envisions it. This is possible in a condition of fit (synomorphy) between the environment and behaviour; a case in which the form fits the behavioural, social and cultural context (Snyder and Catanese, 1979: 53). Yet, there are designed urban spaces which are not used the way designers have proposed, but still appropriated in unforeseen ways, acquiring excessive use and users, and forming the stage for their self-expression. There exists –if not in every concern of the physical form, at least partially- fit (synomorphy) which is not anticipated in these spaces.

Within the process of design, designer should know what he/she should obtain in order to enhance the public realm:

1. numerous and diverse users coming together through time –for the interaction of as many different people as possible,
2. expression of individuals' or groups' identities without excluding each other –so as to achieve communication among them through appropriation of space.

Concerning these objectives, the following points may be observed:

1. In relation to the numerous and diverse users through time;
  - a. programming and time considerations (for intense and continuous use by citizens),
  - b. overall physical properties: relations with the surrounding and the city; access to and integrity of urban spaces (openness of urban space to all citizens –also dependent on positioning within the city), -forming coherent spaces that can all be easily reached in order to let people experience this diversity-

2. In relation to expression of users' identities, which also supports intense use by them;
  - a. processes of production and use (promoting people's claim on spaces and freedom of their activities' and alterations so as to let reveal their values, ...)
  - b. inner physical properties of urban spaces: form, scale, materials and detailing... proper for identification and self-expression of users (addressing at users' values and encouraging spontaneous / free acts and uses)

Through the appropriation by users from diverse groups within time, an identity is revealed and communicated within urban space. In this context, various urban projects will be surveyed regarding their certain attributes related with the above points.

In the urban projects surveyed, the issues related to numerous and diverse users through time and expression of users' identities in space will be discussed both as they were intended in the projects and after implementation within the urban entity.

Projects for leftover urban spaces will be another category –in the next chapter– so as to investigate their design considerations to achieve appropriation for accomplishing the public realm. These comprise piecemeal urban projects, though they may disclose models for typical leftover spaces within cities.

#### **4.2.1. Obtaining numerous and diverse users through time: programming and overall physical properties**

##### **4.2.1.1. Programming for diverse users and intense use**

When an urban space is considered /designed to contribute to the public realm, it is initially expected to appeal to all citizens. The more it embraces people from different parts and social-economical-ethnic... groups of the city, the more a communicative and expressive platform is formed. As for many public spaces, deriving variety of people was one of the main intentions in designing the First National Bank Plaza (Figure 4.8) in Chicago (Rutledge, 1978).

Public spaces which offer the enjoyment of all the citizens have been praised, as in the water garden in the Allied Bank Tower Plaza in Dallas, claiming that such spaces are found so rarely in American cities (Price, 1980: 70). Such a virtue is also valid for other types of public spaces; like streets and passages: When (re)designing the State Street in Chicago as a pedestrian-dominant space, it was aimed not to become the home of just one kind of shopper for “its vitality was considered to depend on improving the urban environment of *all* the citizens” (Architectural Review, 1977: 244).

Inhabitants –people who actually live in that city– are considered as the main users of public urban spaces. Design of urban spaces in Philadelphia was criticised for being only for tourists and for those who do not know the city (Stephen, 1976: 51). In addition to being open to all the citizens, public spaces are evaluated with regard to the appropriation by the inhabitants of the area within the city. In relation to the characteristics of the city section in which it is placed, public space has to meet the needs, values and use patterns of the groups living in the specific area. The new design / organisation should not prevent locals from using that specific space; especially if there already exists appropriation engendering public meaning.

In some cases, making a new park means grasping that space from its existing users –an already formed appropriation is lost. Spray (1984) mentions this problem of appropriation for designed urban spaces due to a quotation from an interview with the users of an abandoned industrial site; “If you make it a park, other people will use it, and it won’t be ours any more...” Public realm involves individual and group expression, so existing users may be maintained and their expression may become communicative to the rest of the city.

An outstanding example of design appealing to locals is the Skid Row Parks, Los Angeles (Figures 4.9 and 4.10): As the history of the sites involved homeless derelicts, poverty stricken families and elderly people, alcoholics and transients, the urban space has been designed in accordance with these people’s use patterns: Sleeping, washing clothes, drinking and eating... are programmed activities as well as sitting, playing or hanging around (Johnson, 1982). Though not always so excessive, a variety of functions emerge as a source attracting diverse users –as intended in a project for urban spaces in the centre city Dortmund

(May, 1990), for this way space comes to be more appealing to people from different groups.

The diversity and multiplicity of users without excluding each other is concerned as a virtue and this includes not only different social, economic, ethnic... groups, but also different genders and ages. Yet, some projects are designed for merely the inhabitants of the city section in which the space is placed: Paley Park, for it was placed in a business district in Manhattan / New York, and was designed for adults and for rest purposefully (Abercombie, 1985: 54). Though limiting the diversity, this approach aims to contribute to the public realm by involving people from other parts of the city as well –bringing local inhabitants together with them. Not every public space should function like a park; still, existence of children and elderly is a richness for such spaces.

In numerous projects, users from different ages are expected, and their absence is considered as a problem / failure, like in Riis Plaza in New York (Figure 4.11), where elderly did not come to the areas designed for them (Freeman, 1985).

In the design of Longfellow Gardens in South Bronx / New York (Landscape Architecture, 1985: 71) both play areas for children and quiet areas for the solitude of individuals are considered; and the plaza with its peaceful areas and more active spots is appreciated as a symbol of community pride, hopes and values. However, the issue of expressive qualities of space related to 'communities' is important: Sennett (1990: 309) claims that talking about building a sense of community at a local level in the city is dangerous, for it may be opposed to reawakening meaningful public space and public life in the city as a whole.

Related to this, being known only by a locality, as in Duncan Plaza in New Orleans (Figure 4.12) , is considered as a problem for urban public spaces and these spaces are re-designed to appeal to the whole city (Brandon, 1980: 23).

Another issue is the use times / periods of urban spaces. Consideration of different hours within the day, or different seasons are important for achieving intense use. There appear quite a number of parks closing at nighttime due to safety reasons and vandalism. However, in some public spaces, night and day uses, and summer

and winter uses are designed carefully –Naturalistic Park in Edmonton, Alberta (Losee:1980). Periodical events like festivals, bazaar and also temporary events like shows, exhibitions may also become important design considerations to achieve diversity of users, intense use and expression of local identity in urban spaces –as in Dortmund (May,1990), setting for ceremonial events and the performing arts in Duncan Plaza / New Orleans (Brandon,1980), and adaptability for special events such as exhibits and entertainment programs in First National Bank Plaza / Chicago (Rutledge,1978).

#### **4.2.1.2. Physical organisation concerning coherence and connectivity with the city proper**

These comprise the relations with the surroundings and the city; access to and integrity of urban spaces (openness of urban space to all citizens –also dependent on location within the city), for forming coherent spaces that can all be easily reached in order to let people experience the diversity.

Access to urban public spaces is critical –they should somehow connect to main arteries, central or business districts or other public spaces in order to attract satisfying number of users. This issue includes visual access besides physical access, for visibility from main public spaces and arteries in the city may make a space attractive. For Bellevue Park in Seattle, distance from business core was considered problematic (Gantenbein,1994), and in Riis Plaza in New York distance from streets was considered as one of the reasons for the insufficient use of the space (Freeman,1985).

One way to bring people into the urban space is to place it as a thorough walk giving access to other destinations –adjacent buildings as in First National Bank Plaza in Chicago (Rutledge,1978). Another attitude is to make / design an already used passageway –short cut– as a public space; a recreation area as in the case of Chestnut Park in Philadelphia (Landscape Architecture,1983).

Activities in the surroundings emerge as one of the determining factors for accessibility. For urban spaces in somehow isolated positions, populating nearby areas along with linkage to other public spaces with streets and walks is

considered as a solution –Duncan Plaza, which was cut from the city by an expressway, a large hospital complex and a cemetery was proposed to be reintegrated by use of streets and pedestrian walkways, while a home ownership program was to be established for a large public housing nearby (Brandon,1980).

Pedestrianisation, as an agent of the public realm in cities, has been a widely used practice in public spaces –for a richer immediate experience. Thus better interaction and communication with the environment and people are anticipated through pedestrian circulation compared to vehicular travel. Circulation within public spaces is designed as mainly pedestrian walkways, and interlinked traffic-free spaces within the city are praised as a value –as in Dortmund (May,1990).

#### **4.2.2. Expression of users' identities through processes and inner physical properties**

Letting users reveal their identities in urban space becomes constituent of appropriation, and as well helps attracting numerous and diverse users.

##### **4.2.2.1. Processes of production and use** (promoting people's claim on spaces and freedom of their activities and alterations so as to let reveal their values, ...)

Consideration of design, implementation and post-implementation processes with users of public spaces evolves as an important factor for achieving appropriation. Contribution to the physical formation and maintenance of the space helps users reveal their identities. Furthermore, they establish a special relevance to the space for having role in its existence, and they claim right on the space.

Future users of space may give evidences for design through inquiries and face to face relations with designers. Many examples of this pre-implementation process are present –Byker housing in New Castle upon Tyne / England, by Erskine is one of them which is significant for the attempts to include the community in its creation as for the qualities of the end product (Buchanan,1981). This process involves future users' ideas achieved through verbal and diagrammatic communication. Kroll's (1984: 26) housing project 'Les Vignes Blanches' in Cergy-Pontoise /

France, is an example where urban design was handled by the inhabitants with the guidance of designers producing alternatives and drawings.

To understand users' preferences –for example, in Buchanan Street Park in San Francisco (Figures 4.13 and 4.14), where there were no users available to question, overall plan and design of playgrounds within it evolved as neighbours moved in: implemented examples were kept or changed after some period according to acceptance by users (Kennings, 1976: 144). Buchanan Park gained tremendous amount of use through this process and was appropriated by users.

To make users identify themselves with space, some things about their personalities can be presented in the urban spaces: In Pioneer Courthouse Square in Portland / Oregon, groups initiating the implementation of the square launched a brick sale –bricks with names of buyers inscribed on it both helped financially and contributed establishing a special bond between people and the square: “One of the substantial delights of visiting the square is people –watching the brick watchers” (Murphy, 1989).

In Dr. Carwin Park in Connecticut (Figure 4.15 and 4.16), to involve local people, particularly children, during construction, park walls with textured finishes were designed and built with the cooperation between the contractor, artists and children (Ferlow, 1980). This kind of process engenders appropriation not only through the remembrance of production process, but also through representation of the works of local people / children in the park.

Post-implementation processes are also very important. Even in cases when a park is completely designed and built by inhabitants, like People's Park in Berkeley (Figures 4.17 and 4.18) –with no contribution by a professional or an authority–, the built park deteriorates due to lack of maintenance and care (Sommer and Thayer, 1977: 514). Being once appropriated does not make the space go on living.

In some examples, like in Longfellow Gardens (Landscape Architecture, 1985: 71), community groups responsible of the maintenance organise area residents to pitch in to keep the park clean. Growing their own flowers is a situation that encourages their appropriation of the space.



In Byker (Buchanan, 1981: 340), there is an ongoing care and each garden and every public space is well kept and somewhat different, for each is appropriated by one (or some) inhabitant(s) who are free to make alterations on plants, colours, etc. So their preferences, individualities / identities are reflected in the urban space.

#### **4.2.2.2. Physical properties: Contribution of form, scale, materials and detailing to the expression of identity**

Form, scale, materials and detailing may become means of making urban spaces that communicate to users' values and encourage spontaneous / free acts which lead to the identification and self-revelation of users.

Whereas the overall physical organisations of public spaces are aimed to attain the required access, inner physical properties are considered to facilitate people therein to use; to stop in, to enjoy, to spend time and to communicate. The space is expected to be interesting or cheerful –First National Bank Plaza (Rutledge, 1978); though it may not always be so tidy and comfortable but somehow inviting. Accordingly, as in the new city of Milton Keynes in England (Figure 4.19), the opportunities for interaction and discovery are appreciated in design of public spaces and elimination of the unexpected and the uncontrolled is criticised as leading to lack of authenticity (Buchanan, 1980: 155).

Besides the consideration of necessary physical features –sun, angles, the effect of adjacent buildings, local winds, etc., attractiveness is accomplished in Naturalistic Park by making the spaces interesting to relax, eat, socialise and enjoy, by introducing exciting features and sensitive detail (Losee, 1980). Using local elements like plants and building materials, craftsmanship may also bring a peculiarity to the public space, while at the same time adding to the expression of identity as being unique.

Expression of identity within public space may as well be achieved through spontaneous use. Too much control and limitation of use attempted through the design of physical formation may lead to inhospitable settings; thus, it is proposed that urban public spaces should not dictate one or several uses but allow for many

–Bellevue Park, Seattle (Gantenbein,1994). Achieving spontaneous behaviours and adaptability for special events are two different notions which may become objectives in the design of urban places – First National Bank Plaza (Rutledge,1978) in order to obtain the expression of users' identities. Accordingly, how far the physical properties of urban space may disclose hints for users and let them discover some possible use (patterns) and to introduce / invent their own uses is a matter of debate.

#### **4.3. The role of appropriation in enhancing the public realm through design: A model**

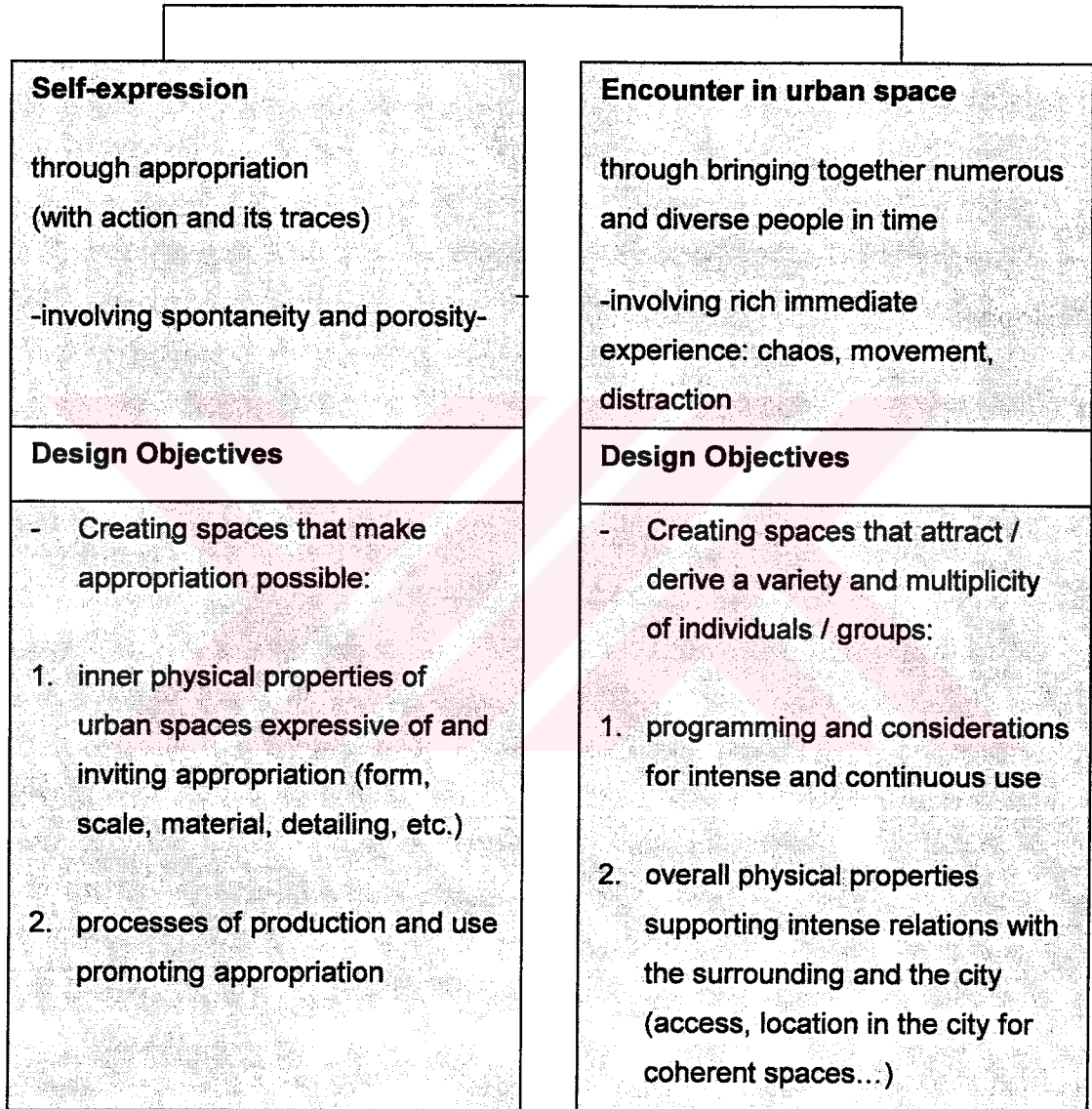
Appropriation has been defined as a dynamic process aimed at exercising mastery over space and thus directed at asserting an identity (Korosec-Serfaty,1977). The self-expressive quality within appropriation has been presented as what contributes to the public realm: In appropriation, individuals / groups may relate themselves to spaces in an unpredetermined process –in many unforeseen ways–, even preconsciously sometimes, and make their relevance to the space and their self-expression free from the constraints, concerns and roles they attain in the compartmentalised life of the modern city.

Existence of public realm necessitates the association of two basic entities in the urban space: Self-expressive individuals / groups, and “a ‘public’ observing them from diverse perspectives and aspects” (Arendt,1958: 57) –thus numerous and diverse people exercising encounter. Related to these two entities, appropriation emerges as an agent defining the self-expressive action; thus in design to enhance the public realm, it becomes an objective to be achieved alongside other notions.

In Chapter 3, urban environment supporting spontaneity, porosity and experience of immediacy were evolved as the medium for enhancing the public realm. These properties emerge as values to be preserved, if already existing in urban spaces, and objectives to be achieved when designing new ones. In this context, appropriation can be evaluated as the type of behaviour which involves spontaneity and porosity –as supported by the physical environment. When design attitudes rendered in this chapter are considered, the principles derived from both the theories and applied projects reflect the association of self-expression with the

multiplicity and diversity of people in urban space. Thus, a model for defining the public realm in urban space and the pertaining design objectives –to be adapted for leftover space, in following parts of the study– can be suggested as follows:

**Components of Public Realm  
and  
Related Design Objectives<sup>16</sup>**



<sup>16</sup> Both sets of objectives to be achieved regarding the existing values in terms of physical properties and appropriation patterns within urban spaces.

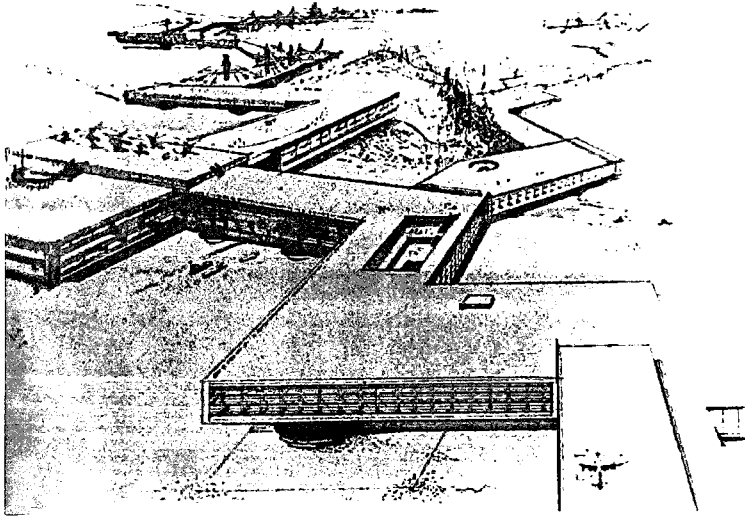


Figure 4.1. "New Babylon, overhead view," from the New Babylon Atlas, 1964. (Sadler,1998: 139)



Figure 4.2. Detail of Constant's maquette for sectors G and E in New Babylon. (Sadler,1998: 137)





Figure 4.3. Playground, Zaanhof in Amsterdam, 1948 (by Aldo Van Eyck).  
(Gregotti, 1985: 6)

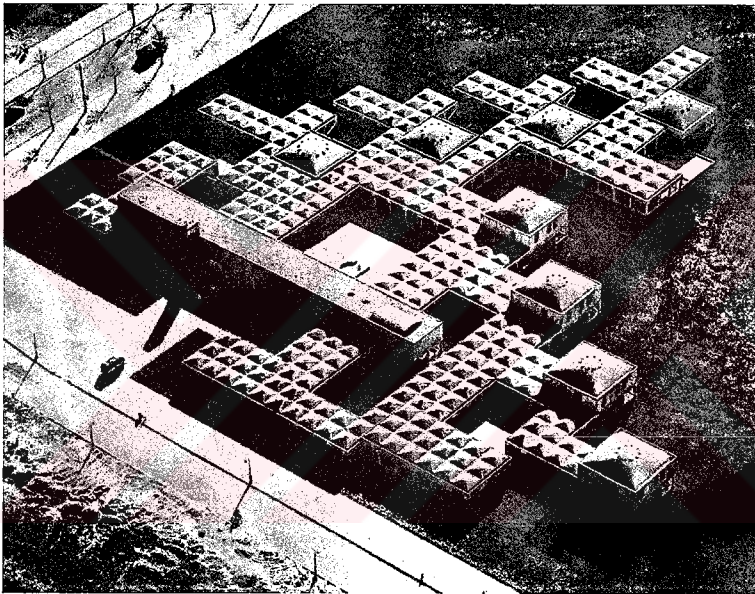


Figure 4.4. Orphanage in Amsterdam, 1955-60 (by Aldo van Eyck)  
(Ligtelijn, 1999: 91)

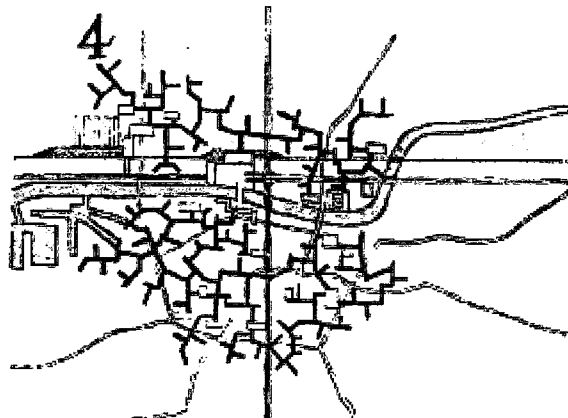


Figure 4.5. Peter Smithson – 'Cluster City', 1952.  
(Sadler, 1998: 21)

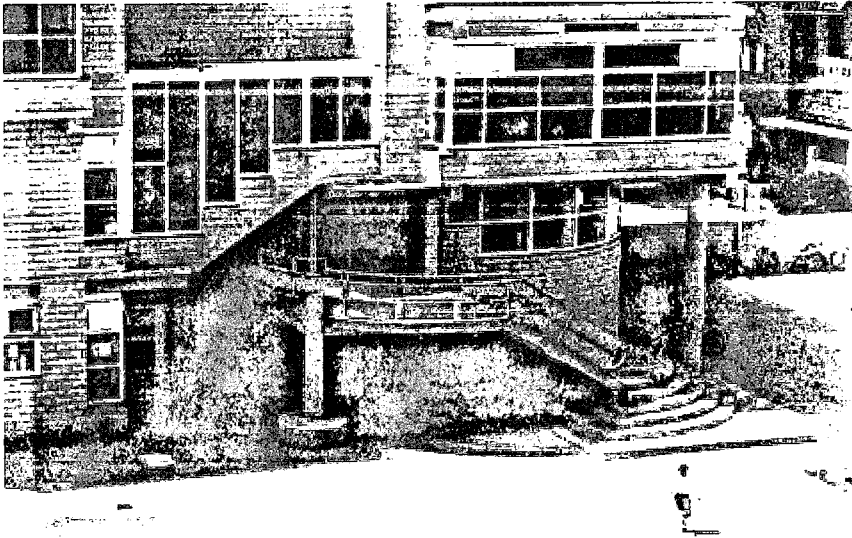


Figure 4.6. Apollo Schools by Herman Hertzberger.  
(Hertzberger, 1991: 184)

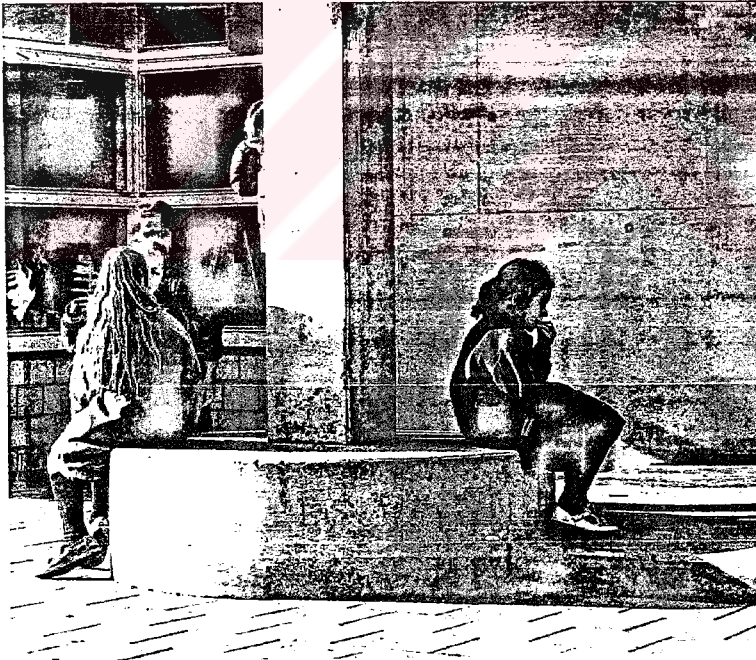


Figure 4.7. Apollo Schools by Herman Hertzberger – the way column bases are appropriated.  
(Hertzberger, 1991: 184)



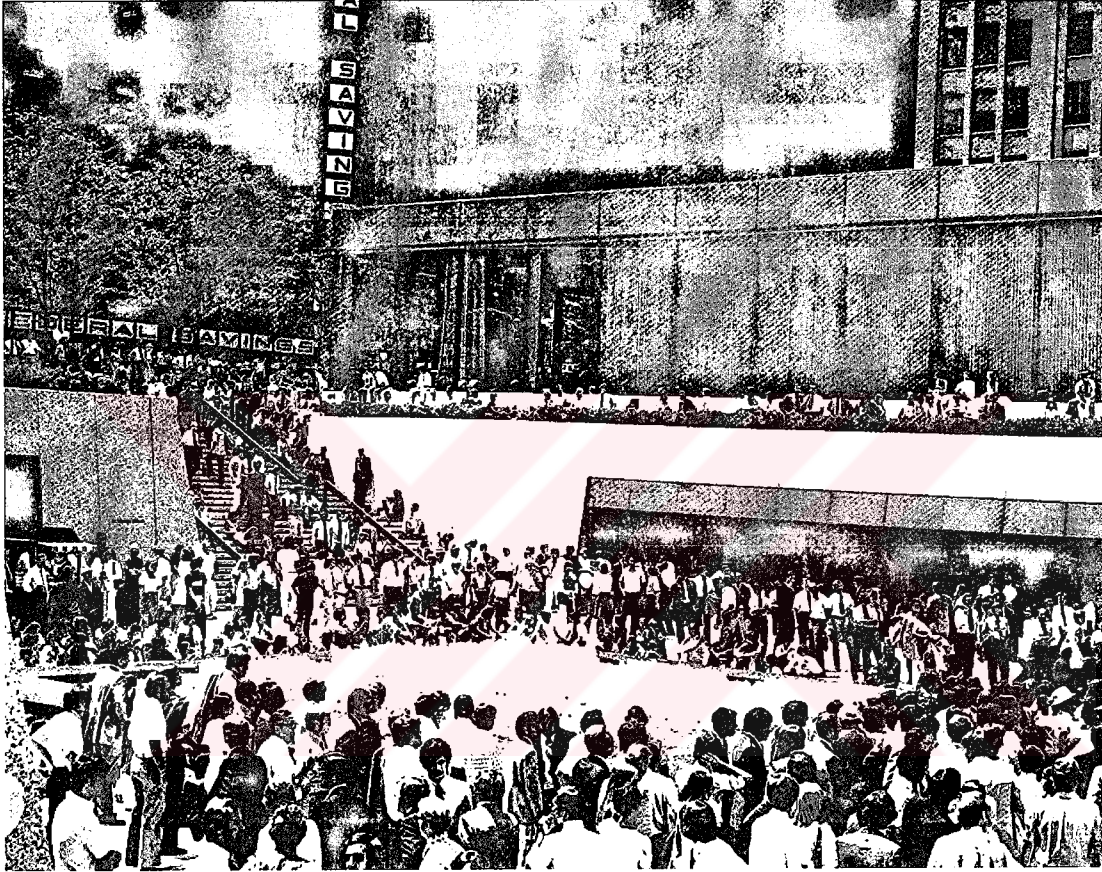


Figure 4.8. Chicago's First National Bank Plaza –during the noon hour.  
(Rutledge, 1978: 56)



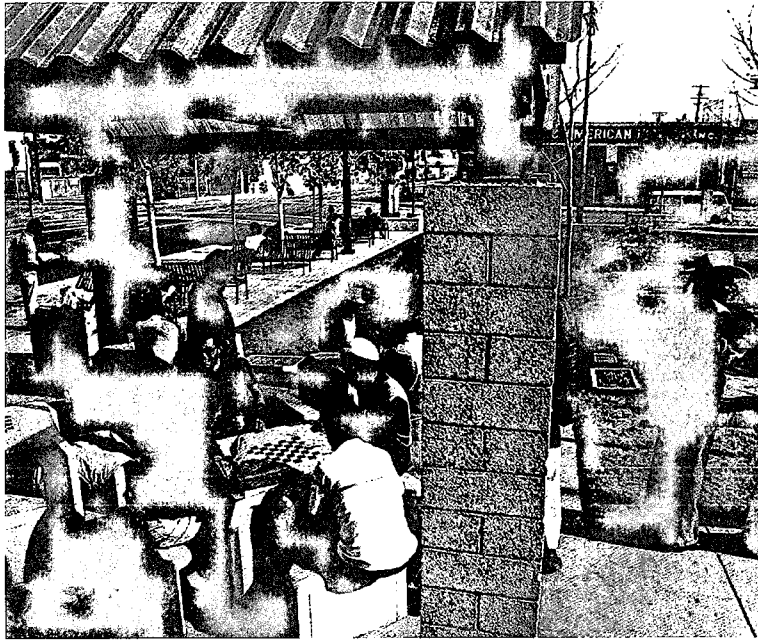


Figure 4.9. Saturday afternoon at 6<sup>th</sup> Street Park, in Los Angeles' Skid Row. (Johnson, 1982: 84)

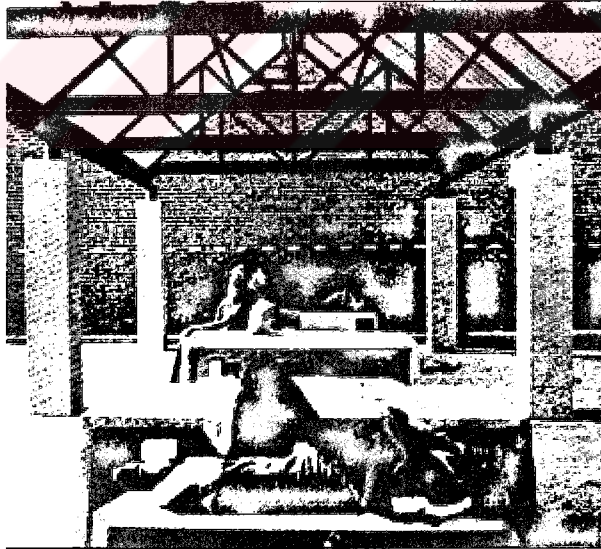


Figure 4.10. Sleep is a 'programmed' activity in 6<sup>th</sup> Street Park, Los Angeles. (Johnson, 1982: 87)

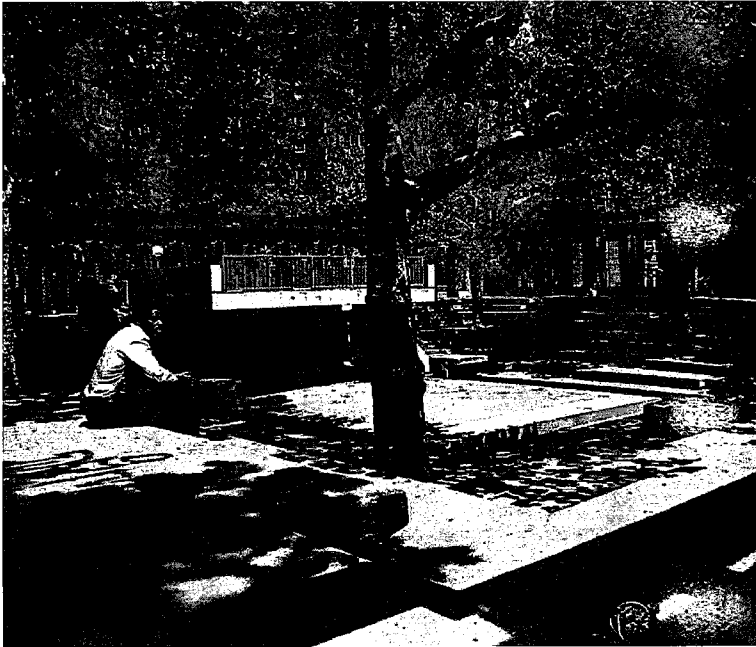


Figure 4.11. Underused amphitheater in Riis Plaza / New York.  
(Freeman, 1985: 52)



Figure 4.12. Absence of people and activity in Duncan Plaza / New Orleans.  
(Brandon, 1980: 18)

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Figure 4.13. Buchanan Street Park, in San Fransisco - top view.  
(Kennings,1976: 143)



Figure 4.14. Buchanan Street Park-Design of play areas evolved as neighbours moved in.  
(Kennings,1976: 145)



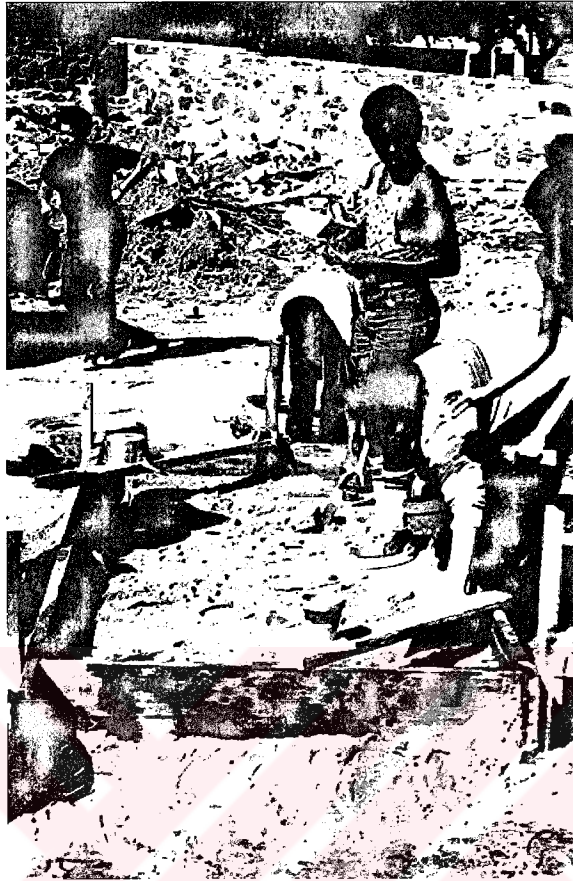


Figure 4.15 Dr. Carwin Park in Connecticut –fun and commitment up to the cooperation between contractor, artists and kids.  
(Ferlow,1980: 48)

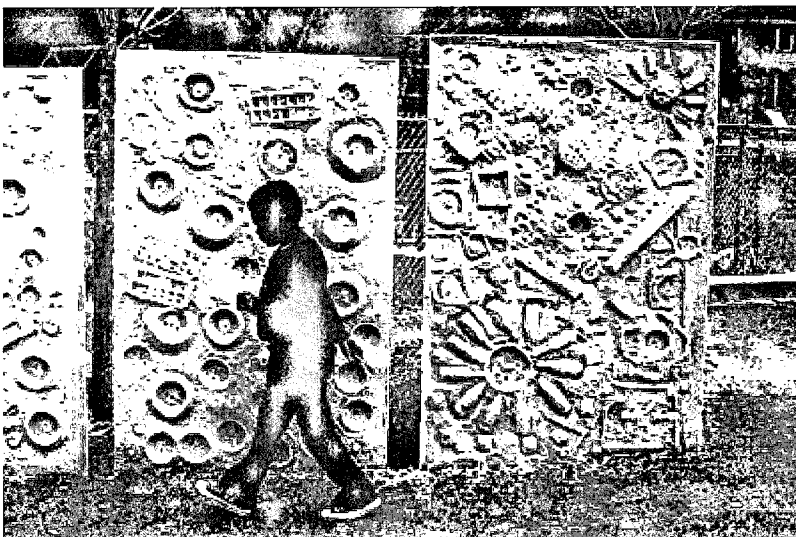


Figure 4.16. Dr. Carwin Park – sculptured panels produced by children.  
(Ferlow,1980: 50)



Figure 4.17. People's Park, Berkeley –a vacant lot spontaneously altered as a park by residents.  
(Sommer and Thayer,1977: 510)

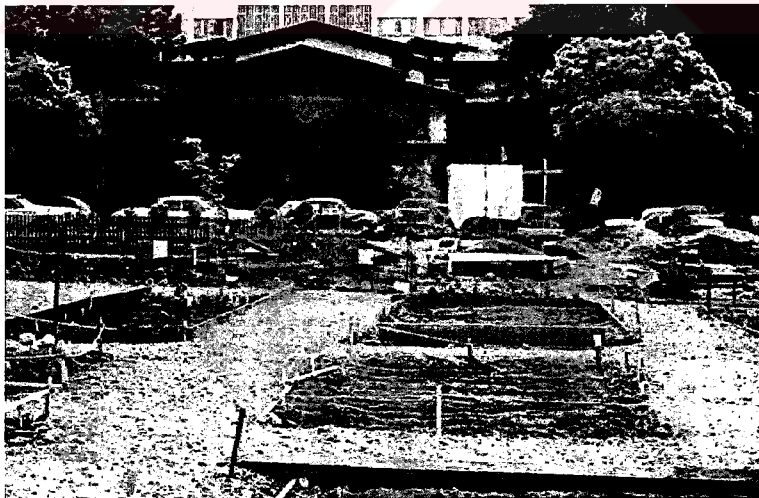


Figure 4.18. People's Park, garden plots staked out in the process of altering the site as public park (1972).  
(Sommer and Thayer,1977: 511)



Figure 4.19. Middleton Hall in Milton Keynes—a large area intended as an always active centre, but usually bare in active use. (Buchanan, 1980: 156)

## CHAPTER 5

### LEFTOVER SPACE –A SPECIFIC CATEGORY OF URBAN SPACE

Leftover space, as a specific category among urban spaces, has to be investigated regarding its distinct characteristics and potentialities which (may) contribute to the public realm. In this context, the concepts defining the public realm in urban space, and relative design objectives elaborated in the previous chapters, are used as a basis for achieving the convenient (design) approach to these spaces; regarding these distinct characteristics.

Leftover space has been defined as space that is not possessed by people; unused, or underused, and usually having a disorderly, dirty and mostly ruined look for not being cared for.

Leftover space is an important resource for the inner city public space. Whyte (1968: 266) states that where there is waste, there is opportunity; and he calls leftover space as “the area of second chances”. Whyte (1968: 163) emphasises the leftover spaces that are closer to the city for they have high intensity of use, and that they are most useful to people, even though they are mostly smaller in size.

When accessible to public –that it is freely usable by inhabitants–, leftover space emerges as the ground for unforeseen / unanticipated action. Leftover space contributes to public realm, if, within it, users can reveal themselves freely and communicate with numerous and diverse others. In that sense, leftover space, though often disregarded, appears as an opportunity and sometimes a virtue for experience, encounter and appropriation taking place without any limitations, regulations and rules.



Leftover space, not possessed by definition, lacks both maintenance and control over time. In that sense, leftover space may be claimed to escape the rules and conventions of certain persons / groups, and instead, forms a basis for new and unexpected forms of self-expression in urban space.

Accordingly, Carr et al. (1995: 367) mention leftover spaces which are appropriated and modified for community use (with examples of reused former vacant lots and too steep streets), among 'found' spaces welcoming all groups in the society and conveying "the relaxed freedoms of a working, pluralistic democracy".<sup>17</sup>

Leftover space, existing in various sizes, forms and locations in the city, is part of inhabitants' everyday life. Crawford (1999: 26) includes leftover spaces – incoherent landscape of roads, vacant lots, etc.– among "everyday space"s which defeat any conceptual or physical order. She (1999: 25) defines everyday space as "the connective tissue that binds daily lives together, amorphous and so persuasive that it is difficult even to perceive" – the space that we experience everyday through our movements for daily activities like work, home, school.

Stating that everyday spaces, though mundane, serve as primary interactions between the individuals and the city, Crawford (1999: 26) correlates them to Lefebvre's conception of everyday life, for likely they are "trivial, obvious but invisible, everywhere and nowhere."

Lefebvre's (1991: 97) concept of everyday life may be said to be structured on the condition of being the left over; as for him, everyday life is "in a sense residual, defined by 'what is left over' after all distinct, superior, specialised, structured activities have been singled out by analysis". For Lefebvre (1991: 97) superior activities leave a 'technical vacuum' between one another which is filled up with everyday life; and it is the everyday life that makes the human a whole with the sum total of all kinds of relations, including the need to communicate.

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<sup>17</sup> Carr et al. (1995: 20) also define 'democratic' spaces as spaces to act more freely: "They are accessible to all groups and provide for the freedom of action but also for temporary claim and ownership" (Carr et al., 1995: 20). In that regard, appropriated leftover spaces may be included as democratic spaces.

In that regard, leftover space comprises a specific medium where communication among inhabitants possibly comes forth through encounter and action –both expressive as action itself or traces of action in space.

Exploration and appreciation of possible values within leftover spaces necessitate an insightfully look with look at these irregular / unfit spaces; and the acceptance of their inherent properties.

Sennett (1970), through a discussion on human psychology, introduces the acceptance of disorder in the city as a step in achieving an adulthood which brings man freedom. In this regard, he criticises the attempts for making the city harmonious with a predetermined order; it is more important that human diversity be permitted to express itself and that men become more aware of each other:

“The terms of this possible adulthood... (is): a life with other people in which men learn to tolerate painful ambiguity and uncertainty. To counter the desire for slavery that grows strong in adolescence, men must subsequently grow to need the unknown, to feel incomplete without a certain anarchy in their lives, to learn, ...to love the ‘otherness’ around them”.

(Sennett,1970: 108)

### **5.1. Concepts about leftover spaces within design approaches**

It is possible to trace an interest in spontaneously formed urban spaces –including leftover spaces– within the design discourse. For Situationists, spontaneous formations were of utmost value: “Most of the architecture and spaces that were endorsed by situationists existed by chance rather than by design: back streets, urban fabric layered over time, ghettos” (Sadler,1998: 159).

Koolhaas, in his research of ‘The Contemporary City’, shows a shift of emphasis from centre to periphery –‘edge cities’ (examples from Atlanta, Tokyo, Singapore, Paris,...) where spontaneous processes are at work (Lucan,1991). Koolhaas accepts the given conditions of ‘edge city’ and metropolitan sprawl as characteristic of architect’s working area and shows a certain enthusiasm for what he calls the ‘unrecognised beauty’ (Lucan,1991) in these spaces –also in ‘Delirious New York’ (1994).

Leftover spaces and the urban spaces in the irregular / spontaneous development zones may form a source of inspiration for architects; though still used at minimum levels in comparison to powerful examples from other fields like modern art, literature and cinema (Kalinski,1999: 105).

Indeterminacy and disorder have been used as motives of architectural imagery by numerous figures and groups, like SITE (1980: 17), which aims to become more responsive to the diversity, complexity, and subconscious motivations of pluralist society. Using such features in design becomes more comprehensive, when evaluation of the living processes, and the meaning conveyed through action and its alterations / traces on space, are included –unlike emphasising merely the formal or iconographic properties.

Mentioning the abandoned industrial landscape in English cities, Hatton (2002: 16) states that “its monuments and entrails, properly understood, offer a continuous allegory of another life of the city, another awareness of ourselves, one to which the conventional typologies and fixations of architecture are oblivious”. It is this kind of space, which has an ontological uncertainty, “that offers new freedoms and an inward horizon of imagination to the city” (Hatton,2002: 18).

Woods (1999: 71) states that all over the world there are an increasing number of zones at the edges of cities, which are no longer only the slums of the perennial economic underclass maintained by the society at the edge of survival, but are also the spaces of a new kind of ambiguity: an uncertainty of meaning that haunts our contemporary condition and cuts across every social class. He proposes that it is time architects begin to consider them as vital new territories for their understanding and intervention, for these discomfiting border zones of uncertainty and anxiety are drawing ever nearer to the core of our common experience. In that regard, Woods (1999) criticises architecture as a field largely devoted to valorising the normal; considering that for those living on the outside, in the no-man’s land of ‘others’, ‘extraordinary’ takes on an urgent meaning and its potential should be activated in human terms.

### 5.1.1. Designing the leftover space – Investigation as a starting point

Investigation of leftover spaces includes their evaluation both as spaces accommodating action and as the tangible entities that convey the traces of action to others in the city. Investigation should be directed to understand how the leftover space contributes –if it does– to the public realm. Namely the spontaneous action, the quality of porosity, and the richness of immediate experience in the space should be examined.

Leftover space, with its inherent properties –for the lack of control by certain rules or groups– may verify action, and its peculiarities and conditions may enable the unfolding of the public realm. So, mostly leftover spaces do provide the means for spontaneous action and self-expression, if accessible to the public. In that regard, the accessibility of these spaces also becomes a major factor determining the contribution to the public realm.

A careful investigation may sort the details about the way the space is used (by whom, how, when,...), and for whom (which groups / how many people) it is important / part of their lives, urban experience and expression. In that regard, it may be necessary to contact the users, besides observing them:

“The visionary architect is outlawed to the badlands whence the project of reintegrating the whole personality of the polis might begin by means of representations of darkside and Dionysian figures. Here he must make stray dogs and cats his familiars, consult with children, tramps and old sweats with garrulous memories; they know the places best and have made them their own, they give them names that are not on the official map – Dead Walk, the Bongs, the Black Hills and Spike Island.”

(Hatton, 2002: 18)

Investigation may not always lead to design –there may be examples, which are very well appropriated by people to express themselves, and where it is possible to enjoy specific peculiarities of immediate experience; so that it may be preferable to keep the leftover space as it is. Spray (1984: 15) claims that it is not necessarily true that nobody wants derelict land in our cities, for they provide the opportunity for the freedom to inquire and explore; and what is so often classified as ‘waste’

and 'unused' is actually important and *used* by people –especially children, dog-walkers, teenage couples, keener teachers searching for field study sites, naturalists and nature conservationists. In that regard, Spray (1984) argues that attempting neat and safe urban spaces may not always lead to accessible, open, varied, and interesting spaces to be freely used and appropriated, and he mentions the problem of appropriation for designed urban spaces.

Spray (1984: 14) proposes that alongside traditional city parks and urban spaces, designers should keep some of the 'rougher' sites so that people can enjoy them freely and spontaneously.

Likely, Whyte points at the extensive use in leftover spaces, in the case of children:

“Dirt is one of the reasons that vacant lots are so beguiling to the children. There are so many things they can do with it. Digging, for example,...

Children ought to have some 'soft' parks and they ought to have areas that are purposely left undesigned or undeveloped.”

(Whyte, 1968: 265)

In a study for re-design of San Sperato, Italy, Woods (1999: 73) states that, after investigation, their goal came out to learn from the conditions found there, rather than try to intervene directly; so they chose to explore strategies and rules of design and planning that would address the unique and delicate conditions of the area.

### **5.1.2. Design regarding the existing characteristics of leftover space**

If design is to intervene, being leftover should be altered taking into the specific qualities of each area, and modifying the space accordingly (Figures 5.1 and 5.2):

“We need to end the wasteland by engaging its resources, break the cordon on the outcaste entropical-industrial landscape and create an inclusive cosmos of the city by lifting the blockade of the imagination.”

(Hatton, 2002: 18)

In that regard, Steven Holl, in his “Edge City” projects, after investigating the urban spaces, elaborates the exceptional characteristics of each city to provoke his

experiments in new urban environments towards the atypical. Allen (1991) states that Holl makes critiques and corrections on the condition that has increasingly dominated the ex-urban territory of American metropolitan regions:

“Holl turns over and reprograms the current social and formal reality of the city’s periphery, allowing us to see the landscape of the American city in a new way and offering a powerful critique of present patterns of the occupation of the still undefined zone... if the discipline of architecture is not to become even more marginalised than it is at present, it must use the challenge of this space ‘at the edge’.”

(Allen,1991: 61)

Secchi (1984: 20), claiming that the void represents a theme which cannot easily be brought back to conceptually simple solutions –like to conserve, to restructure, to empty, to re-use,... ( for until now, in such projects –San Fransisco, London, Paris, Milan, Turin, Naples–, the problems have almost every time been insufficiently defined and tentatively solved), proposes that the designing of an unused / leftover space should start with a theme and this requires an extension in the field of observation.

Characteristics of leftover space to be regarded in design include both the atmosphere created through long-term uses and modifications / structures as traces in space –as in the abandoned industrial sites, quarries...; and the atmosphere as the outcome of natural physical properties –like topography, view, water elements, flora and fauna of the space. The space, with its specific characteristics, may already be in use and appropriated by inhabitants, as part of their lives; but usually people are unaware or silent to conserve them, and design emerges as an opportunity to bring out these characteristics as the stories of the users of space. Klein (1994: 68-69) points at the role of interpretation in retaining and accentuating the meanings conveyed through memories related to spaces: “Memories are bound up with the towns, buildings and factory halls, but the past that they represent requires explanation and interpretation if it is to retain or gain in meaning,” and a distinct / artistic gaze is necessary for interpretation.

“Generally speaking, it is artists who see the possibilities of a place and its aura and suggestive mood, and thus it is artists who can



awaken in us an appreciation of particular aesthetic qualities, qualities that do not immediately spring to the eye of the normal observer.”

(Kleine,1994: 73)

The natural characteristics are important, because they become the elements of the unofficial –as being leftover– recreation space for inhabitants. Baines (1983: 231) states that when children want adventure, it is the *unofficial spaces* that they choose; so the unofficial landscape constitutes a rich resource being tremendously popular for local recreation with much evidence of worn footpaths, rope swings and dens. In that respect, he (1983) mentions that new greening initiatives consider design so as to conserve and complement unofficial wilderness in leftover spaces, which offer a complex tapestry of vegetation types and reflect an intimate diversity of landform.

Carr et al. (1995) point out the importance of the natural characteristics of leftover spaces, to be evaluated as parts of urban green, for even in the cases where there is not much evident use, these spaces still offer great opportunities for cities and the public realm:

“Now, as slowly but surely the open countryside has disappeared under development, a new value is assigned to the leftover spaces, the real wastelands. Often these spaces are associated with natural stream beds or drainage systems that have not been piped or buried... These urban wilds, in vacant lots, wetlands, or on slopes too steep for building, are already gaining appreciation as natural resources and habitats within the city, especially as cities are hard-pressed to raise the funds to acquire land and create new parks... If made visible and accessible to other nondestructive human use, these wilds help to keep urban populations connected to nature and remind us that indeed the city still is a part of nature.”

(Carr et al.,1995: 335-336)

It becomes an important issue to conserve the surprisingly high number of sites where nature already flourishes as green space in the inner city (Town Planning Review 63,1992: 256). Baines (1983: 231) states that, when intervening these sites, two basic requirements to be satisfied for creative urban greening are; habitat diversity and physical continuity.



### 5.1.3. Introducing use and involvement of inhabitants

Leftover spaces, as mentioned, are mostly used and appropriated by inhabitants, despite their unlikely look. Those which are not used usually comprise spaces not well accessed by pedestrians due to various reasons – e.g. private property that is under lock, or spaces too remote or steep for pedestrians... On the other hand, leftover spaces that are somehow used may be questioned to compare their contribution to the public realm with the possible contribution they could make due to their location in the city and their characteristics.

Introducing new functions to leftover spaces has usually been part of design approaches, so as to provide intense use by numerous and diverse inhabitants. In addition to this, appropriation of spaces may be encouraged by defining the activities to involve the users both in the making and maintenance of them.

Stein (1980: 24), mentioning the works of Trust for Public Land – a non-profit organisation, states that they have helped local organisations to create green spaces for their own pleasure and the beautification of their neighbourhoods; producing many community gardens, tot lots, playgrounds and landscaped sitting areas this way.

Baines (1983: 231) states that, for the reevaluation of urban greens, the involvement of local people has two direct benefits: " 1. allows for a much more labour intensive approach to landscape management,... 2. can lead to a greater respect for the landscape, with reduced vandalism, flytipping and other forms of abuse". But for him, the greatest benefit of all is the immense enjoyment, which may help people to better relate themselves to the space.

Leftover spaces in the inner city do offer a resource for "land-hungry social needs", which may include housing, schools and colleges, hospitals and recreational open spaces (Bennett and Rutherford, 1979: 221). The activities may as well include growing food, which Dawe (1987: 48) proposes, so as to involve inhabitants in leftover spaces.

Yet some critical points should be regarded:

1. Characteristics and present use(s) of the space – even if not by so many diverse inhabitants – should be taken into consideration, for they mostly are appropriations / self-expressions of users in urban space, and present values as action and traces of action;
2. It is not possible to make every leftover area a public space, thus some uses introduced may as well be in private –e.g. housing; or semi-private –e.g. community spaces with limited access, – realm. Each site should be considered in relation to its setting in the city and its characteristics, and those spaces considered as critical for the public realm in the city should be retained or proposed as public spaces, accessible both visually and physically, where every inhabitant could feel comfortable, experience specific qualities of space, and can express himself / herself.

#### **5.1.4. (Re-)uniting leftover spaces: Pedestrian continuity**

As mentioned, accessibility of leftover spaces determines their potential of being experienced, and appropriated to express selves, thus contribute to the public realm. Pedestrian movement is important for the immediate experience, to encounter and perceive changing atmospheres and characteristics of spaces. In that regard, linking leftover spaces through strips and walkways so as to maintain pedestrian continuity with especially the central city becomes an important issue.

Whyte (1968: 163) states that leftover spaces, which are close to the centre, and therefore most useful to inhabitants, are, in most cases, small, irregular and maligned pieces; and weaving these together with connective strips is necessary:

“... linear strips are probably the most efficient form of open space,... When they are laid along the routes people travel or walk, or poke into the places they live, the spaces provide the maximum visual impact and the maximum physical access... the linear concept... provides us a way of securing the most highly usable spaces in urban areas where land is hard to come by, and, in time, a way of linking these spaces together”.

(Whyte, 1968: 173)

For Whyte (1968), inner city stream valleys and utility rights-of-way, which are usually regarded as wasteland comprise considerable sets of connectors; and linking open spaces, results in a whole that is better than the sum of the parts. Yet, full continuity is not so critical, for most people do not use open spaces that way – even when there is an uninterrupted system, people do not use it as a system. (Whyte,1968: 179)

As a general attitude in urban design discourses, physical continuity of open spaces throughout the cities is appreciated and proposed (Town Planning Review 63,1992: 256), and this continuity may include canals and river corridors, extensive stretches of parklands, woods and golf courses to be linked to school playing fields, allotments, cemeteries, urban parks and gardens, formal squares and pocket handkerchief sitting areas or kickabout pitches in the inner city.

Physical continuity of public spaces not only maximises their accessibility, but also presents the opportunity of these, as a system, to enhance the richness of immediate experience, with the diversity of various atmospheres and characteristics of spaces, and the people using / modifying these spaces –thus expressing their identities through them. Especially leftover spaces, in the centre city, to be reclaimed play an important role in unifying urban spaces and thus contributing to the public realm, as in the case of Philadelphia (Figure 5.3):

“Industrial Philadelphia is illustrated by the great swathe of railway and marshalling yards which until recently cut into the heart of the city.

The marshalling yards have been replaced by the Penn Centre which houses enterprises...

The development pressures have forced the city’s planning commission to revise planning controls and to place greater emphasis on the accessibility and utility of public spaces.”

(Rose,1987: 83)

## **5.2. A literature survey on projects for leftover urban spaces**

Leftover space, as space not possessed by people, usually forms gaps within the continuity of public urban spaces. These spaces, though uncared for, may or may not be in use by inhabitants. Even in the cases they are used, their contribution to the public realm should be questioned, in comparison to their offerings in relation to

their position in the city, their character, and other properties. In that regard, investigation –as mentioned– is very important as a starting point for projects for leftover spaces. Observing who use these spaces, how, and whether they can communicate to others in the city in these spaces are important for understanding the role of these spaces for the public realm in the city. Those spaces, where inhabitants can reveal themselves to others through action or traces of action, should be regarded as already evolved values for the city, and their relative properties should be kept or further ameliorated in design. They may also help deriving principles for the design of better communicating urban spaces.

Besides the investigation and evaluation of the inherent properties of leftover spaces for the city, (re-)building the public realm in leftover spaces is achieved through the consideration and application of the same principles as those to be applied in the design of new urban spaces.

Previous design –if there exists and probably not working properly at present– is an issue to be considered in the projects for leftover spaces. Some leftover spaces are forgotten pieces of land within the city –never having received attention by authorities and thus designers. Yet, there are some designed urban spaces that have deteriorated and lost their liveability –they become objects for re-design “so as to remove the sources of misfits while leaving fits intact” (Snyder and Catanese, 1979: 53). Every design –for public spaces, if not contributing to the public realm– may be open to reprogramming and redesign on the account of post-occupancy evaluation. The same principle may as well be applied to undesigned spaces; if they really are used in a way to enhance the public realm, then, among their properties fits should be preserved, while misfits should be altered through design.

The main design attitudes for (re-)building the public realm in leftover spaces may be determined as:

1. Attracting numerous and diverse users (back) to the space:
  - Programming and time considerations: (re-)introduction of activities,
  - Overall physical properties: re-connecting the space with the city / achieving pedestrian continuity.

## 2. Expression of identities in the space:

- Processes of production and maintenance: user involvement,
- Inner physical properties: accentuating and reviving the characteristics of the leftover space.

### 5.2.1. Attracting numerous and diverse users (back) to the space

For leftover spaces forming gaps in the city, in the sense of public activities and use, to attract the inhabitants becomes an important objective in design. To enhance intense and continuous use, new activities are introduced and the space is made easily accessible, both visually and physically, for all citizens.

Yet the activities introduced to leftover urban spaces are not always public, for not every space in the city is considered to be public: Depending on the attributes of the site –like size, position in the city, etc.– activities like housing, retail, office, education etc. may also be proposed to attract people to the area, for they may help “to upgrade the social and environmental desirability of the area” as was intended in Docklands project (Figures 5.4 and 5.5) in London (Page, 1985: 327). Especially in the (re-) development plans for large areas in the city, variety of activities including both private and public ones is intended, like it was in the long-range plan for the 620-acre riverfront in Cleveland, Ohio:

“Four special districts are created to establish a mixture of retail, whole sale, office and housing uses. Manufacturing and industry are retained in all areas of flats, with certain vacant land developed as industrial park”.

(Progressive Architecture 1, 1980: 122)

In that case, the public spaces in the overall design should obtain the properties to enhance the intense and continuous use; being open / accessible to all inhabitants for communication.

Infill is also one of the attitudes in that sense, not only to bring multiple activities and people to the area, but also to obtain well-defined public spaces in the city. Leftover spaces often appear as gaps in the overall urban form as well, breaking the continuity of street line, or intensity of the settlement. ‘Urban consolidation’ as a

method Myers (1979: 13) defines and aims to encourage the utilisation of the large amount of vacant land –along with recycling old buildings and intensifying land use in pertinent areas– within the cities as a means of growth through gradual consolidation efforts over large areas. Myers and Baird (1979), criticising the cores of North American cities, for the concept of high-rise buildings that leave large amounts of vacant land around them, propose in their case studies, redefining amorphous open spaces and reintroducing historical street patterns by reconstituting the street edges. Within this approach, there exists the claim that the undefined / underdefined open space is less used and appropriated by inhabitants, and this may be relevant for most urban spaces –though not to be accepted as a rule. The attitudes of infill may result in well-used spaces for also activities are intensified within, yet it should be kept in mind that not well-defined spaces may sometimes become unexpected public spaces where communication among inhabitants sparkles –as can be observed in some leftover spaces. In that sense designer should be open to learn from the characteristics enhancing the public realm in these leftover spaces. The investigation of ‘action’ in leftover spaces, expressive as itself and with its traces in space, again emerges in that context as the ultimate starting point for any design attitude.

#### **5.2.1.1. Programming and time considerations: (re-)introduction of activities**

In projects for leftover spaces, reactivating the urban space becomes a major issue, and for this purpose, the public is aimed to be attracted, usually along with the investors. For sites with no-longer persisting activities, “reusing the leftovers of the past to the benefit of the city and its inhabitants” is the objective, and diversity of new users is intended in the projects; as in Steelworks Park in Bochum / Germany, where “to attract investors while providing a cultural attraction for the young and old at the same time” has been aimed (Leuchter and Trautmann, 1998: 34). In Lowell Park / Massachusettes , the programmed activities are revealed to citizens through a calendar; “a four-season schedule that includes plays, exhibits, and workshops at the Visitor Centre, summer festivals and outdoor concerts” (Levinson, 1991: 55), and through these attractions, the park has become the “one place in town where all the different ethnic groups come together”.



Developing public attractions for various activities –e.g. markets, festivals, and boating activities as in the Portland Eastbank Riverfront Park (Hargreaves Associates, 1995: 104); making inviting setting for majority community events –like festivals and activities as in Waterfront Park in Portland / Oregon (Landscape Architecture, 1981b: 612); considering the uses in different hours of the day, and different seasons of the year –e.g. revitalising daytime and nighttime activities as in Bicentennial Park in Miami / Florida (Landscape Architecture, 1980: 500); and being a year-round social and recreational space with a variety of uses and experiences as in Flint Riverbank Park (1982: 68); do contribute to the coming together of numerous and diverse users.

Different uses may be proposed for different times as in Cincinnati Concourse and Forum in Cincinnati; people enjoy waterworks in summer (Figures 5.6 and 5.7), and in mid-fall when the waterworks are shut down, the space becomes an active play-ground and significant urban magnet until the onset of really cold weather. It is observed that such considerations have helped making the space “enormously popular with a wide range of ages and income groups” (Architectural Record 1979: 111).

Programming of leftover spaces, sometimes, starts before the actual design and implementation. Heseltine (1982: 27) proposes a Garden Festival in the acres of derelict land on the south docks in Liverpool, so as to attract industry and housing to the land. He believes that the land has to be reclaimed first, in order to get rid of dereliction, pollution, and waste; then it has to be landscaped for six-month period in which athletic and cultural attractions, in addition to horticultural attractions, take place on the site; and thus a vast demand is created (Heseltine, 1982: 27). Yet a sensible approach is necessary to maintain the probably valuable properties of the space in reclaiming the land; not everything seemingly creating pollution and waste may be eliminated, for they may be part of inhabitants' lives there (Spray, 1984); and they may as well be used as expressive design elements of the proposed settings for these spaces (Vaccarino, 1995: 91).

### **5.2.1.2. Overall physical properties: re-connecting the space with the city / achieving pedestrian continuity**

Often, the reason for leftover spaces not being intensely used may be reduced accessibility, both in physical and visual means. Leftover spaces may sometimes be in very critical positions in the city, like being in the centre, or between lively public spaces of the city, where they present both a blockage and an opportunity for the public realm. Mostly railyards are positioned as such, and when they are abandoned are converted to contribute to re-integrate the city –as in Philadelphia, where railyards and marshalling yards until recently cut into the heart of the city. In the regeneration of the area, the city's planning commission revised planning controls to use the space for improving the accessibility and utility of public spaces in the city (Rose, 1987: 83).

Access has been the key to design in many revitalisation projects; concept for the new James River Park (Figures 5.8 and 5.9) aims to unify north and south Richmond in Virginia –to provide pedestrian access to the river from both sides, along the banks and across the river; which would also connect the riverfront to downtown (Danadjieva, 1978: 409). Thus, rivers passing through central areas of the cities also offer possibilities for integrated / continuous public spaces –like conceived for the Thames river in London (Packer, 1994: 11).

Spaces under elevated highways are also potential public spaces to be considered for achieving continuity within the city. In Midtown Park in Duluth, Minnesota (Thorson, 1982), a park provided under the highway's overstructure aims to physically and visually reunite Midtown while meeting the neighbourhood's need for recreational facilities; pedestrian corridors through the park connect the residential and commercial districts as well an adjacent covered parking area (Figures 5.10 and 5.11).

Pedestrian continuity not only maintains easy and free access to spaces: Walkways among public spaces –connecting to the central districts, have been conceived as a factor for enhancing the public realm, for walking through lively public spaces offers rich experiences of immediacy, including procession through

differing atmospheres in the city –that would enhance experience of chaos and distraction.

The experiences through continuous walks in the city may be enlivened with introduction of activities along the walks –like fishing spots by river, and with the possibility to watch these activities, as boating activities to be watched along the walk in Commodore Park in Seattle (Figure 5.12) (Landscape Architecture 1982b: 71).

Yet visual experience of other parts of the city is also important, both for a rich immediate experience, and for establishing links with the overall city –as in Liberty State Park in New York:

“The most exciting experience is to be walking on that water’s edge’ says Roberts, and ‘seeing the tremendous ship traffic, the towers of Manhattan, Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty... an enormous park and promenade on the open water like this is readily accessible to all income groups...”

(Nelson, 1991: 53)

Pedestrianisation may not be considered as an attitude excluding vehicular access to public spaces, though to protect pedestrians from negative effects of –especially fast– vehicular traffic is a major concern. Finch (1995: 13) states that now, there is a concentrated effort to tie existing parks together, creating ribbons of green, to connect neighbourhoods, not just for pedestrians and visitors, but for people on bikes or even in cars. For leftover spaces isolated by means of highways or other obstacles, access can be obtained by use of bridges –as in Cincinnati Concourse and Forum (Architectural Record 1979: 108); and these bridges themselves may be designed as public spaces.

## **5.2.2. Expression of identities in space**

### **5.2.2.1. Processes of production and maintenance: user involvement**

The fact that leftover spaces, as spaces disregarded in the city, can become –in some cases, are– important contributions to the public realm, remains a consideration of theoreticians and designers; inhabitants, even users of these

spaces do not present much concern for them. On the other hand, this lack of concern is the reason for the lack of care and maintenance, as the basic property of leftover space.

Maintenance is very critical in the life of public spaces, for even when a group of inhabitants come together to produce a space –e.g. People’s Park in Berkeley; they may not continue their concern for the space, and it may become a leftover space again. In the case of People’s Park (Sommer and Thayer, 1977: 514), this situation which led to failure of the park was related to "lack of minimum amount of institutionalisation" –an institutionalisation which should be non-threatening to the users themselves.

In that regard, designers are to present these spaces to inhabitant’s attraction, by use of various methods. For example, to change the name or to simply name the specific space may be one of the ways, as in used for a park in Berkeley, California: “One of the first things I did’ says Wolfe, ‘was to change the name... to Strawberry Creek Park to call attention to the potential” (Powell, 1993: 48).

Presenting the possible transformation of space to the inhabitants may be another method, as implied for parking lots in central Toronto (Figure 5.13):

“By means of photo-collage, each parking lot is transformed into a public open space. Posting these images on sidewalks directly adjacent to the transformed parking lots, exposes people to the possibility of a park. In this way, the vision of a healthier city is delivered directly to the people who confront these spaces daily. By presenting a vision of positive change at a pedestrian level, a visionary project can educate, provoke and raise public consciousness.”

(Awad, 1993: 50)

Especially in United States, there are non-governmental organisations, which help inhabitants take action for the urban spaces in their districts. Mc Cormick (1992: 53) states that “since 1975, more than 650 Philadelphia blocks have been turned into community gardens with the help of Philadelphia Green, part of Pennsylvania horticultural society”. He mentions Chicago’s West End Park as a successful example realised by user involvement:

“Chicago’s West End Park was a mess, before residents rescued it with recycled materials...

Built with volunteer assistance, West End Park has experienced virtually no vandalism because ‘the eyes and ears of the community’, says Creech, have a vested interest in keeping the park clean and safe –something ‘you don’t get when a government agency comes and imposes a design.’”

(Mc Cormick,1992: 50-53)

### **5.2.2.2. Inner physical properties: accentuating and reviving the characteristics of the leftover space**

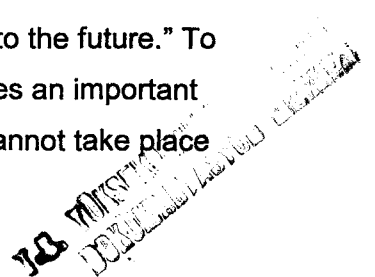
One of the main concerns in the design of leftover spaces is the approach towards the inherent characteristics of the site. For spaces with abandoned uses – examples comprise usually industrial complexes in western countries, yet there may be spaces with other discharged uses– the relevance to the public realm of the past use as action in space and of the setting as remains / traces of that action, may be questioned initially.

As a general attitude, past uses, which have affected the life of the city and its many inhabitants, are to be made known to the public, for establishing “a meaningful link to the city’s past” –as in Gas Works Park in Seattle (Figure 5.14and 5.15) (Woodbridge,1978: 96). In that regard, the space is evaluated as an expression of public experience, which has modified the lives of inhabitants and the city, for a certain period of time:

“The design of the park itself draws inspiration from the previous industrial uses and character of the working riverfront, as a unique expression of the cultural forces which have shaped the site and the city.”

(Hargreaves,1995: 104)

The evaluation / accentuation of the characteristics of space may be obtained by use of various design considerations. Kleine (1994: 69) states that “abandoned coal mines, coking plants, gas works and blast-furnace plants”, testifying to the industrial past, are at the same time “landmarks, structures that determine the skyline symbols of the past and, if put to new uses, signposts into the future.” To establish links with the past of the sign and its new uses becomes an important criterion (Kleine,1994: 69), with a belief that structural change cannot take place



without the awareness of the industrial past that has so much determined the present conditions.

The space, and the structures within, are provided with public access both visually –as in designing housing estates viewing them (Kleine,1994: 69), making landmarks out of these structures, like the treatment of the tip as a landmark in IBA Emscher Park in Germany (Kleine,1994:70); and physically –as in many parks like Gas Works Park (Woodbridge,1978: 96) and Lowell Park (Levinson,1991: 52), being recreational spaces for all the inhabitants.

The past of the sites may be revealed to inhabitants through certain media: Utilised methods include multi-media displays within the converted industrial structures – as in New Heritage Park in Holyoke / Massachusetts (Levinson,1991: 52); light shows turning the structures into landmarks, where “old piping, fan shafts, stepways, landings, towers and flues are lit up after dusk” –Duisburg-Nord Landscape Park in Germany (Leppert,1997: 25), or the forms –as the double pyramid– within the spaces are completed by light –IBA Emscher Park (Figures 5.16 and 5.17) (Kleine,1994: 70); and sound simulations, to “make the feeling of being part of the slowly rusting world of industrial antiques even more real” (Leppert,1997: 28).

Yet, the physical milieu itself, is a very strong tool to accentuate and revive the distinct characteristics. The elements recalling the past, or responsible for the extant characteristics of space are no more swept away, or disguised; but on the contrary used as elements of the new design: In the design of Gas Works Park, the rusting, ‘iron-age’ complex is seen as an aesthetic resource (Woodbridge, 1978: 96). While reviving a stream in Berkeley, “rather than haul away the fill unearthing the creek, Wolfe molded the dirt into playful hillocks, knolls and mounds” (Powell,1993: 48).

A likely attitude can be seen in Byxbee Park, Candlestick Point Cultural Park and Parque do Tejo y Trancao in Lisbon, which are built on landfills, whether sanitary or rubble:

“In these parks, there is no attempt to heal the damaged site by returning to its *previous* healthy conditions. This kind of



restoration would simulate a forever gone landscape at great expense. The site is instead *re-cycled* for public amenity and other uses. Speaking in metaphors, waste is piled up and uncovered through design since it is a key factor in the dramatic topography of all these parks. For example, in Byxbee Park the garbage heaps are not disguised... Rather, they are dramatised in an arcane representation: the unseen, the unwanted, the leftover comes back to new life nearly as an art form. Garbage is nearly iconised, and amplified as a cultural phenomenon perhaps provoking thought and meditation, and in that respect the project has educational underpinnings.”

(Vaccarino,1995: 90-91)

Formal hints are taken from the existing setting, as in regeneration of relocated railyard area in Regina (Myers and Baird,1979: 42), where “the plan utilises the traditional grid of Regina”, and design may be “preserving the existing city fabric” in a manner which complements and reinforces the existing city streetscapes, as in Downtown Redevelopment, in Norfolk (Myers and Baird,1979: 47).

Various elements within the space, as traces of past –and sometimes still present– uses / actions in the space may be involved in design:

“In a still well-preserved medieval city, there is an urban park covering three hectares on a slope once occupied by family gardens, located on the banks of the Théols and gradually abandoned by the local inhabitants. The project owes its great clarity to the fact that the landscape architects have used the traces of the original division of the land to create the layout of the park.”

(Desvigne and Dalnoky,1995: 114)

Shapes and materials involved in design may be chosen in accordance to present identical properties concerning the space –with its surroundings, and the activities within, as was proposed for the regeneration of the Ruhr area in Germany:

“Cutting an ellipse into one of the terraced areas of the tip and covering it with railroad rails –that with time will be overgrown by grass. The ellipse refers to the... shapes that characterise the Ruhr such as football stadiums and motorway feeder roads, while rails symbolise the system of transportation that helped make the Ruhr what it is in the first place... Land art installation consists of a footpath paved with typical spoil material... In terms of the total concept and choice of materials, this plan integrates the past by forming a ‘landscape of remembrance’...”

(Kleine,1994: 70)

Natural characteristics of space are also evaluated in design, as expressive of its specific identity, for these indicate the site's natural heritage (Hargreaves, 1995: 104). To restore urban waterways may offer emergence of new public spaces with a rich variety of spatial experiences (Powell, 1993: 47).

One very important issue about the design of leftover spaces is the introduction of new and inviting settings or elements into the space: To enhance continuous and diverse use, besides programmatic considerations, is also to be supported by peculiarities in the design of the physical setting itself –not only recalling the past, but introducing new values to the space. In that regard, La Villette Park in Paris (Figure 5.18) –built on once “the greatest industrial wasteland to be found in the north of Paris”– is an interesting attempt, where a “new territory of the imagination” is aimed to be created, and where “the structural composition outweighs incidental events” (Loriers, 1983: 27).

Many spaces may emerge to be leftover for having no specific characteristics to appeal to inhabitants, and designer, then, has to consider introducing new elements to characterise and identify the space (Figures 5.19 and 5.20):

“Currently, our cities' urban landscapes lack quality: they are anonymous and interchangeable. An immediate course of action would be to reanimate these landscapes through the insertion of fantastic provisional structures.”

(Haus-Rucker Co. Group, 1978: 4)

In that context, inspiring action and appropriation becomes a critical property for the proposed setting / structure:

“In the Free University area of Berlin, ...a fairly large open space created by the crossing of various foothpaths. For this anonymous and monotonous space the architects propose a symbolic 'pavilion of elements'... In addition to its symbolic functions, the pavilion also serves a practical purpose: it is designed as a meeting-place for the students who can sit on the steps along the pavilion's perimeter and make use of a light tubular structure for small exhibitions”.

(Haus-Rucker Co. Group, 1978: 5)

In this chapter, main principles of a convenient approach to the leftover spaces have been evolved –based on the previously defined model for the public realm, but with adaptations for 'leftover space' in specificity. The elaborated design objectives may define a certain overall strategy for designers and makers of urban spaces, yet each leftover space is a particular case, which should be considered in its locality. Specific characteristics and formation processes of spaces due to each country –and city–should also be considered, for types of leftover spaces may be evolving accordingly. Thus, for a convenient and realistic approach to these spaces, it is necessary to understand / regard such particularities of the very location.



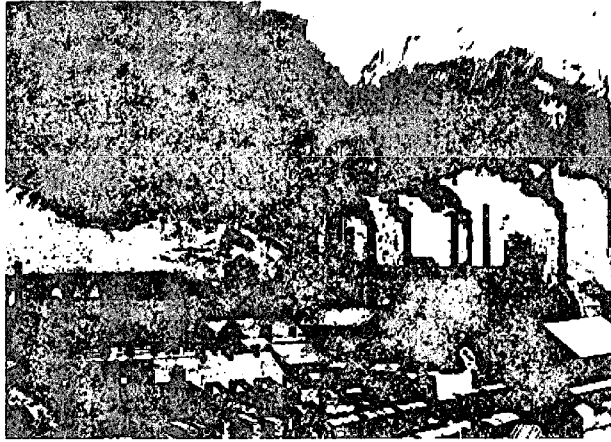


Figure 5.1. Industrial landscape in English cities, like many cities in Western countries. -now an aesthetic and inspiring source as leftover space. (Hatton, B. 2002: 18)

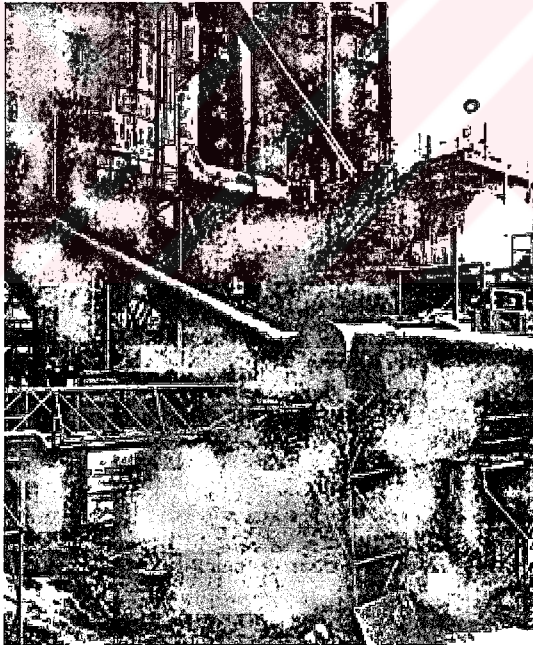


Figure 5.2. Aesthetic and inspiring qualities of industrial areas as leftover spaces –the need to end the wasteland by engaging its resources. (Hatton, B. 2002: 17)



Figure 5.3. Leftover spaces, in the centre city, to be reclaimed; playing an important role in unifying urban spaces –former railroad tracks in Philadelphia. (Stephens, 1976: 46)

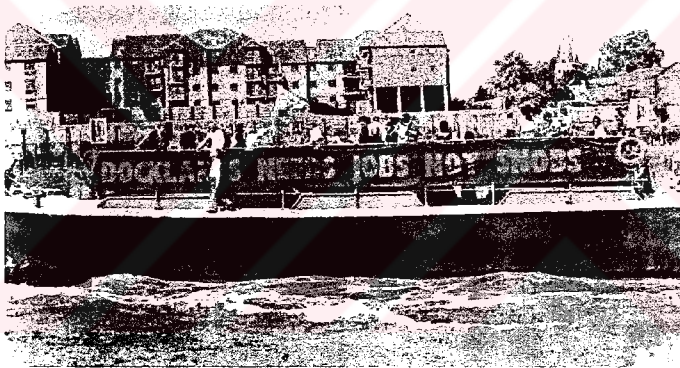


Figure 5.4. London's Docklands –in the process of reclamation. (Page,1985: 327)

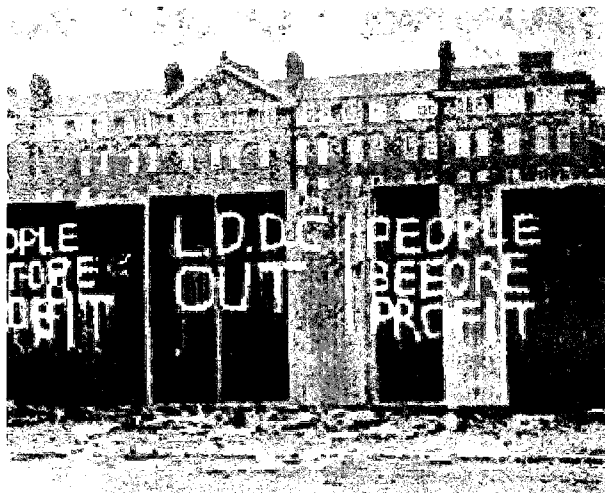


Figure 5.5. London's Docklands –in the process of reclamation. (Page,1985: 327)



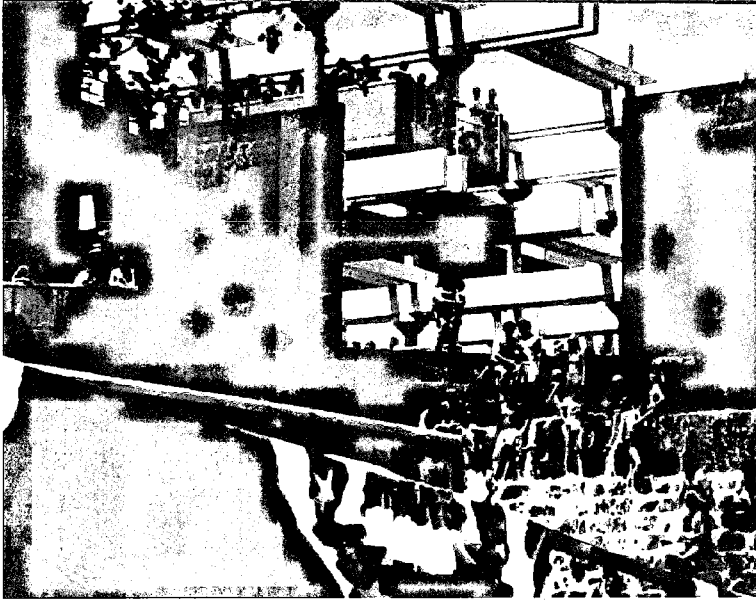


Figure 5.6. Cincinnati Concourse and Forum in Cincinnati.  
Different uses for different times; people enjoy waterworks in summer  
(Architectural Record 1979: 111)



Figure 5.7. Cincinnati Concourse and Forum in Cincinnati.  
Different uses for different times; people enjoy waterworks in summer  
(Architectural Record 1979: 111)





Figure 5.8. River in Richmond; dividing the city into two separate entities. (Danadjieva, 1978: 409)

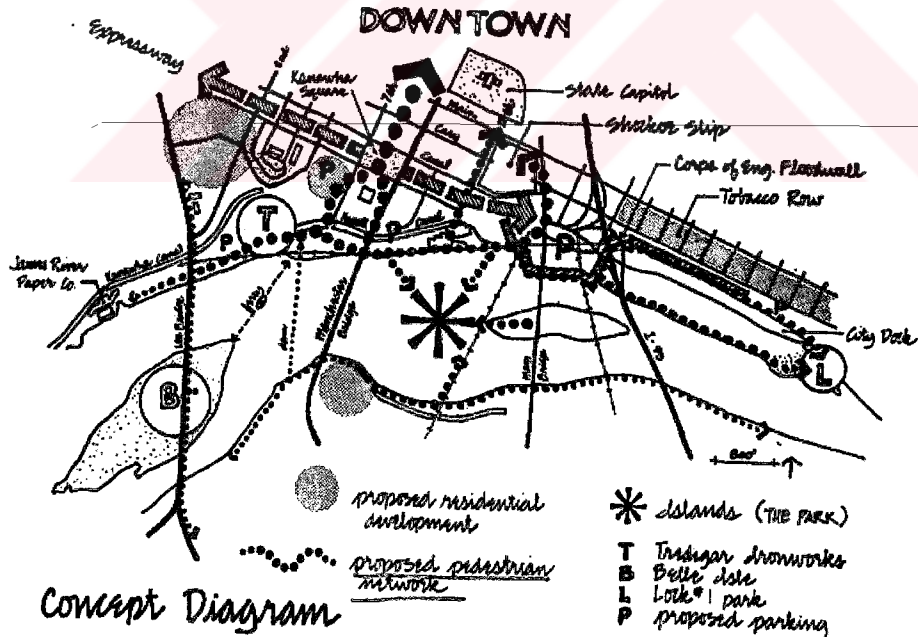


Figure 5.9. The design concept for the Vanishing and Returning Gardens –aims to unify north and south Richmond; to provide pedestrian access to the river from both sides, along the banks and across the river; which would also connect the riverfront to downtown. (Danadjieva, 1978: 412)

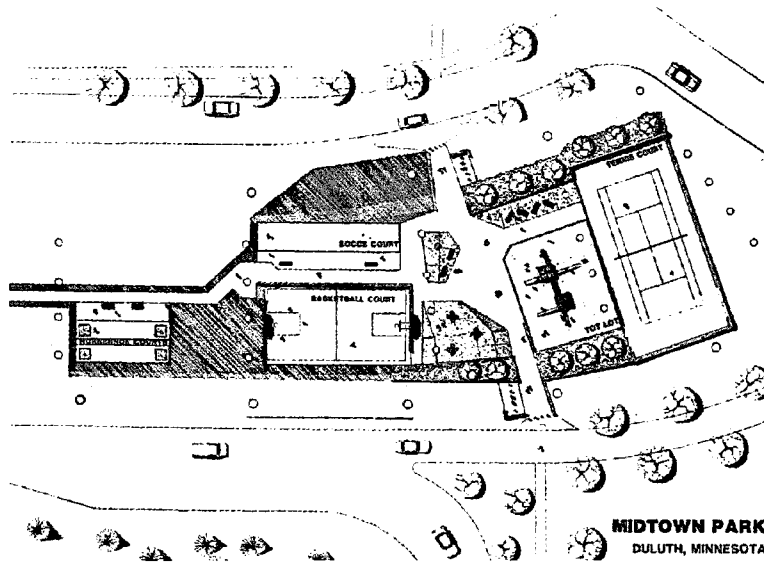


Figure 5.10 Midtown Park in Duluth, Minnesota. Park beneath the highway's overstructure aims to physically and visually reunite Midtown while meeting the neighbourhood's need for recreational facilities. (Thorson, 1982: 100)

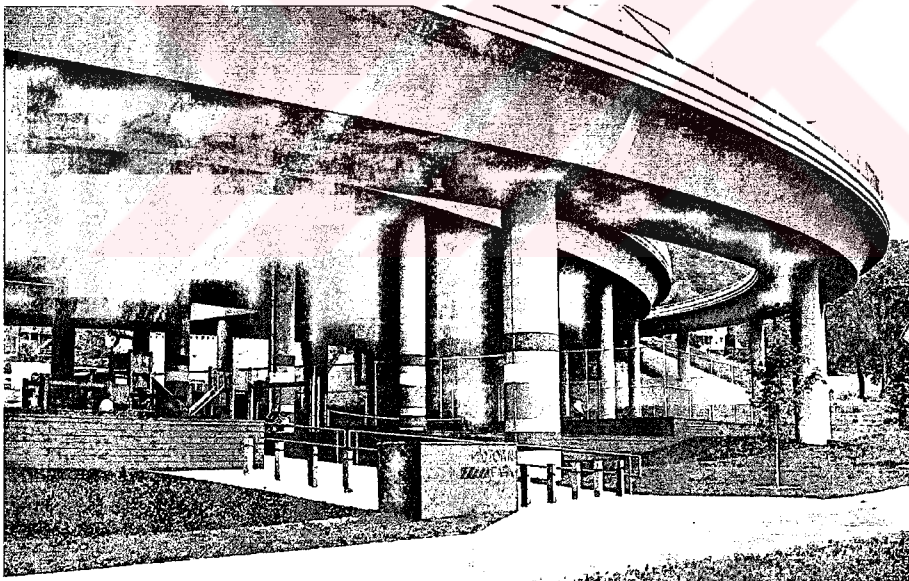


Figure 5.11 The dominant appearance of elevated highway is softened by the planting of boulevard trees along frontage roads and ramps, wood construction is used for warmth and detail, a festive scheme of primary colours on piers, railings, signs and backboards used to achieve visual reunification. (Thorson, 1982: 101)



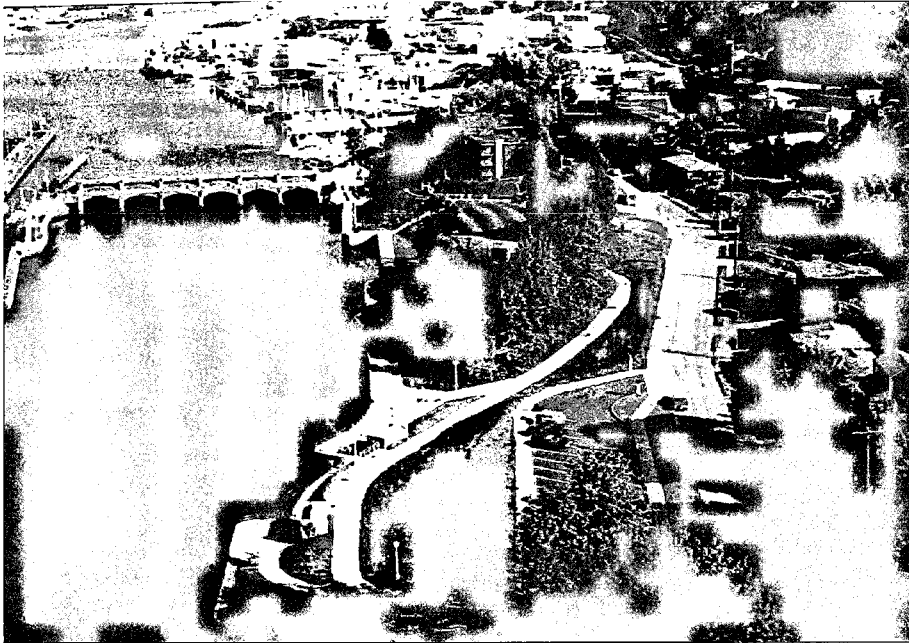


Figure 5.12. Seattle's Commodore Park –formerly an area of step banks and hazardous rubble, the park is now a water-gateway to the city. (Landscape Architecture 1982b: 71).

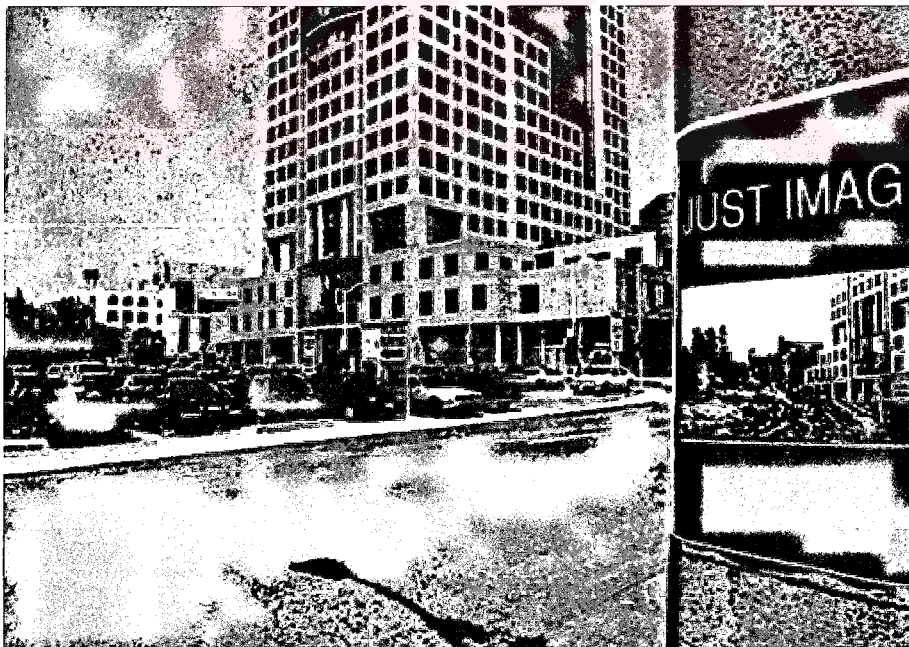


Figure 5.13. The poster showing the juxtaposed photographs of existing parking lot with the proposed park –displayed prominently in the neighbourhood to raise public consciousness – in Toronto. (Awad,1993: 50)

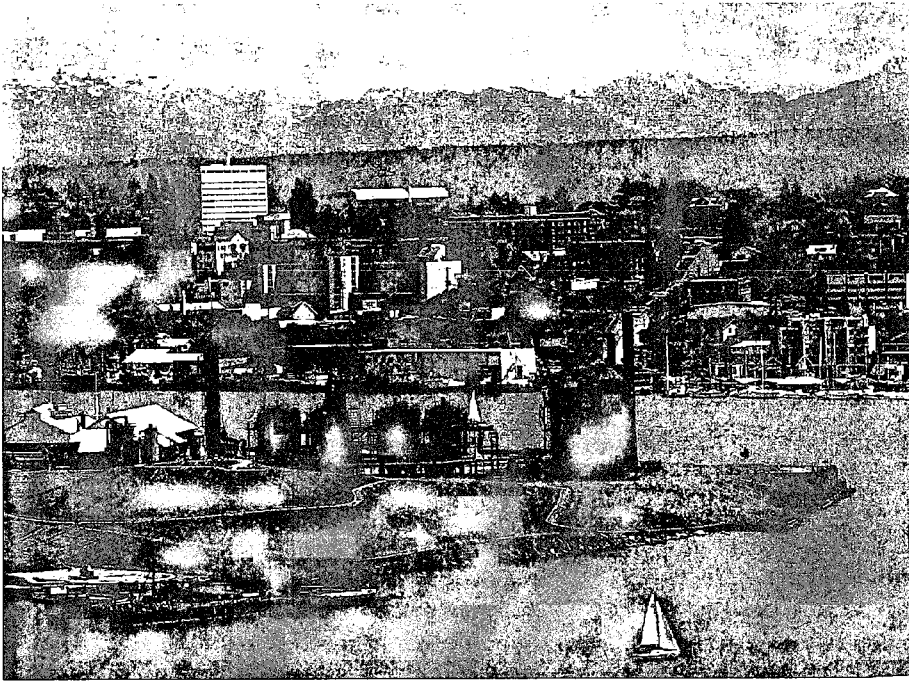


Figure 5.14. Gas Works Park, Seattle –Old industrial wasteland converted into a recreational park.  
(Woodbridge, 1978: 97)

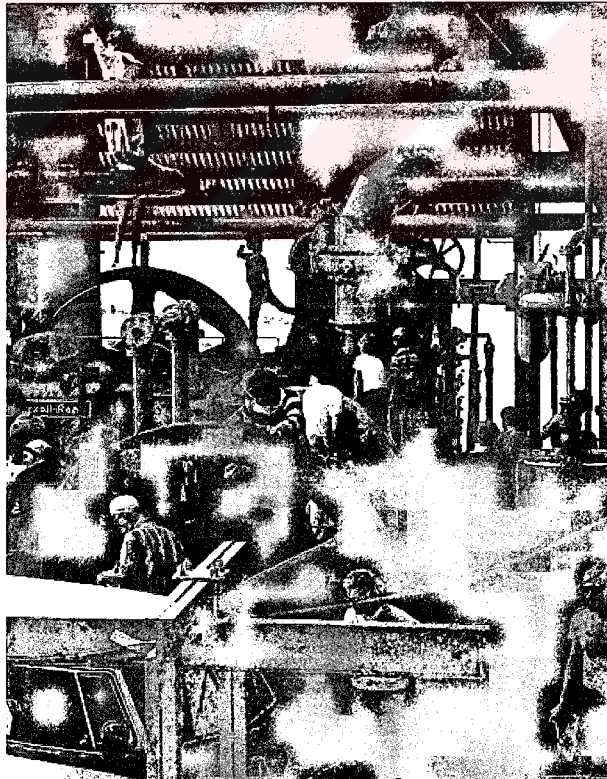


Figure 5.15. Gas Works Park, Seattle –people enjoying former industrial area  
(Landscape Architecture, 1981a: 595)



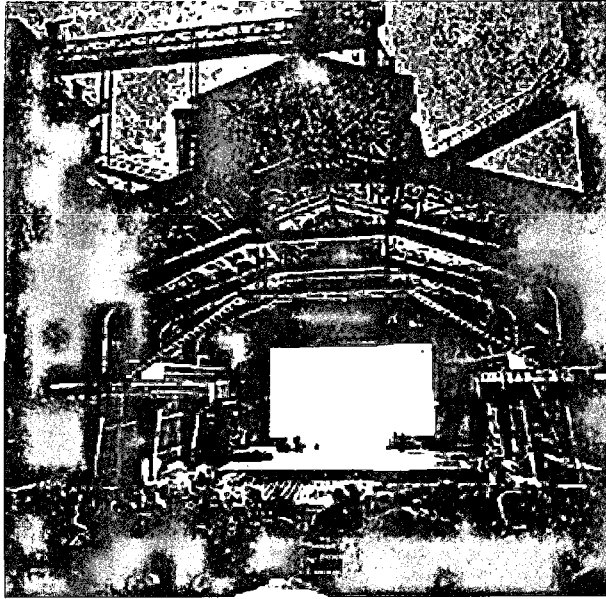


Figure 5.16. IBA Emscher Park in Germany –steelworks regenerated as performance space (Almaas, 1999: 42)

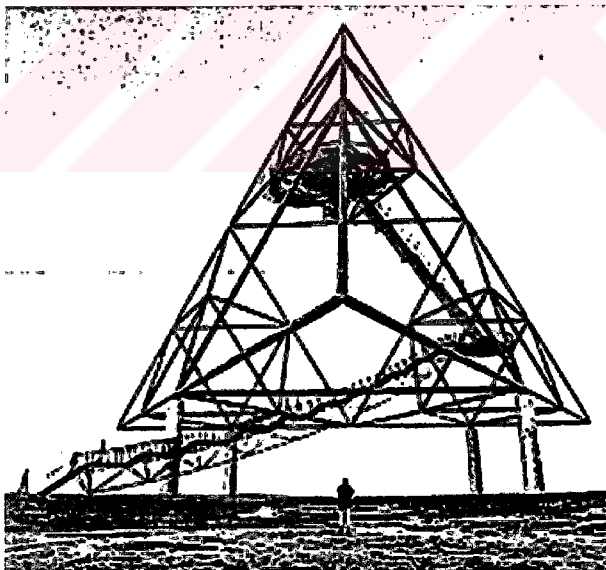


Figure 5.17. IBA Emscher Park in Germany –public sculpture on hill of coal deposits (Almaas, 1999: 42)

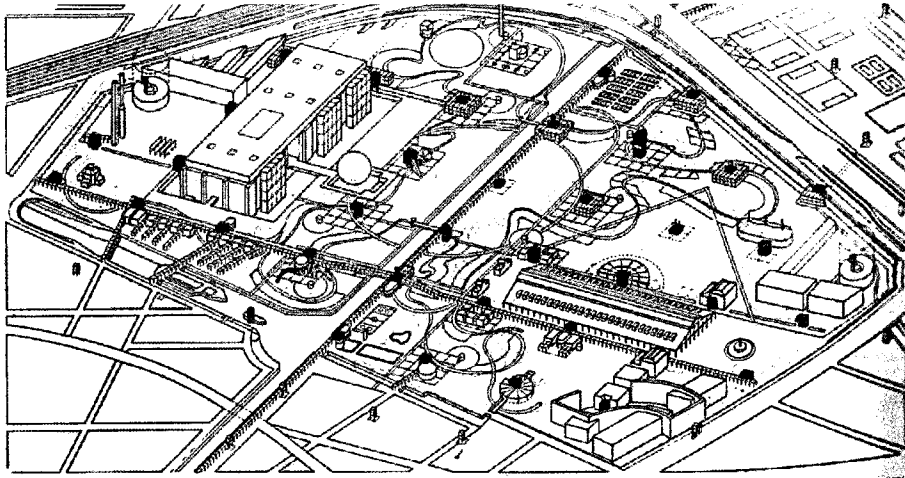


Figure 5.18. Scheme for La Villette Park in Paris –a “new territory of the imagination” to be created.  
(Loriers,1983: 28)

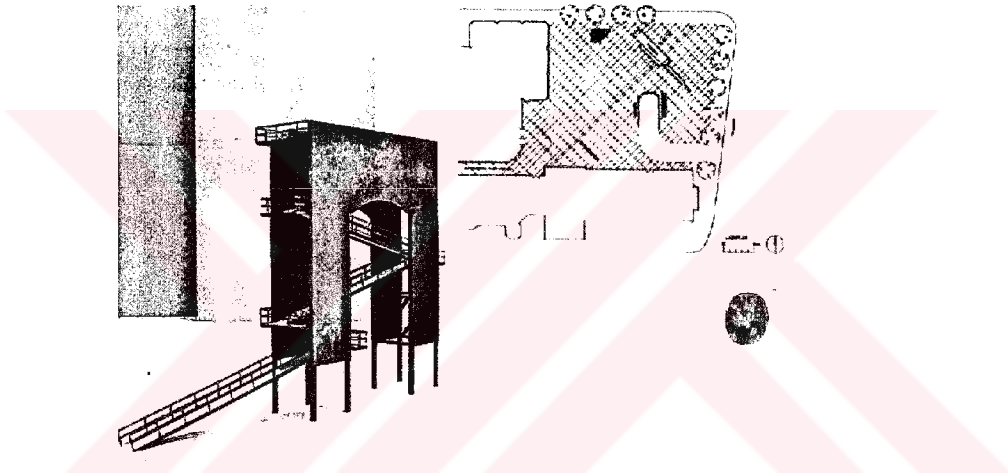


Figure 5.19. Königsallee, Düsseldorf: Introducing new elements to the space –re-dimensioning the square and creating a link between urban areas.  
(Haus-Rucker Co. Group,1978: 5)

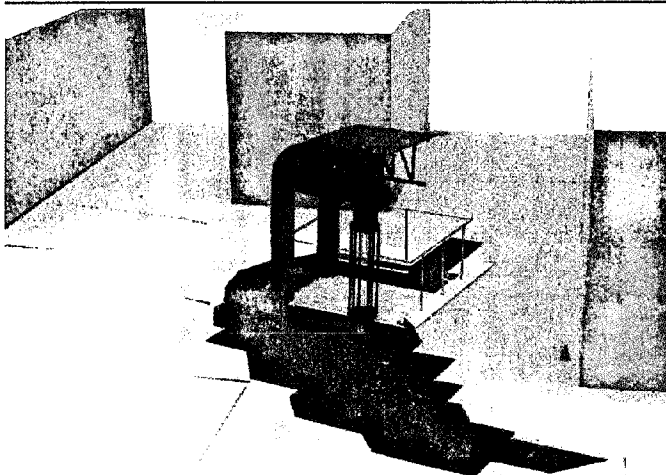


Figure 5.20. Urban space in the Free University area of Berlin –new element introduced for identifying the space.  
(Haus-Rucker Co. Group,1978: 5)



## **CHAPTER 6**

### **AN EVALUATION OF TYPES OF LEFTOVER SPACE BASED ON THE OBSERVATIONS IN ANKARA**

In the previous chapters, an overview was made of the cases and projects for leftover spaces as published in international periodicals in the last 25 years. These cases comprise examples from cities mostly in European countries and the United States. Following is a related, but independent study concerning Turkish cities, that elaborates the characteristics and types of leftover spaces and appropriation within them, referring to the examples in Ankara.

One general fact about the Turkish cities today is that there exist a great amount of leftover spaces, observed to be spread all over the urban land. Leftover spaces are distinguishable by their visual appearance at once –somehow void, mostly keeping their natural qualities for being not maintained and cared, sometimes deteriorated and having a disorderly appearance; even if they have been appropriated in some way. The reasons for the existence of extensive amount of leftover spaces in contemporary Turkish cities may be searched in the culture of formation and use of open spaces –both as a continuation of patterns from the past, and as a reflection of conditions, tensions and contradictions in today's urban milieu.

#### **6.1. Patterns of formation and use of open (public) spaces in Turkish cities**

Regarded throughout their historical evolution, Turkish open spaces originally emerge as rather indeterminate and loose in their formal characteristics; being in harmony with the natural characteristics of their specific location. Evyapan (1972) states that Turkish gardens and recreational open spaces were never geometrical and strict in layout and organisation, until the 18<sup>th</sup> century when Western influence began to be observed in their designs. She (1972) relates this situation to the love

and enjoyment of nature –as it is– by Turkish people, as a component of their daily living culture, a continuing tradition from their nomadic past.

The preservation of natural characteristics of public spaces in Turkish settlements show that the intrinsic qualities of spaces themselves have been inspiring –or rather determinant– for Turkish people to attain certain values and impose certain activities to spaces, as in the case of gardens. Evyapan (1972) states that Turkish garden was located according to the properties of place due to its qualities, with a regard for weather, water, view and other conditions. These properties of place inspired people to decide making a garden by way of using and improving them.

The existence of and the tolerance to the abundance of leftover spaces may also be seen as a characteristic of settlement patterns in Turkish culture, which Erzen (1991:94) mentions to be loose and coincidental, in contrast to the monumental and religious complexes in Ottoman cities –as she mentions in the case of Istanbul. In her work, Erzen (1991:94) determines 'vacant lots' as fragments of 'nature' in the city –along with gardens, graveyards and green courtyards–, and states that 'nature' was seen as one of the complementary values in the Ottoman Istanbul (in Sinan period).

Traditional Ottoman cities developed as multi-centred structures –groups of districts were gathered around centres comprising social buildings like mosque, school, religious buildings (tekke and zaviye), library and public bath (hamam), and the centres of the city were scattered around at critical locations within the topography leaving vast areas in between (Cansever, 1996: 379). This fragmentary settlement pattern of the traditional Ottoman city gave rise to unbuilt areas near and among dense districts. As a general property, the Ottoman city was an 'open city', which did not have determinate borders between the country (kır) and the settlement area (iskan edilmiş bölge) (Cerasi 1999:80). Cansever (1996:382) states that the vast areas around the cities and among groups of districts comprised both the supplementary areas like agricultural and breeding land, and the spaces for sport and military activities (at meydanı, okmeydanı), social / meeting activities (bayram yeri), and recreational activities (dere boyu / mesire yerleri).

One factor in the formation of public open spaces was the natural characteristics and values / virtues of places, another important factor was their location within the city.

Some of the spaces, in the peripheries and between the dense districts of Ottoman city emerged as public spaces and gave rise to various functions like recreation, sports, gathering, etc. The relationship of these spaces to the inner-city movement arteries and to the city entrances played an important role in qualifying their public character: Those close to the city entrances, like Namazgâh in Ankara, on important locations and on the main arteries in the city (Atmeydanı in İstanbul – Figure 6.1) emerged as main gathering / public spaces of cities; whereas those rather remote ones emerged as recreational public spaces (Kağıthane and Küçüksu in İstanbul –Figures 6.2 and 6.3). -

These public spaces in the Ottoman city were not designed or orderly urban spaces, but rather pieces of land left in their natural characteristics. Cerasi (1999:229) claims that Ottoman interventions absolutely adapted the existing forms in the natural space, both in urbanisation schemes and in open space forms –that the architectural intervention always emerged as an emphasising interpretation of these forms–, so the natural form of the open space and the modality of the intervention to make it usable defined the city and the architecture, and their separation and interpenetration with the nature. For Cerasi (1999:225), all Ottoman urbanites were a little bit peasants; they had vegetable fields and they lived the country even if they did not live in the country: To make possible a usage like in the fields outside the city, there existed ‘meydan’s and quite big ‘bostan’s inside the city (Mantran, 1965 in Cerasi 1999:205).

In that context, the usage of open space in Ottoman / Turkish and in European cultures emerge to be different. Kuban (1968:69) claims that the disorderly structure of Turkish settlements depends on the factors related to the beginnings of land ownership patterns –reflecting spontaneous formation processes. On the same subject, Cerasi (1999:200) claims that it was the cultural and ideological aspects that evolved a concept of space which was so different from that in the European cities –as can be observed in a comparison of ‘meydan’ and ‘piazza:

Tournefort (1717, in Cerasi 1999) makes clear the difference between the 'meydan' and 'piazza'; and identifies piazza with the courtyard of huge mosques –with regard to the 'formal representative' qualities of both. On the other hand, Cerasi (1999:205) compares the usage qualities in western piazzas with the shows, wrestling and 'cirit' games presented in open air cafes situated under a pergola, over a wooden veranda or under a huge tree in a meadow –'çayırılık'.

The Persian term 'maidan' was translated into Turkish as connoting to vacant, unclosed, wide area:

meydan: “1. Flat, open and wide place, area –like Taksim meydanı [in English: Open space, public square, the open square]  
2. Field of game / contest or combat –like savaş meydanı, at meydanı, ok meydanı [ in English: Field, area]  
3. One's immediate surroundings –like in 'meydanda kimse yok' [in English: Arena] ...”

(Okyanus Ansiklopedik Sözlük IV, 1981:1931)

In the Ottoman city, such wide open spaces were almost always casual and they lacked specific purposes. These properties are as well valid for 'meydan's in Turkish villages (köy meydanı), where the land is not designed or altered for a strict order, but used in its natural character, with a minimum of intervention. Cerasi, (1999:197-198) states that even in Istanbul, At Meydanı, which overlay the Roman-Byzantine hippodrome, did not have any typological order nor any definite relationship with the other parts of the city –also Taşhan Meydanı in Ankara was disorderly and loose until the first years of the Republican period (Figure 6.4). Meydans were used in ways unimaginable in the context of piazzas: Tents and huts were placed, there were groups of people sitting in circles, others eating, and some playing games on horse... –these meydans were multi-functional and they also prepared the milieu for meditating, as a group or person appropriated a location in the space to sit, like a corner in the field (Cerasi, 1999: 199). Cerasi (1999) relates this specific use pattern of open spaces of Ottomans –and all Anatolian / Balkan people –to the factors related to their overall behaviour patterns which had considerable effects on their choices of place and form; and on their conception of space.

In the Ottoman city, public spaces in the city and in the peripheries of city fragments were named in relation to the activities taking place in them, as 'meydan', 'mesire', 'çayırılık', 'pazar', etc. Mesire was a recreational public space, where people could stroll and spend time in nature:

mesire: "Place to stroll, to enjoy open air and to entertain, walk [in  
English: Promenade, excursion spot]

(Okyanus Ansiklopedik Sözlük IV, 1981:1916)

It is interesting that 'meydan's, even At Meydanı in İstanbul, have been mentioned as 'mesire' in Seyahatname (Evliya Çelebi, 1971:146); this may point out the dominance of enjoyment of nature in 'meydan's as well.

There were 'çayırılık's in the cities –like Cebeci 'çayırılığı' in Ankara (Figure 6.5)– where both sports games and public entertainment / festivities on special days were held. Hobhouse (1913 in Cerasi 1999) states that there was a 'çayırılık' with trees, in every settlement in the western and eastern Turkey. Cerasi (1999) states that these 'çayırılık's were almost always in their natural state, and he calls them as 'mesire', claiming that they represent the attempts to appropriate or reappropriate for the city, a natural environment; the materiality of a place with its meadows, ambience, panorama. 'Pazar' was another public space in the Ottoman city, and every -big-city had one or more grain or animal bazaar in its peripheral area.

Well-appropriated leftover urban spaces, as public spaces, today –either within irregular settlement areas (like squatter areas, transition areas between squatter and regular housing areas, newly-formed / being formed urban areas) or within the regular city centre as somehow neglected spaces– may be claimed to be reminiscent and continuation of the Turkish culture of producing and using urban spaces.

On the other hand, it is a fact that not all urban leftover spaces are used as contributive elements within urban life (as public spaces, spaces of appearance, of experience of nature, the city / views, or memories). Some leftover spaces simply become a loss, for they are used as littering spaces. This kind of use, for İlbey

(1997: 29) is a reflection of the conception of and attitude towards urban spaces by inhabitants; for they signify that inhabitants do not possess the city; it is not 'their' space for them, as they can easily pollute these spaces, whereas they do care for and maintain their houses as their 'possessions'. This attitude can be seen as related to being a citizen or not: Tapan (1996) states that 'citizen' possesses the urban values and shows respect to others. Such spaces become lost spaces in the city today, whereby in the traditional Ottoman city, meydan, çayırılık and mesire were well maintained by responsible groups ('çayır bekçileri' and 'fideciler' in Cansever, 1996:382, 'bostancılar' in Cerasi, 1999:199).

## **6.2. A discussion on appropriation and appropriators in leftover spaces—the contemporary city**

One general fact about the use of leftover spaces is that people appropriating them actively—in examples from Western literature and in Turkey—are usually of certain economic and social classes. Throughout the observations in the city, it has been seen that mostly lower and middle economic classes appropriate vacant lots—either by building squatters or tress-passing paths in them, and in some cases just by sitting, watching, chatting, eating / drinking, listening to music and playing there. Vendors of a type appropriate leftover spaces along routes—street vendors or sellers with cars and trucks—, a certain age group of every class appropriate backlots / sideyards and sometimes vacant lots—children and youngsters play there—, different age and gender groups appropriate small leftover spaces in lower-social class districts—elderly and women appropriate the leftover spaces just outside their houses—...Youngsters of high income groups, in some cases, appropriate spaces between apartment blocks and on walkways—as in the case of streets around Tunalı Hilmi caddesi, appropriated at night (Altay, 2001)—, but these are rather rare examples.

The reason for this kind of differentiation of users of leftover spaces may be the contradiction between the modernist and traditional ways of living / urban culture. The disregard by the professionals towards the existing patterns of appropriation in everyday life has been discussed and criticised in the Turkish case. Tolan (1977:70) states that westernisation, especially in rapidly developing or new Turkish cities, can be observed easily, for the contradictions become definite in their



urban spaces. Blaming the elite ('aydınlar'), technocrats and politicians for their absolute devotedness to the idea of an urban space acquiring western 'forms', Tolan (1977) claims that this dominance of Western ideology in Turkish planning, which presented the concept of rational space functionalised or made up of 'zoning's, has overrid the integrity of urban functions and the unity and insegregability of space. As an example, he (1977:71) mentions that the recreation is an integral part of daily life, not only in rural and traditional societies, but also in urban / metropolitan societies; yet in the metropolitan master plans, numerous enjoyment and resting sites / zones have been proposed –as segregated areas. He (1977) mentions that contrarily the Kızılay square and the urban space in Atatürk Boulevard –of the time– in Ankara, which has a completely westernalised space, do show that 'street' is a space not only for the mobilisation of people and goods, but also is a space where the components of a public life can be observed.

Tolan (1977) relates this situation to Lefebvre's (1997 -Production of Space) conceptualisation of urban space as a reflection of production relations, ideologies and practices; and in that case, to the appearance of changes in ideology in the urban space. Yet, in this situation, reflections of practice(s) in urban space is overrid by technocrats' ideology and application and this is also what Lefebvre (1997) and many other theoreticians criticise, as discussed in the previous chapters. In the case of Turkey and many other developing countries, it is a fact that the authorised ideology has not evolved as particularly an outcome of production processes – affecting life in all dimensions–, but has been adapted from Western culture. And as a probably related issue, it is seen that in Turkey, plans produced by the authorised ideology are not so easily applicable, as they have been deformed and neglected in many cases.

The effects of rural culture in cities may be considered as another factor in the differentiation of use of leftover spaces –effects of new-comers; new citizens –'yeni kentli'– as mentioned by Suher (1997), but this cannot be considered as the only determinant in the appearance of certain groups as appropriators. As also mentioned by Tolan (1977), it is not only the rural or traditional culture, but also contemporary approach / relation of urbanites to the urban space; and some groups appear to be more dynamic and flexible in presenting / expressing themselves in urban space with their bodies and movements –or they need more to express

themselves this way; whereas some others use buildings and other milieu for self-expression.

The extensivity of appropriation –like that of leftover spaces– in Turkish urban culture do show that the effects of practice, along with other factors –production relations and ideology– is quite well-reflected in space. Yet some appropriation patterns often temporarily in space, for effects of ideology and production relations take over appropriation patterns. Since some appropriation patterns contribute to public realm in the urban space, they –and their reflections in the physical space– emerge as valuable formations to be considered in all interventions within the urban milieu.

### **6.3. The effects of land ownership patterns**

Though, in this study, the definition of leftover space is not based upon legal attributes and ownership patterns of land –but rather on use patterns–, such criteria do define the characteristics of spaces and their potentialities of use for the future.

Mainly, the land that comprises leftover spaces may be said to be either publicly or privately owned. The tension between these two forces, public and private, determines the temporality and changes within the space characteristics and use / thus appropriation patterns which may be crucial as contributors to enhance the public realm in the city.

In that context, the overall formation / deformation processes of urban space, in relation to the property system in indictment may be investigated. Kuban (1968:70) states that in Anatolia, in the Turkish period until very recently, the idea of urban planning –considering cities in their entirety, did not exist; rather personal performance was the rule. Planning process was introduced very lately in the history of the Ottoman / Turkish city. Only by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as Günay (1999: 235) states, the spontaneous possession based on urban growth of the Ottoman city began to be replaced by planned, ownership based real property. Before, the Ottoman system was based on land owned by the State –though in some case possessed by people–, except for ‘mülk arazi’ which comprised the

privately owned land –that included the land of houses and their use areas in villages and towns (Sönmez,1998: 205).

Like Kuban (1968), Günay (1999) remarks that the Ottoman property system brought spontaneity and disorder in ownership patterns, which was also reflected in the physical properties of settlements; in their irregular and compact structure.

In Ottoman property system, common land ('res publicae' in Roman law) was the category of 'metruk arazi'. Land in this category, also belonged to the State and was reserved for the use and utilisation of the public or of the inhabitants of a certain settlement (Sönmez,1998: 205). These comprised routes, meydan, namazgâh, mesires, bazaars and panayır / festival places; and were protected strictly in the sense that they could only be used for the purposes they were reserved for –by laws forbidding any personal utilisation / appropriation (Sönmez, 1998:206).

As another category, there was 'mevat arazi' or 'hali arazi' ('res nullius' in Roman law), which comprised the land that was in nobody's ownership –though its 'rakabe' (kuru mülkiyet) belonged to the State– and no possession was concerned within. These lands were not preserved for the utilisation of the public, and were not usable in any way –not available for agriculture nor building–, and they started 1.5 mile from the buildings at the peripheries of a settlement (Sönmez,1998: 207). By definition, these lands could not be considered as urban lands in Ottoman period, however in the Republican period, they were converted into public and private property in the urban context, with the enlargement of city areas. Ankara is a good example in that regard, where the 'hali arazi' around the old centre was first converted as green area and public park in Jansen plan<sup>18</sup> (Figure 6.6), then illegal settlement –squatter– districts were formed on these areas in time (Figure 6.15a).

In the Republican period, with the enactment of the Turkish Civil Law in 1926 and the Land Registry Law in 1934, common lands were abolished and many common lands were transferred into private property (Günay,1999: 236), so new ownership patterns were produced. New systems of property and new implementation processes produced new conditions which again made possible spontaneous use,

possession and formation processes in space. In the emergence of spontaneous and disorderly use and formation patterns in Turkish cities, the basic driving factor may be considered as the cultural motives coming through history –as discussed in the previous chapters–, interacting with the authorised property systems.

The spontaneous formation in urban space comprised the emergence of squatters, producing their space on occupied public land, that later transformed into first possession, and recently ownership (Günay,1999: 238). According to Günay (1999: 239), role of planning was reduced to conversion of pure land into an object of property. The incapability of the State to take control of urban space through comprehensive planning, the cooperative organisations and local authorities taking control due to the new Planning Law led to incremental planning and decrease of restrictions on property.

So, with the transfer of control of property relations from the domination of State to local groups, with squatting becoming a property relation bonused with eventual legal ownership, and with the emergence of a huge stock of unused, that is owned but not possessed real property (Günay,1999: 240), today our cities appear as grounds for unplanned / unanticipated use and formation processes. However, these uses remain permanently in space only in cases when private interest and ownership is eventually obtained –as in the case of squatters and illegal buildings / extensions–, whereas they are always ephemeral when public use / appropriation, or any action contributing to the public realm is seen –to be destroyed through implementation of new projects.

The tension between the public and private ownership of property –which did not exist in the Ottoman city because the supporting agricultural economy rested on public ownership of land (Günay,1999: 236)–, now exists; but always resulting in the favour of private persons or groups first appropriating, and later dominating the space. In many cases, the dominating power is not the State, as in Lefebvre's (1997) critical claims for Western / European urban space, but local groups in relation to the cultural tendency in Turkey to disobey any order or rule. These groups alter and build on State property, sometimes in the peripheries, sometimes

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<sup>18</sup> Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu: 01.10.1934 tarihli 030.18.02 sayılı karar ve eki (48.66.18).

in rather close locations to the centre. The alterations in the public land serve for the income of these groups, which sometimes, but only restrictedly can form a ground for the public realm. These State owned land mostly comprise empty land (which is legally unbuildable); but sometimes it comprises green areas and recreational spaces (in plans: as in examples of Kale çevresi and Güvenpark in Ankara) which are public lands in the category 'property reserved for the use of everybody'<sup>19</sup>.

On the other hand, expressions and use / appropriation patterns contributing to the public realm, in public or private lands, very rarely lead to a permanent alteration in urban space: e.g. cases where a pedestrian path formed through repetitive use is fixed as a concrete path by the local authority. These actions and traces of action in space inevitably disappear, if they are on privately owned land. If these actions are to be considered as parts of our contemporary urban culture –as they should be in relation to previous discussions–, then ways to tolerate their existence and utilise them in urban space should be searched.

#### **6.4. A typology of leftover spaces**

A general outcome of the literature survey was the fact that a comprehensive typology of leftover spaces did not exist, though some studies had been made to search their critical properties and to group them accordingly. Studies for defining the types usually concern the way leftover spaces are used and conceptualised. In a study in English cities (Burrow, 1978:7), the critical properties of 'vacant urban land' are defined as: location in the city, former use, physical appearance, ownership and size; and categories are defined as:

1. Physically appearing as derelict and spoiled areas (former use: mineral extraction and public utilities like transport),
2. Physically appearing as demolition areas (former use: housing and industry),
3. Physically appearing as neglected wasteland (former use: agriculture or no former use as in slopes, marsh etc.).

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<sup>19</sup> 'Herkesin yararlanmasına bırakılmış mallar': These are properties used and utilised by the public, in accordance to their nature, traditions or legal assignment. It is assumed that there exist a utilisation right ('irtifak hakkı') of public on those properties; like the right of utilisation by the inhabitants of the district it is placed (Sönmez, 1998:97).

Regarding this categorisation, both physical properties and former use emerge as critical concerns to determine the character and potentialities of these spaces. Rivlin and Windsor (1986) define such properties, which may also form a basis for making a comprehensive typology of leftover spaces, as physical and usage qualities<sup>20</sup>.

1. Physical qualities of leftover spaces may be studied at two levels:

a. Beyond its limits:

location within the city (being in the centre or in the peripheries; in the business or housing districts, etc.),  
relations with the surroundings, and the public spaces in the city (access to and integration with the city –including the visual impact),

b. Within its limits:

size / scale,  
shape, landform / topography,  
materials, vegetation and structures within its limits,  
overall visual impact.

2. Usage qualities may as well be studied in two categories:

a. Past activities determining the significance of the space (mnemonic value):

how and for what purpose the space was used before it became a leftover space,  
by whom it was used and for how long,

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<sup>20</sup> Rivlin and Windsor (1986) have made a comparable study on 'found space's, which they define as "found by the users to be effective contexts for the kinds of activities that they have brought to them and found in the sense that they were not designed"; and they have specified the three categories of characteristics that determine the significance of spaces as: physical qualities, usage qualities and the time of use. However, here in this study, physical qualities and usage qualities are used as categories determining the typical attributes of spaces; and time of use has been rendered as an issue within usage qualities / properties of appropriation within spaces.



b. Present activities determining the significance of space as an element of the city today:

whether the space is used / appropriated or not (though it is a leftover space), if so, how it is used, and by whom.

In addition to these, the country, even the city in which leftover spaces are located become important, and determine the dominant types and their potentialities<sup>21</sup>.

The way leftover spaces come into existence is also an important factor which determines much of both their physical qualities and usage qualities categorically. Thus, evaluating this issue helps clarifying different types. Through the survey of cases and projects concerning leftover spaces, and regarding the examples seen in Turkish cities –specifically in Ankara–, it has been seen that there evolve six typical categories with reference to the way they come into existence, and their physical and usage qualities.

1. Unbuildable areas
2. Abandoned sites
3. Vacant lots
4. Interstitial spaces
5. Sub-spaces
6. Neglected public parks and plazas

Yet in Ankara, a seventh type of leftover spaces can be evolved as tumuli –small man-made hills comprising tombs from Phrygian period, which exist in numerous towns and cities in Anatolia. Tumuli are located in peripheries of the city, yet in sometimes quite well-used urban areas. They may be claimed as ‘leftover space’s for they are somehow not used in their context –as historical public sites–, and not regularly controlled –open to public access with no or overruled limits on boundaries–, and not maintained. It is observed that they are usually appropriated as recreational spaces (Figure 6.14).

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<sup>21</sup> In a study on Turkish cities, to categorise urban spaces in relation to activities, empty areas (boş alanlar) were categorised as: vacant lots, unused but usable vacant sites, lost areas that can be regained –like swamps etc., along with gardens and fields in and around the city (Gürel, 1974).

### 6.4.1. Unbuildable areas

These are mostly spaces “associated with natural stream beds or drainage systems that have not been piped or buried” (Carr et al., 1995: 335-336), wetlands and slopes too steep for building. Usually these spaces remain in natural characteristics, if not spoiled with litter and other polluting material. In the survey of projects in Western countries, it was seen that such unbuildable lands are now considered as elements of urban ecology, and have been made accessible to public use, presenting their natural qualities, even if they had been treated in other ways (like stream beds being converted into underground canals) in their past.

In Turkey, Ottoman ‘mevat arazi’ (dead lands) became urban land, by the enlargement of cities in the Republican period –some of them were converted into public areas and some to private land. It is observed that unbuildable areas in Turkish cities are still not considered as natural assets, usually they become littering spaces or squatter districts.

Through the observations in Ankara, it is seen that much of unbuildable areas do not remain in their natural conditions: stream beds and swamplands in central areas mostly have been covered by the local authorities to accomplish vehicular routes and settlement areas (except for those parts remaining in parks –Kuğulu Park– and recreational areas –Ankara stream AOÇ area), and too steep slopes have mostly been invaded by squatters. Yet, it is still possible to see some unbuildable areas as they are, though becoming littering spaces, in locations close to centre –Çubuk çayı in Akköprü– and in peripheries –İmrahor valley (Figure 6.7).

Overall physical properties	Inner physical properties	Past use(s)
May be located both in the centre and the in the peripheries, as a stream bed passing through the city, or as steep slope. However, such spaces in the centre have mostly been treated to be used.	Having different sizes, Having linear or planar shape and not regular landform –not suitable for urban development, No structures and formations from their past, but natural look.	May have been used as natural recreation areas in the city’s past, but many become polluted spaces in rapid urban development processes.

### 6.4.2. Abandoned sites

These are mostly former industrial sites; including factories, pits, mills, warehouses, railway stations and railyards, dockyards, etc. Such leftover spaces –especially former industrial sites– are quite frequently seen in Western countries, and have become a specific project category (examples from England and Germany have been rendered in the previous chapters). However, it is a fact that these comprise quite a small ratio in the overall number of leftover spaces in Turkey, and probably in other developing countries, where industrialisation has not been widespread.

It is seen that in Ankara, there exist few abandoned sites in the centre city. One former industrial site which has some qualities to contribute to the public realm (both with its mnemonic value and its distinctive architecture) is the Gas Factory: Included now in the area of EGO, which is not a leftover space, the building itself is leftover and presents an ambience –thus a potentiality to attract the public. Other former industrial sites are on peripheries; like brick factories in Mühiye. Another abandoned site in the centre is the former bus terminal which still remains as a ruin in an important location –a competition has been held for the area within its surroundings<sup>22</sup>, but no action for implementation has been taken (Figure 6.8).

Overall physical properties	Inner physical properties	Past use(s)
May be located in the centre, but mostly in the peripheries	Usually big in size, Having proper shape and landform for development –as they have former activities and buildings, Preserving structures and formations from their past	Carriers of certain images and meanings for citizens –due to their former functions.

<sup>22</sup> The project comprises Ankara Municipality building as a complex including also social and business centres (YAPI 234: 74-77), yet the competition projects including the winner, were criticised for disregarding the abandoned bus hangars in the site, which have mnemonic value as Republican period buildings (Atabaş,2001: 13).

### 6.4.3. Vacant lots

These are lots / parcels –legally buildable areas– remaining vacant for various reasons –ownership problems, delays in the (re-) building processes. Vacant lots can be under both private or State ownership –the latter, usually as land reserved for public services that have not been implemented or have lost their validity.

There are measures to prevent leaving vacant lots which are expected to be built up unbuilt for long periods of time. In this regard, expropriation by the municipality has been considered for parcels remaining vacant for certain periods, as supported by the Turkish 'İmar' law.<sup>23</sup> Another attempt has been to curb the interests or motives that produce vacant lots (as in some cases, where demolishing old buildings may be considered as a way to attract investments to the city and after many vacant lots emerge in the centre).

Many vacant lots are observed in Ankara; less and temporal in the congested centre, extensive in peripheries and newly developing districts and in transition zones between squatter areas and regular settlement areas (Figure 6.9).

Overall physical properties	Inner physical properties	Past use(s)
Sometimes / rather rarely located in the centre, can be everywhere in the city.	Rather medium size areas, like a parcel or sometimes a block, Having proper shape for buildings, but not always proper landform. Having either no structure within, or temporary ones, or remains if demolished, Usually natural appearance of land, if not excavated.	Carriers of meaning – especially as playgrounds for local children who play there, if accessible by the public. Those which the public access is blockaded do not carry much significant images or meanings for citizens.

<sup>23</sup> Boş arsalarda inşaat zorunluluğu: Kanalizasyonu vs. olan arsaların 10 yıldan fazla boş kalması durumunda belediyece el konulup bina yaptırılması. (Artukmaç,1972: 157)

#### 6.4.4. Interstitial spaces

These are spaces left over around (in the front, sides and back of) buildings, and within the boundaries of their parcels –so in their property. Large open spaces are sometimes considered as a part of the design –according to the Modernist principles / blocks in green space. Sometimes the spaces around buildings reflect patterns of past living –alleys in some American cities–, and sometimes they are formed as a result of the building codes which regulate the positioning of the buildings in parcels.

In Turkish cities, these spaces are usually formed and sized in accordance to the principles in municipal building regulations –‘çekme mesafeleri’–, so reconsideration of these principles in order to produce better-used spaces may be proposed. Another factor producing interstitial spaces emerges as design considerations in housing projects in rather large parcels, though these are observed as rather rarely in Ankara.

Some interstitial spaces are well-possessed; used and cared for, but usually these spaces remain unattended leftover spaces mostly underused (Figure 6.10).

Overall physical properties	Inner physical properties	Past use(s)
In the centre, and everywhere in the city.	In regular parcel-type blocks, the size is typical, it gets bigger in the modernist blocks, Landform is usually levelled and treated as block / building garden, Small structures or building extensions are possible.	Usually not carrying much significant images or meanings for citizens.

### 6.4.5. Sub-spaces

These are spaces left over beside / along / between / under / within circulation arteries. They comprise spaces related to both vehicular and pedestrian routes, including spaces along / under autoroutes, railways or elevated highways passing through urban areas, along sidewalks, within underground pedestrian passages, beside open public staircases, etc. These spaces are almost always free for everybody's access and use, so they do present a potentiality for any appropriation; and in Turkey, they are extensively used.

Sub-spaces are usually observed to be leftover in Ankara, due to the fact that these are not evaluated properly within design considerations (Figures 6.11 and 6.12).

Overall physical properties	Inner physical properties	Past use(s)
In the centre, and everywhere around circulation routes in the city.	Size and shape vary, Some linear in shape, as related to the route form, Usually levelled and sometimes treated for greenery.	Usually not carrying much significant images or meanings for citizens.

### 6.4.6. Neglected public parks and plazas

These are designed urban open spaces which remain disused or underused due to various reasons. They are deteriorated in use, and sometimes as well in physical means. Though meant to be serving public needs, they do not function as planned, and become voids or other activity spaces.

They may be seen in every country, for certain periods –parks and plazas deteriorate, and then re-generated through projects... Yet in Turkish cities, neglected parks and plazas evolve as a very frequently seen type. The reasons for fast and thorough deterioration of such public spaces in Turkey should be searched; probably related to design considerations which cannot produce fit public



spaces –not regarding general use and appropriation patterns–; and also to the interventions by local interest groups and even municipalities themselves.

In Ankara, quite many spaces as neglected public parks and plazas –or neglected areas within them– are observed. The reasons may be the lack of maintenance and care by the local authorities –so as to make their use possible in the way they were designed to be– and the problems in their design considerations –the situations when the implemented design does not coop with the expectations and actual appropriation patterns of users (Figure 6.13).

Overall physical properties	Inner physical properties	Past use(s)
Usually in the centre, and also in the housing districts and suburbs, for public use.	Size varies, but proper for public use, Shape and landform also vary, but have already been treated for public activities they were meant to, Preserving partly the original setting and structures.	Carrying the memories of their original / past activities , or at least the image as a public urban space.

### 6.5. Appropriation patterns in urban space

‘Time of use’ emerges as an important issue in studying the appropriation in spaces. Proshansky (1977:35) states that time is necessary for the conceptualisation of environmental phenomena, and appropriation accordingly emerges as a process based on time duration and continuity. Carr et al. (1995:233) claim that the development of meaning is an interactive process between space and person that evolves over time in which space provides one set of stimulations while users bring their own histories and associations. In that regard, unless the place is a spiritual, ethnic, national or historical one where indirect experiences form images and meanings that are evoked by the name; repeated direct experience is a requirement for connections to develop. Consequently, it is necessary to observe leftover spaces through time, to find out the patterns of action producing meaning.

Traces of action in space, which are formed through continuous and repetitive use, also inform us about the actions that have become patterns of use for the space.

In that regard, actions and traces of actions to make clear the movement patterns, locational preferences, sensory adaptations and inner feelings (Proshansky, 1977: 39) may be observed through time, and the expressions and experiences of inhabitants in these spaces, of which they are mostly unaware, may be evaluated.

Appropriation, though expressing many alterations in what spaces mean for users, may or may not alter urban space physically. The design act can take into account and respond to both the physical modifications and action in that space.

Physical modification of the urban space by spontaneous action may be realised either through intended alterations or unintended alterations – these two may well exist in urban space at the same time:

1. Unintended alterations by spontaneous action in space are acquired by means of appropriation through repetitive use and continuity of appropriative activity in time. These are *activity-based* ways of making space meaningful –traces of action. Examples comprise path formation in vast spaces, defining a specific space by sitting on the same part of slope all the time, etc.
2. Intended alterations of inhabitants may embody spontaneity at a different level: appropriation through building / altering within urban space by non-professionals (inhabitants) following their own organisation patterns: appropriation through act of self-organised building / constructing. These are *building-based* ways of altering space and they do make space meaningful somehow. Examples comprise squatter formation, self-built extensions of buildings etc.

These two attitudes both produce expressions of individuals or groups shaping these spaces –to be perceived as elements of the public realm– as a *resultant* collectivity (Baird, 1995: 339) of spontaneous action. For designers, it is possible to derive hints from them concerning elements / characteristics both of formation processes and use / appropriation processes of the end product.

On the other hand, building-based alterations in space are more permanent than activity-based ones, even becoming agents of dominance of certain persons or groups in the urban space –even though they may have started as spontaneous self-expressions (as in squatters later becoming legal apartment blocks and means of profit). In this regard, traces of action may be claimed to be more expressive of spontaneous preferences and behaviours.

Finding out patterns of appropriation is important for understanding the attitudes towards the space –as overall attitudes, or attitudes of inhabitants in the specific city, or group of people using the space–, yet the observation and evaluation of some appropriation, which have not become a pattern may as well be useful for new designs and decisions about the space. In this context, the spontaneous actions of inhabitants should be examined for their self-expressive qualities, and the property of porosity both in the physical characteristics and in the concerns on time of use in these spaces, should be elaborated.

There evolve two different groups of appropriation to be examined and evaluated:

- Typical ones –continuous, repeated, which may also have become patterns with the traces they leave in the space,
- Atypical / exceptional ones –to be selected in regards to their contribution to the public realm.

With regards to the categories evolved above, the examples observed in Ankara can be grouped as follows:

## 1. Appropriation as building in space

### a. *Squatting*

A typical appropriation pattern for many Turkish cities. Squatters are usually on the peripheries, but sometimes it is possible to see them in areas close to the centre –in unbuildable lands as in Ankara, in the vicinity of the Castle.

Squatting may present positive values to a certain extent in the sense that likes / preferences and expressions of certain parts of society are presented through

them; and also porosity can be said to be one property of squatter settlements. However, squatters in Turkey turn out to be negative assets for cities in the end; for they are replaced by standard / mediocre apartment blocks producing a dull and repetitive urban environment as soon as they are granted legality (Figure 6.15).

*b. Building extensions*

Building extensions are typical in rather central areas where land is very valuable and indispensable for especially the activities in the centre. These exist usually on the backyards and side yards of buildings, used as enlargement of the ground floor closed spaces, or as storage or car-parking space; and on the frontyards, they exist as closed or half-closed extensions of ground-floor activities.

Building extensions cannot be said to be much contributive to the public realm, for expressive qualities are overcome by considerations of trade /exchange in these extensions. They may present the domination of private interests on public spaces –especially on front yards (Figure 6.16).

2. Appropriation leaving traces on space

*a. Path formation*

Tress-passing is typical in many spaces in which public access is not blockaded, and path formation emerges due to repetitive and continuous use. Path formation is observable not only in vacant lots –as leftover spaces–, but also in public parks and green spaces.

Path formation is expressive in the sense that it presents the route preferences of users. Sometimes these spontaneously formed paths are converted into permanent hard-surface pedestrian / also vehicle routes by the intervention of the municipalities –usually in squatter zones, or in transitional spaces between squatter zones and regular settlement areas. Those in private spaces –usually in vacant lots–almost always disappear in the building processes (Figure 6.17).

### *b. Vending*

Vending activity not necessarily but casually alters the physical space. Usually after repetitive and continuous use of a specific location as a vending space, some illegal treatment in the space takes place and earlier vending activity may become legal through the acceptance of the municipalities accepting that kind of use there –if the land is in the authority of the municipality.

Vending spaces should be appraised due to the character of vending activity: Not every vending space contributes to the public realm in the city, but those which can bring together numerous and diverse people, providing possible expression and encounter, which can give rise to a rich immediate experience (Figure 6.18).

### *c. Play and Sports*

Many leftover spaces in the city are used as children's and youngsters' play areas, and some play types leave traces in space –goal, post etc. Mostly these play areas are in the backyards and in vacant lots –in private or common property.

Almost none of the traces of play activity remain permanently in these spaces; they are disregarded in new considerations / projects for these sites. Only those in backyards may remain longer in that sense as a (semi-)public space for local children and youngsters. Play areas may be considered positively in the sense that they present an activity of locals –yet they may not be said to be public spaces for the city (Figure 6.19).

## 3. Traceless appropriation

### *a. Recreational activities*

This category includes many typical appropriation patterns in open spaces; like standing, sitting, leaning / sleeping, eating and drinking, making picnic, playing,

etc., which are performed by single persons or groups. These activities leave almost no trace in space –except for some litter sometimes. Recreational activities may take place easily in any adapted space: spaces along vehicle routes / in the streets, vacant lots, transitional spaces between squatter zones and regular settlement zones, neglected public plazas and parks.

Though users have been observed to be of mostly lower and middle classes, these activities may be said to reflect a certain part of Turkish open space culture. Recreational activities were mentioned to be optional, leading to social –resultant– activities, and to depend more on physical quality than necessary activities (Gehl, 1987: 14); so physical qualities of preferred locations emerge as an important issue when investigating such spaces. It has been observed that people prefer to be in locations where they can watch others, movement –of other people or vehicles–, or the city view. Thus they usually stand, sit or lean on higher parts of inclined areas, or in any location where the view of the surrounding is not blockaded. (In that sense, *tumuli* emerge as typical recreational spaces for Ankara, regarding such appropriation patterns). Turkish people do not demand neat and treated space for recreation; any natural-looking, spacious location or green area –even those along and between fast vehicle routes for example– are perceived as recreational space (Figures 6.20 and 6.21).

#### *b. Vending*

Typical as temporary selling cars and counters usually in pedestrian walkways and plazas, and sometimes as trucks and cars appropriating an area by the vehicular routes to sell goods. A rather atypical pattern in this category is the appropriation of old ruined cars as vending huts. This kind of appropriation is relatively permanent in space, usually on some well-used spot / on route, so as to be seen; and bringing a certain liveliness and a chance to encounter for users.

As discussed before, not every vending activity is contributive to the public realm; for sometimes these activities occupy urban spaces reserved for public activities, thus they may influence the public realm in a negative way. On the



other hand, for other spaces which have no such other activity, vending may introduce a richness in immediate experience (sounds, smells, etc.), together with increased number of users –bringing together many and diverse people (Figure 6.18).

*c. Car parking*

A very typical appropriation pattern for all open spaces in Turkish cities, which is related to the insufficiency in planning and organisation of the necessary car parking areas. Car parking can be observed on any possible space; not only in vacant lots, also in front yards which could be used for more contributive activities and as gardens, and also in streets, pedestrian walkways and public plazas excluding the public services they were planned for.

In that regard, car parking evolves as a pattern which has certain negative effects on the public realm to be enhanced in urban space; better solutions for the need of planned car parking areas should be searched so as to free public spaces from the occupation of cars (Figure 6.22).

## **6.6 Leftover space becoming a merit for the public realm in the city**

As the study of leftover space types and appropriation patterns make evident, not every leftover space can be conceived as a potential / or already active public space: Those which have not much to contribute to the city in terms of both physical qualities –beyond and within their limits–, and usage qualities –as past and present uses–, may be considered as spaces to be altered by introducing other functions and activities necessary within the city. Such leftover spaces comprise examples that are not accessible, not admirable and preferable –thus not already being used in positive ways– in the cities; such as spaces under elevated vehicle routes, backyards and sideyards which are not in the centre and which do not emerge as ‘to be merits’ for public realm –including too deep and dark spaces– vacant lots in private property, that are remote from the centre and not accessible to the public... For these spaces, first the ways to alter their present state should be searched –not necessarily relating them to any public use, but making them closed spaces (e.g. shopping centres under vehicular routes), or elaborating them as private or

community spaces (especially for backyards and side yards, as spaces for locals), or accelerating the building processes within (for vacant lots). A second consideration about these may be searching the ways to stop the evolution of new ones –by way of proper laws and regulations to be implemented in the city.

On the other hand, some leftover spaces appear as disregarded virtues / or potential virtues for the public realm in city. These may be named as 'promising' (propitious) spaces and they may be grouped into four in relation to their potentialities in relation to:

- physical qualities beyond the limits of spaces: accessibility by the public, location in the city for achieving integrity and coherence,
- physical qualities within spaces: proper form, scale, topography, natural characteristics and traces / expressions of past actions –if there exist some,
- for those accessible and having appropriation within, characteristics, frequency and continuity of the appropriation.

According to these criteria, promising spaces emerge in four categories:

1. *Recessed public spaces*: These are designed and realised public spaces, which have deteriorated in time due to various reasons; either completely neglected or partly ruined in physical and functional assets that they were meant to have. It is possible to observe recessed plazas, recessed parks and recessed pedestrian areas / sitting niches etc. in the city.
2. *Dormant spaces*: These spaces are not accessible for the public, but they present a potentiality for the public realm with their physical qualities beyond their limits –their offerings as their location in the city, relations with the surrounding, etc.–, and / or within their limits –like their mnemonic value, natural assets, etc. It is possible to observe dormant spaces in the city as abandoned industrial sites, abandoned public service areas, spaces reserved –but not improved / implemented –as public projects–, as unused backyards and side yards.

3. *Sparkling spaces*: These spaces have temporary appropriation within them, for they are open to public access but have not become habitual spaces. Though not continuous, the appropriation patterns to be observed in sparkling spaces may be very valuable for the city and the designers in understanding the active users' preferences and behaviour patterns in the space; so as to imply them for the projects in these spaces or to use them as inspiring models / or deriving design principles from them. It is possible to observe sparkling spaces as vending spaces –on sidewalks, by the vehicle routes or in vacant lots–, as play spaces –in interstitial spaces, in vacant lots, in vacant State lands–, as recreational spaces –in transitional spaces between squatter zones and regular settlement zones, along vehicle and pedestrian routes, in vacant lots.

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4. *Habitual spaces*: These spaces comprise examples with free access for public, which have been appropriated by quite many people for a certain period continuously, in ways contributing to the public realm. These spaces may be observed as habitual parks –in vacant lots, in historical sites; as a specific example *tumulus* in Ankara–, as habitual pedestrian routes –in vacant lots and transitional spaces–, as picnic areas –in subspaces by the vehicle routes, in vacant State lands–, as habitual market space –in vacant lots, State lands, subspaces along vehicle and pedestrian routes.

### **6.7. Potentialities for the future**

Leftover spaces, which contribute to the public realm through their physical attributes, ambience, memory and use patterns, may be taken as inspiring models for new designs, may be preserved in their existing conditions or may be improved with regards to their contributing attributes to become established public spaces for the city. However, recessed public spaces may be seen as a specific category, in which design for re-vitalisation of space should be considered in relation to the virtues and potentialities of the original projects along with spontaneous use and appropriation patterns developed in the living processes of these spaces in the city.

Many leftover spaces in private ownership lose their valuable characteristics in the process of new projects / applications disregarding their values. So, leftover spaces

in public ownership may be said to be easier to preserve –if already contributing to the public realm– and carry further / improve and establish as public space. A proper way for not losing specific examples in private ownership may be to expropriate them, –beforehand a careful study to specify these spaces is needed in relation to the criteria regarding the ways they can help enhancing the public realm.

An example in which a leftover space was retrieved to be crucial for the enhancement of the public realm, in the central zone of Ankara (Kızılay-Tunalı), comprises a competition project, by the author, for the regeneration of Kuğulu Park. In this project, the leftover interstitial space emerged as a dormant space which was in a very critical location to connect a well-used public park (Kuğulu Park) with Kızılay centre through a (green) route. It was anticipated that to open this area, which was in private property, to public access would contribute much to the experience –and the ambience– in the centre, thus proper processes for the expropriation of the pieces of land were investigated and proposed. With the introduction of new functions attracting public to this leftover space, vitality and thus action was aimed to be acquired (see Appendix).

Besides dormant leftover spaces, sparkling and habitual leftover spaces signify another important category which is usually disregarded; and conversely, they exist as having already been contributive for the actual public realm in the city. These spaces, either in public or private ownership, but almost never used / appropriated as they were legally defined to be, do function as real public spaces –which legally connote the category of ‘property left for the use of every citizen’ (‘herkesin yararlanmasına bırakılmış mallar’) in contemporary Turkish law.

In this regard, sparkling and habitual leftover spaces contribute to the public realm through the actions and appropriation within them, and preserving them, or (preserving and) improving their contribution become important whereas dormant

leftover spaces primarily present a prospect as urban land stock (especially in central areas) –as land for production of new urban spaces. Sparkling and habitual leftover spaces might be treated as virtues of the contemporary urban culture, like historical spaces which present such value for antecedent cultures. These spaces

should be well-detected with regards to their contribution for the city, and the criteria to evaluate them in that sense had been evolved previously as:

- accessibility by the public,
- location in the city for achieving integrity and coherence,
- physical qualities within spaces: proper form, scale, topography, natural characteristics and traces / expressions of past actions –if there exist some,
- for those having appropriation (always to be considered along with public accessibility), the characteristics, frequency and continuity of appropriation.

Among the leftover space types, habitual spaces may emerge as already established (not legally, but in the minds and activities of urbanites) public spaces, and they may rather be preserved and improved further, through design decisions and implementations, in the way they exist. Sparkling spaces, on the other hand, may present a group of activities and types of action (and appropriation) to inspire and guide the designers in their attitudes / designs, for they promote an understanding of human behaviours and preferences in public spaces which is necessary for creating the 'fit' environment for the expected use. Even for projects in private property in the city, a certain public consideration is crucial and contributive.

Attitudes towards treating leftover spaces may comprise a considerable number of (different) approaches, ranging from passive decisions to leave these spaces as they are –for their existing use or for their ecological virtues which also is a contribution to the public (realm) in the city–, to re-designing them in accordance with both their existing use qualities and missing attitudes for the public realm. The actual attitude is to be determined in the design of each leftover space, and may be different for each designer. Yet, the necessary investigations and observations should be made, the existing values –either as natural characteristics, ambience related to past and present uses within space or virtues of previous designs contributing to public realm– should be regarded, and due to the location of spaces within the city, proper design methods should be improved in order to achieve the desired use / user intensity.

## **6.8. Urban space resource as disregarded or appropriated leftover space existing along the major axis of the centre city Ankara**

In this part of the study, the aim is to present the extensive areas and the critical positions that leftover spaces occupy in the centre city Ankara, so as to give an idea about how contributive their regeneration as public spaces would be.

It is a fact that in central areas, appropriation of leftover spaces as enjoyment of nature (recreation) is generally not observed, for this kind of appropriation necessitates space preserving its natural characteristics (such type of appropriation is frequent in peripheries, in new settlement areas not so dense, etc. where there are vast amounts of natural land). Lefover spaces in the centre usually comprise neglected public parks and plazas –which have been partly or extensively deteriorated–, sub-spaces –along vehicular routes and railways–, interstitial spaces –which are not necessarily unused, but used for building extensions or car parking.

In the congested centre, interstitial spaces may be considered as urban land stock that could be merged into public spaces –for they are actually used in ways contributing neither to the public realm nor to owners' enjoyment of green as gardens (projects may be developed in order to satisfy both the necessities as storage and car parking areas, and as promoting public spaces). They have been presented as potential contributions to the city<sup>24</sup> –in Kızılay and around Kuğulu Park– (Figures 6.26 and 6.27). In districts where the basic activity is not business but housing, interstitial spaces may be kept as the common / semi-private spaces for the enjoyment of inhabitants where they can enjoy, rest, play and experience the nature.

Vacant lots are more frequently observed as State properties in the centre –though there exist some in private property. Those in private property are re-built in shorter periods as their economical values necessitate, due to the high demand for functional space. Vacant lots under State ownership are observed to occupy quite extensive areas and critical positions in Ankara centre –between Ulus and Kızılay

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<sup>24</sup> It is interesting that in a study for participatory urban design involving an inquiry in Konur street, Kızılay, opening the backyards of buildings to the public use evolved as one of the in demands of users (Yaşlıca, 1991: 141).



(Figure 6.23; the land reserved for new concert hall –CSO building– is a huge vacant space, and they form an extensive area together with the adjoining State land comprising the abandoned railway service yards).

Another type of State-owned land in central Ankara comprises the public spaces designed and implemented –though partially in some cases–, but underused as in AKM area, or misused as in the large vast space on the south edge of Gençlik Parkı, which is a car parking area now (Figure 6.25).

Abandoned sites are few in the centre city; former Gas Factory emerges as a promising space with its particular building and mnemonic value (Figure 6.9), whereas former bus terminal is prominent as urban land stock with its specific location (Figures 6.8 and 6.23).

Sub-spaces are frequent, most continuously along vehicular and railway routes. A public trail in the east-west direction could be achieved through a project utilising the sub-spaces along railway axis (Figure 6.23). One likely implementation is the linear park alongside Atatürk boulevard –by the vast vacant CSO land–, which is a positive attempt by the municipality. Rather piecemeal sub-spaces in the centre are those under elevated vehicular routes and spaces used as parking areas along streets around Hergelen plaza (Figures 6.13, 6.24).

Observations in Ankara demonstrate that there exist many leftover spaces in the city. Some of these spaces are contributive to the public realm; mostly those appropriated as recreational public spaces, play / sport areas and pedestrian transit spaces. Squatting and vending may also enhance public realm in urban space, in particular cases. Leftover spaces have been categorised as recessed, dormant, sparkling and habitual due to the time concerns in their use; habitual spaces – though rare– are most contributive to the public realm. Habitual and sparkling spaces may be used as impulsive models by designers. However, in the city centre, generally there are dormant and recessed spaces, which present a great potentiality for the public realm, if designed and transformed in pertinent ways.



Figure 6.1. At Meydanı in İstanbul, Préault's drawing from Pertusier (1817)  
(Cerasi,1999: 370)



Figure 6.2. Recreation area by Haliç, from d'Ohsson (1787)  
(Cerasi,1999: 37)

BU KÜTÜPHANEYE GİRİŞİMLERİNİZİ BİZİM İZİNİMİZLE YAPABİLİRSİNİZ





Figure 6.3. Küçüksu –mesire in İstanbul, drawing by Melling (1819)  
(Cerasi, 1999: 372)



Figure 6.4. Taşhan Meydanı in Ankara –with the graveyard in the foreground  
(Bir Zamanlar Ankara, 1993: 44)

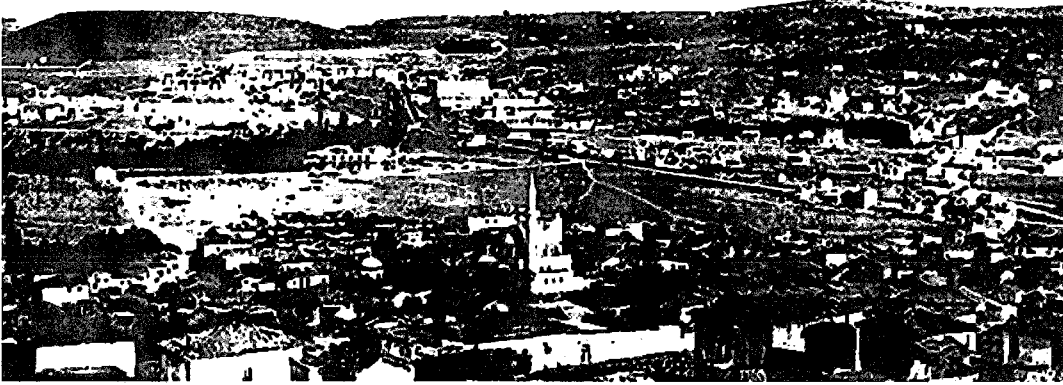


Figure 6.5. Cebeci çayırılığı and surroundings, Ankara, in the first years of Republic (Evren, 1998: 24)

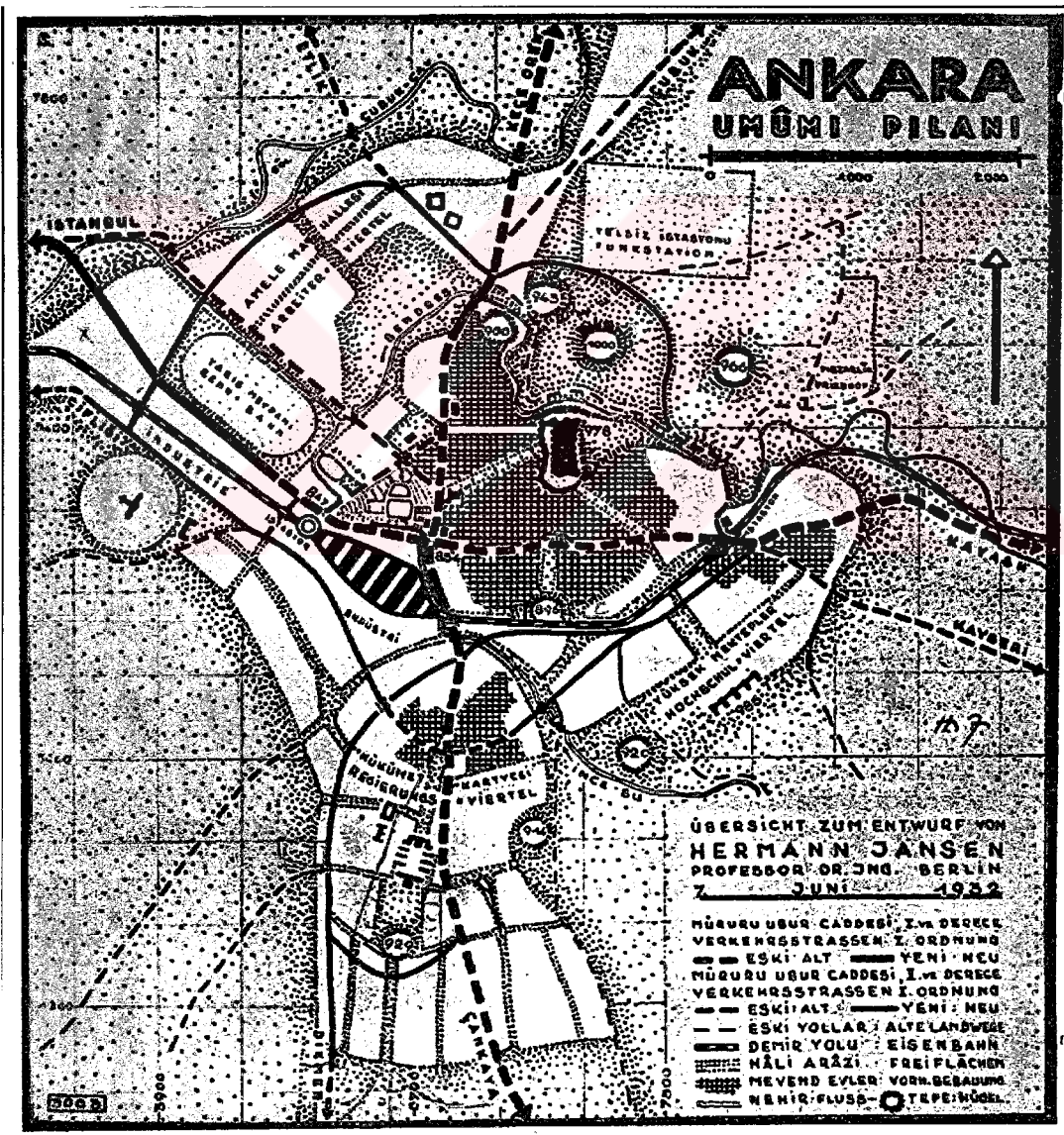


Figure 6.6. Jansen plan for Ankara, 1932 –'hali arazi' in and around the city (Ankara İmar Planı, 1937: 1)





Figure 6.7.a. Çubuk stream – open in areas close to centre / appears as littering area



Figure 6.7.b. Çubuk stream – open in areas close to centre

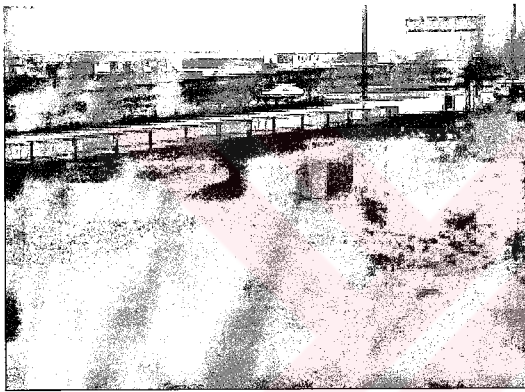


Figure 6.7.c. Çubuk stream – İstanbul autoroute and metro passes over



Figure 6.7.d. Çubuk stream – historical Akköprü has a public mnemonic value

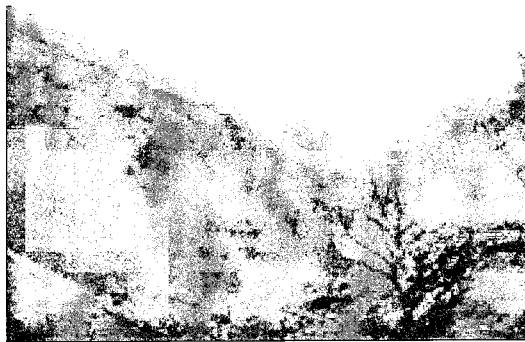


Figure 6.7.e. İmrahor valley –in the peripheral zone, as littering leftover space

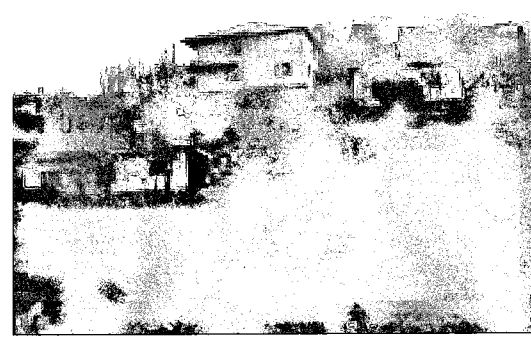


Figure 6.7.f. İmrahor valley –squatters built on steep inclinations

Figure 6.7. Unbuildable areas

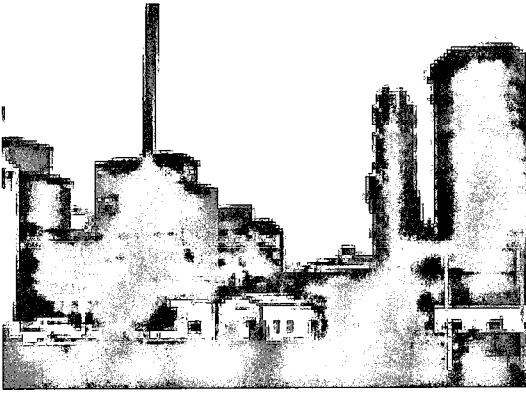


Figure 6.8.a. Gas Factory –having mnemonic value, and located in the centre



Figure 6.8.b. Gas Factory –the building has peculiarities as a structure



Figure 6.8.c. Gas Factory



Figure 6.8.d. One of the former brick factories in Mühiye –in the peripheries of Ankara

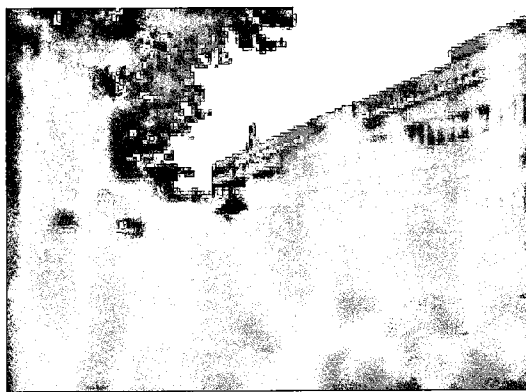


Figure 6.8.e. Former bus terminal – rather as part of land stock in the central Ankara

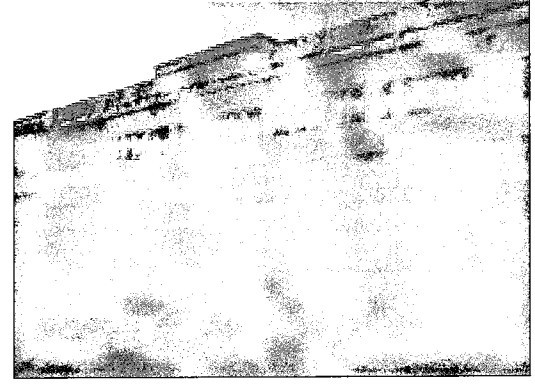


Figure 6.8.f. Former bus terminal – rather as part of land stock in the central Ankara

Figure 6.8. Abandoned sites



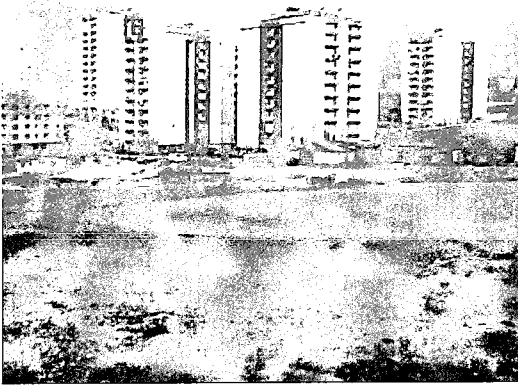


Figure 6.9.a. Vacant lot in new developing districts

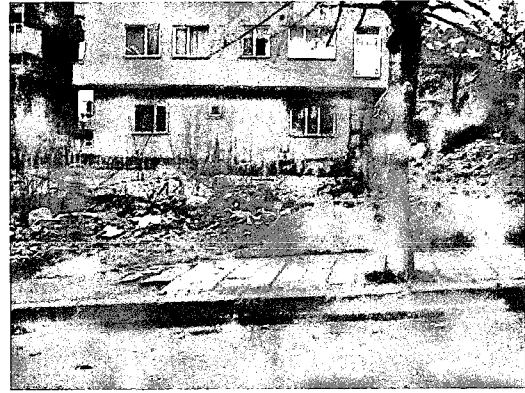


Figure 6.9.b. Vacant lot as demolished building site



Figure 6.9.c. Vacant lot in the transformation zone – between squatters and regular settlements



Figure 6.9.d. Vacant lot in the transformation zone – between squatters and regular settlements



Figure 6.9.e. Vacant lot as State land –new CSO construction area

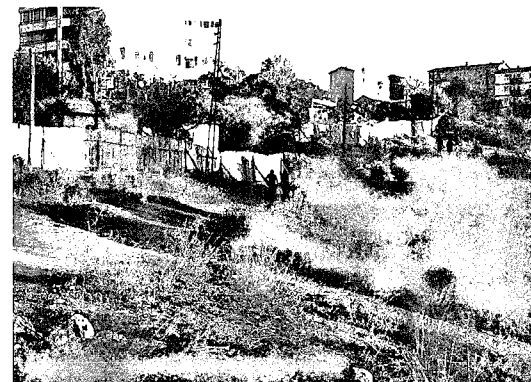


Figure 6.9.f. Vacant lot as private land –prepared for new apartment building construction

Figure 6.9. Vacant lots



Figure 6.10.a. Backyards used as car parking areas

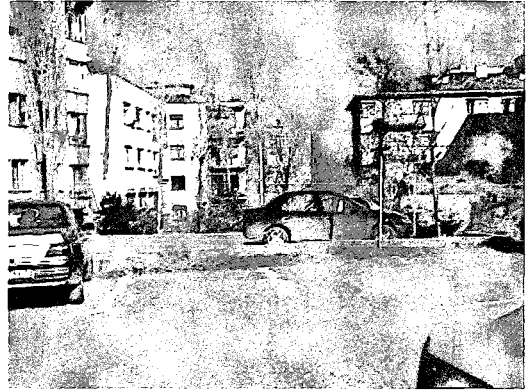


Figure 6.10.b. Backyards used as car parking areas—in this case, united and rented



Figure 6.10.c. Side yards

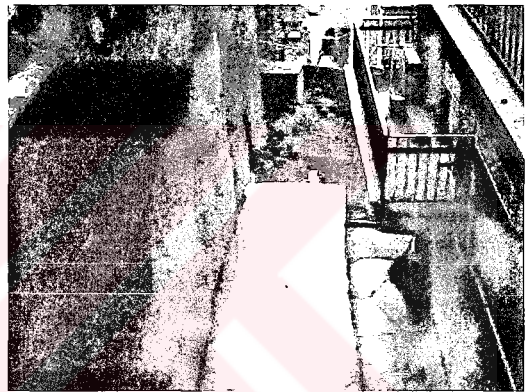


Figure 6.10.d. Side yards—unused space



Figure 6.10.e. Front yards—unused and not maintained

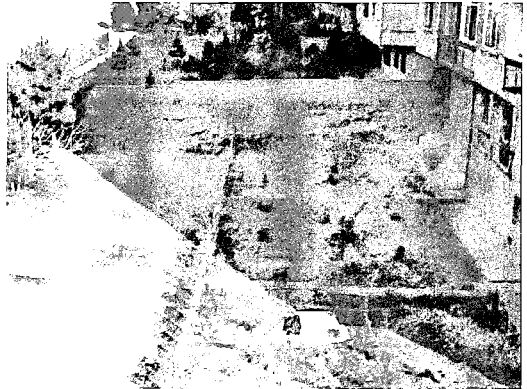


Figure 6.10.f. Back yards - appropriated by owners as garden

Figure 6.10. Interstitial spaces



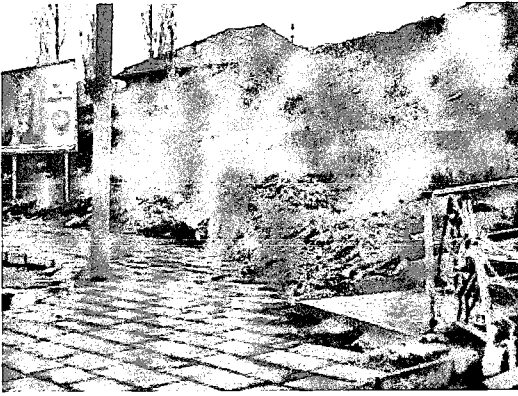


Figure 6.11.a. Subspaces by the vehicular and pedestrian routes



Figure 6.11.b. Subspaces by the vehicular routes



Figure 6.11.c. Subspaces by vehicular routes –appropriated as temporary vending space



Figure 6.11.d. Subspaces by vehicular routes –appropriated as temporary vending space

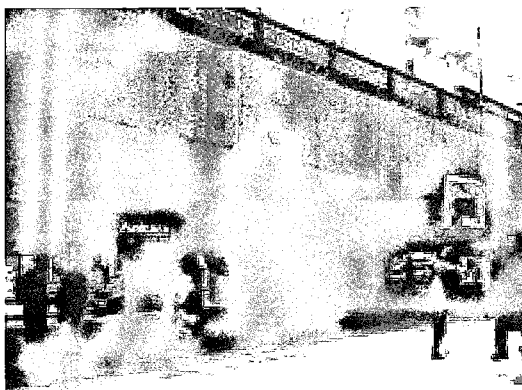


Figure 6.11.e. Subspaces under elevated routes –unused though designed to be (in the centre)

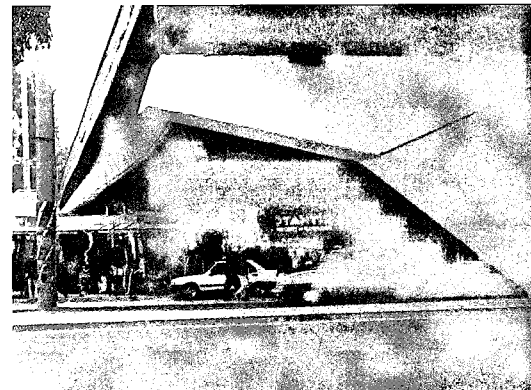


Figure 6.11.f. Subspaces under elevated routes –used as retail space (in the centre)

Figure 6.11. Subspaces 1



Figure 6.12.a. Subspaces by the public stairs -levelled



Figure 6.12.b. Subspaces by the public stairs –levelled



Figure 6.12.c. Subspaces by the public stairs -levelled



Figure 6.12.d. Subspaces by the public stairs –no intervention



Figure 6.12.e. Subspaces by the walkways –designed but not used

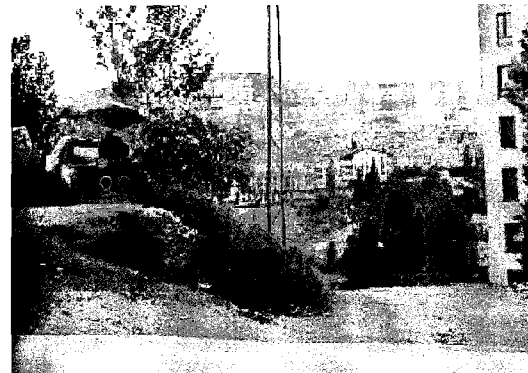


Figure 6.12.f Subspaces by the path formation –abandoned vehicle appropriated as vending space

Figure 6.12. Subspaces 2





Figure 6.13.a. Public plaza used as car parking area (Hacibayram plaza)



Figure 6.13.a. Public plaza used as car parking area (Hacibayram plaza)



Figure 6.13.c. Public plaza –rotten and diminished in use, vending introduced (Hergelen plaza)



Figure 6.13.d. Public plaza –rotten and diminished in use, vending introduced (Hergelen plaza)



Figure 6.13.e. Public plaza –rotten and diminished in use, temporary vending introduced (Zafer square)

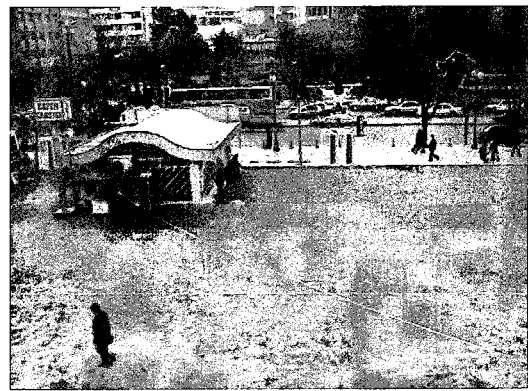


Figure 6.13.f. Public plaza –rotten and diminished in use, temporary vending introduced (Zafer square)

Figure 6.13. Neglected public parks and plazas

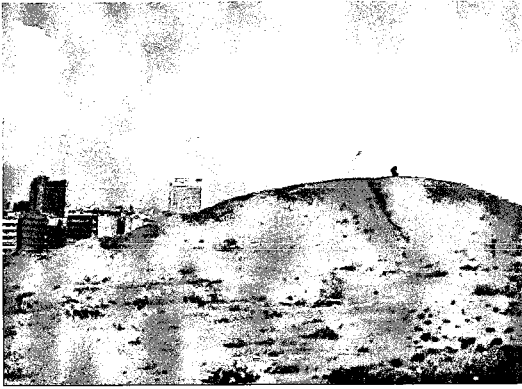


Figure 6.14.a. Tumulus near AŞTİ  
—appropriated

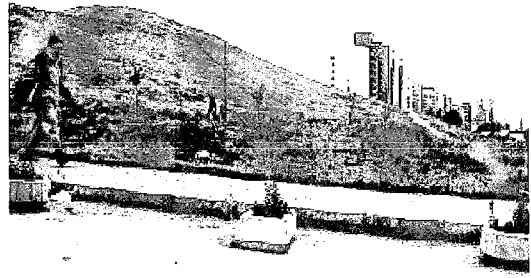


Figure 6.14.b. Tumulus near AŞTİ



Figure 6.14.c. View of the city from the  
tumulus near AŞTİ

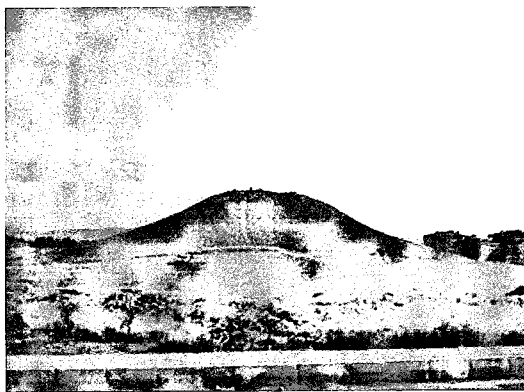


Figure 6.14.d. Tumulus on Demetevler  
route



Figure 6.14.e. Tumulus on Demetevler  
route —appropriated

Figure 6.14. Tumuli



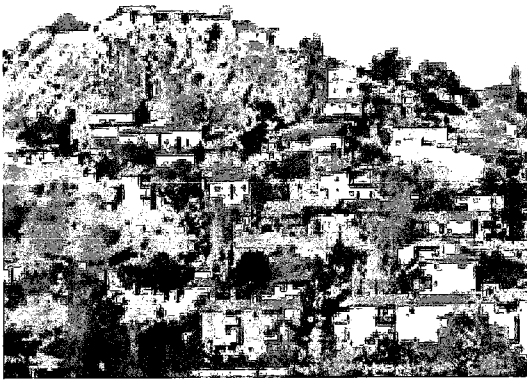


Figure 6.15.a. Squatting on Altındağ which was reserved as public green area –steep slope



Figure 6.15.b. Squatting on a private land –to be demolished



Figure 6.15.c. Squatting in Çukurca – which lately is becoming a regular building zone

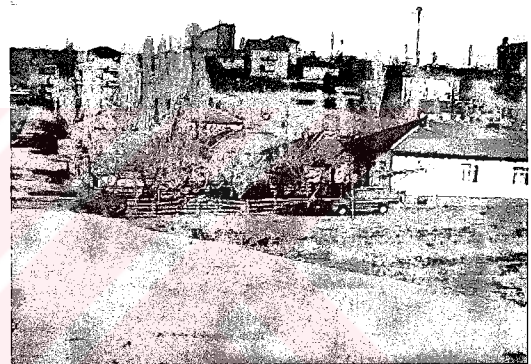


Figure 6.15.d. Squatting in Çukurca – which lately is becoming a regular building zone



Figure 6.15.e. Squatting in Çukurca – which lately is becoming a regular building zone

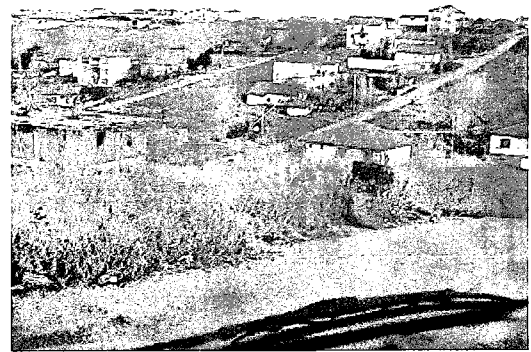


Figure 6.15.f. Squatting in Çukurca – which lately is becoming a regular building zone

## Figure 6.15. Squatting



Figure 6.16.a. Building extensions  
–as retail space (in the centre)



Figure 6.16.b. Building extensions  
–as storage space (in the centre)



Figure 6.16.c. Building extensions as  
storage space and closed car parks (in  
the centre)



Figure 6.16.d. Building extensions as  
storage space

Figure 6.16. Building extensions





Figure 6.17.a. Path formation in vacant lots –tress passing



Figure 6.17.b. Path formation in vacant lots –tress passing



Figure 6.17.c. Path formation in vacant lots –access to the squatters, legalised by municipality

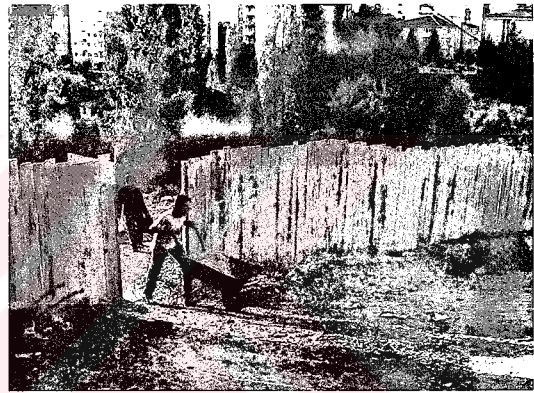


Figure 6.17.d. Path formation in vacant lots –access to bazaar, tolerated by land owners: doors



Figure 6.17.e. Path formation in tumulus –well-used tress passing, legalised by municipality

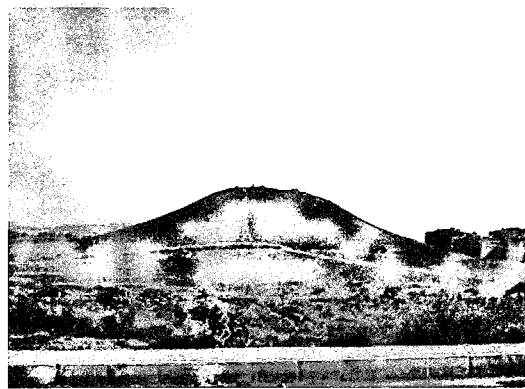


Figure 6.17.f. Path formation in tumulus –used for recreation

Figure 6.17. Path formation

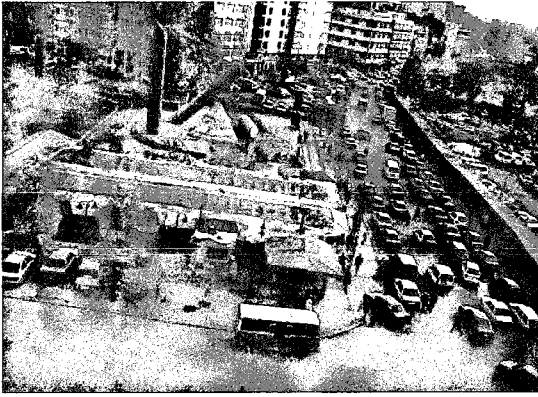


Figure 6.18.a. Vending –building structure on public plaza, legalised by municipality (Hergelen plaza)



Figure 6.18.b. Vending –building structure on public plaza, legalised by municipality (Hergelen plaza)



Figure 6.18.c. Vending as a temporary activity –on certain days of the week (Zafer plaza)



Figure 6.18.d. Vending as a temporary activity –no traces (Zafer plaza)



Figure 6.18.e. Vending with cars -no traces (Atatürk Orman Çiftliği)



Figure 6.18.f. Vending in semi-temporary structures –legalised by municipality (Hükümet Plaza, Ulus)

Figure 6.18. Vending –as appropriation leaving traces and traceless appropriation



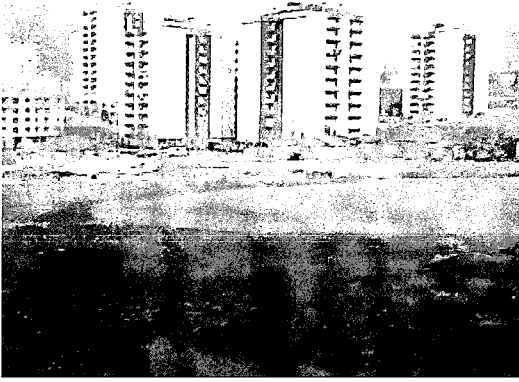


Figure 6.19.a. Football area in newly developing districts, where land is still free for such activities

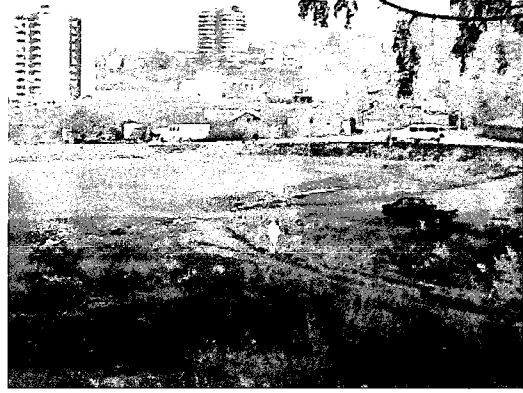


Figure 6.19.b. Football area in newly developing districts, where land is still free for such activities

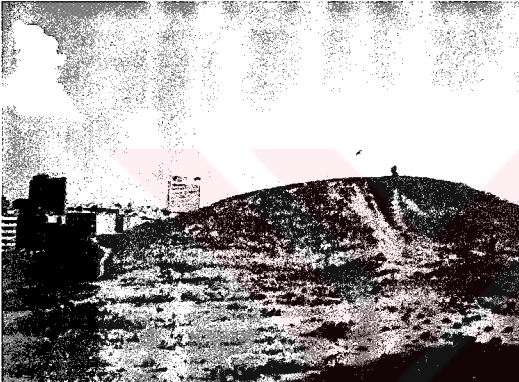


Figure 6.19.c. Child flying kite on tumulus (a much observed type of activity on the one near AŞTİ)



Figure 6.19.d. Children playing on streets –they are observed in every possible space in housing districts

Figure 6.19. Play and sports



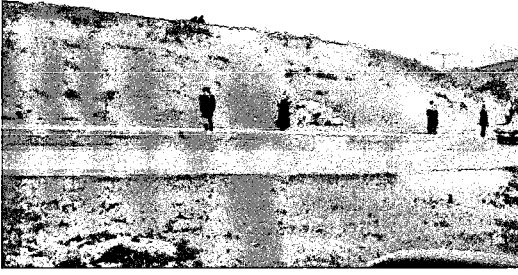


Figure 6.20.a. Watching the vehicular traffic on subspaces –a much observed pattern

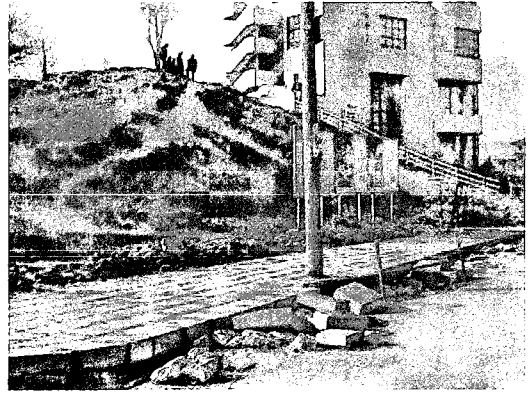


Figure 6.20.b. Watching the vehicular traffic on subspaces –a much observed pattern

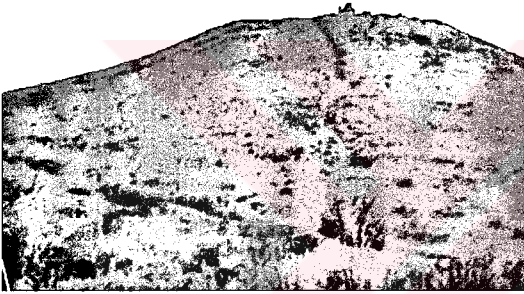


Figure 6.20.c. Watching around and sitting / eating on top of tumuli –a much observed pattern

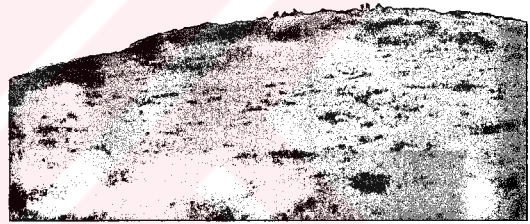


Figure 6.20.d. Watching around and sitting / eating on top of tumuli –a much observed pattern



Figure 6.20.e. Enjoying the nature in nice weather –sitting / watching on the top of tumuli



Figure 6.20.f. Throwing stones towards the slope –seldom, but may give a clue on how space is conceived

Figure 6.20. Recreational appropriation 1

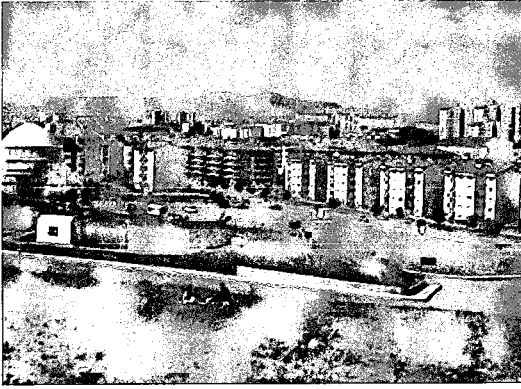


Figure 6.21.a. Green area appropriated as picnic space (Batikent)

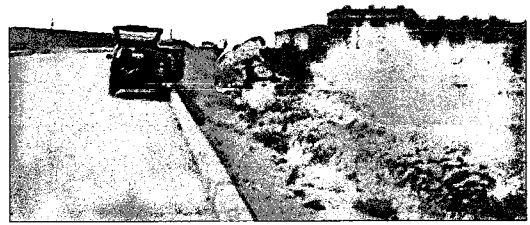


Figure 6.21.b. Subspaces by the vehicular routes appropriated as picnic space (Batikent)



Figure 6.21.c. Subspaces –the green area among the crossing (Konya and Oran) highways, as appropriated for picnic, a much observed pattern

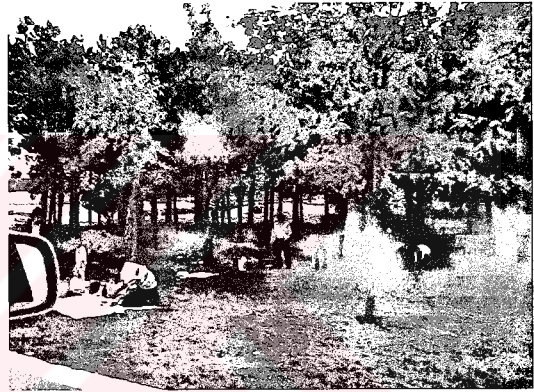


Figure 6.21.d. Subspaces –the green area among the crossing (Konya and Oran) highways, as appropriated for picnic, a much observed pattern



Figure 6.21.e. Appropriation in subspaces by the pedestrian routes - sitting with no chair (Ulus)



Figure 6.21.f. Appropriation in subspaces in front of houses –sitting, chatting, playing (Ulus)

Figure 6.21. Recreational appropriation 2





Figure 6.22.a. Car parking in and around public plaza (Hergelen plaza)



Figure 6.22.b. Car parking in public plaza (Hacıbayram plaza)



Figure 6.22.c. Car parking in lots around public plaza (centre - Hergelen plaza)



Figure 6.22.d. Car parking in lots around public plaza (centre - Hergelen plaza)



Figure 6.22.e. Car parking in backyards and vacant lots (centre - Tunus street)



Figure 6.22.f. Car parking in backyards (centre - housing blocks owners renting parking space)

Figure 6.22. Car parking





Figure 6.23 The Centre City Ankara

1. Vacant lot
  - 1.a. The construction site of the new CSO building
2. Subspaces
  - 2.a. Spaces along the railway route
3. Abandoned sites
  - 3.a. Abandoned industrial site: former gas factory
  - 3.b. Abandoned public building: former bus terminal
  - 3.c. Abandoned public service site: former railway service area
4. Neglected public parks and plazas
  - 4.a. Hacibayram meydanı
  - 4.b. Hergelen meydanı
  - 4.c. Hükümet meydanı
  - 4.d. Zafer meydanı
  - 4.e. Güvenpark
  - 4.f. Atatürk Kültür Merkezi site





Figure 6.24 Ulus Centre

1. Vacant lot –in private property, could contribute to integrate the two public spaces
2. Neglected urban plaza: Hükümet meydanı
3. Neglected urban plaza: Hacıbayram meydanı





Figure 6.25 Hergelen meydanı and its surroundings

1. Vacant lot -in common property: CSO construction site
2. Subspace under elevated vehicular route
3. Neglected urban plaza: Hergelen meydanı





Figure 6.26 Kızılay centre

1. Neglected public plaza: Zafer square
2. Neglected public park: Güvenpark –deteriorated parts
3. Interstitial spaces –in private property





Figure 6.27 Kuğulu Park and its surroundings

1. Interstitial spaces –backyards and sideyards
2. Interstitial space–owned by the municipality
3. Vacant lot as private property –misused used as car parking area

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **7.1. General proceeding and the findings of the study**

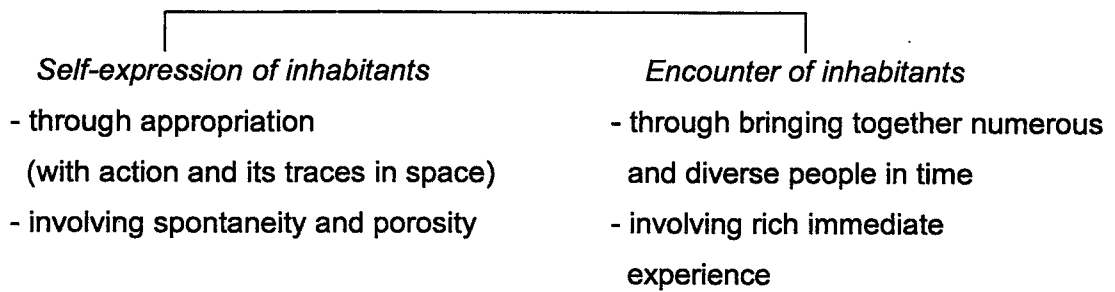
Throughout the study, the aim has been to comprehend and examine the contributions and potentialities of leftover space for the public realm, and also to derive critical objectives and strategies for a consistent design approach towards leftover spaces.

Definitions for an understanding of leftover space and the uses within have been made; and concept of appropriation has been elaborated as a behaviour conceding the expression of identities in urban space.

In order to determine the conceptions through which leftover spaces can be evaluated, the study investigated the concept of 'public realm'. The inquiry focused on the attributes of everyday life, and the daily and mundane spaces in the city, including both theoretical approaches and designers' attitudes towards them. Action as a means of self-expression has emerged as the relevant concept for understanding the value of daily activities and mundane spaces for the public realm.

The evaluation criteria of (thus, objectives for designing) spaces in relation to their contribution have been acquired as:

Characteristics of spaces enhancing the public realm in the city:  
*(urban spaces conceding)*



Subsequently, a survey which includes the projects and production processes of new urban spaces has been held, and the specific qualities of contributing spaces, in that context, have been elaborated as:

- *For making appropriation possible:*

1. inner physical properties of spaces  
 - for expressive of and inviting appropriation (form, scale, material, detailing, etc.)
2. processes of production and use promoting appropriation

- *For attracting a variety and multiplicity of individual/groups:*

1. activities within spaces –  
 - for intense and continuous use
2. overall physical properties supporting intense relations to the surrounding and the city (access and location)

As a specific type, leftover spaces have been inquired in relation to their characteristics and potentials, for both the enhancement of communication among inhabitants, and a lively, rich urban experience.

A survey of design approaches and projects for reclamation of leftover spaces lead to the evaluation of the specific qualities of leftover urban spaces where inhabitants could reveal themselves and communicate to diverse others. It was seen that the most valuable leftover spaces for the public realm were; leftover spaces in or closer to the city centre (Whyte, 1968) –for the high intensity of use they have or project–, leftover spaces accessible to public –as unanticipated action develops



there—, thus those with appropriation within them —for being open to everybody in the city, they welcome all groups in the society (Carr et al, 1995).

The study made clear that, for a proper design approach to leftover spaces, their specific physical and usage qualities have to be taken into consideration. A consistent design strategy, in that context, should involve:

- *Investigation as a starting point*, which includes observation and communication with users / appropriators; and which may as well lead to the decision of no design action necessary for space,
- *Design regarding the existing characteristics of leftover space*, implying the consideration of ambience within space, both as the outcome of long-term uses and their traces —taking hints from or actually using them in design—, and as the distinctiveness of natural physical properties —like topography, view, water elements, flora and fauna— which may make the space an unofficial recreation site or part of urban ecology,
- *(Re-)introduction of use and involvement of inhabitants*; programming new activities / uses and organisation patterns —in production and maintenance processes— for spaces, taking into consideration that not every leftover space in the city has to become a public space —the requested character and intensity to be decided upon the importance of potential contributions of space to the public realm,
- *(Re-)uniting leftover spaces to the city*; achieving principally the pedestrian continuity through public spaces —though vehicular traffic may as well be considered—, using convenient canals, river corridors, subspaces along vehicular routes, and interstitial spaces for maximising the accessibility and immediate experience of urban spaces.

Chapter 6 comprised a discussion on the relevance of existing extensive amount of leftover spaces and appropriation patterns in contemporary Turkish cities, to the culture of using and forming open spaces. It was examined that spontaneous use of specific spots in certain ways in accordance with their natural characteristics is a

frequent motive in Turkish culture, as also seen in examples through history. Examples of leftover urban spaces, in history having evolved as established public spaces in time, may indicate that the abundance of leftover spaces today and the appropriation patterns within may be conceived as continuation of a cultural preferences of Turkish people. In that regard, leftover spaces and appropriation patterns in our cities may be considered to be comprising potentialities for (re-) enhancing the public realm in relation to local cultural motives and to actual users / expressive actors in urban spaces.

The study also involved the observations in Ankara, as examples of leftover spaces and appropriation patterns, which do or may contribute to the city and its inhabitants. The typology of these spaces is made in accordance with their spatial characteristics and locations in the city –physical qualities–; and as another set, due to the intensity of appropriation(s) within –usage qualities–, for these become the most determining factors of their existing or potential contribution to the public realm.

The main aim in elaborating leftover space in the context of public realm, was not to present it as a value merely in itself <sup>35</sup>, and to defend its actual existence in our cities, but to make a comprehensive understanding of positive and negative significance of such spaces in that regard. Their realistic evaluation only can help gaining them as factual achievements for our cities.

The thesis does not offer overall design attitudes / decisions for these exemplar spaces or types, as for such proposals, each leftover space is specific and has to be rendered with all its attributes; past and present uses and characteristics. As a perspective, the author believes that design of each space should be unique and specified; for both each space is different, and each designer has the freedom and right to interpret the particularities of spaces. Thus, this study forms a framework for an understanding of values of leftover space for the city, and the elaborated design principles may help formation of a comprehensive approach. The strategies

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<sup>35</sup> Though, in specific cases, keeping them as they are may evolve as a convenient design approach, the organisation of their control and maintenance as public spaces would have to be considered, which would any way make them possessed spaces –not ‘leftover’ spaces any more.

for a realistic (re-)evaluation, design and implementation of leftover spaces in our cities comprise:

- The recognition and understanding of Turkish open space culture, in the sense that it gives rise to spontaneous uses of seemingly disordered / natural spaces within the city as public spaces. In that regard, the consideration of leftover spaces and appropriation patterns as reflections of this culture, and as illustrators of actual behaviours of individuals / groups –of various social backgrounds– for relating and expressing themselves in urban space.
- Determination of the valuable and potentially valuable leftover spaces for the city; those according to their physical qualities –within and beyond their limits–, and usage qualities –promising spaces due to their appropriation through time– and preparation of projects (regarding the previously elaborated design objectives) for achieving –or enduring– their contribution to the public realm in the city.
- Evaluating the effects and processes of land ownership patterns in the emergence, modifications and future projections of leftover spaces. Strategies to be developed for taking proper actions to preserve, improve or re-generate leftover spaces: Comprehensive studies in regards to laws and regulations, and approaches of municipalities should be made; the regulations and processes resulting in the existence unusable / disadvantageous leftover spaces should be altered, and new regulations to preserve and improve the contributive characteristics of leftover spaces should be worked upon –even including expropriation of valuable (potential) spaces by the State / municipalities to become legally public spaces.

The expectation is, by use of the derived criteria and principles in the evaluation of leftover spaces, that the inherent, present and potential values of leftover spaces and the uses within would not be disregarded, thus lost in the processes of re-design.

## **7.2. An evaluation on the scope, limitations and future projections of the study**

In this study, a model has been developed in relation with the elaborated concepts through the survey of theoretical and design approaches, and this model was used to evaluate the existing leftover spaces observed in the city of Ankara.

By introducing the concept of leftover space as a (possibly) contributive entity for enhancing the public realm in the city, the study has aimed to mould a new position in the architectural and urban design discourses. This new position was initially determined through the definitions of 'leftover space' –characterised in relation to action and use; possession–, and 'appropriation'. The discussions on these concepts did work as convenient tools for elaborating the particularities through which some spaces and some uses (may) become values for urban life, yet also made evident that these concepts did not in all cases have positive significance for the city. Their contributions were tested through the concept of public realm; criteria and principles to evaluate existing and designed urban spaces were derived in that context.

The proposed model made clear the set of definers of contributive urban spaces. However, a further step of the study could comprise developing new terminology for these contributive spaces. This study elaborated leftover space for investigation, and specified types of leftover spaces in relation to their existing and potential values, with regards to the appropriation within them, (as promising / propitious spaces: recessed, dormant, sparkling, and habitual spaces) in accordance with the observations in the city. Yet more comprehensive concepts may be worked upon in order to introduce the general discussions of this study into design discourse –relevant not only to leftover spaces, but to all urban spaces.

The theoretical approaches and design strategies examined while developing the model comprise mostly the examples in Western countries –as these were detected through the literature survey. Relative issues and concepts in Turkish cities and literature have been mentioned in Chapter 6. The examples demonstrated that in Turkey, in urban design projects (competitions for example), leftover spaces and inherent values of existing urban spaces have not been

regarded. On the other hand, there exist some studies on users' preferences and behaviours in urban spaces in Turkish cities, but different terms are used for defining related concepts. In that regard, a challenging future study could be the evolution of proper terminology in Turkish<sup>36</sup>.

While evaluating the characteristics of urban spaces that enhance the public realm, the study has also developed a critical approach to the notion of urban design. Not only the distinct criteria evolved due to the proposed model, for producing contributive urban spaces, but also the claim that undesigned spaces –some leftover spaces– may be observed as well-used urban public spaces question the significance and strategies of urban design. However, the attempt to present the existing and potential values of leftover spaces in that sense does not intend that urban design may –or should– be abolished (though in some cases leftover spaces may be conserved as they are). On the contrary, the idea is that design should be adapted well to the existing values of spaces regarding the use patterns and offerings of any urban space –if the values for public realm are to be conserved and ameliorated. So urban design –in a pertinent way– is necessary and vital to ameliorate leftover spaces, and any implication, held due to the values and potentialities they retain, will alter them –in the sense that they will no more be leftover spaces.

The issue of maintenance and care emerges as a critical point in the re-moulding of leftover spaces as possessed urban public spaces. The design attitudes involving users' claims on these spaces have already been discussed within the proposed model; yet the necessary institutional organisations, including both

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<sup>36</sup> The issue of appropriation was discussed by the author in Mimarlık 302 (Alanyalı, 2001), being translated into Turkish as 'sahiplenme'. On the other hand, 'sahip çıkmak' has been defined by Bektaş in another context:

"Sahip çıkmak' deyişim, genelde çevre bilinciyle, daha genelde tüm yaşama bilinciyle ilgili. Özelini genelinden ayıramıyacağımız bir konu... Evine (özel yaşamına) sahip çıkamayan sokağına, sokağına sahip çıkamayan mahallesine, mahallesine sahip çıkamayan kentine sahip çıkamaz. Böylece sonuna dek gidebilirsiniz... Tersinden de başlanabilir... (Kısacası insanın çevresiyle ilişkisini tüm yaşama ilişkilerinin göstergesi olarak alabilirsiniz desem hiç de abartmış olmam...)...  
İçinde yaşadığımız kentimiz için soruyorum:  
Kim sahip çıkıyor bu kente?" (Bektaş,1985: 10)

Terminology should further be worked on, for this and other evaluated concepts.



NGOs and municipalities, should as well be worked upon –this issue comprises one field of study for future evolution of the subject.

Another important dimension of the subject has been presented as the issue of ownership. This has been discussed in relation to the Turkish types of leftover spaces and observations in the city Ankara, as there may be specific laws and regulations in process for every country and city. Yet, comparative studies may be done in order to investigate what kind of laws and regulations support production of urban spaces that contribute to the public realm.

The literature survey made evident that in western examples, especially in congested city centres –where it is very difficult to obtain spaces–, many urban public spaces appear as lots in private-ownership donated for public use. However in Turkey, the case is different: The existence of many leftover spaces in city centres –some large ones in common property (as demonstrated in the example of Ankara)– may make it possible to obtain more public space in the future. For leftover spaces in private ownership, expropriation has been proposed as a method for those in vital and critical positions. Yet, the legal conditions to obtain them by way of donation of owners should be regarded as well –making it possible and somehow advantageous for donators. In that regard, comparative studies may be held, and convenient examples in other countries may be investigated in order to evolve as models to be adapted for Turkey.

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## APPENDIX

### A PROJECT FOR A LEFTOVER (INTERSTITIAL) SPACE IN ANKARA: THE PROPOSAL FOR THE REGENERATION OF KUĞULU PARK AND SURROUNDINGS

In this competition project for the regeneration of Kuğulu Park and surroundings, the author\* retrieved leftover spaces as crucial for the enhancement of the public realm, in the central zone of Ankara (Kızılay-Tunalı). The leftover interstitial space (Figure A.1 and 1 in Figure A.2) emerged as a dormant space which was in a very critical location to connect a well-used public park (Kuğulu Park) with Kızılay centre through a (green) route. The project anticipates to open this area, which is comprised partly of a serviceyard belonging to the municipality and partly of backyards of apartment blocks in private property, to public access. Regarding the contribution of this area as a public space, to the experience –and the ambience– in the centre, proper processes for the expropriation of the pieces of land were investigated and proposed (Figure A.2). The aim was to attract public to this leftover space, through the introduction of new functions –mainly retail and recreation–, so as to acquire vitality and thus action in that space.

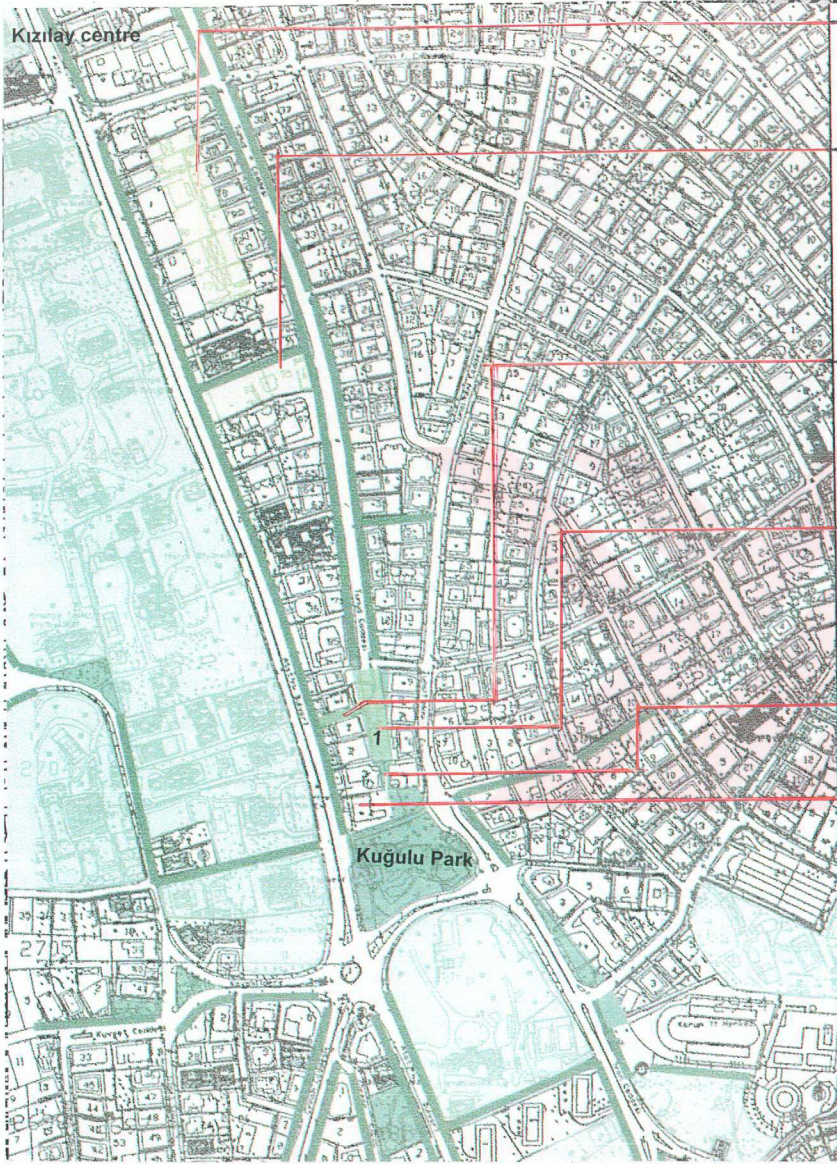


Figure A.1 The leftover space proposed as urban public space: backyards with building extensions and car parking areas, service buildings of the municipality on the common land in the middle.

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\* The project by Ela Alanyalı Aral, with supervisors Cemal İşleyici and Namık Erkal; and contributors Özlem Çakır and Berkay Şeşen.





Özel mülkiyetteki parsellerin bina yapılmayan arka bahçelerinin oluşturduğu boşluk. Belediye tarafından projelendirme ve uygulama konularında verilecek destekle zemin katta yeşil alan oluşturacak şekilde yeraltı otoparkı yapılması teşvik edilecektir (parsel maliklerinin muvafakatıyla).

Vakıfbank mülkiyetindeki, halen açık otopark olarak kullanılan arazi, muvafakatla kamuya açık kapalı katlı otopark haline getirilecektir (Atatürk Bulvarına cephemeyecek şekilde kot alacak, üstü yeşil alan olarak düzenlenecektir). Katlı otoparkın 1 katı kuruma tahsis edilmek üzere diğer 2 veya 3 katın kullanımı belediyeye geçecektir.

Belediye mülkiyetindeki (imarda yeşil yol- yaya yolu- olarak görülen) alan. Halen otopark girişi olarak kullanılan bu alan, yaya bölgesi ve Atatürk Bulvarı'ndan parka geçiş olarak kamusal yeşil alan katılacaktır.

Belediye mülkiyetindeki (imarda yeşil alan olarak görülen) parsel üzerindeki trafo taşıyacak, diğer binalar (EGO Gaz Kaçak Bakım İstasyonu) kaldırılacak, özel mülkiyetlerdeki parsellerden de kısmi kamulaştırma yapılarak katlı yeraltı otoparkı inşa edilecektir. Bu otoparkta kamulaştırma yapılan parseller için belli sayıda araç parkı imkanı tanınacak ve üstte kamusal yeşil alan düzenlemesi yapılacaktır. Dere yatağında bulunan bu alanda inşaat yapılırken drenaj ve statik /temel yapılandırılması, debisi çok düşük de olsa yeraltı suyu gözönüne alınarak gerçekleştirilecektir.

Özel mülkiyetteki parsellerden bedelli kamulaştırma yoluyla kamusal alan elde edilerek yaya sürekliliği sağlanacaktır. (6061 ada, 3 ve 5 parseller)

Koruma altındaki özel mülkiyet parselinden kurul izniyle kamuya ait (yol ve geçiş olarak kullanılmak üzere) bedelli kamulaştırma yapılacak, bahçedeki ağaçların rölevesi alındıktan sonra korunacak ağaçlar gözönünde tutularak, bu alan meydan düzenlemesine dahil edilecektir.

Figure A.2. The proposed plan for integrating the public open spaces around Kuşulu Park in the centre city Ankara, and the explication of legal means for achieving critical leftover spaces as public spaces.



## VITA

Ela Alanyalı Aral was born in Ankara, on December 16, 1968. She received her B.A. and M.S. degrees from Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture in June 1991 and April 1994. She worked as an architect in Can Çinici Architectural Project Office, ORSEL Architectural Project Office, MRT Architecture Ltd. and MABA Construction Ltd. from 1993 to 1997. Since then, she has been working as a free-lance architect. She has won a honourable mention in urban design and landscape project competition for Gölbaşı Natural Preservation Area, in June 2001 (with Cânâ Bilsel).

Since 1999, she has been working as a part-time instructor in METU, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture, Graduate program in Building Science. She has also been a jury member in the first and third year architectural studio courses. Her main areas of interest are urban culture, urban form and design regarding existing values in urban spaces. Her publications include:

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