TERRITORIALITY OF HETEROTOPIA: THRESHOLD AS A CONDITION OF HETEROTOPIAN SPACE IN THE CASE OF EMEK DISTRICT, BURSA

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submitted by **EBRU ŞEVİK** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in Urban Design in city and Regional Planning Department, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar _____
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay Keskinok _____
Head of Department, **City and Regional Planning**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Olgu Çalışkan _____
Supervisor, **City and Regional Planning Dept., METU**

Assist. Prof. Dr. Besim Can Zırh _____
Co-Supervisor, **Sociology Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. M. Adnan Barlas
Department of City and Regional Planning, METU _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Olgu Çalışkan
Department of City and Regional Planning, METU _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Besim Can Zırh
Department of Sociology, METU _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İnci Basa
Department of Architecture, METU _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Deniz Altay Kaya
Department of City and Regional Planning, Çankaya University _____

Date: 27.08.2018

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Ebru Şevik

Signature :

ABSTRACT

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Şevik, Ebru

M.S., in Urban Design, Department of City and Regional Planning
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Olgu Çalışkan
Co-Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Besim Can Zırh

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The ideal city and the ideal society have constituted one of the most fundamental subjects in the literature of urbanism. Although the concept of Utopia has been depicted in the literary works in the beginning, the quest of 'the ideal' then evolved over time and became one of the basic subjects of the planning. In the context of urbanism, the utopian way of thinking encourages the building of a better urban life for all the people in the society by overcoming the problems of the current system through spatial interventions. However, in order to reach 'the good' for all, the society must be treated in a holistic manner, which, in turn, brings the danger of totalitarianism. Additionally, the 'goodness' and 'ideality' are relative concepts. Therefore, any effort to reach an ideal for everyone is far from reality. On the other hand, the notion of ***heterotopia***, which was elaborated by the French Philosopher Michel Foucault (1984) against the unreal spatiality of utopia, is entirely based on the reality. As a medical term, heterotopia refers to an exceptional hybrid situation that a cell or a tissue is created in a different anatomical zone instead of its original region. Establishing an analogical link between this anatomic hybridity and spatial experiences, Foucault (1984) regards heterotopia as a space of 'otherness' which can be found in every society in different forms and functions. This unique systemic

structure, which has its own spatial relations in its own context, is called ***heterotopology***. Although it is not given explicitly in Foucault's (1984) definition and discussion, it can be argued that one of the basic qualities of heterotopology is the territoriality of hybrid socio-cultural hegemonic 'enclaves' which can co-exist within the spatiality of ***threshold***.

Stavrides (2010) regards the threshold experience as an 'intermediary' spatiality which provides a common ground for encounter among different identities of the society. In this sense, the contextualization of the threshold in terms of the inside-outside relationship of the socio-cultural enclaves would enable the discussion on the problem of urban segregation within the context of heterotopology. The study argues that the spatiality of threshold constitutes a fundamental condition of heterotopology. In the study, the configurational structure of the potential thresholds and their formations offered by the common spaces are revealed by using the 'space-syntax analysis' in the case of Emek District, which located at the periphery of Bursa. The study area includes several character areas accommodating different cultures, and common spaces carrying the potential of threshold where social tensions between different groups are mediated. As a result of the field study, the patterns of the utilization of common spaces are compared with the potential movement patterns given by the syntax of the fabric, and a typological discussion is carried out over the threshold. The main purpose of the research is to analyze the relationship between the operation of the threshold in different forms and functions, and the configurational structure of the space in a heterotopian context. In this framework, the study discusses the problem of socio-spatial segregation from a morphological perspective by reframing heterotopology in the social context of urban space.

Keywords: Heterotopology, Urban Segregation, Urban Threshold, Space-Syntax, Emek District-Bursa

ÖZ

HETEROTOPYANIN ALANSALLIĞI: EMEK BÖLGESİ, BURSA ÖRNEĞİNDE HETEROTOPİK MEKANIN BİR KOŞULU OLARAK EŞİKLER

Şevik, Ebru

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü
Tez yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Olgu Çalışkan
Ortak Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Besim Can Zırh

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İdeal kent ve ideal toplum tasviri şehircilik yazınının en temel konularından birini oluşturmuştur. 'İdeal'in arayışı içerisinde ortaya çıkan *Ütopya* kavramı öncelerde edebiyat yazını içerisinde irdelenmiş olsa da zaman içerisinde evrimleşerek planlama disiplinin temel konularından biri haline gelmiştir. Şehircilik bağlamında ütopyacı düşünce biçimi, kentin ve toplumun mevcut sistem içerisinde yaşadığı sorunları mekânsal müdahaleler yoluyla alt ederek, toplumun tüm bireyleri için daha iyi bir kentsel yaşamın inşa edilmesini teşvik eder. Ancak herkes için iyi olana ulaşabilmek için toplumun bütüncül bir biçimde ele alınması gerekir ve bu da beraberinde totaliterliği getirmektedir. Öte yandan, 'iyilik' ve 'ideallik' göreceli kavramlardır ve herkes için ideal olana ulaşma çabası gerçeklikten uzaktır. Foucault'nun (1984) ütopyaların bu gerçek dışı mekansallığına karşı ürettiği bir kavram olarak ***heterotopya*** ise tümüyle gerçekliğe dayanmaktadır. Tıbbi bir terim olan heterotopya, bir hücrenin veya bir dokunun olması gerekenden farklı bir anatomik bölgede ortaya çıkarak orijinal doku ile yarattığı istisnai melezlik durumudur. Anatomik bağlamda gerçekleşen bu melezlik durumu ile mekânsal deneyimler arasında analojik bir bağ kuran Foucault, heterotopik mekanları bir 'ötekilik' mekanı olarak ele alır ve her toplumun farklı form ve işlevlerde heterotopyalar yarattığını savunur. Mekânsal

bağlamda kendi alansal ilişkilerini barındıran bu özgün sistemik yapı ise ***heterotopoloji*** olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Her ne kadar Foucault'nun (1967) özgün heterotopya tanım ve tartışmasında doğrudan verilmemiş olsa da, heterotopolojiyi tanımlayan temel niteliklerden birinin, ***eşik*** mekansallığı içerisinde bir arada var olabilen içiçe geçmiş çoklu (sosyo-kültürel) egemenlik alanlarının (*enclave*) bölgeselliği (*territoriality*) olduğu savlanabilir.

Stavrides (2010) eşik deneyimini, toplumun farklı kimlikleri arasındaki karşılaşma için ortak bir zemin sağlayan 'ara mekansallık' olarak görmektedir. Bu anlamda, eşiğin sosyo-kültürel yaşam bölgelerinin (anklavlar) iç-dış ilişkisi çerçevesinde bağlamsallaştırılması, kentsel ayrışma problemini heterotopoloji çerçevesinde tartışmayı mümkün kılmaktadır. Çalışmada, eşik mekansallığının heterotopolojinin temel bir koşulu olduğu savlanmaktadır. Kamusal mekanın sunduğu eşik oluşumları Bursa kentinin çeperinde bulunan Emek Bölgesi'nde yapılan 'mekan-dizim analizi' ile ortaya konularak potansiyel eşiklerin konfigürasyonel yapısı irdelenmektedir. Çalışma alanı farklı kültürleri barındıran bir çok karakter bölgesi (anklavlar) ve bu bölgeler arasındaki sosyal gerilimin kırıldığı eşik potansiyeline sahip kamusal kullanım alanları içermektedir. Alan çalışması sonucunda, heterotopyayı koşullayan potansiyel eşiklerin mevcut kullanım örüntüleri, dokunun mekan-dizimsel yapısının açığa çıkardığı potansiyel hareket örüntüleriyle karşılaştırılmış ve eşikler üzerinden topolojik bir tartışma yürütülmüştür. Araştırmanın temel amacı, farklı form ve işlevlerdeki eşiğin işleyişi ile heterotopik bir bağlamdaki mekanın konfigürasyonel yapısı arasındaki ilişkiyi analiz etmektir. Bu çerçevede çalışma, heterotopolojiyi kentsel mekanın sosyal bağlamında yeniden ele alarak sosyo-mekansal ayrışma problemini morfolojik bir perspektifte tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Heterotopoloji, Kentsel Ayrışma, Kentsel Eşik, Mekan-Dizimi, Emek Bölgesi-Bursa

To my beloved family,
and to 'the one'…

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INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition and Scope

In this study, the concept of 'threshold', which is regarded as a basic condition of heterotopology in the sense of the spatial logic of 'heterotopia', is investigated in the social context of urban space. Elaborated by the French Philosopher Michel Foucault (1984), the term ‘heterotopia’ indicates a spatial condition where different, opposing, and incompatible domains can co-exist in the same context. The ‘threshold’ provides a degree of intermediary spatiality for ‘encounter’ among these domains which has different forms of operation according to the morphology of space. In the research, the threshold formations are investigated in the context of a settlement accommodating the basic principles of heterotopology which are systematically revealed by Foucault (1984). The ‘space-syntax’ based morphological analysis of the threshold opens up the discussion of the spatial quality of ‘heterotopia’, where different social groups co-exist, in line with the conditions of ‘integration’ and ‘segregation’.

The notion of heterotopia was coined as an alternative conception to space in the twentieth century in which the social sciences inextricably intertwined with the spatial theory. This paradigm shift led many thinkers to turn their attention to develop alternative approaches to define the relationship between the social dynamics and the space. The question of human-space relationship actually arose from the qualities of modernism to rationalize the space as an object rather than a social phenomenon. The philosophies and the critiques of the postmodern human geographers, such as Henri

Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, Edward Soja and David Harvey, towards the rationalism of modernism have made significant contributions to the development of intellectual thought on the theory of space and society. They altered the prevailing understanding of human-space interaction by breaking the deterministic approaches of modernism.

The reflection of this shift on urbanism initiated by Jacobs' (1961) groundbreaking work entitled "The Death and Life of Great American Cities". Her attack towards the rationalist and the holistic qualities of modern planning stimulated new approaches in planning and design to deal with the complexities of the city. She saw the *diversity* in neighborhoods as the key to achieve the vitality of urban life. Her elaboration of the theory of 'organized complexity' placed human at the center of any spatial intervention assuming that the organic relation between the human and the space is the main determinant in shaping the environment. The understanding of planning at the human scale rather than controlling the whole, then pioneered new approaches in urban planning which accept the diversity and complexity as a fundamental quality in the well-functioning of cities.

The importance given to the diversity in cities brought revolutionary changes to the contemporary discussions in urban design. The emerging concepts and theories, such as New Urbanism, Emergent Urbanism, Everyday Urbanism, have centered the idea of designing at the human scale by creating small-scale diverse communities both in terms of their social and functional programs. Giving importance to the public life at the local level, the discussions over the sustainability of urban life have based on the integrative strategies of planning.

On the other hand, the spatial segregation as the solid form of social segregation still constitutes one of the main problems of the contemporary city. The factors such as the increasing inequality among the different economic layers of the society and the divergent socio-cultural origins of the individuals continue to stimulate the formation of disintegrated living environments in the urban fabric. The state of segregation arises either from the unequal development policies of the authorities in the urbanization process, or emerges as an intended consequence, which is conditioned by the people themselves who tend to live together with the ones sharing a common ground.

Supported by the neoliberal policies brought by the globalization process, the former leads to the unbalanced distribution of the resources and the urban services, and results with the polarization among the different layers of the society. Ghettoization is the major spatial form of this polarization accommodating the minorities of the society, such as low-income groups, migrants, people with 'marginal' lifestyles, etc. As a consequence, the urban environment is partitioned into self-contained 'enclaves' containing the underrepresented social groups. The latter, on the other hand, is more related with creating a sense of community and preserving the status. Individuals with common socio-cultural backgrounds, or the members of the same economical classes tend to sustain their statuses by excluding outsiders in their enclosed settlements. The modern gated communities are the most concrete form of this kind of a formation in the contemporary city. They offer an isolated way of life from the outside world within the safeguarded living environments. The inner facilities, such as green open areas, commercial activities, sports and recreational areas, provide the necessary urban services within itself, so that the inhabitants can meet their needs within the boundaries of the gated area.

Much of the efforts in urban design and planning concentrate on this problem and its mitigation through the creation of diverse environments where people can be engaged in various activities and be integrated with the rest of the society. The disconnectedness of different social groups and their spatial segregation are seen as the major obstacles in the achievement of social cohesion. On the other hand, the human 'territoriality' is also seen as an instinctive formation by the cultural theorists and the environmental psychologists (Hall, 1959; Whyte, 1956; Sommer, 1959). The appropriation of a defined space by a certain group of people is a natural process in terms of creating a sense of belonging to a place or a community. Therefore, the balance between 'integration' and 'segregation', both socially and spatially, is a critical issue in terms of sustaining the identity. The absolute integration of the society accommodates a hidden danger of losing the authenticity of cultural identities whereas the complete segregation leads to the stratification of the society. In this context, this research mainly focuses on **the problem of disconnectedness of different socio-cultural groups in the urban environment and the spatial segregation.**

The main argument of the study is that the duality between 'integration' and 'segregation' can be resolved through an *intermediate* spatiality which is offered by the *threshold* experience. Thresholds afford the possibility of 'encounter' for different, and even conflicting identities, and they take various forms of 'in-between' spaces among different domains. These domains can be found as different settlement patterns in the urban environment which are segregated from their immediate surroundings to a certain degree. 'Enclave' conception is applied to define the enclosed character areas each accommodating the individuals with a common socio-cultural identity in itself which are divergent from the others in different territories. The possibility of the co-existence of different character areas, or enclaves in the same settlement context depends upon the potentiality of threshold to condition the *encounter*. In other words, performing as a transitory space among distinct socio-cultural territories, threshold constructs a temporary spatiality for different identities on common spaces where contact with the others is possible.

The systematic conception of 'heterotopology', which was coined by Foucault (1984) by six principles, offers a theoretical ground for this multicultural coexistence situation. Within the scope of the study, heterotopology is regarded as a socio-spatial context where segregated living environments of different cultures, which are characterized as 'enclave', can co-exist in the same settlement through the intermediary spatiality of 'threshold'. While the enclave conception is referred to the distinct territories of cultural identities at the local level, threshold is characterized as an in-between space where the conflicting identities are tolerated through interaction.

1.2. Aim of the Study and the Research Questions

The contextualization of the abovementioned problem within the spatiality of threshold requires an analytical approach in order to understand how the threshold spatiality conditions the heterotopologic context. The spatial operation of the threshold is related with the syntactic structure of the built environment and its potential to stimulate the human movement by which the contact among individuals is possible.

The degree of integration or segregation designates the potentiality of a common space to operate as a threshold. It can be assumed that while the more integrated areas accommodate a higher potential as a threshold, the more segregated areas can house the territories of different social groups which are characterized as 'enclaves'.

In line with these assumptions, the main purpose of this research is **to investigate the relationship between the socio-cultural operation of the threshold and its structural formation in a heterotopic context**. A number of critical issues are addressed, first, to develop a framework to inter-connectedly reframe the concepts on a theoretical base, and second, to discuss the problem in an urban context. These issues are formed as the sub-questions mainly as follows;

- What are the basic spatial characteristics of heterotopology?
- How does the threshold provide a socio-spatial intermediation?
- What are the morphological formations of the threshold?
- How does the configuration of space affect the operation of the threshold as an integrative element in a socially and spatially segregated environment?

The exploration of the answers for these questions would help to draw a general framework on the problem of 'integration-segregation duality' which are both existent in a heterotopian context. The examination of the potentiality of heterotopia to hold the diverse cultures together through the experience of threshold would shed light on further debates in urbanism.

1.3. Method of the Research

In order to provide the relevant answers to these questions at the theoretical base, first of all, a comprehensive literature review is conducted which would build a general frame for the notion of heterotopia. The literature review initially covers the philosophical and the political ground of the utopian thinking and the criticisms against it which together contribute to the emergence of heterotopia concept. A historical review of the emergence and reinterpretations of heterotopia conception would enable

to grasp the core of the spatial logic of heterotopology. Following that, an elaborated framework of threshold spatiality is formed by translating its diverse meanings and approaches into urban context. The broad understanding of the concepts would help to formulate the structure of the research in accordance with the main objectives of the study.

Following the comprehensive literature review, a two-phase case study is conducted in the context of Emek District, Bursa. As the site accommodates various socio-cultural enclaves with distinct morphological characteristics within the same settlement context, the case study is aimed to provide a concrete understanding for the spatiality of heterotopology. In the research, an integrated methodology is followed to test the theoretical assumptions on threshold spatiality, and to reveal the relationship between the social dynamics of heterotopia and the configuration of space. In the first phase, *in-depth interviews* are conducted with the inhabitants of the district in order to reveal the potential thresholds which would provide an intermediary spatiality among different domains. The interviews made with eleven participants provide the information about the degree of utilization of the common spaces by different social groups living in the district, which would reveal their potential as thresholds.

The designation of the potential thresholds based on the everyday life of the inhabitants is required to be tested in order to reveal the relationship between the threshold spatiality and the configuration of space. In this sense, the 'space-syntax theory', which was elaborated by Hillier and Hanson (1984), offers a morphological approach to calculate the potentiality of the threshold to condition the encounter by revealing the 'potential movement patterns' in a given layout of a settlement. In the second phase, the analysis methods of *space syntax* theory are applied to the syntax of the site by using the software called DepthMapX. Mainly, the analyses of 'integration/closeness', 'choice/betweenness', and 'visibility/isovist' are run on the street network of the site, and then the movement patterns obtained from the analyses are superimposed with the previously designated potential thresholds.

The integration of these methods would reveal two sets of qualitative and quantitative information for comparison which would be used to test the morphological

performance of the thresholds in conditioning the encounter among the segregated social groups. In this way, the relationship between the social setting of a heterotopic context and the configuration of space would be opened to the discussion.

1.4. Structure of the Research

This research consists of five main chapters including the introductory and concluding parts. The *introductory part* briefly summarizes the main objectives and the sub-research questions asked within the scope of the study, and the methodology followed in the research.

The second chapter starts with a historical review on utopian and anti-utopian discussions which led to the elaboration of the counter arguments of heterotopia. The theoretical framework of heterotopia is given following the discussions on the critiques of utopian thinking, which would construct a general understanding for heterotopology by reviewing its origins and interpretations from various perspectives. The basic principles of heterotopology are discussed in detail from a spatial point of view which would direct the discussion towards the threshold spatiality in the next chapter.

The third chapter contextualizes the concept of threshold in terms of integration-segregation duality by adopting the term from anthropology to the urban spatial context. An alternative conception of threshold spatiality is constructed through the identification of potential thresholds that can be found in the urban environment. Providing solid examples of threshold experiences, the morphology of threshold is investigated through a topological definition.

The fourth chapter focuses on the site research conducted in Emek District in the city of Bursa. By integrating the analytical methods of space syntax theory with the qualitative information obtained by the face-to-face interviews, the socio-spatial dimensions of threshold and its relation with the syntactic configuration of the network of the site are revealed. The performance of these thresholds to condition the integration, and the state of segregation of the distinct socio-cultural enclaves are

examined with respect to the morphological structure of the site.

Lastly, the *conclusion* part briefly summarizes the research findings from a critical perspective, and builds the debate on the results of the comparative analysis. The potential of the framework that the heterotopology offers in terms of the cultural diversity at the local level is discussed by drawing an alternative approach to the problem of urban segregation. The concluding comments also indicate the further steps that would be followed to reinterpret and reproduce the concept within the context of urbanism by making use of the tools and methods of urban design.

CHAPTER 2

HETEROTOPIA: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Utopian Thinking: The Idealization of the City and the Society

"A state of mind is utopian when it is incongruous with the state of reality within which it occurs"

(Mannheim, 1954, p.173)

Throughout the history the desire for a better life has formed the imagination of future in different creative forms. In each period, the circumstances in which the societies have been struggling with problems have been the main motivation that trigger the search for alternative ways of living. The emergence of the idea of 'utopia', therefore, dates further back to the Plato's detailed work "The Republic" (around 380 BC), long before when Sir Thomas More first coined the term in the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was not only the concept itself, but it was also a way of thinking about future. The idea of utopia has enabled people to think of an entirely different society which is completely eluded from the existing circumstances offering an absolute happiness.

Utopian thought has contributed quite a lot to the way of thinking about future. Since More had presented the extensive social, political and spatial program of 'Utopia', the term has been a fundamental topic among many scholars, and it has been adopted to different forms of thoughts. In itself, the term has a positive meaning indicating the 'good place'. Thus, especially in urbanism, the utopian form of thought has been used as a method for decades by those dealing with spatial planning to imagine the future

of the city and its social life.

In order to have an insight for what kind of forms of utopian thought has been adopted in different historical periods, we can make a very brief sketch about the tendencies of these periods that led the intellectuals come up with the utopian ideals. Following More's (1516) "Utopia", along with the ongoing impacts of the transition period of Renaissance in the Western world, utopia and utopian thought have turned into a certain genre during the seventieth and eighteenth centuries which then constituted the Classical Utopian Literature. Although they have some differences in their fictional settings, the classical writers such as Campanella (1602) and Bacon (1624) also followed the 'utopian socialist' tradition like More. The utopias of the Renaissance period illustrate an 'ideal' or 'seemingly ideal' society in search for a 'good life' (Houston, 2014, p.2). The utopian texts of the sixteenth century were based on the dialogue, and in the following century, the effect of increase in global travel showed its impact on the utopian writings as travel narratives. Starting from the midst of the seventieth century, the conventional forms of dialogue and travel narratives were turned into the efforts for bringing the realization of the ideal worlds that they imagined in print (p.4). Until the nineteenth century, the form of utopia has not been a topic which was discussed in detail in academic environments. Since then, along with the continuous impacts of the reformist movements in the Western Europe, the interest in the social program of such utopias has increased (Brostrom, 1996). The extraordinary impacts of industrialization period since the beginning of the ninetheeth century on physical environment and social life, then, inevitably entailed the authorities to develop creative responses against these effects in order to help the society to adapt to the emerging conditions. These responses were formed with different means as the 'utopian socialists', the 'anarchists' and the 'Marxists' . In common, all the different forms of utopian thoughts aimed to establish the conceptual and practical basis of societies that would transform the undesirable consequences of the dominant interrelationships of politics, economics and culture of the period (Barlas, 1992, p.40).

The developments brought about the industrialization process in the Western world altered the form of utopias of the nineteenth and twentieth century. In this period,

utopian thought has been a fundamental topic in urbanism and started to be used as an innovative method[1]. As a result of the developments in the industrial production modes, the cities have faced with serious social and structural problems such as poor living environments, inadequate workplaces for the incoming migrant population, unequal living and working conditions, exploitation and social polarization. The utopian literature of this period, in general, concentrates on these subjects over the image of an unrealistic society which are freed from such troubles. Apart from the literary fictions of the future, utopian thought has been a fundamental guide for spatial planners who see the solution for social problems in the radical reconstruction of form. The modernist understanding of urban planning during the period has also affected the urban design proposals offered by many of the great architects and urbanists of the twentieth century, such as Ebenezer Howard (1898), Le Corbusier (1925) and Frank Lloyd Wright (1935). They believed that the radical reconstruction of cities would help to solve both the urban and social crisis (Fishman, 1977, p.4). These proposals were based on the real assumptions and located in existing places, but the way of thinking about 'the ideal city' of future is utopian which is transformative in its own context.

The portrayal of 'the ideal society' that the utopian thought presents, on the other hand, has been problematic due to its totalitarian envisagement of future society and its perfection. The completeness of 'Utopia' of Thomas More, for instance, does not allow any development as it is bordered by the sea, and the people of Utopia have the perfect living conditions in equality without any conflict. When it comes to the twentieth century utopias of Howard, Corbusier and Wright, the same picture is seen. They have the same completeness in their proposal of 'ideal city' with comprehensive programs, and total rethinking of the principles of urban planning (Fishman, 1977, p.4). However, there are also increasing critiques since the midst of the twentieth century against utopian thinking due to its totalitarian and perfectionist depiction of the society. In the writings of many critical thinkers such as Popper (1945), Kateb (1963), Sargent (2005), or in the literary works of Huxley (1932), Zamyatin (1924) and Orwell (1949),

[1] For further reading see Levitas (2013), Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society, Palgrave Macmillan UK, London

there is a prevailing 'anti-utopian' position against the totalitarianism of utopia.

2.1.1. Philosophy and Politics of Utopia

As it is well known, the name of More's imaginary society *'Utopia'* is derived from the combination of the Greek word *'ou'* with the word *'topos',* which means place or region to express a general negative meaning implying 'non-existing place'. Then, it is claimed in the prefix of the book that the country deserved to be called *'Eutopia'* with an *'eu'* which signified a positive attribute from good through ideal, prosperous, and perfect (Manuel & Manuel, 1979, p.1). Consequently, the notion 'utopia' had emerged to refer to a 'non-existing good place' (Sargent, 2010, p.33)

Though the term indicates a non-existing place with perfect conditions, utopia has been depicted with real expectations for an ideal future society. However, as a term, the definition of utopia is also problematic in itself (Barlas, 1992, p.38). For Levitas (1990), the reason why there is no common definition for utopia is because there are different ways for evaluating it for authors in terms of its 'content', 'form' and 'function' (p.4-5). Her detailed analysis on different definitions of utopia leads her to come up with a common defining element which would contain various approaches. For Levitas (1990), utopia is the "expression of the *desire* for a better way of being and living" (Levitas, 1990, p.8). Levitas refers to Mumford (1922) who had already made a distinction between the 'utopia of escape' and the 'utopia of reconstruction'. While the former projects the utopia as 'desire', the latter becomes the synonymous with 'ideal communities'(Levitas, 1990, p.16). However, there is a danger of losing the capability to deal with the real things if stayed in utopia too long. Here, both Mumford's and Levitas' utopian definition as a 'desire' indicate that desire can be actualized only in the imagination, not in the reality. On the other hand, the second form 'utopia of reconstruction' is more related with the real life and its conditions. Its promise is to reconstruct the society from scratch by picturing the whole world with its each single part (Mumford, 1922, p.23, as cited in Levitas, 1990, p.16)

Defining utopia in terms of its function, Mannheim (1954) sees utopia, as well as

ideology, as a political project that transcend the existing social situation. For him, *"utopia is the will for change; as such, utopian thought is the major force of political change"* (Turner, 1995, p.720-721). He lists a series of utopian mentalities such as orgiastic chiliasm, liberal humanitarianism, conservative idea and social-communist utopia which exist at specific points in history. This diversification, for him, arises from the thinker's perspective and position and with the political evaluations which lie behind the system of thought (Mannheim, 1954, p.177).

Although utopianism is seen as a tradition by many of the admirers of T. More, Davis (1981) regards it rather as *"a mode or type of ideal society"* (p.4). Rather than seeing utopian thought as a tradition, Davis's arguments imply that, regardless of the social conditions the yearning for an 'ideal life' has always been the main motivation that produced alternative future life forms in different periods of history. In his analysis of the ideal social thinking, utopia constitutes one of the subcategories (the others are Cockaygne, Arcadia, perfect moral commonwealth and millennium) which is distinguished from the others in terms of its legal, institutional, bureaucratic and educational means to produce a peaceful society (p.371).

In contrast with Mannheim's (1954) approach which sees utopian thought as an instrument for political change, Davis (1981) argues that it is the greatest enemy of politics as it eliminates plurality. He argues that *"In a world of secular pluralism, the utopian may find it difficult to visualize his audience… and to remodel the whole society"* (p.373). The imagination of an ideal society necessitates the definition of its audience with a 'shared value' beforehand. This is the precondition for a critique of the contemporary society, and for achieving the 'perfection' in the utopian ideal. (Hansot, 1974, p.77, as cited in Davis, 1981, p.373). Utopia has no trust in men; it sees him selfish and foolish in his choices. Therefore, in order to achieve the goal of an ideal community and to remove the chaos from the social life, man should give up his freedom and be controlled by certain rules.

2.1.2. Critical Reflections on Utopianism

Although utopian mode of thinking is seen as a method to picture the ideal society, it has provoked serious debates among the scholars, especially in political science during the twentieth century. This was the period when the interest in social sciences has increased dramatically. Utopian thinking recognizes the city and its society as a single unit which can be designed and controlled by a central force. This kind of an approach is necessary in utopian thinking in order to achieve a harmonious wholeness. Diversity is the main obstacle in the establishment of a 'good life' which appeal to 'ideal' to everyone. Once the tastes and ideas start to vary, it becomes impossible to define the ideal and perfect conditions for the future society. Therefore, utopia is considered inherently integrative and totalitarian.

The fact that utopianism eliminates the plurality has been issued in many critical studies which then turned into an anti-utopian tradition. Popper (1945) was one of those anti-utopian writers who made a crude attack on utopia and utopianism in his seminal work 'The Open Society and Its Enemies'. In the first volume of the book, what he calls 'The Spell of Plato', Popper attacks directly to historicism and the Platonic form of utopian thought which idealize the society under the image of an 'ideal state'. The common aspect for both historicism and utopianism is that they both impose holistic and totalitarian doctrines which seek for the true aims and ends of a society (Dağlioğlu, 2016, p.111). For Popper, Plato's Republic was much far away from being revolutionary or liberal (p.76). The system what Plato defines as 'the justice', for Popper, was far away from the principle of equality and was not a true meaning of justice. He asserts that what is meant by 'justice' in the Republic was something *"which is in the interest of the best state"*, and the interest of the 'best state' is the 'arrest of the change that might endanger the maintenance of a rigid class division and class rule' (p.77). Therefore, Popper (1945) sees Plato's demand for justice as a pure totalitarianism.

Popper (1945) evaluates the utopian approach in Plato's program as the most dangerous one by means of the method followed which Popper calls 'Utopian Engineering'. He briefly describes this method as the following;

> *"To choose the end is therefore the first thing we have to do if we wish to act rationally; and we must be careful to determine our real or ultimate ends, from which we must distinguish clearly those intermediate or partial ends which actually are only means, or steps on the way, to the ultimate end. If we neglect this distinction, then we must also neglect to ask whether these partial ends are likely to promote the ultimate end, and accordingly, we must fail to act rationally. These principles, if applied to the realm of political activity, demand that we must determine our ultimate political aim, or the Ideal State, before taking any practical action. Only when this ultimate aim is determined, in rough outlines at least, only when we are in the possession of something like a blueprint of the society at which we aim, only then can we begin to consider the best ways and means of its realization, and to draw up a plan for practical action. These are the necessary preliminaries of any practical political move that can be called rational, and especially of social engineering."* (Popper, 1945, p.138)

However, when this method is followed, Popper (1945) claims, utopian engineering is likely to end up with dictatorship;

> *"…the Utopian attempt to realize an ideal state, using a blueprint of society as a whole, is one which demands a strong centralized rule of a few."* (Popper, 1945, p.140)

Hayek (1944) had already warned us against the danger of the dictatorship when he was questioning the role of the state in the organization of the production through central planning, which would eventually end up with totalitarianism. Against the danger of facing with dictatorship when followed the method of utopian engineering, Popper (1945) offers a less radical but more realistic and reasonable method for social engineering which he calls as 'piecemeal engineering'. In this method;

> *"The politician who adopts this method may or may not have a blueprint of society before his mind, he may or may not hope that mankind will one day realize an ideal state, and achieve happiness and perfection on earth. But he*

will be aware that perfection, if at all attainable, is far distant, and that every generation of men, and therefore also the living, have a claim; perhaps not so much a claim to be made happy, for there are no institutional means of making a man happy, but a claim not to be made unhappy, where it can be avoided. They have a claim to be given all possible help, if they suffer. The piecemeal engineer will, accordingly, adopt the method of searching for, and fighting against, the greatest and most urgent evils of society, rather than searching for, and fighting for, its greatest ultimate good" (Popper, 1945, p.139)

As a way simpler than the utopian engineering, piecemeal engineering is a systematic fight against suffering, injustice and war which is supported by the approval of a great number of people (p.139). What is more essential about this method is that the small-scale social experiments can be conducted in realistic conditions. Though these experiments are traced with limited effects as they are carried out on a small-scale, it can resolve the dilemma of holistic projection of future of the utopian thought.

In order to achieve a utopian end, there must be a certain level of sacrifice of freedom for societies. Kateb (1963) approaches to the issue from this perspective serving his critiques as a warning. According to Kateb (1963), 'order' is an inevitable condition for the utopian sentiment. In the establishment of an order in the utopian attempt, there are two things required conditioning the order; *'the use of violence to overturn the established order, and the temporary rule of a revolutionary elite to replace the old order with the new'* (Kateb, 1963, p.16). Against these two requirements of the modern utopia, there stands the antiutopian sensibility with the following imperatives:

"1. Give up the vision of utopianism, though it might be a worthy vision, because there is no way to go from the real world to utopia; or if there is a way, it could be none other than the way of violence, and that is either too costly or too unreliable.

2. Give up the vision of utopianism, though it may be a worthy vision, because there is no way to insure the maintenance of its end without an oppressive political change.

> *3. Give up the vision of utopianism because the vision consists of ideals (assumed as permanent and universal) that there are unacceptable; or though acceptable in the abstract, are, in fact, destructive other, perhaps more worthy, ideals"* (Kateb, 1963, p.18).

Kateb (1963) believes that the human experience in the real world is essential, and opposes to the dismissal of the reality by simply regarding it as evil. Thus, rather than the complete dispensation from the real world for the sake of an ideal life in future, the value should be given for what is being experienced in real life. On the other hand, when the utopianism is carried too far, the price to be paid for the world of peace, abundance and effortless virtue will be the price in values, situations, responses, attitudes, and accomplishments (p.230). Another point that Kateb makes is that the choice for a utopian end does not satisfy the desire of all, as also indicated by Popper. The 'ideal' is a relative term. One man's ideal can be a nightmare of another man.

Unlike Kateb (1963), Popper (1945) does not see utopia as a world of fantasy detached from the real world completely. The main opposition against the utopian attempt is the reconstruction of a society as a whole which the 'utopian engineering' offers. However, with the limited knowledge and experience of human kind, there can be made no such an ambitious claim. *"At present"*, Popper writes, *"the sociological knowledge necessary for large-scale engineering is simply non-existent"* (p.142). Although Popper (1945) and Kateb (1963) have divergent arguments on the utopian question in terms of its realizability, they both emphasize the possible threat of complete surrender to the authority for the sake of an 'ideal' world. They both see utopianism as a threat to freedom and choice, because in order to achieve the perfection of a society, utopia must necessarily be totalitarian. There are also some others who reject that utopia is the perfection of a society, such as the American Scholar Sargent (2005). His opposition is based on the Christian culture in which there is no place for such a perfect society due to the sinful nature of human being. Also, for Sargent (2005), utopia does not fit to the definition of 'the perfect' which refers to something finished, complete, unchanging. However, as mentioned earlier, if we consider More's Utopia, Bacon's New Atlantis, or Campanella's City of Sun, we can see that all their imaginary

perfect societies were established in a city on an island which is isolated from the outer world and they are not open to future development. Thus, if we consider the origin of the anti-utopian tradition and the ideas located in opposition to the utopianism, Sargent's (2005) arguments are actually in the same line with those of the anti-utopian critiques.

It may seem that the counter-positioning of any anti-utopian attitude aims at abolishing all attempts at change, defeating the utopian promise and imposing pessimism by simply claiming that there is no alternative, as Levitas has doubted. However, the arguments raised against the utopian dream intended to awaken those utopian writers against the possible threats that would emerge from the unrealistic assumptions and eventually end up with losing the sense of freedom. According to Kumar (1987), the contest between utopia and anti-utopia was undoubtedly good for the health of both:

> *"…both are contrasting concepts, getting their meaning and significance from their mutual differences. But the relationship is not symmetrical or equal. The anti-utopia is formed by utopia, and feeds practically on it … It is utopia that provides the positive content to which anti-utopia makes negative response. Anti-utopia draws its material from utopia and reassembles it in a manner that denies the affirmation of utopia* (Kumar, 1987, p.100, as cited in Barlas, 1992, p.38)

Rather than preventing the change and rejecting the utopian approach entirely, the anti-utopian argues that the change should be made in consideration of the real world. In fact, both the utopian and anti-utopian positions have critical importance in the construction of social theory and the improvement of the social life.

2.1.3. Utopian Thinking in Urbanism

Plato is seen as the first thinker in history who initiated the thinking of the ideal society with his comprehensive prescription of an ideal city-state in his seminal work 'The Republic'. He believed in the absolute power of the state in the achievement of the

ideal society, and it was the city where he established the ideal state regime. Although The Republic had a very little concrete image of the city, the proliferation of the idea had based on the issues of the existing cities. Plato was the one who paved the way for further ideas which would be based on an image of a city. The city of Utopia of Sir Thomas More, on the other hand, presented quite a clear image for the future ideal society on an isolated island (See: Figure 2.1). Thus, it can be claimed that T. More is the founder of this tradition whose social program is developed together with a spatial organization. Since then, the utopian writings have followed this tradition and focused on the image of the ideal city. This tendency actually arises from the fact that the city can reflect the complexities of the society with respect to the human scale (Mumford, 1966, p.3).

Figure 2.1: The illustration of Utopia
(Source: Keim, 2007, URL1)

As a common aspect of all the utopian schemes until the modern period, the ideal city has been portrayed as a static and isolated settlement. This was necessary in order to prevent the exterior obstacles and to fulfill the ideal. More drew a very clear border around his city of Utopia by locating it on an island and let the natural thresholds limit the development and change. Similarly, 'The City of Sun' written by Campanella (1623), and 'New Atlantis' authored by Bacon (1650) have followed this tradition of the island-city form of settlement to maintain the city static and unchanged.

The physical form and the social life of the ideal cities has always been affected by the significant developments of the era. The Renaissance period was a critical breaking point in history which witnessed great progresses in science and education. The idea of the island in a far away, for instance, actually aroused from the progress in the travel technologies and the great geographical discoveries. Likewise, the form of Campanella's city was the representation of the astrological elements, and Bacon established the city of New Atlantis on the principle of science and education.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was another critical development affecting the whole world. Following the Industrial Revolution, the growing population in cities and increasing social, economic and environmental problems led authorities to search for the rational solutions. At this period, utopian thinking went beyond being only a genre in the literary novels and it started to affect the practice of town planning. Robert Owen and Charles Fourier can be seen as the pioneers of this movement. Owen believed in the power of cooperation and communal life for increasing the efficiency in agricultural and industrial production with the use of little labor. The organic relationship between the workers and the capitalist was central for Owen. As long as the happiness of the workers was guaranteed by the capital owner, the productivity could be increased which, in turn, would increase the profits (Friedmann, 1989, p.230). In his socialist vision of "New Harmony", he proposed a well-arranged, small-sized and self-sufficient village, which includes dining halls, lecture halls, work places, with the emphasis on work, education and participation (Bottorff, 1971, p.71). C. Fourier also followed the socialist tradition, like Owen. The plans of their proposals were very similar, but Fourier was more interested in the

human nature. For him, human beings were born unto pleasure and a society would have a heavenly life only when it was freed from repression and pain (Friedmann, 1989, p.234). The ideal community of Fourier was based on the agrarian economy and the small production workshops. As one of the most significant aspect, he made a distinction between the poor and the rich as he believed in the division of labor in the success of a communal life. The members of the ideal community of 'Phalanstère' were free to choose their classes as it was based on the job preference, and the gain of the labor force was determined according to the work that one performed. He refused the mechanization of production in the capitalist system and believed in the freedom of choice in communal life.

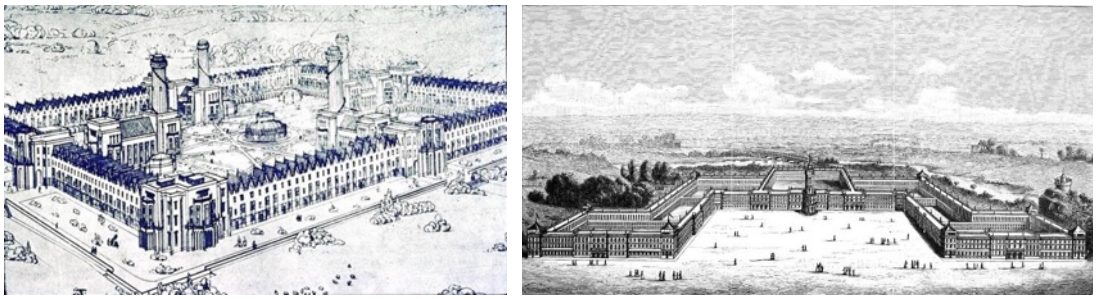

Figure 2.2: New Harmony-Robert Owen (left), Phalanstère-Charles Fourier (right) (Source: Kelly, 2017, URL2 (left), Granger, 2014, URL3 (right))

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the number of the new urban development models increased and the forms of the utopian proposals varied. 'The Linear City' model of Soria y Mata (1882), 'The Garden City' by Ebenezer Howard (1898), and 'La Cité Industrielle' (The Industrial City) by Tony Garnier (1904) were the most influential urban models of the period. The main problems of the existing cities in this period raised mainly from the inability in the adaptation to the advancements in technology. Also, the facilities in the existing urban environments were insufficient for the growing population. Soria y Mata made use of the technological advancements, and designed his model on a linear communication infrastructure which would connect the old towns. Rather than zoning different functions, he saw the best use of space in their close adjacency, so the housing and industrial units were aligned on a linear railway axis. For him, the Linear City model offered the best alternative that would

solve the complex urban problems such as hygiene, crowd and pollution. Unlike Soria y Mata, Garnier's model of the Industrial City proposed a precise segregation in different functions. Especially the industry was separately located distant from the civic center and divided by a green belt, and the connection between the functions was provided through communication channels. The detailed work of Garnier was to cover the city as a whole and seen as one of the most comprehensive utopian visions for a city in the twentieth century.

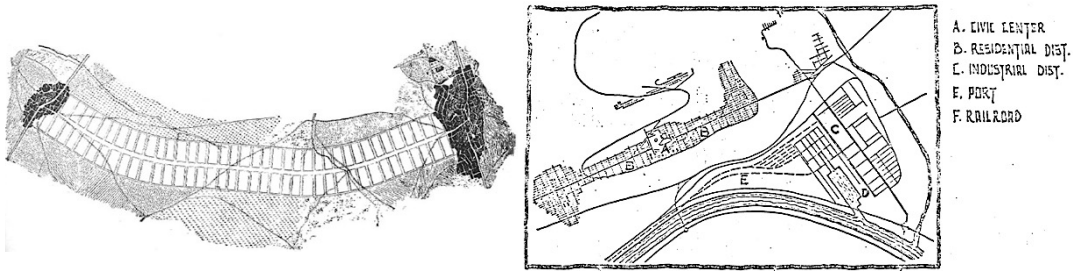

Figure 2.3: Lienar City-Arturo Soria y Mata, The Industrial City-Tony Garnier
(Source: URL4 (left), Bottorff, 1971, p.90 (right))

E. Howard was another person who has brought another dimension to the urban planning with his passion in the nature. With his groundbreaking book, 'To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform', Howard (1898) introduced the concept of 'Garden City' into planning practice which then was turned into 'Garden City Movement', and applied in many cities in Europe and United States. E. Howard believed that the existing cities were already in chaos and any radical intervention could be sufficient to solve the problems. Therefore, he saw the solution in the return to the nature. His diagram of three magnets (See: Figure 2.4) briefly illustrates the logic behind the Garden City proposal which regards the new city as an engaging point of town and country. Garden City was designed to be the place of peace and prosperity where the inhabitants would interact with nature in a clean and healthy environment. In order to prevent the speculation, all the land belonged to the public and operated by people with rent. The circular plan of the city aimed to offer equal accessibility for all people, and in order to sustain self-sufficiency, the city was restricted to certain amount of

population.

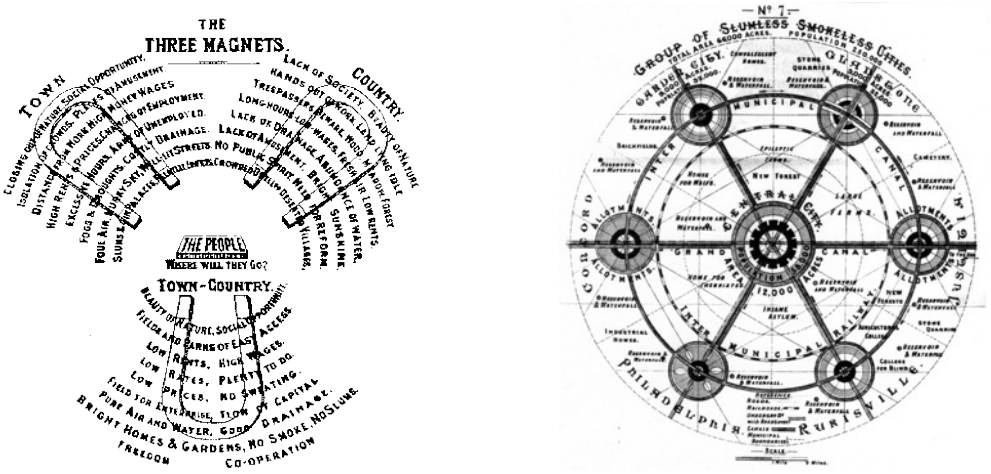

Figure 2.4: The Three Magnets illustrating the town-country relationship (left), The cluster of cities around the central city (right)
(Source: The Charnel House, 2011, URL5 (left), Archimaps, 2011, URL6 (right))

Garden City was the most rational solution for Howard as it synthesized the opportunities of both rural and urban life. He tried to consider the problems in the existing cities as a whole and found the solution in the abandonment of the urban life and return to the nature. There were two important personalities who also dealt with the urban problem as a whole along with their social and physical programs: Le Corbusier, and Frank Lloyd Wright. Both Howard, Le Corbusier and Wright regarded the design as an active force in the distribution of the benefits of the technological progress and in the achievement of social harmony. Different from Howard, Le Corbusier did not completely abandon the existing city, but he refused its existence as the traditional city has already finishes its lifetime. With his conceptual proposal of 'Ville Contemporaine' (a.k.a. The Contemporary City for Three Million Inhabitants) in 1922, Le Corbusier gained a reputation as one of the most radical modernist architects due to the structure of the plan. In 1925, he adopted his proposal 'Plan Voisin' to the center of Paris with which completely ignored the existing structure of the city. The plan was to make use of the high speed transportation technology, and to increase the amount of the green open spaces. The large open parks surrounded the high dense skyscraper buildings. He thought that the traditional city is not dense

enough, so the modern city must be much denser. F. L. Wright, on the other hand, thought that the existing city was already a hundred times too dense, so he constructed his proposal based on the idea of decentralization of the city. While Le Corbusier suggested the principle of organization in great cities, Wright wanted the whole United States to be the nation of individuals. The 'Broadacre City' was the dispersal of urban functions and individuals' activities along the arterial transportation channels with minimum density; that is, an acre per person. The land use regulation was controlled by the function, not its property value. As the individuality was the main principle, everyone was free to choose his/her work, and to have as much land as he/she can live his/her chosen life style (Fishman, 1982, p.9).

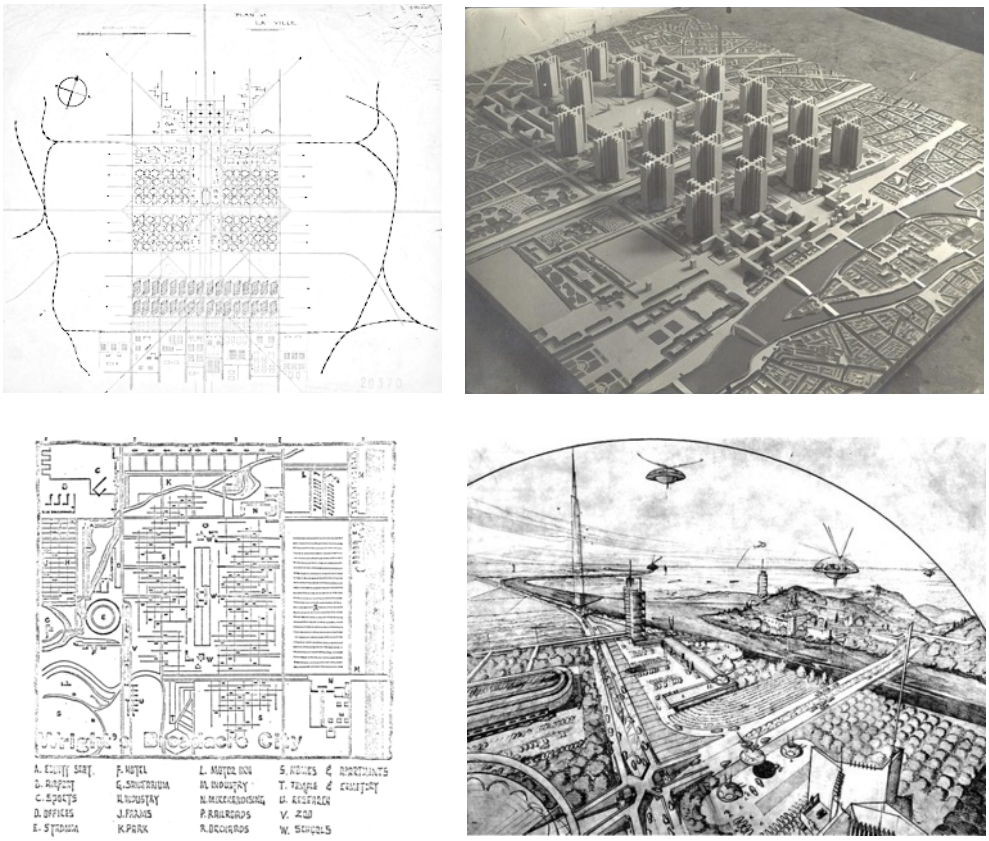

Figure 2.5: The Plan of La Ville Contemporaine (top-left), The model view of Plan Voisin (top-right), The conceptual plan of Broadacre City (bottom-left), The conceptual sketch of Broadacre City (bottom-right)
(Source: The Charnel House, 2014, URL7 (top-left), The Charnel House, 2014, URL8(top-right), Bottorff, 1971, p.96 (bottom-left), Koglek, 2013, URL9 (bottom-right)

As being the most radical proposals of the modern period, these urban utopias of the twentieth century have added a completely different dimension to urban planning practice. They all acknowledged that the response to the urban crisis, as well as social crisis, could be reformed by the radical construction of the cities, and the ideal urban life could be established only through total design. It could solve the problems of the existing cities by re-organization of the functions, the distribution of sources, the proper use of technology, and the arrangement of land use and property relations. The traditional city did not have the capacity to fulfill the needs of the industrial society by gradual improvements, so they abandoned it and built their modern utopias. According to Fishman (1977), what makes these visions utopia is not their being vague and impossible dreams in the pejorative sense. Rather, they are more close to Mannheim's definition of utopia that *"transcends the immediate situation"* through a coherent program for action which would *"break the bonds"* of the existing society (p.X).

With reference to Marin's (1984) conception of utopia as a 'species of spatial play', Harvey (2000) appreciates the possibility of the infinite number of social worlds that the utopian dream would offer;

> *"…the free play of the imagination, 'utopics as spatial play,' became a fertile means to explore and express a vast range of competing ideas about social relationships, moral orderings, political economic systems, and the like."* (Harvey, 2000, p.161)

In this manner, the theory and the practice of planning could have an active role to change the existing order in creative forms. On the other hand, Harvey (2000) remarks the inevitable relation between the creative imagination of this spatial play and the restrictive forms of governance. The spatial organization of the surveillance and control, which was regarded as the 'Panopticon effect' by Foucault (1984), also was included by most of the utopian visions. This brings us to an inextricable dilemma between the imaginative free will and restrictive authority which eventually ended up with the rejection of utopianism against the authoritarian and the totalitarian worldviews.

2.1.4. Critical Reactions Against Utopia in Urbanism

Just as the anti-utopian critiques have contributed to the development of social theory, the critical reflections in urbanism and architecture against the deficiencies and contradictions of utopian thought constituted the basis for new urban models against the total design and planning approach. Being used as a method by many architects and town planners along with the rise of modernism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, utopian thought has also been the target of the critiques directed towards the modern planning. As the common aspect for both utopianism and modernism, totalitarianism was seen as the main obstacle in urban social life by many of the radical writers.

Rowe and Koetter's (1978) proposal of 'Collage City' can be seen as the most radical urban model coined in opposition to total design of a city. Rowe saw the utopia as a key concept in the critique of modernist city planning, and Karl Popper was the main figure in the development of Collage City. Therefore, Collage City can be read as the architectural legacy of Popper's philosophy (Dağlioğlu, 2016). His criticism on the totalitarian character of utopianism constituted the basis for Rowe and Koetter to develop an urban design proposal by providing a through critique on the failure of modernist city planning and its ill effects on the traditional city (p.108-111).

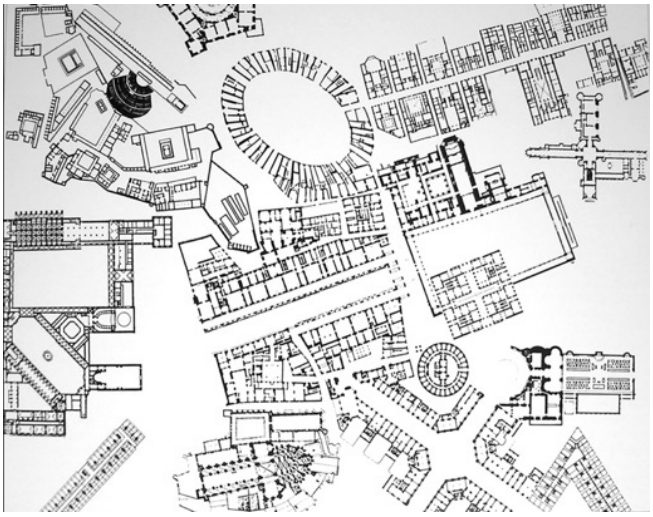

Figure 2.6: 'The City of Composite Presence': The Map of Antique Rome illustrated by Griffin & Kolhoff, 1978, (Source: Cavanagh, 2013, URL10)

Collage City was a very strong manifestation against the rationalism of modernism. Adopting the French art technique *bricolage*[2] into urban design as a method, it composes existing diverse urban layers by juxtaposing them into a common space. Rowe and Koetter (1978) refer to the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss's conception and attain the role of the *bricoleur*[3] to the urban designer rejecting its scientific use of method. Unlike the engineer, the bricoleur does not search for the availability of the row materials and tools for the purpose of the project:

> *"His universe of instruments is … to make do with 'whatever is at hand', that is to say with set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, but is the contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions. The set of the 'bricoleur's means cannot therefore be defined in terms of a project… the elements are collected or retained on the principle that 'they may always come in handy'. Such elements are specialized up to a point, sufficiently for the 'bricoleur' not to need the equipment and knowledge of all trades and professions, but not enough for each of them to have only one definite and determinant use. They represent a set of actual and possible relations: they are 'operators', but they can be used for any operations of the same type"* (Levi-Strauss, 1962, pp.17-18).

The main logic behind the development of Collage City is, therefore, based on create an uncoordinated amalgam of discrete elements[4] as an alternative to the disastrous urbanism of social engineering and total design[5]. Following Popper's anti-utopian and

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[2] The term 'bricolage' was used by Rowe and Koetter with reference to the conception of the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss in "The Savage Mind" (1969).

[3] The 'bricoleur', for Strauss (1969), is a man who deals with odd jobs and an expert on any kind of professional do-it yourself.

[4] The phrase is used in Collage City for the plan of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. Hadrian is appreciated as *"so disorganized and casual, who proposes the reverse of any 'totality', who seems to need only an accumulation of disparate ideal fragments and whose criticism of Imperial Rome is rather an endorsement than any protest"* (Rowe & Koetter, 1978, p.90)

[5] The plan of the Imperial Rome, containing various urban forms and layers, is offered as an example of bricolage mentality and alternative to the total design of a city. Rowe and Koetter's statement of *'disastrous urbanism of social engineering and total design'* here indicates the modern planning and

anti-authoritarian critiques, Collage City defends the idea that the ideally open and emancipated society depends upon the complexity of its part, upon competing group-centered interests (Rowe & Koetter, 1978, p.116). Unlike Popper, Rowe did not reject the idea of utopia completely, but adapted it as a 'metaphor' in his use of ideal types and forms to create 'the ideal of a conglomerate of independent parts'. In the diversity of identities, thoughts and ideologies, Popper's proposal of 'piecemeal social engineering' became the model for Rowe in the design of a city, and Collage City was the representation of it.

J. Jacobs was one of the main figures in this opposition towards the rationalism of modernist urban planning. In her seminal book 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities', Jacobs (1961) expresses her intention directly in the first sentence of the introduction part: *"This book is an attack on current city planning and rebuilding."* (p.3). With this very clear statement, Jacobs (1961) stimulates the reader's mind for the upcoming radical critiques on modernism and its depressing consequences that the cities have witnessed through the contemporary city planning. Her broad analysis on the great metropolitan cities in America led her to come to the conclusion that the neatly planned urban streets, squares, neighborhoods and parks are not enough to subsidize the everyday life of the citizens. The rational planning of a whole city through a master plan does not embrace its inhabitants, but for Jacobs, *"cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody"* (p.238). The theory of 'organized complexity'[6] reinvented by Jacobs (1961) attains the role of the individuals and the role of the physical environment together in the formation of a meaning, and she explains why the modern planning is insufficient in understanding and answering the needs of the cities. Cities, like other life sciences, have the problem of complexity accommodating dozens of situations varying simultaneously in interconnected ways, however, there is nothing accidental or irrational in the ways that those various situations or factors affect each

design approach and the utopian mentality behind it which aims to transform the society radically (Rowe & Koetter, 1978, p.107).

[6] The term refers to a group of problems in life sciences which *"deal simultaneously with a sizable number of factors which are interrelated in to an organic whole"* (Jacobs, 1961, p.432)

other (p.434-435).

Following the theory of 'organized complexity' adopted by Jacobs in city planning, Marshall (2009) developed a similar approach for urban growth based on the dismissal of rational planning. He argues that the cities should be understood as tempo-spatial order without the whole design of it (Gerrits, 2011, p.470). 'Evolution' and 'emergence' are the key terms in Marshall's (2009) theory. The analogy between the biological definition of evolution and the cities is established in order to interrelate the order in the natural world and the functional order in humans' unplanned cities (Marshall, 2009, p.150). Like evolution, the changes in cities occur without a purpose, but incrementally and through the interactions among individual parts. These changes are 'emergent' as there is no imposed overall model that governs them; the outcome of an emergent effect is surprising (p.151). Emergent patterns occur through the set of rules that direct the interaction and feedback system, however, the end result or the form is not anticipated beforehand. This production system is used also in the computer applications like the method of 'cellular automata' which reveals seemingly complex patterns, but in fact, there is a certain logic or basic rules that govern the whole emergence process. In human affairs, as well, the traces of the emergent effect can be observed, as Marshall (2009) indicates, like market behavior. Like the biological or non-biological phenomena, cities are the evolutionary assets composed of various parts which create diverse urban patterns out of individual decisions, intercommunications, and local increments. S. Marshall's theory of evolutionary urbanism is based on this emergent nature of the evolution. His historical analysis over the emergence of traditional cities, the organic urban forms and the informal settlements, indicate that all the 'unplanned' city forms have their inner set of rules that govern the spatial formations. This analysis brings him to the conclusion that rather than imposing a deliberate master plan that is fixed the direct outcome of the designer's decision, by identifying certain codes, the 'design' can be emergent in itself which is open to the any kind of development in the pursuit of the rules.

Marshall's (2009) theory was quite innovative in the analysis of the development of a city. Although he was critical towards the dependence on science and technology, he

claims that he did not abandon his faith in modernism, rationality, science or technology completely (p.297). On the contrary, at the base of his theory, there is a certain mathematical logic which rationalize the whole emergence process. Nevertheless, his theory seems more open-minded and pluralistic compared to that of the totalitarian and rationalistic architecture and urban design approaches of the modern and utopian projects of the twentieth century. As Jacobs (1961) has clearly stated about the involvement of the individuals in the creation of cities, Marshall's (2009) emergent effect would help this involvement of individuals in design process. On the other hand, such a commitment to the form carries its danger to become inadequate in explaining the social issues.

There is an intrinsic purpose which eliminates the designer's or the master plan's absolute control on cities in both Jacobs' (1961), Marshall's (2009) theories. They both appreciate the role of the urban actors in the creation of their own space, which occupies a very essential place in the study of urban design. In understanding of the dynamics of an urban space, there is the necessity of a detailed and philosophical analysis in terms of its social and political aspects. Therefore, before going in further detail for what kinds of planning and design alternatives can be produced for a better social, economic and environmental life can be achieved in cities, the given socio-spatial context should be understood first. There have been many writers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, urbanists, architects, who think about urban space, social life and cities, and they all perceived the space from a different perspective. Among them, the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1984) made the most interesting and the most ambiguous conceptualization of space. Although he was not dealing with the space in his early writings, his theory on 'other spaces' has drawn attention from the academic circles.

According to Foucault (1984), space is the key concept to understand the social relations in the city, and it *"takes for us the form of relations among different sites"* (p.2). Certain kinds of oppositions are attained to the space, like private space and public space, cultural space and useful space, or family space and social space. Among these opposite doctrines, Foucault (1984) points out those which do not fit into any

binary category, but at the same time, linked to all the other spaces. He calls these spaces 'heterotopia' (p.4).

The concept of heterotopia was actually put forth as response to utopian thinking and the vision of a utopian space. Foucault was critical about the illusion of utopias;

> *"First there are utopias. Utopias are sites with no real place. They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else, society turned upside down, but in any case, these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces"* (Foucault, 1984, p.3).

However, society produce its culture in real places. Heterotopias indicate these real spaces which *"...exist and is formed in the very founding of a society, which are something like counter-sites"* (p.3). According to Foucault (1984), heterotopias are the materialized versions of utopias in real sites. These sites can be found in the different parts of the city as the established miniature versions (enclaves) having their own regulatory rules in themselves. Within this alternative conception of space, the sacred places of the medieval city, or the consumption places of the contemporary city is subject to be considered as 'heterotopia'.

2.2. The Discourse of Heterotopia: An Alternative Conception of Space

Apart from the new urban models raised in the context of post-modern urban discourse, the critiques of utopian thinking and holistic urban design approach also led to the emergence of new discussions on the concept of space. There are many theories elaborated by urban critics which give priority to the spatiality and social life in the production of space. Rather than regarding the space purely as a three dimensional physical object, the social and political aspects and the individuals' impacts have gained importance in understanding of the formation of the urban environment. In this regard, different kinds of approaches have developed which locate the social and political relations between different identities at the center in planning and design of a

city.

Many of the twentieth century geographers have focused on the relationship between the practice of daily life and space. Together with the increasing critiques of modern thinking, opposing to the idea of total planning, the scholars have sought for alternative conceptions of space and its configurations. The critiques, mainly, based on the idea of that the experience of space is socially constructed. (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p.11).

The priority given to the relation between the space and the social life was a radical shift in the development of a critical theory in human geography and cultural criticism. The attempts to move the space beyond its pure material existence, and to reconsider the meaning of space and spatiality together with the everyday experiences contributed to the understanding of space as a social phenomenon. Lefebvre's (1991) account on the issue has moved this debate further regarding "*the (social) space as a social product*"; it incorporates social actions of subjects of both individual and collective (Lefebvre, 1991, p.33). For Lefebvre, the production of (social) space;

> *"…is not the work of a moment for a society to generate (generate) an appropriated social space in which it can achieve a form by means of self-presentation and self-representation – a social space to which that society is not identical, and which indeed is its tomb as well as its cradle. This act of creation is, in fact, a process. For it to occur, it is necessary (and this necessity is precisely what has to be explained) for the society's practical capabilities and sovereign powers to have at their disposal special places: religious and political sites"* (p.34)

Lefebvre (1991) examines the space through the social practices of people and their political relations. Space is not something which is inherited by nature, or autonomously determined by the laws of spatial geometry; it is a project which is formed through the interests of classes, experts, roots and other competing forces (Molotch, 1993, p.887). In 'The Production of Space', Lefebvre's (1991) broad discussion on the relationship between everyday life and space results with the emergence of a conceptual triad; *'spatial practice'*, *'representations of space'*, and

'representational spaces'. The 'spatial practice' of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space (Lefebvre, 1991, p.38), that is *perceived* by means of production and reproduction ensuring continuity and a degree of cohesion (p.33). 'Representations of space' are bound to the relations of production, and to the order which is imposed by those relations (p.33). It is the *conceived* space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers (p.38). 'Representational spaces' are directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols. It is;

> *"the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users', ...of some artists, ...writers and philosophers... This is the dominated –and hence passively experienced– space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus, 'representational spaces may be said ...to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs"* (Lefebvre, 1991, p.30).

The elements of the triad –perceived, conceived and lived– together constitute the three different moments of the social space (p.40). Lefebvre's trialectics was an alternative conception against the binary theories of space. As a great admirer of Lefebvre's works and thoughts on geography and social life, relating his terms with Lefebvre's spatial trinity, Soja (1996) introduces the 'thirdspace' concept with his seminal book 'Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places' which seeks for the possibility of 'a both/and also logic' as an alternative to those dualities. In his critical *'thirding of space'*, Soja's aim is to enhance the way of thinking and create an alternative conception of space which potentially embraces the discrete oppositions in the same context. Space, in this point of view, is considered neither solely as a physical structure that occupies a piece of land in the universe, nor as a mental phenomenon of which the meaning exists only in our imaginations.

Soja (1996) defines the 'thirdspace' as *"a space of extraordinary openness, a place of critical exchange where the geographical imagination can be expanded to encompass a multiplicity of perspectives that have heretofore been considered by the epistemological referees to be incompatible, uncombinable"* (Soja, 1996, p.5). In the

'thirdspace', as he remarks, the issues of race, class, and gender, are simultaneously addressed without domination of one to one another; that is, the Marxist and post-Marxist, the materialist and the idealist, the structuralist and the humanist, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary can exist at the same time in the same context (Soja, 1996, p.5).

Offering of an alternative spatial perspective, Soja (1996) actually derives from Lefebvre's spatial trialectics. The *firstspace* refers to Lefebvre's *perceived space* that is fixed on concrete materiality of spatial forms, on things that can be empirically mapped. The *secondspace* relates to the space which is *conceived* in ideas of space, in thoughtful representations of human spatiality in mental or cognitive forms. The *thirdspace,* accordingly, is directly related with Lefebvre's *lived* space which juxtaposes the real and the imagined spaces (Soja, 1996, pp. 10-11). Here, what the thirdspace resembles is that the mental and the material worlds, which are naturally opposing terms, exist in the *lived* space (Lefebvre, 1991, p.33).

Not so much distinct from Lefebvre's *lived* space and Soja's *thirdspace*, Foucault's introduction to 'heterotopology' offers a similar alternative geography of political choice. Foucault (1984) argues that not all the spaces can be considered as a homogeneous entity that creates an either/or condition. On the contrary, space takes a complex form of certain relations among different sites. Foucault calls these spaces as 'heterotopia' which relatively differentiates itself from the other spaces while it is simultaneously in relation with them. These *different spaces* keep their relation with all the other spaces in a way that they suspect, neutralize, or invent the set of relations which are mirrored (Foucault, 1984, p.3). In other words, these spaces have a reflection mechanism for the rest of the spaces in a way that oppose, contradict, and passivize the rest within themselves.

Heterotopias are real, unlike utopias, and they function as a '*counter-site'* where *'an effectively enacted utopia'* can be found simultaneously representing, contesting and inverting the norms of the society (Foucault, 1984, p.3). The sociologist Hetherington (1997) regards heterotopias as the spaces of alternative ordering system which marks them as the 'other'. The operation of heterotopia by inverting the society's normative

codes exemplifies the alternative ways of doing things (Hetherington, 1997, p.viii). Although the term heterotopia is widely discussed as a post-modern phenomenon in critical theory, Hetherington employs the idea that these different spaces existed in modern societies as *marginal sites* which create the condition for alternative ordering process as in the case of Foucault's exemplification of prison or mental hospital. Hetherington ironically calls these spaces as 'the badlands' to indicate the significance of their existence in the modern world representing a form of counter-hegemonic site or practice (p.vii).

In 'Spaces of Hope', Harvey's (2000) critique on the utopianism with the given difficulties of spatial form and social process leads him to build a theory of *'dialectical utopianism'* which is based on the spatiotemporality. He notes that Foucault's heterotopia conception provides a better understanding of heterogeneity at the discursive level although it is highly vogue in its formulation. According to Harvey, heterotopias;

> *"…allow us to think of the multiple utopian schemas (spatial plays) that have come down to us in materialized forms as not mutually exclusive. It encourages the idea of a simultaneity of spatial plays that highlights choice, diversity, and difference. It enables us to look upon the multiple forms of deviant and transgressive behaviors and politics that occur in urban spaces (Foucault interestingly includes in his list of heterotopic spaces such places as cemeteries, colonies, brothels, and prisons) as valid and potentially meaningful reassertions to some kind of right to shape parts of the city in a different image. It forces us to recognize how important it is to have spaces (the jazz club, the dance hall, the communal garden) within which life is experienced differently. There are, Foucault assures us, abundant spaces in which 'otherness,' alterity, and, hence, alternatives might be explored not as mere figments of the imagination but through contact with social processes that already exist. It is within these spaces that alternatives can take shape and from these spaces that a critique of existing norms and processes can most effectively be mounted."* (Harvey, 2000, p.194).

The dialectical utopianism, in this way, offers an altered version of utopian thinking which accommodate various forms of thought and behaviors, and can be thought in line with the heterotopian characteristics of space.

Foucault associates the concept of heterotopia with spatial terms for the first time on a radio talk in March 1967 which he attended to give a short lecture for architecture students. During his short lecture, he used many concepts and critical descriptions that open up new paths in the fields of sociology, urbanism and architecture. The text of the lecture was published with the original title 'Des Espaces Autres' in 1984 and English translation was published as 'Of Other Spaces' in 1986 (De Cauter, Lieven & Dehaene, 2008, p.13). After its publication, the text has been attempted to be analyzed in order to clarify the ambiguity of the use of the terms, and Foucault's concepts have been quite stimulating for the admirers of him who deal with the spatial theory and cultural politics. Therefore, in order to grasp the theoretical framework of the term properly, in the following section, the text will be discussed in detail.

2.2.1. Foucauldian Definition of Heterotopia

In his seminal text, 'Of Other Spaces', Foucault begins with the shifting themes which dominated the nineteenth century intellectual world. He argues that the predomination of the debates on history has replaced with the obsession with another concept:

> *"The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed"* (Foucault, 1984, p.1).

What defined the space formerly was 'the emplacement' which gave its concrete form of complete hierarchy in medieval times, and now, 'the site' has replaced with 'the emplacement' and it is "defined by the relations of proximity between points or elements" (p.2). This approach acknowledges the space as relational. It gains its meaning through mutual interactions. Also for Harvey, *"space is neither absolute, relative or relational in itself, but it can become one or all simultaneously depending*

on the circumstances", and the answer for the question over the nature of space lies in human practice (Harvey, 1973, p.13). The heterogeneity of societies, embracing the opposite thoughts, ideas, different ways of living and conflicting identities, in fact, produces the diversity in space through those interactions:

> *"…the space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space"* (Foucault, 1984, p.3).

Foucault borrows the term 'heterotopia' from medicine which means the displacement of an organ or part of the body from its normal position (Oxford dictionary), and introduces it to the geography. Etymologically, the word 'heterotopia' is derived from the Greek *heteros* meaning 'another', and *topos* meaning 'place' (Johnson, 2006, p.77). The metaphorical use of the term in Foucault's discussion refers to a space which is highly differentiated from the rest of the spaces while it maintains its relationship with them in different contexts. Foucault was quite interested in these 'other spaces'. He believed that they deserve much more attention as they are complex and relational, having all the oppositions that govern our lives.

Foucault (1984) differentiates heterotopia from utopia, without complete rejection of the latter, as it gains its meaning through the critique of utopian thought. In fact, Foucault (1984) sees heterotopias as the materialized status of utopias in its 'mirror' function. As he suggests, the virtual space behind the surface of the mirror reflects the view of a person who stands in front of it; the person sees himself/herself where he/she is absent. This makes the mirror a utopia which shows the view in an unreal space. However, what makes the mirror a heterotopia is that the reflection on the surface makes the place real which the person occupies. The binary relationship between the real and the virtual space is that what constitutes the heterotopian space that can be interpreted from Foucault's (1984) ambiguous definition. In fact, he positions these heterotopias between utopias and other sites, which offer a sort of mixed, joint experience (p.4).

The key point in understanding the nature of heterotopias would be that the space

occurs as a juxtaposition of oppositions which embody the differences and contrasts in a real single space. This overall spatial context out of diverse juxtapositions offers a kind of hybrid environment which mostly attracts the attention of urbanists and architects in the post-modern urban discourse. As a recently coined urban design model, 'Recombinant Urbanism'[7] of Shane (2005) is actually grounded on this spatial hybridity which embraces the practices of multiple actors and functions in a single place.

In his short speech, Foucault mentions three types of heterotopic spaces which occur in different historical periods and represent special conditions. The first one, *heterotopia of crisis*, is what represented space in the privileged or sacred conditions. The honeymoon experience which takes place in somewhere else without any geographic identifier, or the boarding school in which the young men experience their transitional adolescence period are the crisis conditions in which the space remained as sacred or forbidden (Foucault, 1984, p.4). The modern societies, on the other hand, house more commonly the second type, *heterotopia of deviance*, in which the behavior of the individuals is deviant according to the required norms (p.5). The rest homes, psychiatric hospitals, prisons, and retirement homes are the spaces where the deviant behavior is kept under control. The intention of the 'compensatory' codes of these heterotopias is to bring order, to invent scientific standards which will eternally remain the same (Shane, 2005, p.257). As the concrete architectural example of a heterotopia of deviance, the design of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon is given. Within its pure central form (See: Figure 2.7), it enables the absolute control over the prisoners. The spatial arrangement of the prison in a round-shaped plan allows the observer to control all the prisoners in each cell and their behavior from a tower at the center. The system produces 'the internally disciplined subject' who is aware that he or she can be

[7] In his seminal book "Recombinant Urbanism: Conceptual Modeling in Architecture, Urban Design and City Theory" (2005), the American scholar Shane proposes a responsive perspective which would lead urban actors to perform their activities within the multiplicity of voices. What he mainly claims is that in the post-modern urban conditions, the applicability of an overall master plan is not possible as the complex operation system of the various fragments of the city demands a more flexible environment in order to sustain themselves. In this context, the function of the heterotopia is to help maintaining the city's stability as a self-organizing system by handling the exceptions (Shane, 2005, p.231).

observed at any moment by the 'invisible observer' from the tower (Harris, 2003, p.182). The transformational power of the discipline mechanism for criminal individuals in a highly controlled environment creates an alternate social ordering in Bentham's Panopticon which can be regarded as a 'heterotopia of deviance'.

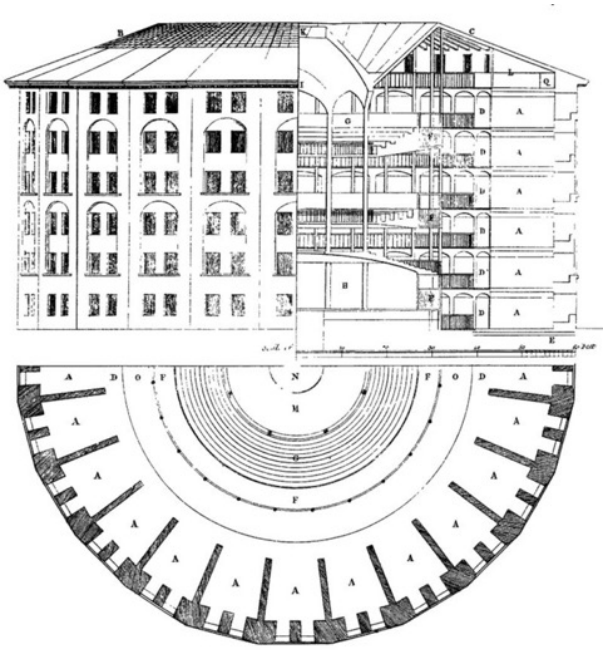

Figure 2.7: The plan and section of Bentham's Panopticon, drawn by Reveley, 1791 (Source: Willshire, 2016, URL11)

Lastly, *heterotopia of illusion* is defined as a site into which the entrance requires specific qualifications or certain rituals. Similar to the case of Islamic Hammams which requires a purification process before entering (Foucault, 1984, p.7), and to the controlling process at the checkpoints of shopping malls and airports in the contemporary city, the entrance to these spaces is not allowed without completing certain procedures. Heterotopia of illusion is seen as a place of escape from the tyranny of production via fantasies of freedom; they contain flexible, illusory spaces which helps the actors to perform their activities of marketing and differentiating their own areas in a highly mediated environment (Shane, 2005, p.240).

These are the three types of heterotopias suggested by Foucault (1984) which are

slightly differentiated by definition in terms of the spatial experiences and the form of control that they offer. Their dynamics might change according to unique normative codes of the society or historical situation. Although the societal or historical contexts reveal the form of heterotopia, the differentiation from other spaces by means of their heterogeneity locate them on a common ground. Though there is no systematic definition or process that reveals a universally accepted form of it, Foucault's attempt to trigger the imagination for these other spaces results with the theoretical scheme that offers 'a sort of systematic description' which he calls as 'heterotopology' (Foucault, 1984, p.4).

2.2.2. Heterotopology

As stated in the previous part, Foucault argues that heterotopias occur in different forms with regard to the sociological context; therefore, it is impossible to make a universal consent on its definition and function. However, in order to reduce the ambiguity, Foucault (1984) lists a series of six principles in his speech. Though he thinks that the term is too 'galvanized' to be called as science, he asserts that these principles can be found in each form of heterotopian space.

The *first principle* is that every culture in the world creates heterotopias which take various forms, but none of which is universal. As previously mentioned, he divides them into three main categories: heterotopia of crisis, heterotopia of deviation, and heterotopia of illusion, though the last one is barely mentioned. This division, in fact, arises from the social circumstances of the period. Foucault ascribes crisis heterotopias to the primitive world, and heterotopia of deviation to the modern societies. The crisis situation is experienced in the forbidden or sacred places where an individual is in a period of transition from one state to another as a social ritual. On the other hand, a highly controlled environment like the rest home or the prison is the place where the deviant behavior is transformed according to the required norm performing of power in the modern world.

His *second principle* suggests that a society can change the function of a heterotopia

in a very different fashion according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs. A heterotopian space reflects its surrounding culture and its rules. It follows these rules and it may change the function or the form itself when it is required (Shane, 2005, p.234). He illustrates this principle with the example of cemetery. The cemetery is connected with all the sites of the city, state, or society via their relatives who rest in the cemetery. It was placed at the heart of the city near the church until the end of the eighteenth century, which is time of a real belief in the resurrection of bodies and the immortality of soul. However, with the spread of atheistic belief from the beginning of the nineteenth century, its spiritual importance has decreased and its location was changed from the center to the outside border of the city. Foucault asserts that this is also because of the bourgeois appropriation of cemetery as an obsession with the death as an 'illness' which is what moves the dead away from the houses and the church.

The *third principle* can be seen as one of the most essential points for spatial planning and design in terms of configuration of space. It suggests that a heterotopian space is capable of juxtaposing several incompatible spaces in a single real place. A rectangle stage of the theatre brings a whole series of places on to one another; the two-dimensional cinema screen opens up the three-dimensional space for the audience. Foucault says that the oldest example which brings the contradictory sites together in a single place is the traditional garden of the Persians (See: Figure 2.8).

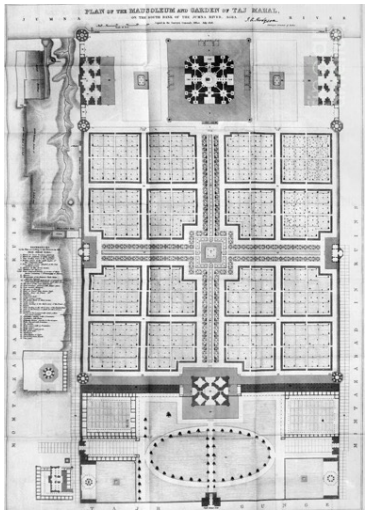

Figure 2.8: The basic plan of Taj Mahal
(Source: Naren, 2012, URL12)

The four sides of the rectangle-shaped garden were believed to be representing the four parts of the world with a navel at the center where placed the basin and the fountain (p.6). Indicating the hybrid feature of a heterotopian space, this principle offers a new perspective in urbanism. Shane's (2005) urban model proposal is mainly based on this principle which suggests the recombination of existing urban elements in different contexts.

The *fourth principle* is related with the time-wise dimension of heterotopia which constitutes 'heterochronies'. According to Foucault (1984), in the classification of heterotopias in terms of its temporal dimension, there occur two types of heterotopias which are linked to the slices of time; the ones accumulating time, like museums and libraries, and the ones which are in the mode of flowing and transition, like festivals and fairs. The former is regarded as the tendency of modern life. The idea of accumulating everything, all times in one place arises from the desire of recording human progress and gathering information (Shane, 2005, p.235). The latter, on the other hand, is absolutely temporal. It performs at certain times of the year at the outskirts of the city on empty sites, which stands, displays, unusual 'heteroclite' objects like wrestlers, snakewoman, fortune-tellers, and so on (Foucault, 1984, p.7).

The *fifth principle* of Foucault (1984) is concerned with the illusory image of heterotopias. It was already mentioned that the heterotopia of illusion requires some specific rituals to get inside of the space. Foucault (1984) asserts that heterotopias of illusion presupposes a system of opening and closing which both allow the penetration from outside and make them isolated. They are not freely accessed like a public space, nor they are completely private which belongs to a certain group of people. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of the barracks or prisons, or else, people should perform those rituals as in the case of Islamic Hammams which require purification process. Free entrance to heterotopias is not allowed. In fact, it is *"only an illusion; we think we enter where we are, by the very fact that we enter, excluded"* (Foucault, 1984, p.8). The guest rooms of the Brazilian farmhouses in South America are given as example by Foucault (1984) for such heterotopias. The guests are allowed to spend the night in separate rooms in family houses, but the path directed to the guest room does

not open to the central room where the family lives. Thus, the travelers feel like they are welcomed to the house by the family, in fact, this is just a deception.

Lastly, the *sixth principle* is also directly related with the urbanism in terms of the functional relations of space. As one of the most important aspect of heterotopic spaces, it maintains it function through the its relation with all the other spaces. Foucault explains this function with two extreme sides; the role of this function is either to create a space of illusion that every real space is exposed, or else, to create another real space; a space of 'compensation' which is *"as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled"* (Foucault, 1984, p.8). The Jesuit colonies which were founded in South America is an example for such a 'compensatory' space. The colonial villages were designed rigorously; the church was placed at the center and the public functions were around it. The absolute regulation of the colonies achieved the human perfection here where the 'compensatory' space is created (Foucault, 1984, p.8).

The lecture of Foucault was quite stimulating in the sense of the conceptual foundation of these different spaces which are spontaneous by nature, and are quite ambiguous that they cannot be described through universal definitions. From an urbanistic point of view, what makes heterotopia different from other spaces is mainly the hybrid spatial context they create. Holding the exceptions in the dominant system, it turns out to be a 'special form of enclave' (Shane, 2005, p.75).

2.2.3. Heterotopia as a Special Form of 'Enclave'

Teyssot (1998) examines the Norman city of Caen in France in order to illustrate Foucault's notion with a real example. The spatial pattern of institutions in the city grounds on a grid sections of eight spaces. These spaces comprise of hospitals that held the indigent children, old people with mental diseases, delirious persons, prostitutes and beggars, the condemned and the accused in general. For Teyssot (1998), the pattern of the Caen allows for transition from a structure of total confinement to one of semi-imprisonment, but in a way different from the modern

hospital or prison systems. The organization of welfare and public assistance at Caen city, for Teyssot (1998), illustrates the meaning of a heterotopian space when applied to a real historical situation at a given time and place (p.300).

This example would accord with the category of 'heterotopia of deviance' that Foucault (1984) associates with modernism. The governing forces, in an attempt to homogenize the society in accordance with the required norm, create a sort of enclosed space as a tool to regulate the irregularities in the society; the minorities who do not fit in the larger society, the ones who are considered the marginal such as the criminals, the persons with mental illnesses, the ones different gender preferences, and so on.

The institutional pattern of the city of Caen can be read from the Hetheringtonian perspective of a heterotopian space. In the modern world, these spaces are created to bring order to the society's marginal members. They are implemented through a top-down decision mechanisms of governance. From this perspective, even the activity of planning becomes a tool of the state to regulate the social life. On the other hand, this kind of a formation does not necessarily arise from a planned activity. If we are to examine these other spaces in post-modern urban context, we can see that the process of formation is mutated and become emergent. The spontaneity of social activities and the everyday life of people generate different spatial experiences that create discontinuities in space. In urban context, these discontinuities occur in various forms and patterns. The informal practices such as formation of squatter settlements, occupation movements, or unplanned spatial activities redefine the meaning and function of a space in accordance with the needs and expectations of individuals at certain times and places. Nevertheless, whether formed through the authoritarian bodies with regulatory concerns, or emerged out of spontaneous spatial activities of the society, these spaces interrupt the spatial continuation of the modern city in the form of 'enclave'.

In Penguin English Dictionary (1979), 'enclave' is defined as *"an outlying territory belonging to one country and lying wholly within the territory of another"*, and in Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, it is defined as *"a distinct territorial, cultural, or social unit enclosed within or as if within foreign territory"* (Garmonsway &

Simpson, 1979; Merriam-Webster Online, as cited in Shane, 2005, p.176). Translating the term into urban terminology, Shane (2005) defines enclave as *"a self-organizing, self-centering, and self-regulating system created by urban actors, often governed by a rigid hierarchy with set boundaries"* (p.177). In the contemporary city, these enclaves are marked as 'red zones' which;

> *"…instantiate a form of temporal conception which is not based on repetition, i.e. rhythmicality, but on exception. Red zones are erected in exceptional cases and represent the state of emergency"* (Stavrides, 2010, p.37)

Through the evolution of cities, the form and function of these enclaves have been transformed. The sacred places of the pre-modern world can be regarded as the divine enclaves where the sin and the forbidden is left outside. Although, with the decline of the religious beliefs the sacred trait of these enclaves disappear, they maintained their existence in various forms, like the Jewish ghettos of the middle ages, or the gated communities of the modern times. Even the fragmented metropolis can be seen as a sea of enclaves in the contemporary city with its specialized functional[8] zones or conceptual sections[9].

As mentioned before, Shane (2005) regards heterotopia as a special form of enclave. This interpretation is actually based on the terminological meaning of heterotopia. Similar to that a heterotopic cell abnormally occurs in an unusual tissue without damaging the whole structure, a heterotopic enclave reveals itself in an unusual context within the exceptional situations in itself. The survival of an unfamiliar unit in a foreign place constitute the main condition of the heterotopian space. These niches, which are sometimes conditioned by design and sometimes emerge spontaneously by the everyday practices of the people, succeed to exist through the relationships which they establish with their surroundings. Yet, they create abnormalities and discontinuities in the performative setting of an urban system.

[8] These specialized functional zones can be arranged as the industrial, residential, commercial, social, etc.
[9] The conceptual sections consist of neighborhoods, districts, community places, etc.

In his urban model triad, Shane (2005) re-interprets Foucault's notion of heterotopia as the combination of the first two models, (single center) enclave and armature (See: Figure 2.9). This combination gives its special form to the enclave. The result is a hybrid of the two urban elements which interrupts the continuity of the metropolis by centering, slowing down and storing urban flows and energies, forming temporary node structures (Shane, 2005, p.176).

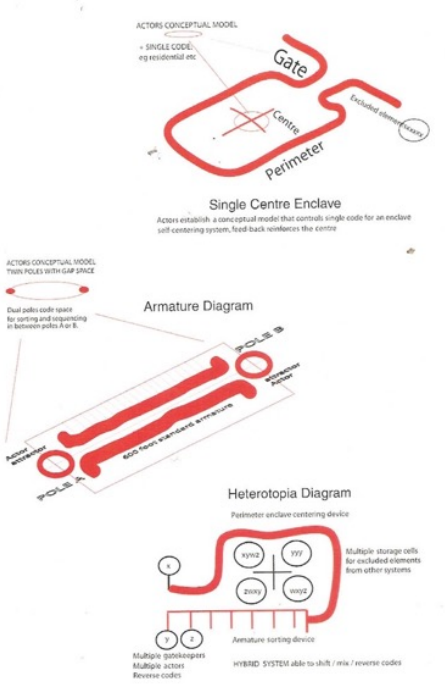

Figure 2.9: D. G. Shane's Urban Model Triad (Source: Shane, 2011, pp.38-39)

In order to understand the inner and outer organization of enclaves, Shane's (2005) brief summary about their socio-spatial features is quite stimulating. He lists a series of aspects of a space which would constitute an enclave:

1) Enclaves are distinguished from the surrounding through their specific social and spatial orders,
2) Their specific characteristics are determined through the site-specific attractors,
3) The central attractors specify the organization of the perimeters which define the limits and boundaries of the interior spatial order,

4) They have special gates that open them towards the exterior through the transportation and communication channels. These channels accept the outsider to get in and allow insider to access the complex urban life,
5) They are the places of rest and stasis,
6) The morphological pattern may contain various types, however, there is usually one dominant typological pattern with repetition,
7) They are controlled through gate-keepers and systematic, internal codes which help to protect the community's social and functional order within the territory. (Shane, 2005, p.177)

The seven aspects listed here summarize the social and spatial features of the enclaves. Now, we shall move the debate merely from the discussion of enclave to the heterotopic form of enclave. There is a common view about the tendency of the enclaves to be socially homogeneous environments (Caldeira, 1996, p.308). The study of Low (2008) on gated communities in the USA[10] seems to provide a confirmation for the question. However, what gives its heterotopic form to an enclave is not the homogeneity of the society. On the contrary, from a Foucauldian perspective, it is the heterogeneous structure of the space which distinguishes itself from the surrounding. In these spaces, the societal norms are inverted or suspended. An entirely different social codes are re-written and the communication with the external world is made through certain entry points.

If we are to illustrate the heterotopic enclave in the form of a living environment, ghetto-like informal settlements would be more relevant to discuss. The hybrid form of the social profile in these informal settlements provides a good case to examine the spatial practices and the motivations behind the enclosure. In this context, the Walled

[10] Low (2008) examines the gated community development and the motivations behind it in order to understand whether they have heterotopian characteristics or not. She writes that the series of talks with the members of several communities reveal that the main motivation for gating in a place surrounded by walls and protected by gatekeepers is resulted from the fear of outside world, and gated settlements are seen as safe heavens. She also asserts that these communities create a sense of belonging to a place restricting the entry from the outside. The gated communities of the elite create a kind of homogeneous zone excluding the opposite entities regarding them as 'danger'. The inhabitants avoid from any conflicting situations by establishing internal rules to guarantee the nonviolent state (pp. 155-158).

Kowloon City is given as an extraordinary example of a heterotopic enclave by Shane (See: Figure 2.10). The housing complex was built incrementally in a bottom up manner after the Chinese Revolution in 1947 as a result of the massive migration to Hong Kong City. As one of the densest settlements in the world, the complex accommodated several functions and sections in a three-dimensional 'maze-like'[11] structure.

Figure 2.10: The Walled Kowloon City as a form of heterotopic space
(Source: Saywell, 2014, URL13)

The morphological structure of the complex consisted of vertical housing blocks with many irregular horizontal corridors that connect the buildings at various levels. It housed the commercial and service functions alongside the residential units, factories, small industrial plants and places for leisure and pleasure on a multilayered structure. The informally developed complex hosted the 'other' population of the society like displaced refugees and immigrants. Due to its 'maze-like' structure, it also became an attraction point for illegal activities. Creating an extraordinary situation both in terms of its morphology and its social life, the settlement existed as a miniature city at the center of the Hong Kong. What made the settlement a heterotopic enclave was not

[11] The phrase is used by David Grahame Shane (2005).

solely its enclosed social life. As Shane writes, a heterotopia reflects the normative codes and overall organization of its surrounding in its inner structure, but with their converted versions. In this respect, the mirrored vernacular tradition of the city in the form of a courtyard structure in the Kowloon City, and then its transformation into skyscraper blocks provided a very significant quality for code inversions (Shane, 2005, pp.241-244).

The Kowloon Walled City was one of the greatest 'anomalies' in Hong Kong's history (Wilkinson, 1993, p.60). It existed there for 50 years with its multiple heterotopic elements until the Chinese Government demolished it and replaced it with an urban park on its location. Afterwards, the images of the life in Kowloon City were reflected in many movies (e.g., Bloodsport, 1988; Crime Story, 1993) and documentaries.

Figure 2.11: The Walled Kowloon City (Source: Girard & Lambot, 1993, pp.54-122)

Ghettos have very distinct characteristics in terms of their socio-spatial structures. These settlements are generally inhabited by the marginalized persons of the society whose socio-economical, cultural, or religious norms are so different from the rest of the society that they cannot accommodate themselves in the everyday life of the city. Accordingly, their social and spatial organization reflect the cultural codes and the everyday life patterns. The 16th century Jewish ghetto in Renaissance Venice occupied the part of the archipelago as this kind of a spatial anomaly. Sennett (2014) examines the everyday life in the ghetto whose members were excluded from the society due to their religious beliefs, and enclosed in a certain place. The regime of Venice in that period was based on the local rules and rights assigned to certain places. In this way, the people who live in a certain place will be kept under control according to those rules. This regulation created a place of seclusion for Jewish population in the city with the help of the ecology of island. Sennett describes this formation as *'the story of displaced people who are forced to isolation'* (p.14). The island was enclosed with walls and connected to the city via bridges operating as control points. The gates were open until a certain time in a day, then they were closed and all the Jews were supposed to be turned back to the ghetto. However, established as a place of seclusion of the 'other' population in the city, where the unwelcomed population was enclosed in, this settlement then produced its own institutions and activities of the marginal groups. New lines of business emerged which were operated by the Jewish population like usury and prostitution, which also provide the connection between the life in the ghetto and the rest of the city (Sennett, 2014).

Cities are the places of conjunction where various social groups are situated, and the practice of planning has a very significant role in the appropriation of these groups. Though there is a tendency for an integrated society in the methods and approaches of urbanism, the social and political practices of the individuals or communities create a sort of 'space of otherness' in exceptional situations within the 'enclave-like' enclosed territories. These territories are formed as a kind of miniature city within the city having their own regulatory mechanisms and social organizations.

2.3. The Co-Existence of Socio-Cultural 'Enclaves' in a Heterotopian Context

There are various reasons leading to segregation in urban space, such as class discrimination, cultural difference, ethnic background, political choice, gender preferences, and so on. As it would result from the own choices of the individuals in search for a comfort zone, alienation from the society would also arise from the marginalization by the others. In both cases, the identity plays a significant role in the division of the society and the formation of socio-cultural 'enclaves' in the urban environment.

The approaches developed by the cultural theorists and geographers attempt to explain the process of identity formation from different perspectives and the role of the spatiality in this process. Hall (1990, as cited in Grossberg, 1996, p.89) suggests two distinct ways of thinking about the constitution of 'cultural identity'. The first model is based on authenticity which regards the identity as an intrinsically defined notion either by a common origin or by a common structure of experience, or both. The cultural identity is, therefore, produced by one, shared culture, 'a sort of collective one true self', reflecting the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes (Hall, 1990, p.223). In the second view, the process of 'becoming' is regarded as the basis of identity rather than an inherent 'oneness'. In this process, as Hall (1996) remarks, the discursive formations and practices produce identities in specific sites. He states that *"they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion… Identities are constructed through, not outside, difference"* (Hall, 1996, p.4). In other words, identity is formed through the recognition of the 'self' and 'the other'.

In either case, the process of the construction of identity and the marginalization of 'the other' brings the social segregation along with it. The differentiation of identities within the society inevitably leads to the partitioning of the urban space and to the formation of particular living environments. These so-called 'enclaves', which have genuine spatial characteristics with respect to the social, economic and cultural profile of the individuals, would emerge in various forms and locations. They can be found in

the form of informal housing sites or ghetto-like shanty towns at the outskirts of the urban fabric, or conversely, they can be located in the center of a city as luxurious housing estates. More dramatically, these kinds of formations would emerge within close vicinity to each other in particular sites, yet without any social or spatial connection. This situation constitutes a typical problem in the contemporary city.

On the other hand, the co-existence of those different socio-cultural enclaves in the same context would be reconsidered within the frame of heterotopology. Although the concept has been much-debated over the singular architectural cases by many scholars in line with the very unique illustrations of Foucault, the contextual frame of heterotopology offers a basis for a discussion on a larger urban context as well. As the heterotopian space accommodates incompatible domains within itself, the conception of heterotopology would indicate a potentiality of holding the disconnected urban enclaves together by providing a common ground for communication. In this sense, an intermediary spatiality is required which would condition the interaction among different social groups. Urban 'thresholds' would provide the necessary ground for this interaction by conditioning the contact among different identities.

Although the *threshold* is originally a spatial term which is defined as in-between spaces in architecture and urbanism, it has also been referred with its anthropological meaning by the scholars in the examination of the transitional periods of individuals. In the context of heterotopology, both meanings can be ascribed to the threshold. While it would provide a transition from one spatial domain to another operating as an in-between space, the encounter between the opposite identities on thresholds would enable individuals to approach otherness (Stavrides, 2010, p.17) by constructing temporary relations between 'the self' and 'the other'. Within this framework, the spatiality of heterotopia offers a possibility of interaction for different identities, and accordingly the multicultural co-existence in the same context through the construction of temporal relations on thresholds. The threshold spatiality, in this sense, plays an intermediary role in the mitigation of urban segregation.

The theoretical framework of the concept of heterotopia elaborated in detail in this

chapter provides a basis for re-contextualizing the term in the urban social context. As a reaction to the singular, total and unrealistic spatiality of utopia, heterotopology is coined by Foucault (1984) as a real context consisting of multiple, incompatible, and inverted 'utopian' spaces, which are characterized as 'enclaves' in the social context of urban space. The threshold is regarded as a basic spatial condition in the heterotopian context affording the togetherness of different cultures. In the next chapter, the spatiality of 'threshold' will be elaborated in detail through the examination of its diverse meanings and examples. In order to construct a solid understanding for its configurational operation in the urban social context, the morphological characteristics of the threshold are investigated from an analytical perspective.

CHAPTER 3

SPATIALITY OF THRESHOLD

There are different theories to explain the relationship between social process and the form of space. While some adopt the idea of 'spatial environmental determinism' (Harvey, 1973, p.44) regarding the spatial form as a basic impulse to orientate human behavior, some others writers, such as Gans (1969), Jacobs (1961) and Webber (1963), denied the impact of spatial form on human behavior. Contrarily, they argued that social processes are the dynamic factors that determine the form of space (Harvey, 1973, p.44). Neither of these approaches, however, is considered ideal by Harvey (1973). He thinks that the relation between the spatial form and social process is a mutual one, and these two domains should be adopted as complementary rather than distinct alternatives (p.46).

As a socio-spatial concept, *threshold* offers an extensive theoretical framework to investigate the relationship between the sociology of space and the architecture of the city. Holding temporary relations between individuals and activities, liminal spaces in cities offers an open perspective by forcing people into close contact with others by conditioning their movement (Stevens, 2006, p.75).

What is essential about the thresholds is that the space offers an opportunity to mediate the tension between opposite domains which can co-exist in the same context. Thus, threshold condition is argued to constitute the basic consideration in Foucault's theory of heterotopology. Heterotopias inevitably create liminal conditions among incompatible entities by loosening up the space on thresholds. The main concern of this chapter is to understand the characteristics of these spaces by establishing a general

framework on the theory of threshold that can be discussed within the concept of heterotopia. In order to relate the operation of threshold with its configurational structure, different types of topological configurations are revealed through the examination of potential urban thresholds which condition the liminal experience in the urban environment.

3.1. Threshold and Liminality: *Basic Definitions*

The concept of 'threshold' has been widely discussed as a particular issue in different fields. As the extensive meaning of the concept allows for the interpretation in different contexts, the term has been widely used in various fields ranging from medicine to architecture, psychology and sociology. In the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, the definition of the term is given as follows: (1) an '*end'* or a '*boundary'* which signifies *'the place'* or *'the point of entering'* or *'the beginning'*, and (2) *'the point at which a physiological or psychological effect begins to be produced'* (2018). In the Oxford Dictionary, the principal meaning is given as (1) *"a strip of wood or stone forming the bottom of a doorway and crossed in entering a house or room"* and as (2) *"the magnitude or intensity that must be exceeded for a certain reaction, phenomenon, result, or condition to occur or be manifested"* (2018).

Given these definitions, a general interpretation can be made for the concept of threshold regardless from its domain-specific meaning; it is a certain point or level between two distinct domains which act as a mediatory entity. As a spatial term, threshold signifies an *in-between* space which provides a ground for transitory experiences for people between segregate environments. Therefore, it is a socio-spatial concept gaining its meaning through the social experiences practiced on space.

The social use of space attains a symbolic meaning to the threshold. For Stavrides (2010), thresholds are social artifacts which are constructed through the meaningful social experiences of different identities (p.16). With reference to Bourdieu's (1977) study in Kabyle house where he reveals the spatiotemporal conditions of the body in the inhabited space, Stavrides (2010) focuses on the symbolic meaning of the house's

main door that Bourdieu (1977) has chosen for observation;

> *"The threshold is the point where two different worlds meet. The inside, a complete world belonging to a distinct family, and the outside, a public world where the fields, the pastures and the common buildings of the community lie. These two worlds are not only symmetrically different, opposing each other as woman to man or darkness to light, but actually meet in order to "fertilize" each other. The important fact is that the threshold acquires its meaning as a point of both contact and separation through the practices that cross it. These practices actually create the threshold as meaningful spatiotemporal experience, depending on who crosses it, under what conditions and in which direction."* (Stavrides, 2010, p.16)

Following Bourdieu's (1990) interpretation of threshold as the *"site of a meeting of contraries"* (Bourdieu, 1990; as cited in Stavrides, 2010, p.17) from the symbolic meaning of the door which divides two distinct worlds, Stavrides (2010) concludes that threshold plays a communicative role between two different opposing worlds. The inside and the outside meet at the threshold and melt into each other, and a sort of in-between space is created through this mutual action. Threshold, therefore, becomes the mediating zone where the contraries are tolerated and suspended. It is a point between inside and outside where the bounding space is loosen and opened up to enable social encounters (Stevens, 2006, p.73). As the concept itself indicates liminality between two distinct states, the threshold reveals a condition of both conjunction and disjunction through a mutual interaction of distinct entities.

3.2. Socio-Spatial Experience of Threshold

The construction of the threshold condition requires the definition of the inside and the outside from the sociological perspective. The door, in Bourdieu's (1990) definition, is the control point that provides the security of the private life in the house from uncertainty of the outer world. The house is the micro-geographic site where the 'self' creates its hegemonic zone, and sustains its own rules and regulations inside whereas

the other side of the door is full of strangers each representing 'the other' who is seen as the potential threat to the privacy. But thresholds are constructed to be crossed as well (Stavrides, 2010, p.14). The crossing is a liminal phase in Van Gennep's (1960) conception. It possesses certain 'rites of passage' which *"accompany every change of place, state, social position and age"* (Van Gennep, 1960; as cited in Turner, 1969, p.94).

The notion of liminality was formerly coined by Van Gennep (1960) in his seminal work entitled "The Rites of Passage". Derived from the Latin word 'limen' which means *"a threshold below which a stimulus is not perceived or is not distinguished from another"* (Oxford Dictionary, 2018), Van Gennep (1960) examines the human rituals performed in 'liminal' periods of a person's lifetime, such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. His general conceptual scheme reveals 'the pattern of the rites of passage' which is divided into three phases: *separation*, *transition* and *incorporation*. The rites of *separation* constitute the detachment phase of an individual or a group of people from the familiar state in the social and cultural setting. During the *transition*, the individual experiences a liminal state which provides no sense of belonging to any fixed point in the social structure or to any location; the person stays in ambiguity. In the post-liminal phase, the transition is completed and the *incorporation* with the new world is accomplished. Drawing on Van Gennep's (1960) ideas, Turner (1969) addresses the liminal stage in the rites of passage and focuses on the structural aspects of the society. He considers the basic model of society with its given rights and obligations as the 'structural' type where the subject is expected to behave according to certain customary norms and ethical standards. The liminal period builds an 'interstructural' situation in which the person has no status, property, symbol, secular clothing indicating rank or role, or position to be distinguished. (Turner, 1985; Turner, 1969, p.359). This may provide a sense of freedom where the established cultural norms can be inverted or suspended.

The ambiguity of liminality at societal level is regarded as a negative situation by some writers who see the transitional being as particularly polluting due to the unclear nature of the personality (Douglas, 1966). The pollution arises from the potential of

contradiction since the liminal beings are neither one thing nor another, or they may be both (as cited in Turner, 1985, p.48). Yet, contradiction does not necessarily become the synonym of the evil or dangerous. On the contrary, the possibility of the experience of contraries on thresholds provides flexibility as the binary oppositions can be dissolved into an alternative hybridity. This hybridity offers an opportunity for an open society, what Turner (1989) named it as 'communitas', which is relatively non-structured compared to closed societies. The open society is, unlike the stability of the closed society, potentially or ideally extensible to the limits of humanity (p.370).

The early theories on the issue can be related to the current problem of space directly or indirectly in order to theorize the operation of thresholds on societal level. The conceptual framework of Lefebvre (1991) on 'lived space' was the product of a search for a more concrete definition of social space other than its material and assigned meanings. The lived space conceptualized by Lefebvre (1991) gains its meaning over the practices of its users and their directly lived experiences, not from the eye of the urbanist or the architect. Thus, he gives priority to the impact of social relations on spatial practices and the reciprocal interaction between people and space. He does not consider the lived space as an intermediary site between the conceived space and the perceived space, but the concern is directly with bodily lived experiences since the *"...social practice presupposes the use of the body"* (p.40). This framework directs us to the issue of social interaction. As the social space governs all the social encounters and establishes its relation through these encounters (Dündar, 2015, p.32), the lived space or the representational space may create threshold conditions at certain situations in which the space is defined through the antagonistic relation of oppositions.

The theoretical ground of 'thirdspace' coined by Soja (1996) would offer a more extensive framework for our discussion. Dealing with the problem from the socio-cultural perspective, he sees the thirdspace as an opportunity where radical openness can be constructed. In the thirdspace, the dialectical conflict of the binary oppositions is dissolved into each other in the space of difference (Soja & Hooper, 1993). Here, the issue is problematized within the context of cultural identity politics. Soja and Hooper (1993) search for a site of liberation from the liability and weakness that the

modernist identity politics impose. The ‘margin’, or ‘thirdspace’ is referred as the site of emancipation where the difference is accepted and tolerated, and it functions as a threshold providing a ground for transition between the oppressive and the oppressed.

What has been problematized as a ‘space of difference’ in Soja and Hooper’s (1993) perspective is a radical approach based on the cultural identity politics. This approach can also be extended to the urban context as it is the urban space itself that governs all the differences not only among different cultural identities but also among diverse social groups, various activities, forms and functions.

3.3. Spatiality of Fragmentation and Encounter in Urban Context

One of the current problems of the modern metropolis is urban segregation. Individuals sharing similar traits in terms of their identity of class, gender, belief, race, sexual preference, etc. aggregating on certain locations in urban environment form certain territorial patterns. Harvey (1973) explains the motivation behind the formation of these patterns through the logic of “significant relationships” (p.34). The meaning of space depends on these relationships in which individuals acquire a proportion of ‘common image’ based on the group norms, and eventually form a common language of ‘group behavior’ (p.35). The spatial form of the diverse behavioral patterns is ensured through demarcation of the territory. Harvey (1973) relates this boundary effect with the ‘edges’ in Lynch’s (1960) study on urban elements. By restricting the movement beyond, edges define the boundaries of these territorial formations, what Lynch (1960) classified as ‘districts’.

Territorial organization is seen by Harvey (1973) as a purposeful activity in the sense of achieving collectivity in order to maximize the social and economic efficacy. The collective performance of a group is inversely correlated with the size of the community. For that, he indicates the importance of designing territorial organization at the local level where involvement of the individuals in political and economic procedures is more likely.

In general, the partition of urban environment is seen by Harvey (1973) as a natural process. Various cultural norms, kinship relations, social differentiations and choice of activity patterns lead to differentiation in the utilization of space, which eventually ends up with the fragmentation in urban environment. Although the fragmentation through territoriality in capitalist societies is approached critically as the capital relations lead uneven development for disadvantaged groups, it is the reality of the modern metropolis which ought to be faced with. The notion of urban inherently signifies diversity, and the diversity inevitably implies territorial formation of urban space.

What Jacobs (1961) attempted to demonstrate with her seminal work, "The Death and Life of Great American Cities", is the outcomes of this confrontation which opened a new perspective in urban planning. She was critical about the totalitarian approach of modern planning considered as a means of reducing diversity. Many of her admirers followed a similar path and appreciated the 'power of fragmentary urban design'[12], not by affirming and aiming the segregation of the society, but accepting that the diversity in metropolis is too complex to be controlled by comprehensive approaches. This reality led new urban models to be developed starting from the second half of the twentieth century, in which the urban problems such as overpopulation, infrastructure, economic and social problems increased dramatically. 'Contextualism' was offered by Schumacher (1996) as a middle ground to the fragmentary development of the twentieth century cities which housed the collision of modern architectural enclaves and the already existing traditional city. At the base of this argument, there lies the idea that *"because form need not follow function, building programs and uses need to be expressed in the configuration of buildings and towns"* (Schumacher, 1996, p.294-295). As a member of the contextualist urban design tradition developed in Cornell

[12] In "Urban Design Since 1945: A Global Perspective", Shane (2011) proposes a global perspective on urban design derived from various cases ranging from America to Asia. Demonstrating the collapse of modernist planning, he brings the current urban models together within a comprehensive perspective. Accordingly, he deals with the issues in the fragmented metropolis and the advantages of fragmentary design approach. Lynch's (1961) analysis on Boston, as Shane (2011) asserts, demonstrated the 'power of fragmentary urban design' as the interviews with the inhabitants of Boston revealed a fragmentary mental map, which then guided Lynch to define the elements of the image of the city (p.199).

School, he briefly sketches the idea why urban design should work with particular urban contexts rather than utopian ideals (Shane, 2011, p.202). The first image of this approach came with the design competition organized by Michael Graves in 1978 called *"Roma Interrota"* which brought urban designers with different backgrounds to illustrate the design of the city special fragments.

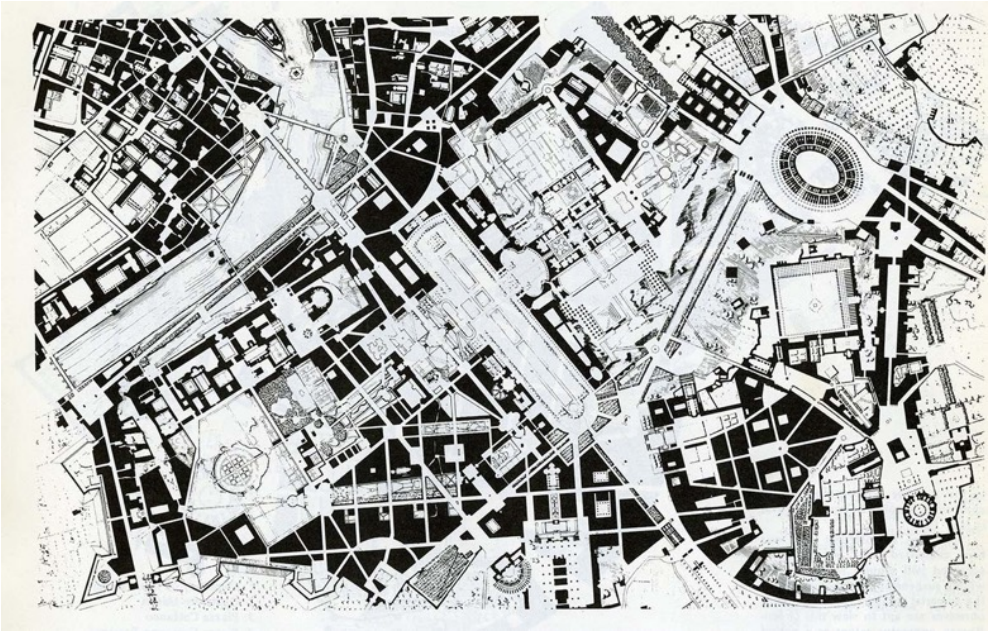

Figure 3.1: Roma Interrota Sector designed by Colin Rowe, Barbara Littenberg, Steven Paterson, Judith DiMaio and Peter Carl (Source: Shane, 2011, p.203)

Rowe and Koetter's (1978) proposal of 'Collage City' theorized the idea of urban design in the form of collage, rather than as a holistic entity. Yet, they proposed a series of urban elements that would sustain the coherence of the fragments in the city. These elements are:

- *"Memorable streets (armatures)"* as connection lines,
- *"Stabilizers (enclaves with single center)"* to concentrate people in enclosed spaces,
- *"Potentially interminable set pieces (large enclaves with multiple centers)",*
- *"Splendid public terraces"* (to enable the perception of the city as a whole mentally),

- *"Ambiguous and composite buildings (heterotopias)"* to combine different urban patterns
- *"Nostalgia-producing instruments"* (Rowe & Koetter, 1978, pp.152-174; as cited in Shane, 2011, p.204)[13]

The problem of the relation between the fragment was addressed by Ungers in 1977. Inspired from Guy Debord's (1957) psycho-geographic map of "The Naked City", which illustrates the 'atmosphere' fragments of Paris, he proposed "Belin as Green Archipelago" with his colleagues R. Koolhaas, P. Riemann, H. Kollhoff, and A. Ovaska. O. M. Ungers rather focuses on the spaces between the fragments. The project envisioned the Berlin as consisting of sixty isolated fragments -*the islands in the archipelago*- that constitute the 'cities within cities', each surrounded by green spaces that would allow the nature to accommodate high-speed infrastructure and various land utilizations such as tourism, recreation and agriculture.

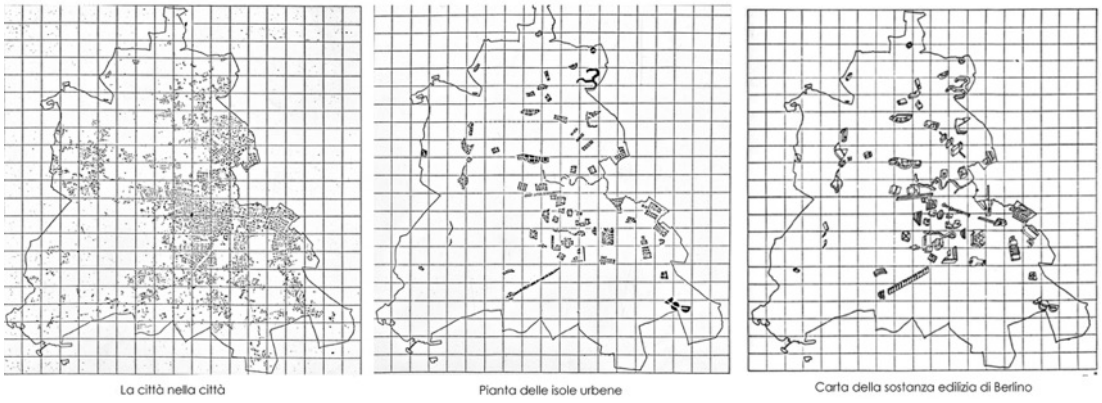

Figure 3.2: The project of "Berlin as Green Archipelago"
From left to right: The city within the city, The plan of urban islands, The chart of buildings of Berlin (translated by the author) (Source: URL14)

Unger's (1977) proposal of green corridors to utilize in-between spaces among the enclaves seems operational in terms of both separating and integrating the fragments

[13] The terms used between parentheses belong to Shane (2011) which he correlates Rowe and Koetter's elements with his own model

in the city (Shane, 2011, p.204). However, it may also become restrictive in the sense of the activation of urban space. These spaces inherently play an intermediary role between the fragments, thus the designers must pay a special attention to them. As green spaces may provide a transition between the nature and the artefact, these thresholds can operate in different forms and functions as well.

The idea of collage offers a new perspective to deal with the complexity of cities, yet the lack of interest on thresholds necessitates further interpretations. It is undeniable that there is a strong relation between the spatial form and social processes, as discussed in the previous section. The physical form of each fragment, or each enclave, therefore, possesses a certain kind of sociality. The co-presence of these differences in designed or spontaneously emerged in social environments requires further investigation of spatiality on thresholds where they encounter.

As stated earlier, threshold is a peculiar site which operates as a mediator between two distinct domains. Mediation, here, does not refer to the negotiation of contraries by simply refusing the oppositions and forcing them into a homogeneous integration. On thresholds, the oppositions find opportunity to meet with each other. It is a neutral zone[14] where the encounter occurs. The dialectical conflict of the two worlds is neutralized on thresholds through the interaction, whether it is antagonistic or solidarist. In-between space does not belong to one side or another, yet it belongs to both. Moving from the scale of a doorway to the scale of country, they offer a liminal experience during the passage in time and space, and mediate the relationship with the outside (Stavrides, 2010, p.81).

From this point of view, when threshold condition or liminality is applied to spatial context, the transient characteristics of space can offer an open perspective for further spatial interpretations, as also argued by Sennett (2006). Based on the basic analogy between the cell membrane and the border conditions in urban environment, Sennett

[14] Van Gennep (1960) addresses to the former periods when the Christian lands occupied a part of Europe. In those times, each country had a surrounding strip of neutral ground, such as deserts, marshes, and virgin forests. These 'neutral zones' constituted the thresholds between the sacred territories of the countries (p.18). Here, by neutral zone, the writer refers to a non-hegemonic territory which does not have any superior social, cultural or political entity occupying the space.

(2006) argues that, being both porous and resistant, liminal spaces provide an open system promoting the interaction for different groups (p.1). Strictly divided functions and zoning eventually end up with the closed urban system which he considers the reason for the decline of urban life. Instead, the city must be open for emergent social and spatial patterns if the urban life is desired to be kept as healthy, safe and tolerant. Creation of threshold conditions at border zones is one of the principles for this in order to sustain the urban life active (Sennett, 2006).

Like Sennett, Stevens (2006) sees threshold as a site where stimulations for the new collectivities can emerge. A threshold can give the space an open perspective which allows the users to attain symbolic meanings according to their spontaneous activities. As it creates peculiar conditions of intensity and transformation, and ambiguity in social categories and rules, the liminal space can open the way for playful behavior (p.74). It is not only a site to be crossed; but to spend time and establish temporary relationships by active engagements with space. Different playful experiences on thresholds are illustrated by Stevens (2006), such as the use of the outdoor spaces and staircases of the buildings, which are elevated from the public street, by skateboarders after the office hours when the pedestrian movement is minimum. Although the physical conditions of the steps are aimed to prevent the skateboarders from playing, this create a challenge for players and they invent new ways to transcend the restricting conditions. Stevens (2006) defines the reaction of the players as a transgressive act which contradict and loosen the straightforward functionality of stairs (p.84). This statement is valid not only for threshold. But also about the social formation the liminality, then, offers the possibility for converting the norms of the dominant society, as well. In the course of play, individuals construct their identities as the 'skaters' performing their show for the audience. Thus, thresholds provide a temporal opportunity for people to construct temporal identities and reverse the norms of the society which would allow the emergence of unexpected and opposite activities.

Similarly, Luz (2006) sees the in-between, or the liminal, as the *"solid ground of new interpretations"* manifesting the *solid-void dialectic* and the *idea of polarities* which shapes the social and spatial organization of the contemporary city (p.146). What

dominates the current understanding of architecture and urban design is the configuration of buildings as solid objects. However, it is the space (as void) left between the buildings that governs the human activity in urban social life. The in-between space is the social space, for Luz (2006), allowing the *transition* for the users between places. During the transition, in-between space becomes the 'other' place which is neither a part of the departure point, nor the arrival point itself. Thus, the 'other' temporarily turns into a kind of a *transitional place* (Luz, 2006, p.148).

She relates the transitional feature of 'in-between spaces' with Foucault's conception of heterotopia as both concepts carry the ambiguity of relatedness between distinct systems. It is essentially quite a relevant approach. Nevertheless, heterotopology offers a more extensive investigation including not only the (in-between) transitional spaces but also the fragments, or the enclaves that constitute the threshold. Yet, her attempt to define the possible in-between spaces within the urban fabric stimulates further interpretations. Luz (2006) conceptualizes these spaces under three categories:

1. *'liminal places of transition and passage'*
2. *'spaces between buildings'*
3. *'transit(ional) localities of transportation or communication'* (Luz, 2001, p.151)

The first category indicates the liminality of *"entry or exit points"* on border zones between two separate domains; between the public and private or between the indoor and outdoor. The border space is marked through walls, fences, doors, windows, etc. The second category defines the "*leftover spaces"* among buildings. The urban elements in this category are the streets, alleys, squares, parking lots and green areas. The last category is directly related to the *"transitional areas"* in the city, such as "*transport*" nodes, *"leisure and commerce"* centers, and *"a mixed space of communication and transportation"* including media and telecommunication systems (Luz, 2006, p.151).

The given definitions and examples indicate that within the context of liminality, the concept of threshold has a quite extensive meaning in social and spatial terms. From

micro-geography of doorway to the transition periods of an individual in his lifetime, from private space of a house to the public realm, thresholds operate as a transition area between two distinct states. If approached to the problem within urban context, the ambiguity and looseness of space open the way for new possibilities and interpretations for the utilization of space by the inhabitants.

Luz (20016) provides an alternative conception for potential thresholds in urban fabric, but it is open to development. In the forthcoming part, further conceptions are investigated with reference to various examples discussed before within the frame of the theory of thresholds.

3.4. Conceptualizations on 'Potential Urban Thresholds'

The term threshold signifies an ending point or line beyond which there exists another socio-spatial context with different set of rules. In geological terms, thresholds consist of topographical elements, whether focal or linear, which restricts the passage from one field to another, such as hills and mountains, rivers, seas, and so on. From primitive societies to first civilizations, these elements have been utilized as natural protectors demarcating the settlement boundaries to prevent the penetration from danger of the outside world. However, with the introduction of the term into social sciences, its geological definition has extended to a broader context. Thresholds are not only physical elements that separate two distinct worlds, but also mental or physical experiences during the passage.

This framework enabled many theorists to make various interpretations on liminality and transition, as mentioned in earlier sections. The aforementioned conceptualizations showed that the investigation on thresholds in urban context cannot be limited to certain physical separators. Urban thresholds are the spaces utilized by inhabitants actively in their everyday lives.

Different interpretations have been developed to analyze the thresholds in urban environment. As a collection of short essays, 'Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity

in Urban Life' edited by Franck and Stevens (2006) brings various writers together to develop a general framework on the problem. Different case studies given by the writers illustrate how the concept is open to interpretation according to the context. In their recently published book 'Terrain Vague: Interstices at the Edge of the Pale', Mariani and Barron (2014) have a similar perspective, but from a broader question on *terrains vagues*. The theoretical discussions and the substantial analyses on case studies of the writers depict the diverse meanings of these vague lands, not only by taking account of the in-between spaces specifically, but also by illustrating the re-appropriation of the leftover spaces in cities. Both studies offer alternative conceptions; while the former examines the space in terms of its appropriation, tension, resistance and discovery, the latter is formed around the analysis of the location of space, its traversing and its application[15].

Up until this point, the given conceptualizations and studies illustrate that the ambiguity in definition of thresholds led the term to be adapted in different contexts with different approaches. Nevertheless, this ambiguity led to lack of proper identification of potential thresholds in urban space. In the next part, an alternative conceptualization will be developed in order to identify the typology of thresholds that can be found in urban fabric within the guidance of aforementioned conceptions.

3.4.1. Borders and Boundaries

In 'The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities', Sennett (1999) states that in ecological systems of waters or wild nature, the most intense activities take place on the frontiers where resistance exists. In the wild, this intensity occurs on the spots where the farm animals and the ones living in the woods encounter; in the water, it happens so on interaction points between the organisms living in different levels of the water. The less conflicting sites are less active, and the social center

[15] The classification is given according to the division of book sections. For detailed reading, see: Franck, K., & Stevens, Q. (2006). *Loose space: possibility and diversity in urban life*. Routledge, London or NY, Barron, P., & Mariani, M. (Eds.). (2013). *Terrain vague: interstices at the edge of the pale*. Routledge, London or NY.

locates on the physical border (p.231). This metaphor finds itself a place in the city where border conditions emerge. He links this metaphor with the medieval town walls which served as unregulated development sites in the city. The wall functioned as a zone where *"heretics, foreign exiles and other misfits tended to gravitate towards far from the controls of the center"* (Sennett, 2006, p.3).

In his strong defense on the creation of open systems in the city, construction of *'ambiguous edges'* or *'passage territories'* constitute one of the systematic elements[16]. But the distinction between borders and boundaries is a critical one, as the border is an *"edge where different groups interact"* while boundary is an *"edge where things end"* (Sennett, 2006). The latter is what dominates the modern city that can be found in residential areas as gated communities, or infrastructural elements which divide different social regions through highways with high vehicle traffic (Sennett, 1999, p.235). On the other hand, borders are both porous and resistant allowing the passage between territories (Sennett, 2006, p.3).

Figure 3.3: A view from a gated community in Kiev, Ukraine
(Source: Michael & Blason, 2014, URL15)

[16] In line with Jacobs' ideas on urbanism, Sennett (2006) argues for creating open systems in the city as a solution to decline in urban social life. For further information about the tools and methods to achieve this goal, see Sennett, R. (2006). The open city. *The Quito Papers and the New Urban Agenda*, pp. 90–95, accessed in June, 2018

Encounter on borders is a tense interaction. The defense of the territory occurs on the borderlands, whether it belongs to animals in nature or to humans in the city. In nature, the territory is demarcated by instinctive behaviors; in the city, physical boundaries guard the territory by allowing passage through controlled gates. The walls of a gated community are the boundary whereas the gate is the border. The gate is a threshold; it is an encountering point with the outside. As the border also allows crossing and it connects as well as it separates, Stavrides (2010) investigates its possible meanings other than protection from the hostile. Enclosure is *"not only declaration of war on otherness, but also the possibility of crossing the bridge towards otherness. Not only hostility, but also, perhaps, negotiation"* (p.14). Thus, a threshold on the border offers a kind of opening of an identity to outside.

3.4.2. Access and Exchange Points

In Lynch's (1960) study on the urban elements that form the urban image, 'nodes' are defined as the strategic points in the city where human mobility is in its most intensive form. These nodes, as Lynch (1960) states, can be junctions, transportation hubs, a crossing or convergence of paths, points of shifting from one system to another (p.41). Access and exchange points, in the present context, refer to the transportation nodes which provide entrance and exit from a site.

At city scale, for instance, major railway stations serve as thresholds where a great number of strangers gather and be exposed to new experiences and sensations. The arrival to the city is a *"dramatic rite of passage"* (Stevens, 2006, p.78). As Habermas (1997) also states, these thresholds house varied opportunities during this passage:

> *"Railway stations are characteristic places for dense and varied as well as anonymous and fleeting encounters, in other words, for the type of interactions which were to mark the atmosphere of life in big cities, described by Benjamin as overflowing with excitement"* (Habermas, 1997, pp.216-217; Stevens, 2007, p.158)

As the major stations act as thresholds at the city scale by providing a ground for encounter for strangers both with the other strangers and with the city itself, the access and exchange points in the district level also function as nodal thresholds. Bus stops, subway stations, and other transportation service points are the focal points that provide openings from districts to the other parts of the city, and vice versa. These spots offer temporal threshold experiences for citizens governing the shortest stays in the urban space.

Figure 3.4: A view from the entrance of the main railway station of Hamburg-Hauptbahnhof Hamburg (Source: Tümtürk's personal archive, 2016)

3.4.3. Leisure and Consumption Spaces

> *"These arcades, a recent invention of industrial luxury, are glass-roofed, marble-paneled corridors extending through whole blocks of buildings, whose owners have joined together for such enterprises. Lining both sides of these corridors, which get their light from above, are the most elegant shops, so that the arcade is a city, a world in miniature"* (Benjamin, 1982, p.31)

Emerged as an innovative architectural form of space for the consumption culture in

the early nineteenth century in Paris, *arcades* symbolized the passage from interior of bourgeois to city streets (Simser, 2017, p.66). The unfinished work of Walter Benjamin (1982), namely 'The Arcades Project' analyses the transformation of the society and the everyday life with modernism by focusing on these 'phantasmagoric' spaces of consumption and leisure regarding the dream worlds created in the arcades. Demonstration of commodities in a linear sequence of arcades offers an illusory image for the modern bourgeois in dream world-like environment. Turning the street into interior under the vaulted glass, the arcades stands between the private interior and the public exterior by providing a passage between them for the 'Flâneur', the historic figure of the consumer society who was born and live in arcades.

Figure 3.5: A watercolor illustration of a gallery of the Palais-Royal entitled "La Sortie du numero 113" from an unknown artist (Source: Benjamin, 1982, p.491)

The department stores and the mega malls in the contemporary city have arisen as the mutated version of the nineteenth century arcades. The same logic of the consumerist society is applied in these places which no longer occupy the public street by

converting it into bourgeois interior, but it creates its own space by moving the street into confined mass of bulky buildings in the form of an armature[17]. Linearity remains the same; shops are adjacently aligned at the corridors on each level of the multi-layered store, which gives the feeling of walking through the street.

Figure 3.6: Views from some large shopping malls in Turkey
(Source: Personal archive, 2018)

Shane (2005) relates the images of fantasy created in these malls and theme parks with the so-called "heterotopia of illusion" in Foucauldian terminology. As the nineteenth century arcades were to alter the urban modern life by concentrating on the idea of consumption in the arcades, the 'fantasy of freedom' is offered in heterotopia of illusion containing flexible and illusory marketing spaces (p.240). Just as the arcade, heterotopia of illusion is a special form of enclave containing a miniature city within the city with illusory images of consumption and leisure.

Standing between the public and private, between the real and illusory, the arcade or the mall becomes a liminal space in the course of passage. Today's consumer corresponds to the metaphor of Flâneur. Also, as a distinct realm from work and home which are the terminal points of everyday commute, a journey to consumption and leisure spaces drive individuals from their everyday routines. The transitional identity

[17] An armature is a linear element in Shane's (2005) model which consists of sub-elements arranged in sequence. They can be in a compressed form having increased capacity of sorting, as in the case of arcades, or they can be stretched by transportation or communication systems which forms the basis of a city (p.199).

of Flâneur finds itself a place in the phantasmagoria of Arcades; the transitional identity of consumerist society can escape from the reality of the city in the streets of the mall.

3.4.4. Third-Places

Getting stuck between the domestic life of home and the sphere of work, the unbalanced daily life in social spaces is issued by Oldenburg (1989) in his book 'The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community'. Looking at the decline in community life in American cities as a result of the force of efficient productivity, he complains about the lack of informal public life:

> *"A two-stop model of daily routine is becoming fixed in our habits as the urban environment affords less opportunity for public relaxation. Our most familiar gathering centers are disappearing rapidly."* (Oldenburg, 1989, p.9)

Echoing Soja's (1996) concept of 'third space', the term 'third place' came into existence in the line of a search for a balanced spatial experience amongst three realms of urban spaces: the first place -*home*-, the second place –*work*-, and the third place – *social space*. The third place signifies 'the core settings of informal public life' designating various types of public places which allow regular, voluntarily, informal, and happily gatherings of individuals based on the logic of *hangout*. They are the places for slow and easy relaxation, such as bars, cafes, coffee shops, street corners, store porches, park benches, lobbies, doorways, etc. (Oldenburg, 1989, pp.9-27).

There are certain characteristics unique to third places which are systematically described by Oldenburg (1989). The core concern of third place is its ability to provide a *neutral ground* where people may gather upon. It must be affordable for all people; they can easily come and go, and feel at home and comfortable. This quality depends upon to what extent a third place becomes a *leveler*. This term is related with the degree of inclusiveness of a third place. The equality of individuals is essential. Thus, there is

no formal criteria of membership and exclusion in the third place. These two qualities of place are set in third-place to condition the main activity, which is *conversation*. It brings the *"joys of association"* which are marked *"by smiles and twinkled eyes, by hand-shaking and back-slapping"*. Another characteristic of third place is that it is *accessible* at any time of the day and it is located with close proximity to residences so that it would *accommodate* local individuals. The charm of the places depends on these individuals, *the regulars*, rather than the physical properties of space, as it is the presence of the regulars which gives place its meaning and character. The physical properties of third place maintain *a low profile*. They are not elegant places nor they are advertised to attract large mass of people. This enables the local community to feel more comfortable and relaxed in the third place. The sense of belonging to the place provides an alternative *home away from home* for individuals on a public setting which is always open to *playful* possibilities (Oldenburg, 1989, pp.22-39).

Although being reductionist in the sense that it lacks the redefinition of space, and it underestimates the demography of users, the core idea behind the theory is valuable. By creating new activity zones that would serve to the locals, it is aimed to resolve the duality of modern urban life, which is formed as a commute between home and work spaces, into an alternative third realm as the places for leisure and relaxation. Locality and informal public life are essential to achieve that goal.

The study of Altay's (2004) on 'minibar' in the city of Ankara can be an exemplary case from a broader perspective for what Oldenburg (1989) attempts to frame. Minibar is a place and the name of night activity of 'hang out' created by young people in one of the oldest neighborhoods in Ankara. It is not a closed place or *"...a defined space. It is located in an in-between space; a gap; literally space between the buildings"* (Altay, 2003, p.161; cited in Altay, 2004, p.24) (See: Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7: Minibar (Source: Altay, 2004, URL16)

The study reveals the motivations behind the re-definition of an established space by the inhabitants. 'Minibar' is characterized as 'third place' through so-called 'transgressive' spatial activities of Ankara youth on thresholds which are sustained in-between by virtue of temporality and flexibility (Altay, 2004, p.IV).

3.4.5. Common Spaces

Foucault's appropriation of space in the practice of power gave birth to the conception of heterotopia as a counter-site which mirrors and inverts norms of the ordered space. Sargın (2003) argues that this counter-positioning of heterotopia brings a twofold consideration; for the dominant, it is a space where the order is sustained, and for the marginal, it is a space of resistance (p.3). Heterotopia of deviance, the second type of heterotopia defined by Foucault, works on the first ground where 'normalization' is maintained through the act of power on space, such as prisons and mental hospitals. For Stavrides (2015), this is achieved through converting the contemporary metropolis into 'city of enclaves' in each of which order is guaranteed by site-specific rules, and people learned to surrender their rights in exchange of the promised protection (p.10).

The forms of resistance in heterotopias, on the other hand, emerge outside of the enclaves, on thresholds where the homogeneity of the enclaves is broken. In Stavrides's (2015) argument, threshold indicates common spaces which are created by people *"in their effort to establish a common world that houses, supports and expresses the community they participate in"* (p.10).

The threshold experience of these spaces is issued by Stavrides (2010) in terms of their ability to accommodate collective resistance. In cities, public gathering places, streets and squares are chosen for the sites of resistance in social movements. As an example of this situation, he closely revisits the youth uprising that took place in Athens, Greece in 2008 and the threshold experiences emerged during the protests. Initiated by police violence against the provocative expressions of couple of young people on the street, the protests reached to a large number in a short time. People spontaneously organized on public spaces and took various forms of resistance (Stavrides, 2010, p.132).

Figure 3.8: Hooded ballerinas performing their show on the street during the protests (Source: Stavrides, 2010, p.138)

Different collective identities are involved in the protests. The space became a common ground for these identities in the form of open assemblies in occupied places where they can share their dreams and values, and proposals for action (Ibid, p.142),

through which they can approach otherness. A similar threshold experience occurred during Gezi Park events in Taksim Square in 2013 in İstanbul. Started as a minor protest against the destruction of trees to transform the public park into a shopping center, the protests then became a public resistance throughout the country as a result of the use of violence by the governmental forces against protesters. The public park hosted people from different social, ethnic, religious, and political groups throughout the days. Social (political and cultural) co-existence of conflicting identities on the same place increased the tolerance in space. During the protests in many cities, public parks, streets and squares turned into temporary thresholds taking various forms of representation in urban space (See: Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.9: A group of people doing yoga in Gezi Park during the protests
(Source: Usher, 2013, URL17)

In order for a space to be utilized commonly by the society, it is necessary for that space to be loosen (Stavrides, 2010, p.140). This means that the space must be open to emergent activities so that people may collectively appropriate and reinvent it. The looseness of a space provides free access to public open spaces by keeping anonymity of strangers (Fanck & Stevens, 2007, p.4). Loose spaces can be found in the form of *streets*, *sidewalks*, *plazas* and *squares* which are publicly owned and designed to serve

certain kinds of activities, but go beyond the intended purpose promoting various uses. (Ibid, p.7). They are created or occupied as spaces which would make possible to perform collective creativity (Stavrides, 2010, p.140). For instance, a public square can be a stage for a street musician, or become a studio for a painter (See: Figure 3.10).

Figure 3.10: Young people skating on staircases at night outside the State Library, Melbourne (Source: Stevens, 2007, p.83)

The physical elements such as walls and fences can be used to hang banners or items to exhibit or sale. Small urban spots such as niches, stairs and recesses allow for lingering, gathering and hanging out (Fanck & Stevens, 2007, p.8).

3.5. Spatial Characteristics of Thresholds

This categorization frames the potential thresholds that can be found within the urban space. Although they all indicate certain types of spatial uses within the given contexts, they have typical characteristics that are common to all. All urban thresholds are constructed through *human movement*. What is at stake here is the pedestrian movement that would open up the possibility of threshold experience. As the *commuters* (Luz, 2006, p.152), everyday pedestrians move through spaces to reach to

a certain point. The experience of threshold expects to be explored on their way to the destination. The configuration of the space is the most essential determinant in conditioning the movement.

In this sense, first of all, thresholds accommodate a certain degree of ***publicness***. This enables users from different backgrounds to be present on thresholds simultaneously. If the city is considered as a whole divided into public and private spaces, thresholds provide the possibility of transition not only between private spaces, but also between the private and public spaces as well. Publicness gives the individual a sense of freedom as everyone can claim right to utilize the space.

Utilization of a space by various users depends on its ***affordance***. Affordance here refers to the stimuli which the space conveys to the users (Barlas, 2006, p.7). The term affordance was invented and defined by Gibson (1986) as follows:

> *"The affordances of anything, be it material or nonmaterial, are those properties that enable it to be used in a particular way by a particular species or an individual member of that species. These properties can be the physical properties of the configuration of an object or setting that allow it to be used for some overt activity. They also afford meanings and aesthetic appreciation."*
> (Gibson, 1986; as cited in Lang, 1987, p. 81; Barlas, 2006, p.18)

The built environment and its configuration affords various properties for various behaviors of potential users, as well. For instance, the combination of the physical elements in the environment provides places of gathering, or it can afford symbolic meanings (Barlas, 2006, p.19). The richness of the affordance of a space for human experiences arises from the interaction between people and their environment. As Lang (1987) describes, the spatial behavior of human depends upon the processes of perception and cognition together with the affordances of the environment (p.84). Thus, if the space affords freedom of choice among various activities, the capacity of human mobility and the inclusiveness of a space would be enhanced. Additionally, breaking the restriction of *"over-specification of form and function"*, as Jacobs (1961) claimed, the chance for unexpected encounter, discovery and innovation can be

achieved in cities (Sennett, 2006).

This leads to another dimension of thresholds which is the ***state of encounter*** that is conditioned through movement of individuals. Encounter does not necessarily indicate a confrontation with the hostile. Stavrides (2010) perceive it as a positive action which enables people to approach otherness that would lead to negotiate with it:

> *"In this transitory territory that belongs to neither of the neighboring parts, one understands that it is necessary to feel the distance so as to be able to erect the bridge. Hostility arises from the preservation and increase of this distance while assimilation results from the obliteration of distance. Encounter is realized by keeping the necessary distance while crossing it at the same time"* (pp.17-18).

Encountering with the otherness, one can find a chance to manifest himself politically, as well. What Stavrides (2010) attempts to construct in his study is this idea of thresholds as the spaces of emancipation, which is proposed as the 'spatial convergence' by Stevens (2006).

In order to achieve that, thresholds should embrace the differences by providing ***accessibility***. This feature is related rather with the configuration of space and its legibility. The balance between openness and closeness designates the relation of threshold with its immediate surroundings. The number of gate reaching out the space, and the degree of visibility and integration of a space determine the level of accessibility of that space for different users. The more the system is closed, the more it is likely to destroy the movement, and accordingly, the vitality of space.

All of these features are applicable in the analysis of the operation of thresholds that can be found in urban space. The list can be extended in specific contexts. Yet, this framework gives an idea about the innate characteristics of the thresholds. From a general standpoint, thresholds offer temporal spatial experiences for people by providing a common ground for emergent activities and encounters.

The topological configuration of threshold designates its ability to condition the degree of encounter. It can be assumed that more open and connected a threshold is to its neighboring environment, the more likely it is to be utilized by different groups. It would not be proper to assume that a threshold can only be located at the edges of an enclosure. A threshold can emerge within an enclave and utilized by people coming from outside through linkages. However, the operation of threshold weakens when it is located within the boundaries of the enclave. Figure 3.11 illustrates different threshold configurations that can be found in a given environment (See: Figure 3.11).

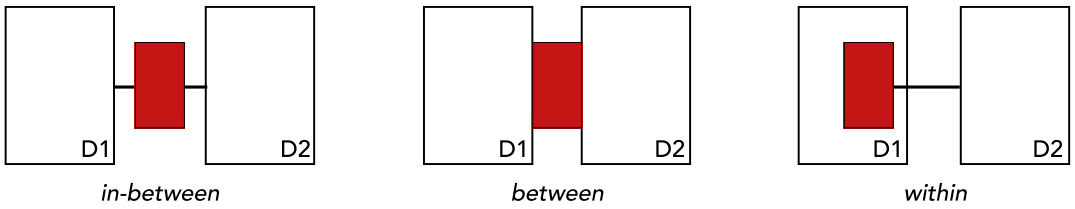

Figure 3.11: Typology of the topological configurations of threshold between the two different domains

A threshold can be located ***in-between*** the enclaves, ***between*** the enclaves, or ***within*** the enclaves. The one ***in-between*** assigns a certain amount of distance from the enclosed territories and is reached through linkages. These linkages can take the form of transportation channels in the built environment. Its accessibility is higher compared to other types, and it can also be increased by additional links. These thresholds can be in the form of a central park in a district or a public square at the center of the city. The threshold ***between*** the enclaves can be considered as a borderland. The chance of encounter in these thresholds is lower compared to in-between thresholds as they can serve only to its surrounding within a limited space. The least chance for encounter is found on thresholds located ***within*** the enclaves. The level of publicness within the enclave is lower because individuals tend to exclude the outsiders from their defined territories. Likewise, the outsiders would prefer to spend time in relatively more public areas where they can act more freely.

These three definitions provide a basic understanding about the topological relationship between threshold and enclave. In order to make further interpretations, it is necessary to develop a systematic approach to reveal the operation of potential thresholds in the urban environment by looking at the real cases. By this way, the impact of the configurational structure of the built environment on the behavior of humans can be revealed, and the problem of segregation among different social agents in the urban environment can be reframed within the threshold spatiality. This would enable further discussions on the spatiality of heterotopia from a morphological perspective within the social context of urban space.

In this framework, the next chapter investigates the relation between the configuration of the built environment and the socio-spatial operation of potential thresholds by focusing on Emek District in Bursa. The district provides the basic qualities of a heterotopian space accommodating incompatible social and cultural groups in the same settlement context. As the territorial organization of the groups maintains a fragmented structure in the district in accordance with the socio-cultural origins of the individuals, there reveals potential threshold conditions on common spaces. The analytical methods offered by 'Space-Syntax Theory' will be applied to the context in order to develop a systematic approach to investigate the relationship between the operation of potential thresholds and the spatial configuration of the district.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO-SPATIAL EXPLORATION OF THE THRESHOLD: THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SPATIAL CONFIGURATION AND THE OPERATION OF THRESHOLD IN THE CONTEXT OF EMEK DISTRICT, BURSA

The wide range of theoretical discussions over the concept of threshold provides a broad understanding of a space of in-betweenness both from the sociological and architectural perspectives. The flexibility and the porosity of these spaces would offer different activity patterns for people by providing interfaces at socio-spatial border conditions where distinct social agents would encounter. In socially complex structures, threshold conditions arise either spontaneously by the emergent activities of people or they are formed intentionally through design. In both ways, possibility of the encounter is directly related with spatial configuration, the particular syntax of urban fabric. The level of publicness gives individuals the flexibility of movement. On the other hand, movement pattern is also based on the level of integration and betweenness of the site, which increase the possibility of a space to perform as a threshold.

The discursive ground of the theory needs to be tested in an existing context through an integrated approach which can be placed under Foucault's theory of heterotopology. In this frame, Emek District in the city of Bursa is selected as a research area. Co-existence of different settlement patterns, where different social groups reside in, creates a peculiar situation in the site. The research, in this context, aims to reveal the intrinsic spatial quality of morphological threshold conditions of the 'in-between spaces' where different socio-cultural groups encounter. An analytical approach will be developed as a secondary step based on 'Space-Syntax Theory' through a

comparative analysis in order to reveal the characteristic spatiality of encounter in terms of spatial configuration of urban fabric.

The city of Bursa has a deep-rooted history. Since the Ottoman period, it has been one of the focal points in Middle East geography which attracted trading activities at the international level. The geographic location of the city used to affect the migration routes from different cities, and thus, it has been a meeting point for different cultures. This tendency continued after the foundation of the Republic due to the rapid urbanization of the city. The density of the industrial activities resulted with massive migration movements as experienced in other large cities like İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. As one of the most critical consequences of this rapid urbanization, the emergence of squatter settlements in various parts of the city resulted in the emergence of irregular development patterns with insufficient infrastructure. When the spatial layout of the city is examined at macro level, it can be seen that the city has a quite dense structure on the eastern part, developed around the historic center, and remained relatively less dense on the western front (See: Figure 4.1). The areas around the industrial sites are dominated mostly by highly dense informal housing settlements. The fragmented development of the city can be observed from its macroform.

Figure 4.1: Aerial view of Bursa showing provinces, the administrative division of the city, (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

One of the reasons behind this fragmentation and segregation is the administrative division of the metropolitan city. The individual policies and implementations of three provinces, –Nilüfer, Osmangazi, Yıldırım-, has led the development of different urban patterns within the whole body of the city. In previous periods, the policies to preserve the fertile lands on the plain led the city to develop on foothills of the mountain with high density. However, the expansion of the city towards the agricultural plain could not be prevented due to the increase in the population, and partial developments on the plain has led the expansion of the city towards the plain. The construction of the industrial complex on the agricultural lands has also triggered this expansion. Then, the further urban development was oriented towards the western axis which has produced relatively more regular settlement areas. While Osmangazi and Yıldırım Provinces have more similar characteristics in terms of their densities and morphological structures, as a newly developing area, Nilüfer District has relatively more controlled layout with lower density.

The lack of integrated planning approach has led to partial developments in different locations of the city. Yet, this fragmentation does not arise solely from the partial developments; the social diversity is also a strong factor in the formation of socially segregated areas. In the social and spatial formation of Emek District, both of these factors has been influential. The result is the emergence of different settlement patterns adjacent to each other, each representing the social structure of the people living in their enclosed territories.

In this chapter, the research conducted in the context of Emek District will be given. After providing a brief information about the city and the district, the outcomes of the research will be discussed. The research consists of two phases. In the first phase, the socio-spatial conditions of the individuals living in the district will be analyzed in the light of information gained during the in-depth interviews. The interviews made with eleven participants also reveal the potential thresholds which will be tested through space-syntax analysis in the second phase. Within the framework of space-syntax theory, the movement potentials in the site will be analyzed. After the two-phased site research is completed, a comparative discussion will be made in order to understand

the relation between the social setting of the people in the district and the spatial layout of the site.

4.1. Brief Information About the Site

4.1.1. Location

Due to the main topographical threshold Uludağ, the city of Bursa used to have a linear macroform developed around the main railway transportation system which passes through the east-west and northwest-southeast axes. The study area is located on the Northern development axis across the largest industrial complex of the city. The direct connection of the district with the historical city center thorough the light rail transport system provides a strong connection to the center. In addition, Mudanya direction contains a high daily traffic flow due to the easy access to the city of İstanbul from Mudanya via ferry services. Therefore, as of its location, Emek District is one of the most active spots in the city due to the high mobility in the site.

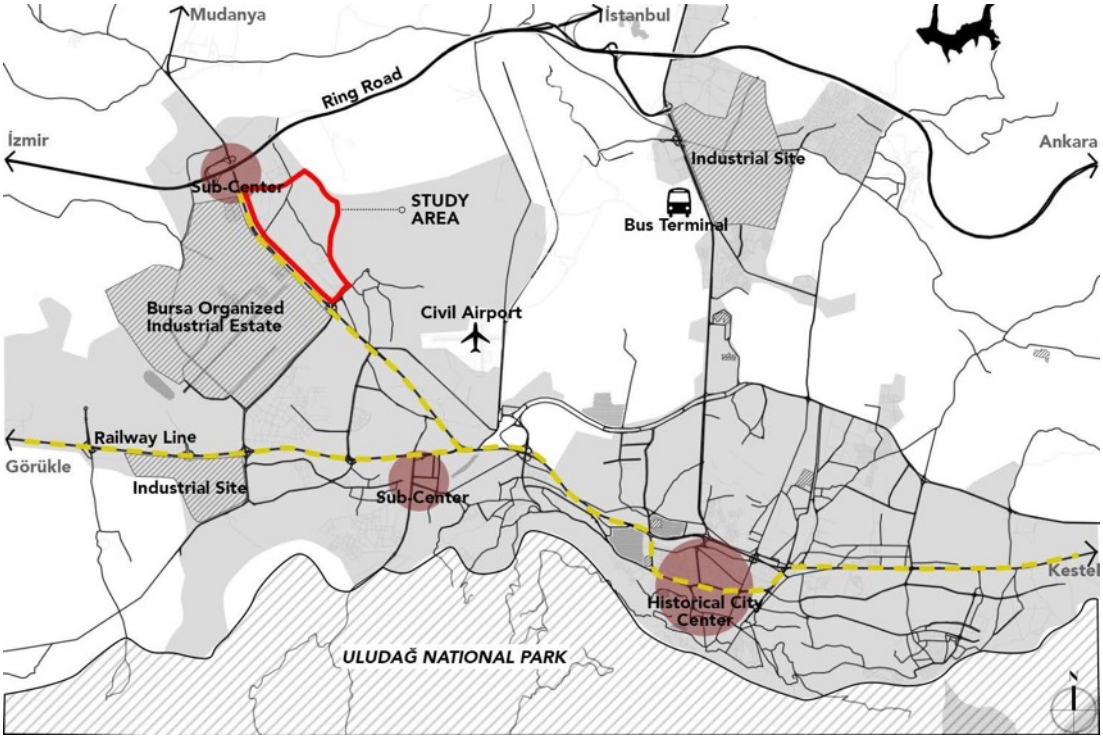

Figure 4.2: Location of the study area in the overall layout of the city of Bursa

4.1.2. Historical Development

As one of the densest areas in Bursa, Emek District stands as a particular site when its socio-cultural situation and morphological structure are considered together within the historical development process. Arın (2013) mentions about the massive fire incidence happened in 1958 which caused thousands of working place in the main commercial market to disappear. This was a critical factor affecting the development of the district. After the disaster happened, the municipality prepared a master plan for the designation of new development areas with the help of the Italian urbanist Piccinato. The plan proposed the new development axis to be on the direction of Ankara-Bursa-Mudanya (Menteş, 2009; as cited in Arın, 2013). Afterwards, according to the decisions of five-year development plan of State Planning Organization (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı), the first Organized Industrial Estate in the country was decided to be establihed in Bursa in 1961 (URL18). In order it to support the development decision of the Piccinato's plan, the industrial site was decided to be located on Bursa-Mudanya road (Arın, 2013, p.230).

After the initial steps were completed and the working places started to operate, the same process was experienced in Bursa as it happened in other large cities of Turkey during their early industrialization periods. The increase in the new job opportunities attracted people from other regions *–Black Sea, Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia Regions-* and rural areas, and also from near countries *–Bulgaria, Greece-* (Arın, 2013, p.231). Since the development plans were not prepared foreseeing this high migration rates, the empty lands around the industrial site was occupied by the newcomers who built their own homes in their traditional ways. As a result, the surrounding empty lands transformed into informal housing site with irregular urban patterns.

In order to prevent the informal development in the site, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı) initiated another plan which would provide housing for 18000 people, which was approved in 1985.

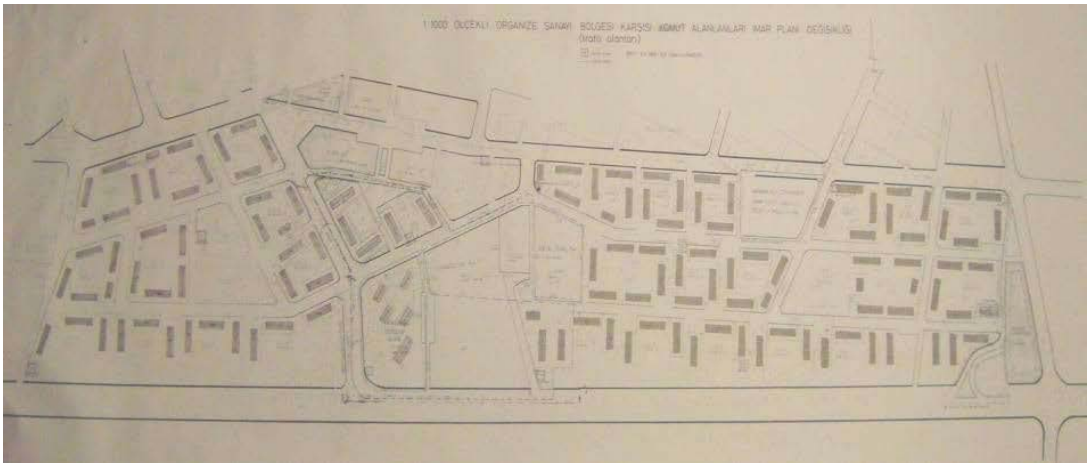

Figure 4.3: 1/1000 master plan revision for the area across the organized industrial Zone, (Source: Arın, 2013, p.233)

Known as "1050 Konutlar", this plan was seen as one of the examples of social housing planning prepared by the government which adapted a kind of modernist architecture with the enhanced construction technique of the time. The plan proposed a low density settlement with large open spaces. In the middle of each enclosed building block, there located children's park facing with the front façades of the buildings. The plan also included several facilities such as commercial areas, large public parks, elementary and primary schools, healthcare facilities and military service areas (Arın, 2013, p. 233).

Figure 4.4: Current views from the neighborhood, '1050 Konutlar' in Emek District, Bursa, (Source: Author's Personal Archive)

However, the capacity of the housing project could not meet the demand. Additionally, the prices of the houses were above the affordability level of the migrants with low-level income. The precautions to prevent the squatter development became insufficient and the production of poor-quality housing areas continued. 1050 Konutlar area, then, turned into a housing site for the low-middle and middle class occupants (Arın, 2013, p.236). On the north-eastern side of the project area, the low-density housing settlement areas were developed containing 2-5 storey detached houses and those of single family houses.

Figure 4.5: Views from Squatter Houses (Source: Arın, 2013, p.237)

While a vast area has been the site for squatter development, government policies to prevent the informal settlements have produced different urban patterns in the same area. The most radical change in the spatial character of the area has been after the implementation of Korupark Project. Prepared by a private construction company, the project consisted of one large shopping mall, which is currently the biggest mall in Bursa, with 16-17 storey, 23 building blocks, one sport center, children's parks, walking-tracks, and tennis courts.

Figure 4.6: Aerial View of Korupark (Source: URL19)

The enclosure of the site through walls and razor wires with 24-hour surveillance gives inhabitants the guarantee of security from the outside threats while isolating the inner social life from the outside. The silhouette of the high-rise building blocks, which establishes no relation with its surrounding, while suggesting a contrasting view in its larger context. The walls and the razor wires on top of them do not only define the border of the housing site, but also manifest the social gap between the inhabitants of Korupark Residences, having higher socio-economic statuses and different cultural norms than those of the people living in squatters and the other neighborhoods in the district.

Figure 4.7: View of Korupark buildings from the courtyard of a 1050 Konutlar (left), and the apartment blocks of Korupark viewed from squatter area (right) (Source: Personal archive, 2018 (left), Arın, 2013, p.247 (right))

While the vicinity to the industrial facilities has been an attraction factor for the working class as a residential site for years, the presence of the main transportation channels passing by the site led the area to be a vital point for the creation of new development spots. Also, the establishment of the industrial site entailed crucial planning decisions to be taken by the local government bodies for the incoming workers. The result is a mix of different urban patterns located closely in the same area containing different social classes.

4.1.3. Structural Characteristics

The existing urban precincts in Emek District show variety both in terms of morphological structure and land-use pattern. These so-called character areas are divided from each other through certain borders, such as roads and walls, that define the territory of each settlement. In each of the territory, morphological characteristics show sharp differences. Yet the point is that the administrative division of the district (‘the neighbourhoods’) does not fully coincide with the morphological segmentation of the fabric.

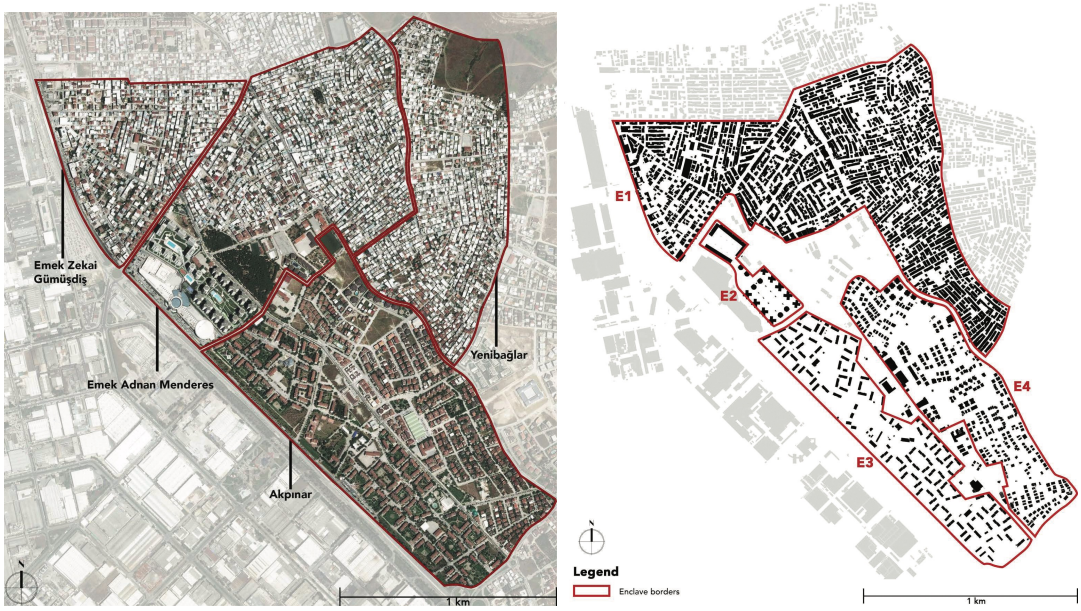

Figure 4.8: Administrative division of the district (into neighborhoods) (left), and the character areas specified based on the morphology of the area (right)

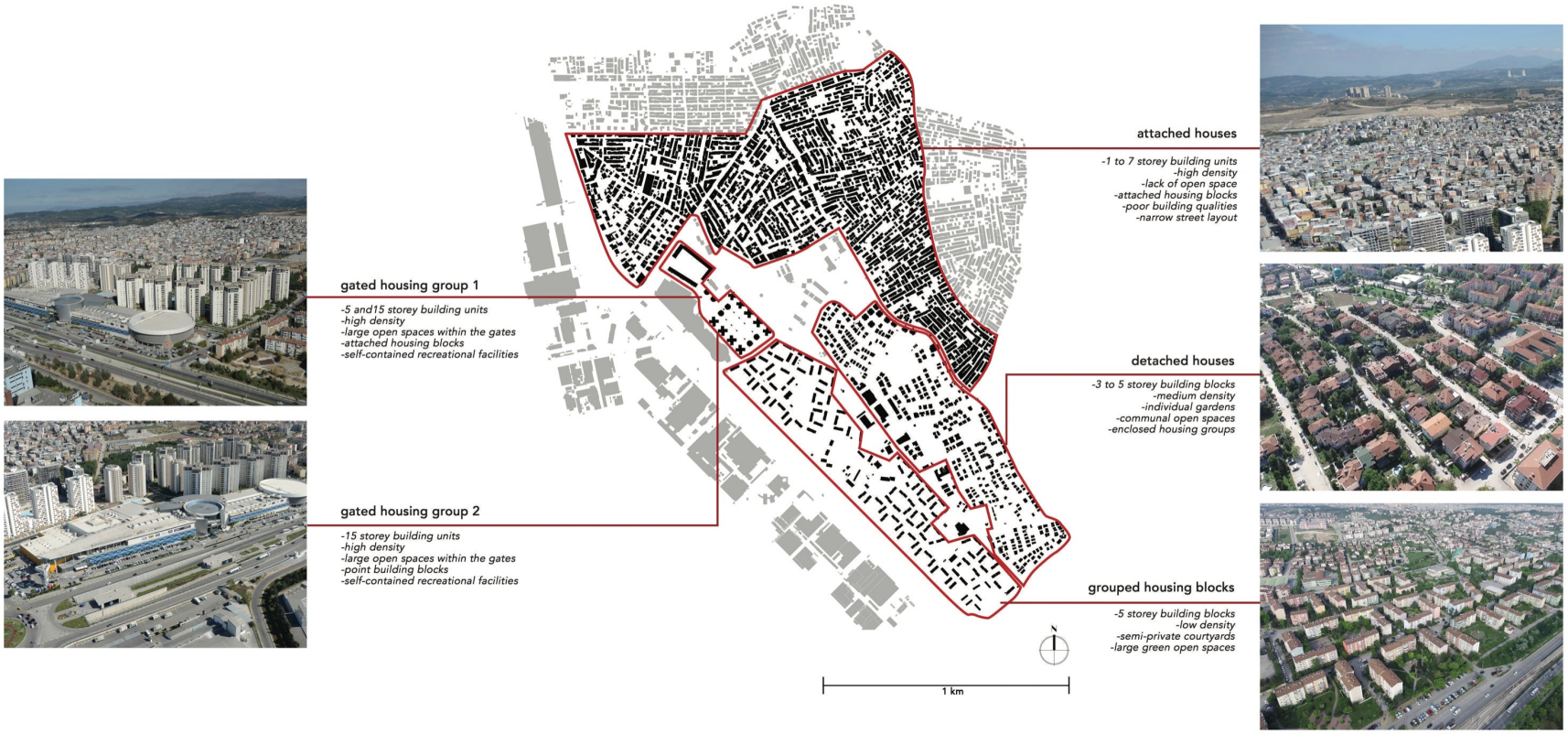

Figure 4.9: Housing Typologies and Their Spatial Attributes

The high-density informal housing area is mostly dominated by the intensive layout of 1-7 storey residential units. Although informal development was attempted to be prevented through the housing policies in 1960s, limited capacity of the public sector for the supply of social housing fell short, the extent and the density of the settlement has increased in years. After the settling of the first comers on empty lands around the industrial site, the ongoing migration mobility and the addition of the relatives to the already existing population resulted with a highly dense housing areas with poor quality and insufficient public infrastructure. The lack of open spaces and green areas seriously diminish the living quality as the energy source of the settlement still depends on burning coal.

Figure 4.10: Informal houses in Emek-Adnan Menderes Neighborhood, Emek District (Source: Arın, 2013, p.236)

Nevertheless, 1050 Konutlar area has lower density of urban form leaving more open spaces for recreational activities. The housing area consists of 115 twin and 11 single five-storey building blocks (Arın, 2013, p.233). The enclosure of the blocks around the children's park creates semi-private spaces which would provide a sense of security to the residents. The commercial and socio-cultural facilities are located at the edges of the site where the main transportation roads pass (See: Figure 4.15). Thus, in the inner parts of the area, the vehicular traffic is much lower which also reduces the security problem for pedestrian movement.

Figure 4.11: 1050 Konutlar (Source: Personal archive, 2018)

On the north-eastern side of 1050 Konutlar, there is a relatively denser residential area which mostly consists of single family building blocks and 3-5 storey detached houses. In this area, there are many closed cooperative apartment housing estates. Except the commercial activities on the main road passing by the zone, the area is mainly residential in use.

Figure 4.12: Views from the residential streets in Akpınar District
(Source: Google Earth Street View)

Korupark Residences constitutes the most incompatible enclave in the area. The initial plan proposed sixteen cross-shaped and and seven rounded building block in addition to the self-contained sports facilities and a large shopping mall in the site. Later on, having revised the second phase of the project, the company prepared another plan for the west side of the project which proposed eight housing blocks attached to each other

with terraces.

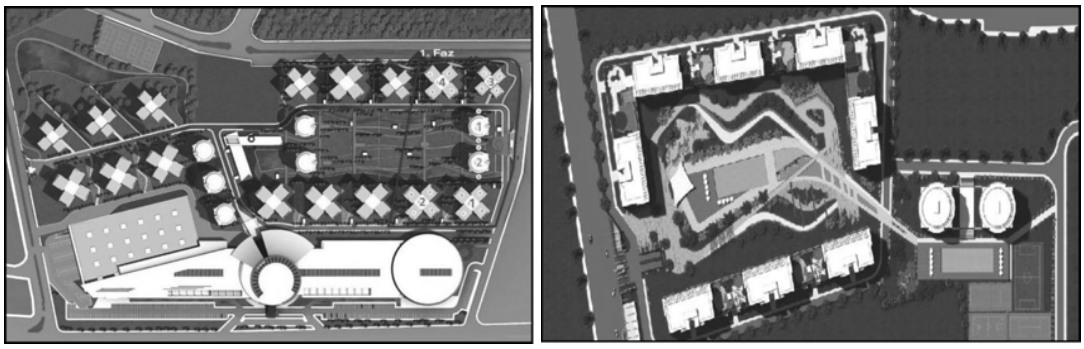

Figure 4.13: Initial site plan (left), Korupark Terrace site plan (right)
(Source: Arın, 2013, p.241)

While Korupark area is surrounded by informal houses on the north and west, it is divided from 1050 Konutlar on the east only by a street. The division of the site from its surrounding can be read clearly from its layout. While the east and north side of the side is almost covered by dense building blocks, the wideness of the open spaces and the massive form of the buildings separate the site from its surrounding. On the street level, this division is provided by the high walls enclosing the site.

Figure 4.14: Korupark residences (Source: URL20)

The co-existence of these different enclaves in the same area, which reveal distinctive spatial characteristics, inevitably creates an uneven provision of public space. For instance, while there are large green spaces in 1050 Konutlar zone and in Korupark

Residences, much of the land is dedicated for having development by buildings in informal areas. Additionally, the locational distribution of the educational and health facilities does not provide the optimum range of distances for the pedestrian accessibility (See: Figure 4.15).

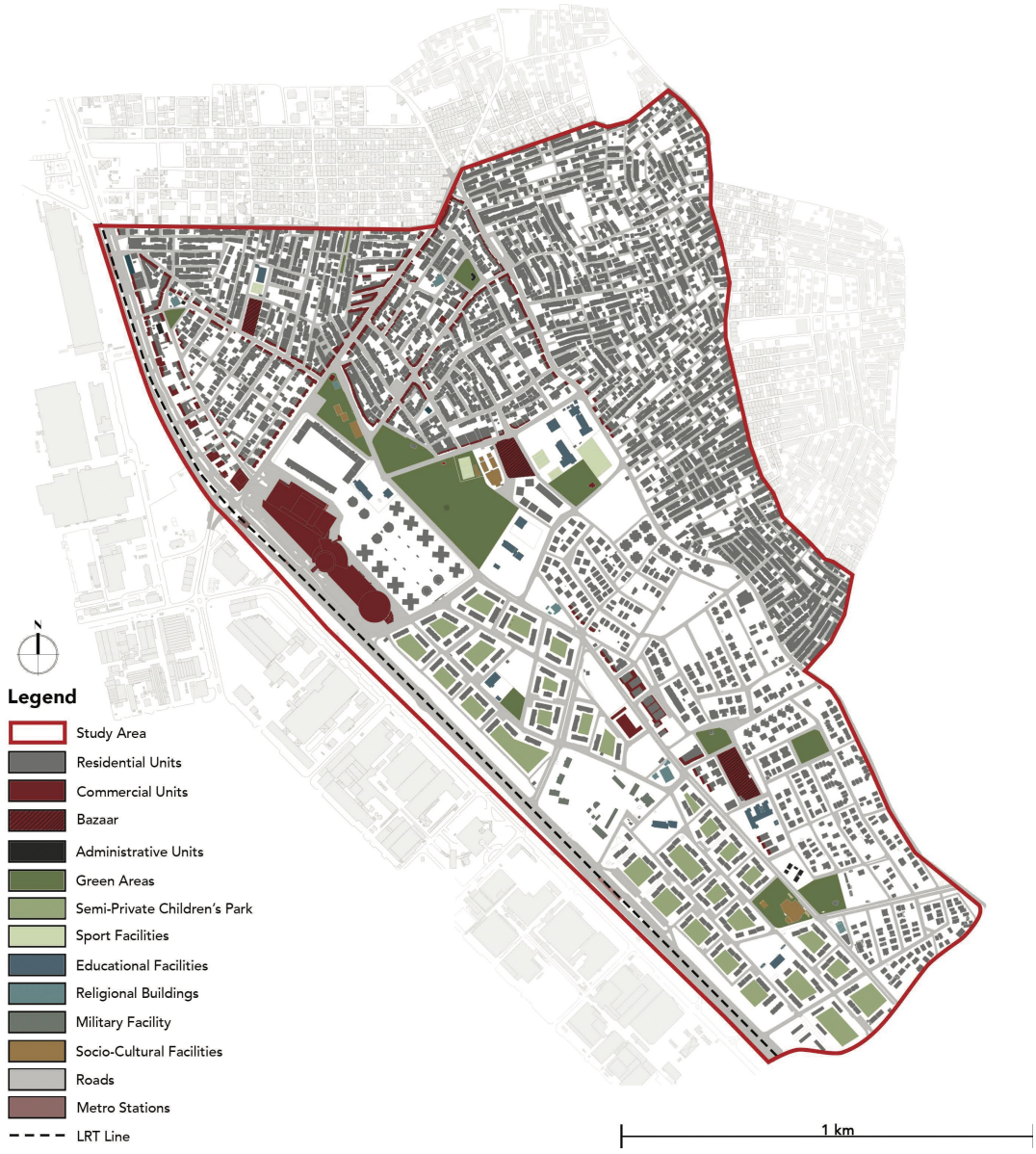

Figure 4.15: Distribution of public facilities in Emek District, Bursa

Korupark Shopping Mall is the main commercial center in the district. Due to its size and vicinity to the main transportation lines, having large volume of bus transportation

and LRT, the mall serves at city scale as well as attracting users from the nearly located settlements. Although Korupark Shopping Mall is dominating the site with the various types of trading activities, the local community market finds itself a place where the mobility is maximum. The main streets having the highest volume of pedestrian and vehicular movement contains most of the commercial facilities which were located as individual shops under residential buildings. Moreover, there are three bazaar areas which operate on different days of the week. As seen in Figure 4.15, there is an uneven distribution of green open spaces within the sites in the district as well.

4.1.4. Social Structure of the Area

The differentiation observed in the structural analysis also reflects the social diversification in the area. As defined in the previous parts, in the course of time, various factors have been influential for the site to be an attraction point for different social classes. The establishment of the largest industrial zone attracted the working class to the area at initial steps which generated the informal settlements. In order to prevent the informal formation in the site, the housing projects were implemented by the local authorities. However, after the failure of the projects to meet the housing demand of the working class, the site attracted middle-income groups from the other parts of the city. The recent development in the site, however, was affected by various factors, such as the close connection to the main transportation line, the closeness to the newly developed luxurious housing estates on Mudanya direction, and the low land values (Tümer Yıldız & Polat, 2011, p.16).

The gap between these social classes inevitably creates a segregation of different settlement enclaves containing people who tend to live together with the ones belonging to the same socio-cultural identity and economic conditions. In Zekai Gümüşdiş and Emek-Adnan Menderes Neighbourhoods, most of the population consists of the immigrants coming from the cities in north-eastern, eastern, and south-eastern parts of Turkey (Artvin, Gümüşhane, Giresun, Trabzon, Bitlis, Siirt, etc.). In this area, there are strong kinship and good neighbourhood relations among people.

One of the residents from Emek-Adnan Menderes Neighborhood explains:

> "The women in our neighbourhood gathers on doorsteps with samovar in evenings. Some of them brings cake, some brings other stuff, they sit there. For instance, if there has to be done some works for someone or there is a collective work, everyone immediately gathers and start doing, and it is done" (S2)[18]

However, it is difficult to observe this kind of a collective action in Korupark Site. As a common characteristic of gated communities, this place offers a more isolated way of life for its inhabitants as the distance from the ground increases:

> "I do not have any neighbourhood relations. I do not think that people know each other very much. I come across with people at the cafeteria. Maybe around the pool in summer times." (S4)[19]

The boundary drawn by the high walls around the site secures residents' will of isolating themselves from the 'danger' or the threats from the outside world. However, security is not the only concern for isolation. The physical factors –location, planning techniques, social facilities, architectural features–, the socio-cultural concerns –will to create community, segregation and forming a social class, to increase personal and social prestige, privacy–, and the economical and the political factors are also influential on the increasing interest to live in gated communities (Tümer Yıldız & Polat, 2011, p.54).

According to the information given by the headman of Emek-Adnan Menderes Neighbourhood, there is a serious gap between the social, cultural and economic profile of the residents of Korupark Site and the other inhabitants of the district. Although it has been thought that the implementation of the housing project together with the construction of shopping mall has brought development to the site, the social differences between the residents' profile and the construction of shopping mall also

[18] "Bizim mahalledeki kadınlar akşamları semaver yakıp kapının önünde, kimisi kekini getiriyor, kimisi başka bir şey, oturuyorlar orada. Mesela birine bir iş yapılacak ya da ortak yapılacak bir iş var, hemen herkes toplanıp el atıyor, bitiyor" (S2), translated by author

[19] "Komşuluk ilişkilerim yok. İnsanların birbirini tanıdığını düşünmüyorum çok fazla. Kafeteryada insanlarla karşılaşıyorum. Yaz sezonunda havuz çevresinde mesela" (S4), translated by author

has affected the life and the local economy in the neighbourhood negatively:

> "Though someone is happy, some others are not. Our tradesmen are not happy. There is also a kind of desire. That place appeals to the rich, this place appeals to the poor. The kids see and desire. It also has disadvantage as well as advantage. It might have been harmful morally. He/she sees the life of youngsters in there, and emulates, and the family does not approve. These kind of things may be happening." (S7)[20]

During the interviews, the expressions of people from both groups revealed how they see the other as outsider. One of the participants of the interviews expresses himself as follows when he was asked whether he feels himself close to the culture of people living in Korupark:

> "No. I am a person who is used to live within street culture, a person who is integrated with it. The people in here have a culture which completely focused on consumption and ready-made lifestyle." (S1)[21]

> "We do not feel close at all right now. We see it as a different world. They already live independently from us. As if they do not live here. They do not come to bazaar. They use to Korupark (shopping center)" (S5)[22]

The already existing segregation has increased after the implementation of the direct passage from Korupark Residences to the shopping mall. In this way, the minimum interaction between two groups reduced further and the number of pedestrian mobility at the gates of Korupark decreased. The head of the site management expressed that this implementation has been made in order to ensure the will of the residents to isolate themselves from the surrounding as much as possible.

The social profile of Akpınar Neighbourhood is also quite distinct from Emek-Adnan

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[20] "Bir kısım memnunsa bir kısım memnun değil. Esnafımız memnun değildir. Biraz da özenme durumu var. Orası zengine hitap eder burası fakire hitap eder. Çocuk da görür özenir. Karı olduğu kadar zararı da var. Ahlaki yönden de zararı olmuş olabilir. Oradaki gençlerin yaşantısına özenir, aile de tasvip etmez. Bu tip şeyler olabiliyor." (S7), translated by author

[21] "Hayır. Ben sokak kültürüyle yaşayan, sokak kültürüyle bütünleşmiş bir insanım. Buradaki insanlar ise tamamen tüketmeye, tamamen hazır şekilde yaşamaya odaklanmış bir kültüre sahipler." (S1), translated by author

[22] "Şu anda hiç yakın hissetmiyoruz. Farklı bir dünya olarak görüyoruz. Zaten bizden bağımsız yaşıyorlar. Sanki burada yaşamıyor gibiler. Pazara pek gelmez onlar, Korupark'ı kullanıyorlar." (S5), translated by author

Menderes Neighbourhood. Unlike the amount of immigrant population in Emek, the residents of Akpınar Neighborhood mostly hail from the small villages of Bursa or from the central area of the city. The economical differences are also influential on the state of segregation. While the inhabitants of Emek Neighborhood are living in relatively worse conditions within a dense living fabric, the quality of life in Akpınar region is much better as the income level increase. According to the information given by the headman of Emek Neighbourhood, at least one young person works in the industry as a technical employee, while people from the other settlements, who works in the industrial site, have more qualified jobs in employer positions.

The existence of these different social groups in the same area creates a unique situation. As it can be seen from the aerial view, the diversification of the social profiles can be followed in the layout of the site (See: Figure 4.16). The borders – roads, walls, etc.- marking each enclave define the territory of each social group which compose relatively more homogeneous regions. Consequently, the physical fabric of the district, which involves multiple formations, does actually correspond to the very social characteristics of the area.

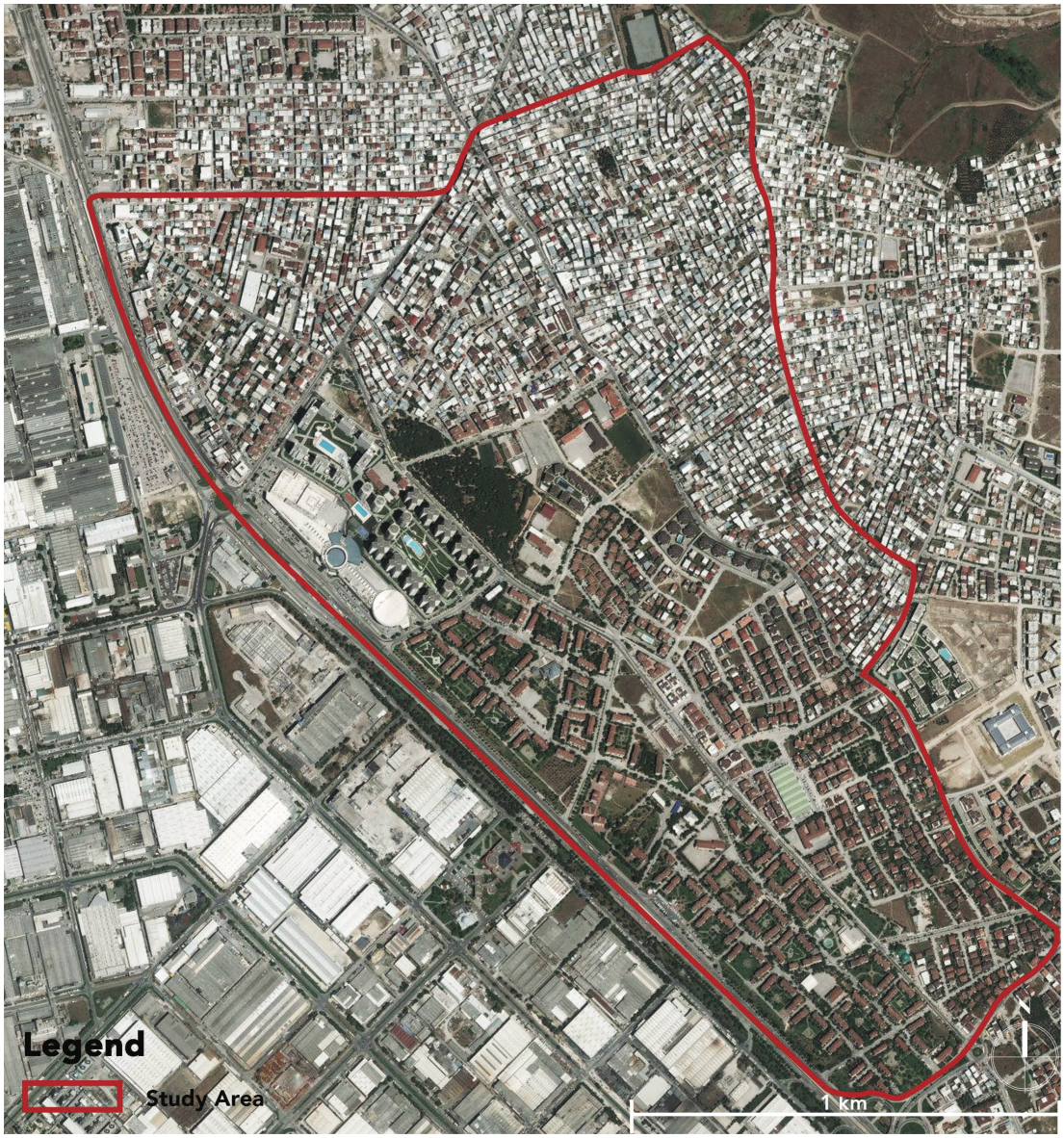

Figure 4.16: Aerial view of the site of analysis (Source: Google Earth, 2018)

4.2. Typology of Threshold as a Condition of Heterotopology

Co-existence of incompatible spaces in the same context constitutes the main idea behind Foucault's theory of heterotopology. In this context, the socio-spatial situation observed in Emek District would serve as a model to discuss such conceptualization accordingly. In the district, each enclave constitutes a kind of controlled territory for its inhabitants who tend to exclude the outsiders through either implicit or explicit

spatial segregation. In the case of Korupark Site, this has been provided by physical boundaries. In other settlements, the socio-cultural differences have marked the territories of the communities as non-physical boundary. In any case, segregation has been an intended consequence which strengthens the sense of belonging to a place and gives the feeling of security.

Despite the social and spatial segregation, the interaction of the groups is inevitable. As a part of daily routine of urban life, there are various factors moving people from their security zones to the outside where the encounter takes place. That, in fact, corresponds to the perspective of Hardt and Negri (2009), who appropriates the metropolis as;

> *"...a place of unpredictable encounters among singularities, with not only those you do not know but also those who come from elsewhere, with different cultures, languages, knowledges, mentalities."* (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.252)

The analysis of the spaces of encounter at local level would provide an understanding for what kinds of urban spaces condition the encounter between different identities. As a simulated version of the metropolis, the social and morphological heterogeneity in Emek District accommodates the potential for the experience of threshold that operates through common spaces[23].

In this part of the study, the use of common spaces by different groups is investigated. As the initial step, potential thresholds are identified in accordance with the land use pattern within the site and with the observations which were made during the field trip. Figure 4.17 illustrates the potential thresholds on common spaces. As it can be seen from the map, most of the common spaces are located at the edges of the enclaves

[23] Stavrides (2015) distinguished 'common space' from public and private spaces. The reason for this is that the public spaces are created by a certain authority who designates the rules for the people who use them. Private spaces, on the other hand, belong to specific individuals who have the right to control the space according to their personal decisions. Distinct from these duality, 'common spaces are "*produced by people in their effort to establish a common world that houses, supports and expresses the community they participate in.*" (Stavrides, 2015, pp. 10-11). According to him, thresholds are powerful tools for the emancipation of society through the collective act of sharing and re-appropriating of the space. He defines this collective action as 'space commoning' which would suggest the possibility of reclaiming the city as a collective work of art (Lefebvre, 1996).

where the encounter is more likely.

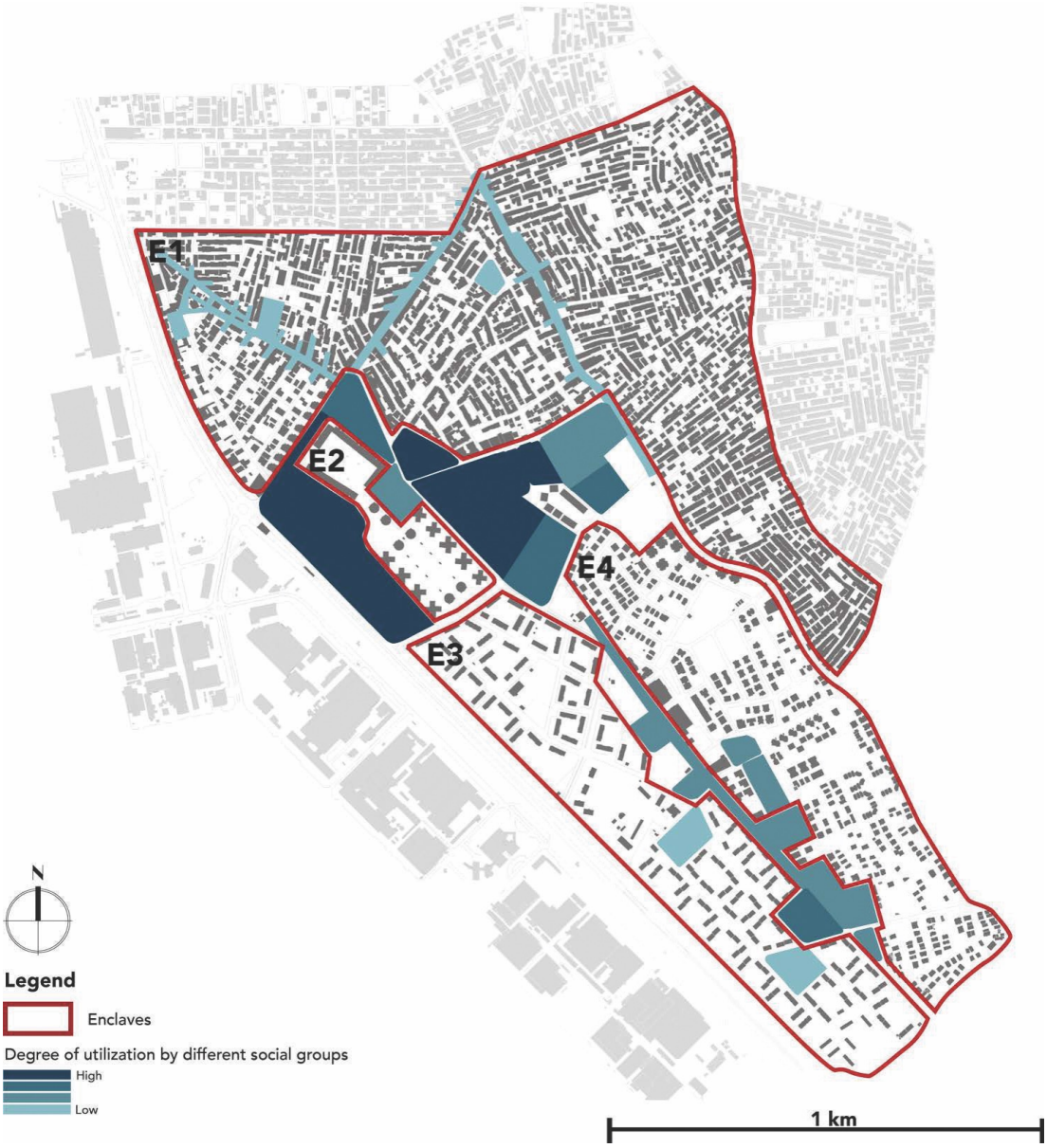

Figure 4.17: Distribution of common spaces in Emek District

After specifying common spaces, the in-depth interview questions were set around this information in order to understand the differentiation in the use of space among different groups. Although the interviews did not reveal a statistical data, the information given by eleven interviewees consisting of the residents and head persons, who have knowledge about the everyday routine of the people and their social settings,

essentially provided the supporting information about the socio-spatial pattern in the district to test the initial assumptions on threshold as the basic condition of heterotopology.

The potentiality of a space to be regarded as a threshold depends on the affordance of its configuration to embrace the differences in encounter. In Emek District, each enclave has been formed intentionally through the collective act of the individuals with the same origin or social group to enclose themselves in a segregated environment. On the other hand, the interaction among different groups is also conditioned through the collective utilization of common spaces which has the potential to be regarded as threshold.

According to their operation, a possible typological classification on these spaces can be made as follows:

- public spaces,
- public service spots,
- access and exchange points.

Public spaces, on the one hand, consist of open spaces, such as parks, squares, main commercial streets and bazaar, where people can access freely and spend time. Despite their closed spatial character, the public space typology includes the shopping mall and large supermarkets as they are open to public access despite they are managed by private entities. Accordingly, Figure 4.18 shows by which groups the *public spaces* are utilized collectively in a relational pattern.

Figure 4.18: Utilization of public spaces through the designation of enclaves in the district

Assuming that the public areas located inside each enclave are intrinsically used by the people residing in there, they also have certain relations with the other surrounding enclaves, as well. As seen in the map, the number of arrows reaching to the spaces outside the regions is larger than those from the inner ones. That is, while the spaces on the edges are used by higher number of people from different social groups, the number of groups using the inner areas is relatively less. This means that the location of certain activities is an important factor which affects individuals' preferences in the utilization of space.

Figure 4.19: Views from the common spaces in the district

Additionally, it is seen that Korupark Shopping Mall is distinguished from other areas in terms of its location. Although it is located at the very edge of the whole study area, which is geometrically does not provide equal accessibility for all users, it attracts people from all the sites. This is mainly due to the extensive commercial capacity of the mall which serves not only on the district level, but also on a city scale.

Figure 4.20: Moving and sitting people on the benches in front of the shopping mall

Public service spots, on the other hand, consist of public facilities, such as educational and health services, neighborhood administration units, post offices and socio-cultural facility centers, which are supplied by the local government. Figure 4.21 illustrates the pattern of utilization of the service spots in accordance with the enclaves designated.

Figure 4.21: Utilization of the public service spots through the designation of the enclaves in the district

In the map given, a similar situation is observed as in the usage of public spaces. However, it should be noted that the use of service facilities depends not only on the preferences of the users, but also on other factors obligating people to actively use these spaces, such as insufficient education and health services in the inner parts of the territories. As one of the main issues in urban planning, the public service areas are aimed to serve for the all members of the community at the local level, and the plan decisions on land allocation should be given accordingly. It is seen in the map that while the service areas within the enclaves are utilized by a small number of people,

the areas located between the enclaves serve for a large number of residents from distinct social groups (see Figure 4.21).

Figure 4.22: Children playing in school yard and having conversation outside, and parents waiting for them in front of the school

Finally, *access and exchange points* are the public transportation nodes where human mobility and circulation is higher. The increase in human movement also increases the possibility for interaction. As the major urban railway stations serve as thresholds at the city scale (Stevens, 2007, p.78) which are characterized as 'nodes' by Lynch (1960), the access and exchange points in the district can house major encounters in that particular scale-level, as well.

Figure 4.23: People waiting for the bus at the bus-stops

In the district level, it can be considered that the possibility of encounter among different social groups can be correlated with the number of access and exchange points carrying the movement channels penetrating into the area. This is directly related with street layout of the district. As expected, Figure 4.24 illustrates that the power of the public transportation services to perform as a kind of threshold depends on the physical characteristic of the street layout. That is, the more central axes with profiles accommodate denser transportation facilities. These axes also correspond to the lines demarcating the territories initially defined as enclaves.

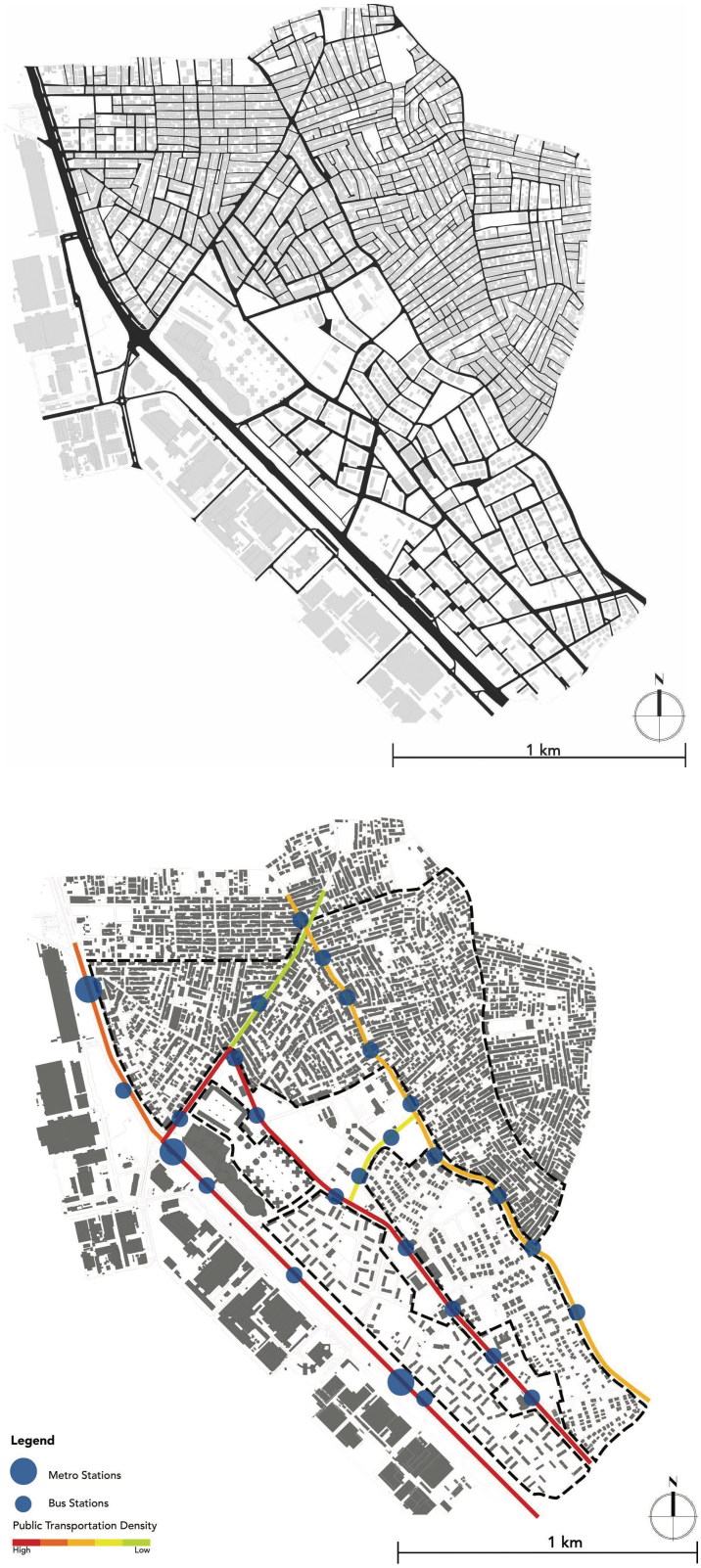

Figure 4.24: Street pattern of the district (top), and access and exchange points of the transportation network on the given layout (bottom)

In the context of Emek District, it is observed that most of the common spaces are used by different social groups, which increase the potentiality of those spaces to perform as threshold. Various factors regulate the movement in the area, such as site selection of the functions, daily needs of the residents and their socio-cultural tendency to segregate or integrate themselves among the other groups in larger urban context. Nevertheless, in addition to these issues, the relation between the spatial configuration of the built environment and the movement pattern of the residents in the district is addressed as the key factor in the formation of threshold as the fundamental condition of heterotopology. On that account, the methodological perspective of Space-Syntax theory is to be utilized to reveal the movement potentials in the district which would condition the active use of the common spaces.

4.3. Street-Based Spatial Configuration Analysis

4.3.1. Space-Syntax: *A Preliminary Definition*

One of the most critical issues in urbanism is the relationship between space and society. Although the problem has been discussed on various grounds from human geography to anthropology and sociology, development of a systematic approach to reveal this structural relationship analytically has been only recently. Space-syntax theory, developed by a group of academics from University College London, offers an integrated approach to this question by using systematic analysis methods.

The theory was first elaborated by Hillier and Hanson (1984) in "The Social Logic of Space" as a product of a long-standing research seeking the relationship between the spatial form and the social structure. Hillier (2005) critically argues that space and social science are inseparably related to each other, and that seeing the space as a product of a society is only the reduction of space into its intrinsic configurational characteristics which undermines the real patterns of space that are experienced in everyday life (p.3).

Moving from the fact that the main concern of architecture and urban design is the real

space itself, without treating it purely as a mental or a physical object, the model generated by Hillier and Hanson (1984) addresses the question of *relatedness*[24] of space, *"as it is created by buildings and cities, and as it is experienced by people who use them"* (Hillier, 2005, p.4). While doing so, space-syntax theory is based on two ideas; the first is that to see the space as *'an intrinsic aspect of everything human beings do'*, not as the background of human activity. That is, it is the geometry of space in which the human movement is formed. The second idea is that it is the *'configuration of space'* which explains *'simultaneously existing relations amongst the parts'* (p.5). Although human beings are not capable of describing or analyzing complex patterns linguistically, as we cannot think about the syntax of language when we are using it, they intuitively cognize them rather than consciously understanding (p.6). What space-syntax mainly searches for is the mathematical description of this intuitive movement pattern in spatial network.

Hillier and Hanson (1984) descriptively list the aims of the model that can provide a general guide for research in so-called 'structural morphology' (Çalışkan, 2013, p.102):

- To identify the 'elementary structures' which are the essential objects and relations in the human spatial organization,
- To clearly represent these elementary structures within a certain kind of conception which would eliminate the inconvenience of bulky verbal narratives,
- To illustrate the relatedness of elementary structures which make a coherent system,
- To show that the combination of these elementary structures create more complex structures (Hiller & Hanson, 1984, p.52; as cited in Çalışkan, 2013, pp.102-103)

[24] For Hillier (2005), the attention should be given to the relationships between things as the architectural and urban space consists of relational patterns. To do this, he metaphorically addresses the spatial prepositions in the language such as 'between', 'inside', or 'beyond' which are, as he argues, the essential terms to express the thought.

In that framework, a representative method has been developed for the configurational analysis of space, which does not solely review the relations between spaces, but also reveals the complex system of relationships affecting each other (Hillier, 2005, p.6). The central proposition in this model is that there is a strong correlation between the spatial configuration of a settlement and the movement pattern, in such a way interrelatedly determining each other. The configuration of space offers a set of potentials, of which individuals and collectivities utilize, to reveal the correlation between form of space and its use (Hillier, 2007, pp.113-115).

In order to reveal this correlation, space-syntax simply works with the spatial layout of settlements. *"People move in lines"*, as Hillier (2007) states, *"and tend to approximate lines in more complex routes"* (p.114). Thus, the continuous open spaces are taken as a unit of analysis. It is required to extract the least set of straight lines passing through the convex open spaces in the whole network, which gives the 'axial map' of the settlement that space-syntax calculations are made from.

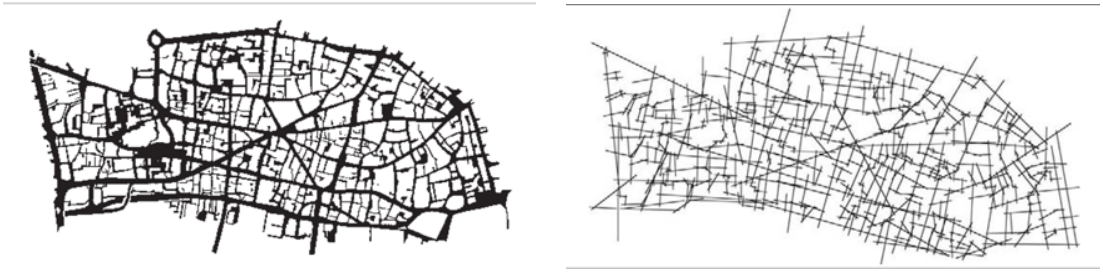

Figure 4.25: Illustration of public open spaces of the City of London (left), and axial map of the City of London (right), (Source: Hillier, 2007, p.117)

Reduction of the street pattern into syntactic structure reveals the topological layout of the street network which allows the measurement of different structural variables (Çalışkan, 2013, pp.104-105). The two of them are the *integration value* and the *choice value* used in the analysis of the ***potential movement patterns*** in a given settlement. While *integration value* gives the *"**closeness** of each element to all others"* in the system, *choice value* gives *"the degree to which element lies on paths **between** elements"* (Hillier, 2005, p.12). Corresponding with the land use patterns, integration

analysis measures the potential of ***to-movement***, where basically local centers and sub-centers are located, and choice analyses measures the potential of ***through-movement*** which would carry the largest amount of pedestrian and vehicular movement in the spaces passed through on the way to the centers (Hillier, 2009). Çalışkan (2013) states that the most relevant concerns at the district level of analysis within the nominal r value are the ***potentiality of through-movement in the residential tissue*** and the ***potential of to-movement in local centres*** which attract pedestrian movement (p.108).

Applying space-syntax analyses to the current study in Emek District, integration and choice analyses would provide an analytical approach in testing the ability of previously defined common spaces to shape co-presence through movement (Hillier, 2005, p.19). While the integration analysis will reveal the *to-movement* potentials in central locations, choice analysis will give *through-movement* potentials in the site, which then can be compared to the observations made in the site.

4.3.2. Integration-Closeness Analysis

'Integration' value of each line in a given network is calculated in terms of its *depth*, which is the number of steps from the reference line, to all other lines in the system (Hiller & Hanson, 1984, p.104). Two kinds of integration maps can be produced by using space-syntax: *global integration* maps giving the integration value of a line related to all other lines in the system (with radius 'n'), and *local integration* maps illustrating the integration value only up to three lines away from each line in every direction (with radius 'R3') (Hillier, 2007, p.119). While local integration value is best correlated with the pedestrian density calculation, vehicular movement is best predicted with the global integration value as the vehicular trip is longer than that of pedestrian that increases the intelligibility of the larger network (p.120).

In order to run the axial analyses in Emek District, the street pattern is converted to the axial map to use the software called 'DepthMapX'[25], and then, the axial analyses are

[25] Fort the basic instructions to produce axial maps and to run the analyses, see "Introduction to UCL Depthmap 10" (Pinelo & Turner, 2010). Although the manual is prepared for an older version, the basic

run with radius ‘n’ and with radius ‘3’ in order to reveal the most integrated axes on global and local levels of scale. Figure 4.26 shows the street pattern of the site (left) and the axial map (right) which shows the straight lines embedded in the layout.

Figure 4.26: Street pattern of the site (left), and the axial map drawn from the actual layout (right)

In order to reveal the most integrated axes which can be afforded by *pedestrian* movement at local level, local integration analysis is run with the radius 3. The graph below shows the local integration map obtained from axial analyses (left). From the most integrated axes to the least ones are represented in the maps from hot colours (i.e. red) to the cold ones (i.e. blue), accordingly (See: Figure 4.27). Local integration analysis reveals the potential *to-movement* in local centers. Thus, the map is correlated with the pedestrian movement density (left) which was observed in the site (See: Figure 4.27).

instructions remained the same.

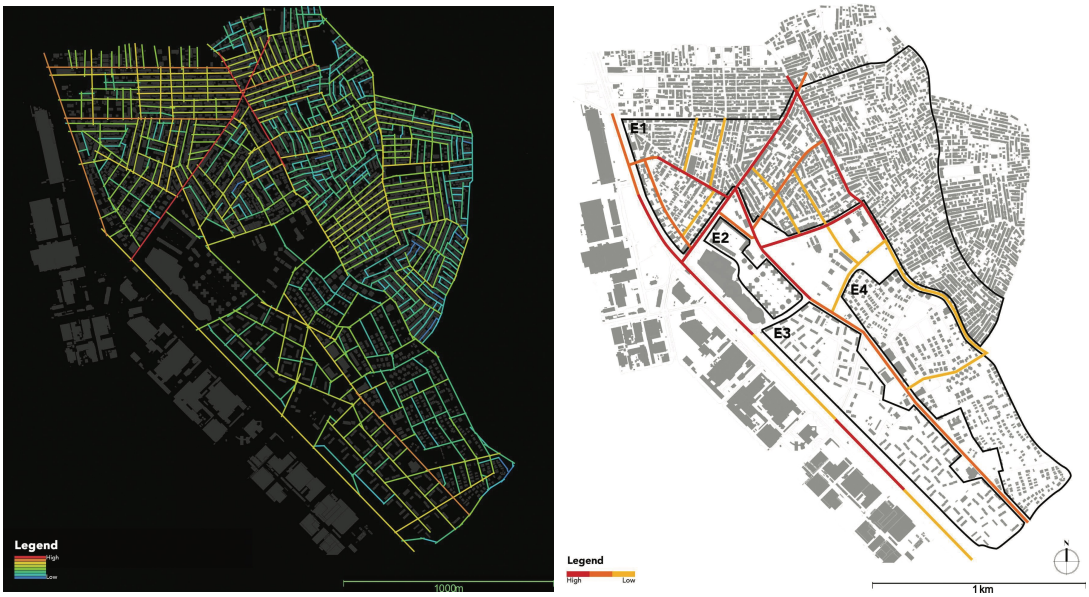

Figure 4.27: The local integration map (R3) of the spatial network (left), and the observed pedestrian density in Emek District (right)

The two crossing red lines in the graph (left) are the axes where commercial activities are located along the streets. Besides the ground-floor commercial activities, the existence of shopping center and the central neighbourhood park on this axis provide pedestrian mobility during the day. The street on the southern-west part of the site, which is located between E3 and E4, similarly, also perform as the central axis where large neighborhood markets are located on. On the other hand, the map showing the density of the pedestrian movement (right) gives more lines with high density due to the existence of other common spaces in the site. When the two maps are compared, it is seen that although there is a correspondence between the most integrated lines given by the axial analysis and the real movement density observed in the site, they do not provide a strong correlation. For instance, the area in front of the shopping mall accommodates a high volume of mobility as the main entrance to the mall is located on this side across the metro station. Additionally, the the red axis within E1, which passes towards the north-western edge of the enclave, is utilized as a bazaar site. Therefore, although the syntax of the fabric does not reveal this street as central and integrated, the appropriation of the street as a bazaar area creates density in pedestrian movement (See: Figure 4.28).

Figure 4.28: A view from the neighborhood park (left), and the district bazaar (right)

Figure 4.29 illustrates the relationship between the local integration analysis of the spatial network and the common spaces which were specified previously. In the map, green colour range is applied to common spaces according to their position to the most integrated lines. The areas with the brightest colours represent higher potential for *to-movement* while the darker ones have lower potential attracting *to-movement*.

Figure 4.29: Common space utilization map showing the degree of utilization by different social groups (adapted from the information obtained by the interviews) (left), and the synthesis of the local integration map with the common spaces in Emek District (right)

When the local integration map is juxtaposed with the common spaces (right) which are utilized by different groups, it is seen that the areas located on the most integrated axes are already revealed as highly utilized by different social groups (See: Figure 4.29-left). Thus, the integration map show correspondence with the local centres in the district. On the other hand, some of the common spaces, such as the large green are in-between E2 and E3 (See: Figure 4.30), are remained outside of the most integrated axes although they are utilized by all social groups living in the district. In other words, although the syntax of the site provides a lower potential for these sites to attract *to-movement*, they perform as central locations within the whole of the district.

Figure 4.30: Views from the large green area located between E2 and E3

One reason for that is the inadequate provision of public services within the so-called character areas. The lack of green open spaces in E1, for instance, leads people outside of their territories for the recreational activities. Additionally, it was previously assumed that the potentiality of threshold increases if the threshold is located *in-between* or *between* the enclaves, and decreases if it is located *within* the enclave. The common space utilization map confirms this assumption. However, the syntax of the district allows for **higher** potentiality ***within*** the enclaves in some areas, such as the northern part of the main commercial streets, while revealing relatively **lower** potential for the areas located ***in-between*** the enclaves of E1, E2, E3 and E4.

4.3.3. Choice-Betweenness Analysis

While axial maps inform about the integration (closeness) value of an extended line in relation with the other lines in a given network, *segment maps* are also used in space-syntax in order to analyse another fundamental structural characteristics of the network such as 'betweenness' or 'choice value'. Choice value is defined by Hillier (2005) as *"the degree to which each line lies on simplest paths from each line to all others"* (p.12). As mentioned earlier, choice maps give the potential of *through-movement* which would carry the movement flows to the local centers.

Segment maps are produced from axial maps which calculate the measurements by working with line segments. In Depth Map, *metric*, *geometrical* and *topological* distance analyses can be run to measure both integration and choice values by using the line segments between intersections (Hillier, 2005, p.16; Hillier & Iida, 2005). *Metric* distance calculates the distance between the center of a segment to the center of its neighbouring segments in meters and gives the shortest path between them. *Topological* distance measures the fewest turns by the number of directional change from a line segment to the neighbouring segment. Lastly, *geometric* analysis calculates the least angle change from a line segment to its neighbouring lines (Hillier, 2009).

Recent studies show that the real human movement correlates best with the *"least angle change paths",* rather than metric distances[26]. In other words, people tend to choose the paths with ***minimum angular diversity*** in their journeys, rather than metrically shortest paths (for both pedestrian and vehicular movement) (Hillier, 2009). Thus, angular analyses are run on the segment map of the site. In Figure 4.31, the potential *through-movement* pattern in Emek District is illustrated via Space Syntax analysis (left).

[26] For detailed analysis, see: Hillier, B; (2005) "The art of place and the science of space". *World Architecture*, 185 pp. 96-102

Figure 4.31: Potential through-movements in Emek district illustrated by the segment analysis in Space Syntax (left), and the observed pedestrian density (right)

Within the given network, red, yellow and green axes in the map show the most likely paths carrying the highest flow through the fabric, in the descending order. It is seen that the choice map gives the highest *potential of through-movement* on one axis within E1 which is marked by red color. This is less than the network of the real pedestrian movement. Yet, although having lower choice values, the yellow and green axes still define the network of the potential *through-movement* pattern, which corresponds relatively better with the real movement density in the district. Having the knowledge that these axes contain the local trade areas in the neighborhood, it can be said that the results show consistencies with the land use patterns of the site.

Figure 4.32: Views from the local streets accommodating commercial units at the ground floor

It should be also noted that, the map show parallelism with the public transportation lines, which are illustrated in Figure 4.24. It can be inferred that the public transportation choices correlate with the routes that the syntax of the site provides at the optimum level.

The choice map of a network revealing the potential of *through-movement* is expected to carry the highest volume of pedestrian flow to the local centres. Accordingly, as the choice value of the paths decreases, the potential of the common spaces as threshold, which are located on these paths, decreases as well. In order to investigate whether the potential thresholds in Emek District overlap with the potential through-movement or not, the choice map is superimposed with the common spaces which were previously specified (See: Figure 4.33).

Figure 4.33: Common space utilization map showing the degree of utilization by different social groups (adapted from the information obtained by the interviews) (left), and the synthesis of the choice map with the common spaces in Emek District (right)

The syntactic structure of Emek District reveals a single axis as the most preferred path to the central locations. One can claim that the common spaces located on this street would carry the highest potential as threshold, accordingly. However, as this street is located *within* the enclave (E1), its potential to condition the encounter among different social agents diminishes. In the synthesis map (right), the areas, which are marked with the darkest colour according to the choice analysis of the network, are expected to accommodate lower pedestrian mobility. Accordingly, most of these areas are located *within* the enclaves (i.e. the educational sites in E3, or the bazaar area in E1). Therefore, it can be assumed that these spaces hold the lowest potential as thresholds in the district, which also corresponds with the common space utilization map (left). Likewise, the chance for the spaces located *between* the enclaves to perform as thresholds for different social groups is relatively higher. These sites contain the large recreational parks, the cultural centres, and the commercial street allocated *between* the so-called character areas.

In conclusion, it can be interpreted that *the common spaces located within the enclaves provide lower potential to be regarded as threshold* while the *ones in-between or between carry higher potential as threshold*.

Although the choice analysis reveals the *through-movement* patterns between the central locations in a given settlement, it indicates the potential thresholds which are conditioned by the pedestrian mobility on the overlapping axes. Therefore, while the integration analyses can be used to reveal the threshold potentialities on central nodes in the district, the *through-movement* patterns given by the choice analyses can be utilized to evaluate the possibility of encounter on the coinciding spaces which is conditioned by human mobility.

In both analyses, the syntax of the site reveals similar correlations with the land use pattern of the site and with the patterns of the utilization of common spaces, yet with slight differences. The potential of *to-movement* show correspondence with the local centres in the district. The most integrated paths pass through the commercial streets and arrive at the main transportation nodes. These paths also carry the highest volume of vehicular traffic in the area. However, the correlation between the *integration* map of the site and the utilization maps of the common spaces is low. The common space utilization maps reveal a large number of sites as appropriated by different social groups living in the district. However, the movement potential conditioned by the syntax of the district does not fully cover all these sites as utilized commonly.

In the analysis of the potential of *through-movement* axes, the only problem is with the axis on the north which has the highest choice value. It corresponds with the real pedestrian movement on the street, however, it is not utilized by different social agents as it is remained *within* the enclave. As it is seen from the common space utilization map (See: Figure 4.33-left) that the movement density on this path is not created by different social agents. Therefore, it can be stated that the potentiality of this axis and its surroundings to operate as threshold is very low. Except this path, the pattern of the potential *through-movement* provides a correlation with the utilization maps. The common spaces coinciding with the potential through-movement carry higher potential for these spaces to operate as a threshold creating an intermediary space

between the specified character areas. These spots are located mostly *in-between* the enclaves. Accordingly, the spots remained *within* the enclaves collides with the axes with the lowest choice values. This situation supports the previously given assumption; **the threshold potential of a space increases when it is located *in-between* or *between* the enclaves, and decreases if the spaces is remained *within* those specific character areas**.

4.3.4. Visibility

In search of the potential use of common spaces in Emek District, visibility analysis is applied as another analytical method. Called 'isovist', this analytical method helps to make an alternative geometrical definition to the perception of the environment. An isovist, as Benedikt (1979) defines, *"is the set of all points visible from a given vantage point in space and with respect to an environment"* (p.47). As the space is defined 'from inside', that is, from the eyes of people who perceive it and interact with it moving through the space, isovists are essentially related with architecture and architectural analyses (Turner, Doxa, O'Sullivan, & Penn, 2001, p.103). By mapping the isovist fields in a built environment, human behaviors such as privacy seeking, surveillance or prominence can be investigated. Through the analysis of the degree of concealment and isolation in a given environment, visibility pattern of the site may help to develop useful measure of visual exposure and access within site-specific properties (Benedikt, 1979, p.52).

In order to reveal the spatial isovist properties in Emek District, visibility graph analysis is run. The physical elements blocking the visibility of a space such as walls, fences and buildings are also included in the map, which condition the results of analysis.

Figure 4.34: Isovist fields of Emek District illustrated by Isovist analysis in Space Syntax (left), and common space utilization map showing the degree of utilization by different social groups (adapted from the information obtained by the interviews) (right)

The map shows that the main road passing by the site accommodates the most visible areas in the district. As the light rail transportation line is placed on this axis between the lanes, the width and the linearity along the road increases the visibility of the points located on this road. The areas in front of Korupark Shopping Mall also accommodate high visibility properties due to the large open car parking area. The high visibility value of the parking lots should be related with the visibility of the shopping mall, accordingly. In addition to the massive volume of the building, the isovist fields of the immediate surrounding promote to the recognition and utilization of the site, not only by the residents of the district, but also by the people dwelling in the other parts of the city. In accordance with its visibility properties, the site of the shopping mall, is revealed as highly utilized by various social groups.

When it comes to the inner parts of the site, the largest open space is given as the space with the highest visibility value. Re-reading the land use map (See: Figure 4.15), and collective utilization of public spaces in Figure 4.34-right, it can be seen that this place is utilized as a recreational site in the district which is enjoyed by all social groups

residing in the district. However, due to the building density in the northern parts, the visibility values are quite low on the commercial streets where the pedestrian mobility is very high in practice. I should be also noted that the physical barriers, such as the walls of Korupark Site and the fences of educational sites, block the visibility of open spaces. Yet, in general, the visibility pattern of Emek District corresponds with the patterns of the utilization of the common spaces by different social agents who live in the whole of the district.

4.4. The Findings of the Site Research

Although Emek District is fragmented socially and spatially, some spaces are utilized by different social groups living in the district commonly. These spaces would afford temporal threshold conditions for inhabitants in accordance with their capability to provide a ground for encounter with different identities. The possibility of encounter, or the performance of threshold, inherently depends on the configuration of spatial network which regulates the human mobility.

Within this framework, a two-phase site research conducted in Emek District provides two sets of comparative information about the territoriality of different social agents and the spatiality of potential thresholds where encounter with the others is possible. In the first stage, the potential thresholds are revealed in accordance with the information obtained through the face-to-face interviews made with the inhabitants. As a limitation to the site research, the number of the interviews remained limited because of the unwillingness of people to participate in. This situation can be related with the tendency of people to limit their communication with the outsiders, which also provides an understanding to make a general assumption about the segregation in the district. Even so, the information gathered from the participants and the head persons, who have an adequate knowledge about the social life of individuals, provided a basis to specify the potential thresholds on common spaces and their performance to condition the state of encounter among different social agents. In general, it is seen that the common spaces allocated *in-between* the specified enclaves accommodate

higher potential as ‘threshold’ compared to the ones located *within* the territories of the character areas.

The second phase of the analysis concentrates on the investigation of the configurational relationship between the utilization of these common spaces and the syntactic structure of the fabric. Through the space-syntax analyses, namely ‘integration/closeness’, ‘choice/betweenness’ and ‘visibility’ analyses, the potential movement patterns and the isovist properties of the site are revealed. The syntactic characteristics of the spatial network in the site, however, reveals some inconsistencies with the real movement patterns of the individuals which condition the utilization of the common spaces, and accordingly, the potentiality of these spaces as thresholds. Some of the locations given as highly integrated and carrying a high through-movement potential by the syntax analysis are not revealed as utilized by different social groups in practice. Similarly, some of the public spaces which were revealed as common to all people are not found ‘integrated’ or the real movement patterns observed in the site does not fully correspond with the potential movement patterns given by the syntax analyses. In brief, there is a correlation between the two sets of information to a certain degree, yet, the abovementioned inconsistencies show that the configuration of the built environment does not condition the utilization of the common spaces by all groups although they operate as thresholds in real.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Within the scope of this research, the spatiality of the notion of ‘heterotopia’ has been revisited along with the socio-spatial concept of ‘threshold’ which has been regarded as a fundamental condition of heterotopology. By reframing heterotopology as a socio-spatial phenomenon within the context of Emek District in the city of Bursa, the morphologic features of the threshold are investigated on the basis of the syntactic structure of the settlement. The socio-spatial setting of the district accommodates the basic features of heterotopology, which were systematically defined by Foucault (1984). The co-existence of different social agents, which are incompatible in themselves, within the same settlement inevitably constructs social liminality on certain spaces where they encounter with each other. These so-called ‘thresholds’ operate as interfaces between and within different living fabrics called ‘enclave’. In order to investigate the spatiality of potential thresholds in Emek District, the configurational analysis of Space-Syntax has been applied to the network of the district in addition to the face-to-face interviews conducted with the head persons who live in the district. The findings of this contextual analysis provide a comparative framework on the intrinsic relationship between the social setting of the settlement and its configurational structure, which would be discussed with reference to the fundamental concept of threshold.

5.1. Reflection on the Findings

Accommodating various social groups within different territorial patterns which are adjacently located on the peripheral development axis in the city of Bursa, Emek District in itself reveals the very fragmented structure of the modern cities. In the course of time, various dynamics have attracted people from different social, cultural and economic backgrounds to choose this site as a living environment. These dynamics, such as the implementation of the largest industrial complex in Turkey, and the construction of the biggest shopping mall in Bursa, have affected the development patterns of the district. The result of this such a dynamic trend has been the emergence of the fragmented residential enclaves which are divided from each other. The morphological structure of these enclaves also reflects the social segregation within the district as they have sharp internal distinctions in terms of spatial morphology, building density, building quality and architecture.

The first phase of the site research reveals that the common spaces provide an intermediation among these segregated environments. What is essential about the findings is the location of the common spaces which operate as the threshold. The high degree of utilization of the thresholds is achieved on common spaces which are located ***in-between*** the enclaves rather than the ones remained *within* them. One can infer from this situation that *communities tend to maintain the local identities through a degree of socio-spatial segregation within their defined territories*.

On the other hand, the movement potentiality that the syntax of the fabric does not support the *territoriality* of the local identities, and the formation of the thresholds between the defined living areas. The inconsistencies arise mainly from the definition of 'enclave'. Within the scope of this study, the enclaves are defined with respect to the territoriality of different social groups which also reveal distinct morphological characteristics. However, space syntax analyses calculate the movement potentialities which would better correlate with the land use patterns regardless of the enclave-threshold relationship. Therefore, while the integration and choice maps of the site correlate better with land-use patterns, the performance of the syntax of the site to condition the movement on potential thresholds does not reveal a strong correlation.

In other words, *the syntactic structure of the settlement does not fully correspond with the territoriality of different social groups and their tendency to maintain the characteristics of the local through enclosure*.

As described briefly in the historical development process of the site, the formation of different urban patterns and the accumulation of different socio-cultural groups in the same settlement are the results of an incremental process. The unplanned development of the settlements can also be seen as a major factor affecting the relationship between the built environment and the formation of enclaves and thresholds.

5.2. On the Problem of Segregation-Integration Dilemma

The fragmented structure of the Emek District in the form of co-existing socio-cultural enclaves brings the problem of segregation and integration into question which has been much debated in urbanism. The increasing socio-economic gap between different groups of people, which has also been conditioned by the rapid urbanization through the globalization process, has stimulated the spatial segregation in cities, and led to the emergence of isolated settlement areas. These settlements can be found in various forms ranging from the ghetto-like informal housing areas which accommodate the economically disadvantaged groups, to the luxury housing estates appealing to the people with high-income level. Apart from the economic factors, the cultural differences also lead to the partitioning of the urban environment.

Although spatial segregation is seen as one of the major problems in urbanism, it was seen during the interviews that the individuals are comfortable with their way of living within their own defined environments. This is also related with what environmental behavior scientists define with *territoriality*. While territoriality is regarded as the biologically based behavior of animals, it is a culturally biased behavior in humans (Lang, 1987, p.148). Lang (1987) describes the basic characteristics of territories as the ownership of humans to a place, the marking of an area, the right to defend the area against the outsiders, and meeting the psychological as well as the cognitive and aesthetic needs through several functions (p.148). These qualities ensure the instinctive

needs of individuals to achieve the group privacy, which would maintain the need for (group) identity, stimulation and security (Lang, 1987, p.148).

From this perspective, the problem of spatial segregation caused by the needs of territoriality should be approached carefully. Most of the ideas in planning concentrate on the achievement of social cohesion among conflicting identities through the integrative tactics and methods. Nevertheless, the absolute integration of different bodies of the society requires a degree of assimilation and compromise from the identity. With regard to the genuine qualities of the locality of the territories, the achievement of socio-spatial cohesion possesses a danger of creating urban spaces without identity. In this sense, it can be argued that a degree of socio-spatial segregation would help to sustain the characteristics of the local identities.

On the other hand, there is a need for an intermediary spatiality in order to keep the segregated environments together. Threshold spatiality, in this context, would offer the necessary ground for the experience of encounter among different layers of the society. Thresholds accommodate the 'tolerance' (Basa, 2018) among conflicting identities on the commonly shared spaces. These in-between spaces are the grounds where the other face of the dilemma is resolved, which is the problem of integration.

The promise of this idea is systematically addressed by Hillier (2007) in terms of the configurational aspect of a space which would construct the basis for the relationship between the intermediary spatiality of the threshold and the segregation of socio-cultural enclaves:

> *"Good urban space has segregated lines, but they are close to integrated lines, so that there is a good mix of integrated and segregated lines locally."* (Hillier, 2007, p.131)

From this statement, one can infer that there is a degree of affirmative position in Hillier's (2007) approach towards the state of segregation. However, the word 'segregation' should be used carefully to avoid any misunderstanding. Undoubtfully, he is critical about the 'disurban' tendencies of the nineteenth century planning which has created dispersed urban patterns. The enclave-like 'disurban' places, for Hillier

(2007), breaks the wholeness of the city as they become the destination points apart rather than the parts of the city. The city should function as a whole in order to afford the natural movement of people. Thus, he argues that the formation of the 'specialized enclaves' disrupts the well-functioning of the city.

What he would imply by 'segregated lines' can be reconsidered in local level, that is, the scale of a neighborhood. The segregation observed in Emek District is quite different from what Hillier (2007) defines as 'specialized enclaves'. The 'enclave', in the context of the research, refers to the specific character areas of different socio-cultural groups at local level. It can be argued that a degree of segregation at this scale ensure the authenticity of the local, not by breaking its connection from the city completely, but by remaining its contact with the rest through porous border conditions, which is conceptualized as *threshold*. ***By maintaining the local life in socio-spatial enclaves through segregation, and constructing threshold conditions in-between, it can be claimed that the generation of an alternative 'good space', in which people from different territorialities can contact, would be possible.***

5.3. From the Mono-Cultural Idealization of Utopian Space to the Possibility of Multicultural Spatiality of Heterotopia

Any attempt to reframe the 'good space' necessarily accommodates a certain degree of utopian thinking. However, as it is outlined through the critical review of the utopian thought in urbanism in the second chapter, there is still a need for alternative utopian approaches which would be relevant and operational in the present multicultural urban context. In this sense, the potentiality of the socio-spatial condition of 'heterotopology' to keep the diverse cultures together would offer an alternative approach in urbanism. Such an alternative condition does not necessarily requires abandoning the fundamental motivations of utopian thinking, if the *'status quo'* is aimed to be changed (Barlas, 1992, p.44). Yet, the classical utopian thinking ought to be reframed in order for its total character to be eliminated. Rather than regarding the society as a holistic and homogeneous unit in the utopian ideal, the socio-cultural context that heterotopia

offers allows for the creation of micro-utopias of cultures within their own territories. Within the qualities of complexity, diversity, and hybridity, heterotopology has the potential to present the necessary spatial ground to sustain the socio-cultural richness of the contemporary urban space.

Embracing differences and incompatibilities in the same spatial context, heterotopias are inherently heterogeneous structures, and threshold spatiality constitutes the basic condition to achieve this multicultural togetherness. While the co-existence of enclave-like territories of different cultures in a settlement sustains the inner socio-spatial character of communities, as in the case of Emek District, the thresholds mediate the tension between the oppositions by conditioning them to close contact with the others. The performance of the threshold mainly depends upon the configuration of the built environment and the capacity of the threshold to integrate the identities from different domains.

5.4. Further Studies

Within the scope of the study, the social segregation is regarded as a natural and instinctive process in terms of the territoriality of different cultures, and the possibility of achieving cultural diversity is investigated within the frame of heterotopian spatiality and the configurational operation of the threshold. In this sense, a two-phase site research is conducted in Emek District in Bursa each providing distinct information about the potentiality of the thresholds. When the two sets of information are compared, it is seen that there are some inconsistencies between the potentiality of thresholds in terms of the spatial configuration of the site and the operation of thresholds in real practice.

Learning from the real practices of the individuals, which is essential in the construction of co-cultural communities (Orbe, 1998), the further steps of the research would focus on the improvement of the performance of the threshold spatiality. The operational tools and methods of urban and planning can be used to produce alternative spatial settings which would affect the ability of threshold to condition the encounter

in the heterotopian context. The micro-scale spatial interventions in the configuration of the layout can be tested by the very analytical analysis methods of space-syntax theory. The model applied in the research can also be used in different spatial contexts other than the residential settlements. The morphological investigation of the concepts of ‘enclave’ and ‘threshold’ in various urban contexts would enrich the discussions in urbanism in terms of the construction of diverse environments in cities. In this way, the concept of heterotopia would be reproduced within its very genuine framework by integrating the tactics and methods of planning in order to achieve and sustain the cultural diversity in the urban space.

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