

INTERACTIONS OF SUBURB DESIGN, SUBURBAN LIFE
AND POPULAR CULTURE
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LEVITTOWN-NY AND LEVENT-ISTANBUL
BETWEEN 1950-1980

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AND POPULAR CULTURE
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LEVENT-ISTANBUL BETWEEN 1950-1980**

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ABSTRACT

INTERACTIONS OF SUBURB DESIGN, SUBURBAN LIFE AND POPULAR CULTURE A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LEVITTOWN-NY AND LEVENT-ISTANBUL BETWEEN 1950-1980

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Suburbia, a way of life, is a sociological concept that emerged in America in the 1950s and spread to the world with different typologies; it expresses how the suburban areas formed during the development process of cities are experienced by users. The relations of these areas with the city center, and the structural features (street texture, settlement, building typology) play an important role in forming the characteristics of suburbia as they directly affect the usage practices.

The formation, development and change of communities are also reflected in popular culture items. The settlement characteristics of the spaces described in the elements within the scope of the study and their compatibility with the suburban components of life are discussed over the criteria determined by examining the definitions of the concepts and their historical processes. This thesis analyzes and compares the role of popular culture items in the development of social life and settlement, and the consistency of reflection of lifestyle, focusing especially on the 1950-80, through

domestic and foreign film examples, while Levittown, the first example of suburban settlement, and Levent – Denizciler Çiftliği, which is the first in Turkey. The date range was determined according to the social situation of Turkey and the change in the housing structure in the 1980s. While the examined settlements show mostly typological similarities in terms of the basic characteristics of the concept of suburbia, it is seen that they differ in their development processes due to the geography, political and physical conditions they are located in. This study aims to explain the effects of the interaction of suburban and popular culture on the formation of new settlements, through the establishment and development process of Levent, which has features such as its distance from the city center and being planned within the framework of certain design rules.

Keywords: Suburbia, Suburban Design, Popular Culture, Gated Community, Denizciler Çiftliği

ÖZ

BANLIYO TASARIMI, BANLIYÖ YAŞAMI VE POPÜLER KÜLTÜRÜN ETKİLEŞİMİ 1950-1980 ARASI LEVITTOWN-NY VE LEVENT-İSTANBUL KARŞILAŞTIRMA ÇALIŞMASI

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Bir yaşam biçimi olan Suburbia, 1950li yıllarda Amerika’da ortaya çıkan ve zaman içinde farklı tipolojilerle dünyaya yayılan sosyolojik bir kavramdır; kentlerin gelişme sürecinde oluşan banliyö alanlarının kullanıcılar tarafından nasıl deneyimlendiğini ifade eder. Bu alanların kent merkezi ile ilişkileri, sokak dokusu, yerleşim ve yapı tipolojisi gibi yapısal özellikleri de kullanım pratiklerini doğrudan etkilediğinden suburbanın niteliklerini oluşturmada önemli rol oynar.

Toplulukların oluşumu, gelişimi ve değişimi popüler kültür unsurlarına da yansımaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında analiz edilen örneklerde betimlenen mekanlarının yerleşim özellikleri ve yansıtılan yaşamın suburbia bileşenleri ile uyumluluğu, kavramların tanım ve tarihsel süreçleri irdelenerek belirlenen kriterler üzerinden tartışılmaktadır. Bu tez, özellikle 1950-80 aralığına odaklanarak, popüler kültür öğelerinin toplumsal yaşamın ve yerleşimin gelişmesinde oynadığı rolü ve yaşam tarzının yasıtılma tutarlılığını yerli ve yabancı film örnekleri üzerinden analiz

ederken, ilk suburb yerleşim örneği Levittown ile Türkiye'deki ilk örnek olan Levent – Denizciler Çiftliği'ni yapısal, sosyolojik özellikler ve gelişim süreçleri bakımından karşılaştırmaktadır. Tarih aralığının belirlenmesinde, 1980'lerde Türkiye'de cumhuriyet dönemi yerleşimlerinin yaygınlaşması, sosyal koşullarla birlikte konut yapısının değişmeye başlaması etkili olmuştur. İncelenen yerleşim örneklerinin, suburbia kavramının temel nitelikleri bakımından çoğunlukla tipolojik benzerlikler gösterirken buldukları coğrafya, siyasi ve fiziksel koşulların etkisiyle gelişim süreçlerinde farklılaştığı görülmektedir. Bu çalışma, Levent'in, kent merkezine uzaklığı ve belirli tasarım kuralları çerçevesinde planlanmış olması gibi özelliklere sahip kuruluş ve gelişim süreci üzerinden, 1950-1980 yılları aralığına odaklanarak, banliyö ve popüler kültürün etkileşiminin yeni yerleşimlerin oluşumuna etkilerini açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Banliyö Yaşamı, Banliyö Tasarımı, Popüler Kültür, Toplu Konut, Denizciler Çiftliği

To my beloved family, my dear aunt, cousins, and fellows..

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the 1950s, suburbs were seen as the ideal places for people who were looking for a good life (The Guardian, 2014). The main reason for the tendency to move to the suburbs is the prospect of having a good life, including a large house with a garden close to a quality school. The suburbs embodied American values such as homeownership, education, minimal crime, and total autonomy. In other respects, they symbolized protection from the perceived illnesses of city existence.

The post-war period saw a marked increase in suburban life for various reasons. Some people wanted to escape the social tensions at work in large cities, while others wanted to live in a more "private" environment. When minorities are increasing in number, and particularly African-Americans, many white city dwellers have chosen to leave. Many people migrated for economic reasons, but for some groups family or personal reasons were also important. (The Guardian, 2014)

In addition to these features, Rupa Huq, who has many researches on the concept of suburb, also states that the suburb areas are attractive to the users and that it is a settlement area that will provide better than the current conditions.

“The idea of the suburb as synonymous with the pinnacle of betterment is taking a battering. Traditionally, a move to the suburb has been one that connoted a step upwards and onwards in status, as well as physically outwards from the inner city.” (Huq, 2019, p.8).

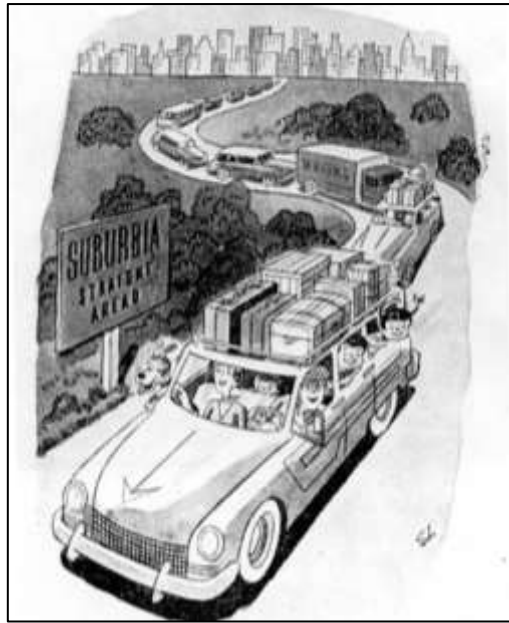


Figure 1.1. Suburbia Cartoon, 1957
 (<http://statemuseumpa.org/levittown/one/b.html>)



Figure 1.2. General Electric Advertisement of a Soldier Dreaming for a New Home
 (<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/postwarera/postwarera/a/the-growth-of-suburbia>)

Thompson (1968) also defines the trend towards suburban areas as people leaving their city apartments to live their perfect life in a suburb with big houses on green lawns and a safe environment for raising children. (Vergauwen, 2013)

“new suburbanites ... desert the old town centres, escaping from increasing dirt noise, stench, and disease, dissatisfied with the social confusion of mixed residential areas and with the inconvenience of traditional town houses for the style of life they wanted to pursue.” (Thompson, 1968, p.21).

The main reason why the suburbs have become a desirable place for the urbanites who are immersed in the density and chaos of the post-war city is the representation of suburban life in advertisements, TV shows and magazines. Since the settlement of suburban areas allowed social interaction between neighbors and the lifestyle of suburbs started to bring new daily habits, the portrayal of the suburban life which was mostly shown on advertisements highly effected it.

“popular culture then serves as a means to connect the reader/listener/viewer to suburbia whether they live there or not, making it part of their lived experience.” (Huq, 2015, p.25-26).

Moreover, there are many contradictions between real everyday life and the fictional world which are represented in popular culture elements like books, films, songs. As well as these representations tells about the realistic features of a concept, they contain a lot of exaggerated factors while representing the main features of suburbs life such as sameness, uniqueness of social life, luxurious lifestyle, role of woman in society etc. Also, these fictional worlds shape from the combination of both the existing conditions and imaginations.

The new settlements that emerged due to structural, social, economic and political reasons in the historical process and the lifestyles formed accordingly are intricate with popular culture, which is in direct interaction with daily life practices. In this

context, it is important to clearly identify the main reasons why settlements are affected during the formation and development processes, and to reveal the connection between fiction and reality in order to use the findings as a guide in the design processes. In this context, how suburb settlements and suburbia practice reflect on the experience of users should be evaluated within the scope of concept analysis and historical development processes, and the dimensions of its relationship with popular culture should be revealed.

This research aims to discuss the definitions of the concepts of suburb and suburbia and the consistency of their depictions in popular culture, to reveal the differences in perspectives in concept definitions, the factors that cause these differences, and the contradictions in popular culture reflections through the analyzed physical and visual examples.

1.1 Aims and Objectives of the Study

“As a vibrant literature on framing in planning work suggests, how urbanists, the press, and the public talk and think about suburbs shapes how they can see such areas being developed and redeveloped in the future” (Caplan and Nelson, 1973 cited in Forsyth, 2012, p.2).

From this point of view, this study aims to examine the interrelation between suburban life and the representation of suburbia in popular culture and explore the effects of the interaction of these concepts on the formation of new suburban areas.

While there are various studies in the literature examining how suburban life is represented in popular culture elements such as;

- an analysis of cultural representation of suburbia in popular literature by Wout Vergauwen which includes the critics about the reflection of suburbia in books which are *Revolutionary Road* – R.Yates and *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* – S. Wilson or

- an examination book (Making Sense of Suburbia through Popular Culture) written by Rupa Huq, which examines how the suburbs are portrayed in novels, film, popular music and television, illustrating the changing trends in both suburban and popular media consumption and production,

the role of popular culture elements such as advertisements, films and books in the design and formation process of newly designed suburb areas has not been frequently discussed. Therefore, within the scope of this study, after the definitions and processes of the concepts are examined in their own contexts, the correlation between suburbia and popular culture will be discussed in the context of place, culture, and people.

Based on the emergence of the concept of suburb, this study also aims to discuss the contradiction between the suburban portrait reflected in popular culture both in Turkey and around the world, and the current suburbia.

1.2 Research Questions

Researchers have studied about suburb and suburbia in different perspectives. Rupa Huq, who is also a politician and lecturer in Sociology at Kingston University, London and has prominent studies on the evaluation of the concept of suburbia from different dimensions, argues that it is an easier method to say what is not rather than what it is while defining the concept of suburb. In her work, which examines the concept of suburbia through popular culture, she uses a comparative perspective between city and suburb areas, especially when describing the concept of suburb and also offers ideas that the concept of suburbia is a mentality rather than a physical description.

“The suburbs have a number of features that sharply contrast with those of the inner city. Suburbia has always evoked the idea of safety and security whereas the inner city has been equated with risk and danger.” (Huq, 2019, p.7).

“It is in some ways suburbia is metaphorical rather than a literal or geographic term, a mindset as opposed to a term of strict definition.” (Huq, 2019, p.6-7).

Or, Marshall (1998) states that the meaning of the term suburb is investigated from a sociological perspective, emphasizing its physical conditions.

“A suburb is a community on the densely settled fringes of a city [...] The object of intense sociological study during the 1950s and 1960s, suburbs were widely believed to contain a particular kind of culture that included an emphasis on family life and home ownership, active community involvement, and a high degree of conformity and concern with keeping up appearances.” (Marshall, 1998, p.).

The evolution of the term and the lifestyle have been an important question to ask for cultures. While research on the emergence of concepts continues, many researchers have turned to discussions about how concepts relate to society. For example, Nicolaidis and Weise describe suburbs as places shaped by high values in the introduction of *Suburb Reader (2006)*, noting that they touch on how these characteristics are elaborated as lifestyles.

“places shaped by elevated values for home ownership, secluded nuclear families, privacy, a distinctive, gendered division of labor, social exclusivity, semirural landscapes, dislike of cities, political home-rule, etc.” (Nicolaidis and Weise, 2006, cited in Forsyth, 2012, p. 7)

Researchers who make definitions on structural features and those who focus on sociological features unite at the point of popular culture, where the reflection of both categories can only be analyzed. This study mainly asks

- how the concept of suburbia, which is described as the American Dream, is reflected typologically and sociologically in movies, books, and song lyrics,

and questions the effects of the positive and negative aspects of the concept, which are revealed through popular culture, on settlements.

Another main questions of this research is

- for what purpose and in what locations the suburb settlements were created, the evolution of their use over time,
- the views of the inhabitants about the life of the region and the tendency of people to live in these regions.

This research seeks to answer the questions of how the concept of suburb as a new settlement order to be implemented with modernization in a city like Istanbul, which tends to grow by spreading to the periphery, will be implemented,

- how the features of this order will affect the elements that make up the lifestyle, and
- what are the effects of popular culture on this evolution process.

To find answers to the research questions, first of all, the definitions and scopes of the concepts, then their historical backgrounds will be analyzed, and the consistency and contradictions will be tried to be revealed by making comparisons with the features included in popular culture descriptions.

1.3 Research Methodology

While this study is primarily based on popular culture elements that reflect the most basic form of the concept of suburbia, it also covers the examination of settlement practices. In the light of concept analysis, analysis of suburb settlement examples and depictions, the formation, development, and current usage process of Levent district will be examined.

Based on the lack of a definite line between the dimensions in the definitions of the concepts, the physical and sociological criteria used throughout the study are handled intricately. The morphological components constituting the test criteria of the study

were extracted from the plans showing the urban texture and architectural structure of the settlements, the information given in the relevant newspaper clippings, and the sociological components were extracted through the analysis of popular culture elements such as advertisements and films.

The popular culture analysis, which constitutes the first part of the research, includes the examination of the selected visual elements through descriptive content analysis, which is a qualitative research method, considering the compatibility of their contents with the concepts within the scope of the study, and the extraction of the criteria to be used in the second part. With descriptive content analysis, it is aimed to present the findings in an organized and interpreted form.

It is stated by Sooryamoorthy (2007) that film studies in sociology are few and that the motion picture is effective as a visual form of expression and reconstruction of social reality. (Sooryamoorthy, 2007) From this point of view, the analysis of the suburban life practice within the scope of the thesis was made using the observational methodology over the films that are visual popular culture elements. In this context, based on the scenes in the selected films, the space, the way people use the space, the way of establishing connections between spaces, the diversity of transportation and lifestyles are determined.

In the second part of the study, within the framework of the findings obtained from the analyzes made in the first part, the morphological, sociological features and historical development processes of the selected sample areas are compared. This comparison was made between Levittown, which is the first application example of the suburban concept, and Levent – Denizciler Çiftliği, which is shown as the first application example in Turkey, by limiting it to the years 1950-1980.

Comparisons between Levent and Levittown settlements were made on maps of the areas, and on bird's-eye views where data were insufficient; diagrams, photographs and user opinions obtained from the researches examined were also included in the analysis. As the analysis criteria, the criteria obtained from the popular culture analysis made in the first part of the research were used listed below.

Criteria for Morphological Dimension

- Urban Texture & Density
- Road Network
- Plot - Block Relations
- Architectural Typology
- Purpose and Diversity of Use of Buildings

Criteria for Sociological Dimension

- Use of Space
- Life Practices

Since Levittown is the first example of the concept of suburb applied as a settlement form, it was determined as the main comparison item, and the physical, economic, social and political factors in the formation process were evaluated using the descriptive research method.

The reason why the Levent region was determined as the study area is that Denizciler Çiftliği is one of the first examples that corresponds to the suburb settlement concept in Turkey, where the concept of suburb would be applied approximately 50 years after its emergence. The fact that it has not been applied as a layout before, that it is a residential area that is being established with the same architectural typology, away from the city center in a city where the transportation conditions are not yet sufficiently developed. Therefore, the concept of suburb was welcomed as a new and controversial concept by the users of Istanbul, which tends to grow towards the urban periphery.



Figure 1.3. Denizciler Çiftliği, Levent

(<https://www.milliyet.com.tr/galeri/eski-istanbuldan-70-nostaljik-fotograf-52439>)

Although there are different opinions in the media and society, Denizciler Çiftliği, which was established and can be considered the pioneer of the suburb settlement concept in Turkey, has become more popular in time. Although it remains within the borders of the city center with the growth of the city, it has managed to preserve its identity and urban texture to a large extent until today.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This research consists of six main chapters, including introduction and conclusion parts. The introductory chapter briefly gives information about the aims and objectives of the study, the questions constituting the scope of the research, and the methodology followed throughout the research.

The second chapter includes the definitions and features of the concepts of suburb and suburbia, which are the basis of the research, based on various opinions about the concepts. After the summary of the perspectives on these concepts, the concept of popular culture, which is another part of the scope of the study, what popular culture elements are and how fiction relates to reality is presented through examples.

The third chapter includes the historical development process of the research. The emergence of suburbia, the differences in social characteristics over time, and how these concepts came into being in Turkey and how they were applied are the subjects of the third part. The fourth chapter is one of the parts that reveals the basic elements of the research and includes the extraction of the characteristics of suburb settlements through popular culture scanning. In this section, a comparison of the urban layout of suburban settlements is made over Levittown, which is an example of current practice, and Edward Scissorhands, which is an example of popular culture description. However, it also includes the criteria revealed by the descriptive analysis of suburbia samples specific to Turkey.

The fifth chapter of the research includes testing the consistency of the elements determined in the light of the data collected in the previous sections on the Levent - Denizciler Çiftliği, which was chosen as a case study, in the context of evaluating the historical process and characteristic features.

Finally, the conclusion part briefly summarizes the issues discussed throughout the research, and includes the findings obtained from the settlement sample comparisons made within the framework of the analyzed topics and the possible discussions that will arise.

CHAPTER 2

KEY CONCEPTS OF SUBURBAN LIFE & POPULAR CULTURE

The explanation of the terms suburb, suburbia, suburbanization process, its history and its effects in different cultures are crucial for this research. In addition, in studies conducted by researchers such as Richard Harris, Peter Larkham, Ruth Mcmanus and Philip J. Ethington, especially Rupa Huq, the representation of different daily habits in popular culture items has often been the main subject of research on this subject.

On the other hand, when we think about the relation between how these terms take place in daily life and how they are represented in popular culture items, there is not too much studies on this aspect. To examine this need on the research area, suburb and suburbia concepts must be analyzed first in the frame of defined time periods and cases.

In this part of the study, the definitions of the concept of suburb investigated by researchers from various disciplines like Ludvig Wittgenstein (philosopher), Richard Harris (urban historical geographer), Ann Forsyth (urban planner) and etc.; the basic features of suburb settlements and the factors defining suburbia will be discussed, and the questions of what popular culture is, how it is perceived, what its components are, and how to establish a connection between reality and fiction will be examined.

2.1 Concepts of Suburban Settlements & Lifestyle

Suburb settlements and life in these areas have distinct physical and sociological features. These features were also reflected in the definitions with their positive and

negative aspects, and with the discussion environment it created, it became a guide for the development of existing areas and the creation of new suburb areas.

The concept of suburbia is supported by factors such as the daily activities of the people living in these areas, their habits, their relationship with the rest of the city, and the way they meet their needs, depending on the characteristics of the residential areas.

2.1.1 Definition of the Suburb

The detailed examination of suburb term definitions is crucial for this research for determining the advantages and disadvantages occurred in suburbia throughout the time. Although there is no single and fixed definition of the concept of suburb, the definitions vary according to the existence of physical and cultural components such as architectural typology, settlement pattern, transportation conditions. While some of the definitions give an idea about the physical features of the residential areas, some definitions refer to the life in the mentioned areas.

It is not possible to reach a single conclusion among the definitions that will be explained in the rest of the chapter, because it has been observed that even researchers who have clearly defined the concept of suburb make different definitions according to whether they focus on what exists or does not exist in suburban areas.

A positive definition of what a suburb is may focus on aspects of the suburb that the analyst sees as problematic (e.g., that it is oriented toward cars); likewise, a negative definition of what a suburb lacks may focus on the absence of problems. (Forsyth, 2012). According to Wittgenstein (2009), the problem is whether the definition focuses on a core characteristic of "suburbia," e.g., that all suburbs or the most typical suburbs have low population density and are primarily residential, or whether it lists a set of characteristics or types of suburbs that belong together. Since the suburb is defined as low density primarily residential areas with their own substantial open

spaces in a positive way, it is also defined as the areas both not rural and not core which are not cultured, not diverse, not equal. (Forsyth, 2012)

Table 2.1 Key Dimensions for Defining Suburbs with Examples of Definitions

Dimension	Brief description	Examples
Physical (where, what)		
Location	Where the suburbs are located within a metropolitan area	Suburbs as on the outskirts of a the town; definition unofficially derived from U.S census – suburbs as within metropolitan areas but outside of core cities
Built environment characteristics	Key physical features related to development patterns or building types; local visual identity	Suburbs as having large areas of low density detached houses
Functional (operations)		
Transportation	How people access and get around in suburbs	Suburbs as locations within commuting distance of a core city
Activities	Functions and uses of the place	Suburbs as mainly residential developments with segregated uses
Social (who)		
Political places	Defined by municipal or similar boundaries	U.S. definition of suburbs as municipalities outside the core city, affecting policies such as education and zoning
Sociocultural	The population character, level of exclusivity, and cultural heritage and tastes	Suburbs as middle class or exclusive; a suburban way of life
Process (how, when)		
Styles of building, design, and planning	Who builds ; the level of planning in terms of amounts of control and scale of planning unit	Suburbs as incremental and speculative developments
Time	Relates to relative newness, or its period of development	Suburbs as areas from the period since the second world war
Analytical		
Critical assessments	Suburbs seen as problematic	Suburbs as sprawling, conformist, isolating, elite, locationally disadvantaged, and/or ugly places; often opposed to the core city
Indices	Defined using criteria combined into some kind of indicator	Sprawl indices, fiscal capacity classifications

(Source: Forsyth, 2012, p. 6)

As indicated in the table above, the term suburb has been defined variously by focusing on physical, functional, geographical and sociological conditions of these settlements or looking with more analytical - critical view. To make a complete

definition of a suburb, all dimensions of the area should be analyzed like where is that place, what are the characteristic features of that place, what are the sociological conditions of there.

In addition to the studies that define the concept by evaluating it with a single dimension, some researchers have made definitions by combining many dimensions. For instance, Gober and Behr (1982) highlights nine features that they identified using discriminant analysis to set apart suburb areas from city centers in the U.S. which are age/family status, origin, income, proceeds, denseness, car-orientation, newness, and job opportunities in fabrication, retail and services. Or, Harris and Larkham (1999) indicates suburbia's 5 traits by considering North America and the United Kingdom that are being located at periphery and mostly residential, low density with perhaps a high percentage of owner occupied homes, a distinct way of life, and distinct identities for communities often the community level through historical and geographic approaches.

Besides these approaches, it is easier to examine the concept within the framework of a single dimension. The most important and common ones are location, built environment characteristics, transportation, density, activities and socio-cultural dimensions. As McManus and Ethington (2007, cited in Forsyth, 2012) stated that The OED's primary suburb definition relates suburbs with location which is a physical dimension: "The land lying immediately outside a city; especially, the residential lands belonging to a city and lying immediately outside and adjoining the city walls or limits." (OED 2011a; McManus & Ethington, 2007). On the other hand, some people associate suburbs with traits such as detached dwellings, one-story factories and warehouses, and campus-style architecture. E.g., Suburbs, Dunham-Jones & Williamson (2009) says, are dominated by low-density, single-use private buildings created as landscape objects and funded or built by short-term investors like real estate investment trusts and bigger scale home builders; transit is auto-oriented, with a looping and cul-de-sac network. (Fishman 1987 cited in Forsyth, 2012).

Prominent among the functional definitions are those made about the means of providing access to suburbs, and definitions based on suburbs being areas that require transportation from the city center are common. Many researchers agree that suburban areas are automobile-based areas. Flint (2006) defines suburbs as: “spread-out, drive-thru, car-dependent, newer-the-better suburbia.” (Forsyth, 2012) Conversely, it is observed that some public transportation facilities like railways, buses are commonly used by the people to access suburban areas and around. Based on these data, it can be said that suburbs are divided into various types as automobile-based or tram suburbs, while the fact that suburb areas are defined as automobile-based areas by many researchers increases the criticism of the subject.

The sociocultural dimension is the most common criterion for definitions of suburb. As Healy (1994) states in the introduction to a collection of essays on Australian suburbs,

“the terms ‘suburb’ and ‘suburbia’ have functioned as imagined spaces on to which a vast array of fears, desires, insecurities, obsessions and yearnings have been projected and displaced.” (Forsyth, 2012, p. 14).

While describing suburbs, Fava (1956) used the user groups living in the suburbs which are young couples with their children and their class status as well as the characteristics of the settlement such as low-density residential detached houses with open space. According to Nicolaidis and Weise (2006), others also point out how these features are detailed as ways of life. They describes suburbs as "places characterized by high home ownership values, privacy, secluded nuclear families, a distinctive gendered division of labor, social privilege, semi-rural landscapes, aversion to cities, political home rule, etc." (Nicolaidis and Weise, 2006)

In addition to all the dimensions mentioned, the criterion that most affects the development and shaping of suburb areas, both physically and sociologically, is the location of these areas. Harris (2010) expresses how the location also feeds the suburb character as follows;

“Of all criteria, peripheral location is the most fundamental of all: suburbs lie between the city and the country, or in a few cases between the city and a wilderness or desert. Difficulties arise in situations where two or more cities grow up in close proximity, so that it becomes moot whether a suburb belongs to one or the other, or indeed whether the smaller city may become an annex of the larger. A different, and even more common, challenge is posed when metropolitan areas grow, so that the distance – symbolic as well as geographical –between centre and periphery becomes very large. Hybrid, ‘in-between landscapes’ emerge that combine city and suburban qualities. Here, the suburb is being refashioned as the city, inviting treatment as a distinctive sort of place, with unique combinations of built forms, processes and imaginaries” (Fiedler & Addie, 2008; Sieverts, 2003 cited in Harris, 2010).

Defining the concept of suburb as a whole is a more difficult and complex matter than describing suburb types. Each definition based on each dimension mentioned is open to criticism and discussion and raises new questions with explanation. On the other hand, the dimensions that are the subject of these discussions coherently or inconsistently contain the basic features of the already existing suburb areas.

2.1.2 Types of Suburban Settlements & Diversity Criteria

The settlement diversity of the suburb regions still has a wide scale, and their types and forms are becoming more diverse day by day. Suburb areas vary depending on many different factors as stated in the definitions. This differentiation can be examined especially through functional features of the region, architectural typology, and urban settlement style.

In changing and developing conditions, suburban areas no longer always correspond to the concept of the American Dream. In connection with sociological conditions, suburb areas sometimes also correspond to regions where the structural

characteristics of the population change, and class distinctions can often be observed. When evaluated within the framework of today's world standards, it can be said that some suburb areas are relatively more difficult regions economically, they generally define areas where immigrant-identified communities are concentrated and where problems related to social life are seen. Suburb settlements, defined as the American Dream and seen as examples of pioneering applications of the concept, continued to diversify in many respects, especially in North America, Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.

Each researcher has their own criteria to categorize this variation. For example, Kovalev (1973) stated the functions and criteria that can be evaluated in the differentiation of suburban areas with the following items:

- “1. agriculture specializing in the supply of fresh produce to a city (or a group of cities or workers' settlements)*
- 2. places of concentration of industrial and transport activities using the favorable situation around large centers*
- 3. places of recreation and convalescence for the urban population*
- 4. a combination of functions (1) and (3) in areas allocated to garden plots and summer homes*
- 5. places allotted to scientific research and education*
- 6. places of residence for commuters employed in the central city (dormitory towns).*
- 7. service industries for the city, including municipal enterprises (waterworks, aeration plant, etc.) and auxiliary facilities for industry and trade (warehouses, truck garages, etc.).” (Kovalev, 1973, p. 2)*

The types of suburb areas are determined according to the priority functions of these regions. Although such a classification is usually made according to whether the employment is local or urban, the definition of the types of suburban areas is mostly provided by what the priority function is and the relationship it establishes with the city center. The most prominent feature in the diversification of suburbs is the

functional characteristics of the regions. Accordingly, the existence of agriculture, trade, industry function in the region, transportation type and options and various combinations of these define different suburb areas.

Moreover, in order to regularly reassess and make comparison between urban and suburban settlements, the researchers consider certain common criteria such as demographic density, diversity of land uses, pioneering forms of planning in the area, housing types, culture of the place and lifestyles. When evaluated within the framework of these criteria, the examples of suburb settlements listed below can be shown as basic suburb settlement typologies.

- *“planned, exclusive suburbs*
- *planned middle-class suburban subdivisions*
- *planned and unplanned working- or middle-class satellite suburbs*
- *residential city suburbs (high density)*
- *mass-produced middle- or working-class residential suburbs*
- *unplanned working-class suburbs containing substantial percentages of owner-built housing and low levels of services*
- *African American suburbs—which may be further subdivided into industrial suburbs, domestic service enclaves, residential suburbs, and comprehensively planned communities*
- *ethnoburbs (housing recent immigrant populations)*
- *dysurban regional grids of subdivisions*
- *edge cities (combining residential areas and office parks)*
- *company towns in suburban locations” (Sies, 2011, p.331)*

In addition, since transportation options are another important factor in the diversification of suburban settlement typologies, the suburban type, which was defined by the post-World War II period from the 1950s to the present, and which is mainly evaluated based on transportation criteria, is the typology that has the most place in popular culture.

2.1.3 Suburbia as a Term

Like the term suburb, the concept suburbia also made different senses with the effect of changing world and conditions. Since the concepts which suburbia referred at the beginning were less effortful and less formalized lifestyle than urban centers, it evolved to refer to new concepts like segregation, status seeking, and political irresponsibility. On the other hand, although suburbs have existed since ancient times, only in the last 250 years did they emerge as a desirable place of residence. This evolving and changing process of the concept had been affected by different factors like the speed urban sprawl, politics, sociological developments and popular culture which directly leads people's lives.

As it is clarified by definitions and explanations done about the concepts, it is important to stress the difference between 'the suburbs' and 'suburbia'. McManus & Ethington (2007) states that,

“the noun 'suburb' is the denotative or objective place and built form, [while] the culturally associative noun 'suburb' [...] refers to the way of life of people living in suburbs, represented as an markable group, community or class in society: 'suburbanites' ” (McManus and Ethington, 2007, p.5).

In other words, suburbia refers to a lifestyle, a state of mind, and is the more important noun in this thesis since it emphasizes the part of American culture. It was important to define 'suburb' first, as both terms are intertwined, as its various dimensions affect the suburban community and hence the concept of suburb. It is an important stage of the research to explain the concept of suburbia, which expresses the life in these settlements, in order to establish a connection between the concept of suburb, which expresses the characteristics of settlement, and the descriptions of popular culture. Rupa Huq's (2019) description of suburbia also explains this connection;

“In the absence of any definitive definition of what we mean by suburbia, the concept has frequently formed in the popular imagination through representations of it in popular culture.” (Huq, 2019, p.1)

2.1.4 Elements of Suburban Daily Life

The concept of suburbia, which is discussed in this study, is the form observed in the post-World War II period and defined as the American Dream, and this suburbia has distinctive features of daily life like monotonous daily habits, open space usage, neighborhood relationships with the use of space, car oriented lifestyle, drive-thru organisations etc. In this section, the positive and negative components of suburban daily life, mostly based on this period and portrayed in popular culture, are mentioned.

The resident of the suburb operates in a daily setting that comprises of a personal region restricted around the home site and often extending radially for many miles to encompass most of the city. This activity-space includes all of the areas where the suburbanite interacts frequently: the workplace, shopping centers, personal business targets like as banks, health facilities, schools, cafes, entertainment venues, friends' houses, and so on. Depending on gender, generation, and accessibility to a transportation, the sorts of interactions and distances involved differ each family member.



Figure 2.1. Collage of Suburban Daily Life Components (Made by Author, 2022)

The most distinctive and attractive feature of suburban life can be shown as its architectural typology. These settlements are generally designed as single or two-storey residences with large gardens, private parking areas for personal cars, and areas offering common social use opportunities. In connection with the aforementioned features, outdoor activities and organizations made by getting together with neighbors take an important place in the daily lives of the inhabitants of the suburb. Suburb areas offer more positive opportunities indoor as well as advantageous opportunities in open space use. It is possible to live in houses that are larger than what can be owned in the city, usually a private room for each family member and sometimes more, and in this way, each individual can use their own private space. In addition to the daily routine of the suburb residents in their homes, barbecue parties held in their backyards, daytime meetings usually held by women, outings with their children or pets, and various sports activities constitute.

Another important feature of suburban life is the car-based transportation system that develops with the location. Due to the layout of residential areas and other facilities, residents in suburbia were required to buy vehicles in order to get to work or shop for groceries. In 1955, when the orientation towards the suburb life increased tremendously, American automobile companies were producing eight million cars a

year, three times more than they produced in 1945. Suburbia aided in the promotion of a "auto culture" in the U. S., making driving more convenient than taking public transportation. Despite the high use of private vehicles, the low traffic density and noise make daily life more enjoyable while providing convenience in daily transportation to services and services.

In addition to the use of cars as a means of transportation in suburban areas, social activities involving cars are also a part of daily life. Opportunities such as drive thru restaurants, car cinemas can be counted among the daily activities of suburban daily life that differentiate it from city life.

In his study of Suburbia as a Way of Life, Walks (2012) hints at the social structure of suburban areas on the basis of Fava's (1956) view that a collective orientation towards neighborhood and community stems from the concentration of young middle-class families with children in low-density residential areas in the suburbs. In continuation of his research, Walks (2012) associates lifestyles in the suburbs with certain social patterns.

“Ways of life in the suburbs came to be associated with individualism, consumerism, middleclass homogeneity, lack of diversity and conformism.”
(Baumgartner, 1988; Jacobs, 1961; Whyte,1956, cited in Walks, 2012, p. 1473)

2.2 Concepts of Popular Culture

The concept of popular culture, which has emerged after the 20th century, also defined as pop culture, is a general and neutral definition that spreads as a collective culture with social modernization, covers social development together with daily practices. Also, people's attitudes and perceptions are impacted by popular culture in modern times due to the penetration of the community of ideas, which is heavily influenced by the mass media, into people's everyday lives.

2.2.1 Definition and Features

Popular culture, also known as mass culture or pop culture, is a notion that encompasses the dominant or prevalent behaviors, ideas, and items in a society at a given moment, as well as the actions and feelings that come from interaction with these dominant things. According to the Turkish Language Association, popular culture is defined as all the rapidly produced and quickly consumed cultural elements valid for a certain period.

“Popular culture is ubiquitous; it shapes (and is shaped by) our everyday lives.” (K.Schultz & R.Throop, 2010, p.318)

The interactions of people in their everyday activities, such as clothing - lifestyles, methods of expressing themselves, greetings, eating and drinking routines, and the usage of mass media as a means of communication, determine popular culture as 'culture of the people.' Popular culture consists of a variety of widely recognized features, including the most pressing and current parts of our life, and these elements change rapidly over time in a technology society where people's contact is enhanced by the media.

While popular culture elements reflect people's living standards, beliefs, and habits, they also affect the development of these features. Popular culture may be characterized as items and modes of identity and expression that are commonly encountered or generally accepted, widely appreciated, or approved, and distinctive of a given civilization at a given period, based on these core elements.

With its general characteristics, we can explain popular culture as a concept that has an indirect transmission form as an atmosphere, has a known source and development process, differentiates the form of cultural values and is mostly obtained with money.

2.2.1.1 Components of Popular Culture

According to Kidd (2018:) who is a pop culture expert and associate professor of sociology, the concept of popular culture is mostly used to refer to items what people usually prefer within any given species such as films, TV shows and ads, music, sports, fashion, books, comics, radio, video games and social media. Popular culture elements are divided into visual, auditory, and written genres.

Among these, visual genres including movies, commercials and TV shows can be shown as the most expressive genre. Films, which are visual elements that deal with daily life, habits, and lifestyles as they are or together with the situations they contain in the background, also have an impact on the elements they deal with the way they reflect the current situation. Advertisements that promote products, living spaces and vehicles that are frequently found in daily life, such as movies, are also prominent elements of popular culture. Since advertisements are productions prepared for the purpose of marketing what is wanted together with the existing ones, they often have a positive narrative angle.

Unlike visual content, books and other written popular culture resources convey the components of the concept to the reader by describing them with certain features instead of showing them exactly. In literature, the content generally deals with any positive or negative feature and presents narratives that support the point of view in that direction.

In addition to visual and written sources, auditory popular culture sources are the elements that are most intertwined with life. These sources can also be shown in written sources, and they contain daily life, details that stand out in their way of life, beliefs, habits, subjects to be criticized or supported.

The newest and most common popular culture elements can be shown as social media organs. Social media is an important popular culture element that provides the fastest transmission of the idea to be conveyed, and includes other genres such as movies, advertisements, and music.

2.2.1.2 Fiction & Reality Relation

Popular culture organs usually describe the existing, and in some cases, they may also have fictional content in order to deal with real situations from different perspectives. In addition to the sources that clearly convey the positive or negative aspects of the current situations, there are many elements that describe the desired situations through fictional features.

Sometimes, on the contrary, the contents constructed in these elements can be a guide for changing any existing situation, emphasizing its deficiencies, or providing a development in the desired direction.

2.2.2 Popular Culture Items Related with Suburbia

After explaining each of suburb, suburbia and popular culture concepts within the scope of the study, it must be thought about the interrelation between suburbia and popular culture in terms of space, culture and people. Especially in the literature, there are studies which scrutinizes how the suburban life represented in popular culture items like Vergauwen's (2013) research analyzing the cultural representation of the suburbs through books *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* – S. Wilson & *Revolutionary Road* – R. Yates The part taken from the *Revolutionary Road* book, which Vergauwen chose because of the description of suburbia, explains the reasons for the demand to move from the cities to the suburbs and the basic features of the suburb areas.

“One of our nice little local builders put it up right after the war, you see, before all the really awful building began. It's really rather a sweet little house and a sweet giggle setting. Simple, clean lines, good lawns, marvelous for children. It's right around this next curve [...] See the little white one? Sweet isn't it? The perky way it sits there on its little slope? [...]” (Yates, 1961, cited in Vergauwen,2013)

However, there are not so much studies about how much the popular culture items such as commercials, films, books take a role in the designing and constitution process of newly designed suburbs.

In this part of the study, it is aimed to make inferences about how the mentioned features are effective in the creation of existing suburb areas by examining the popular culture elements in which the concept of suburbia is studied.

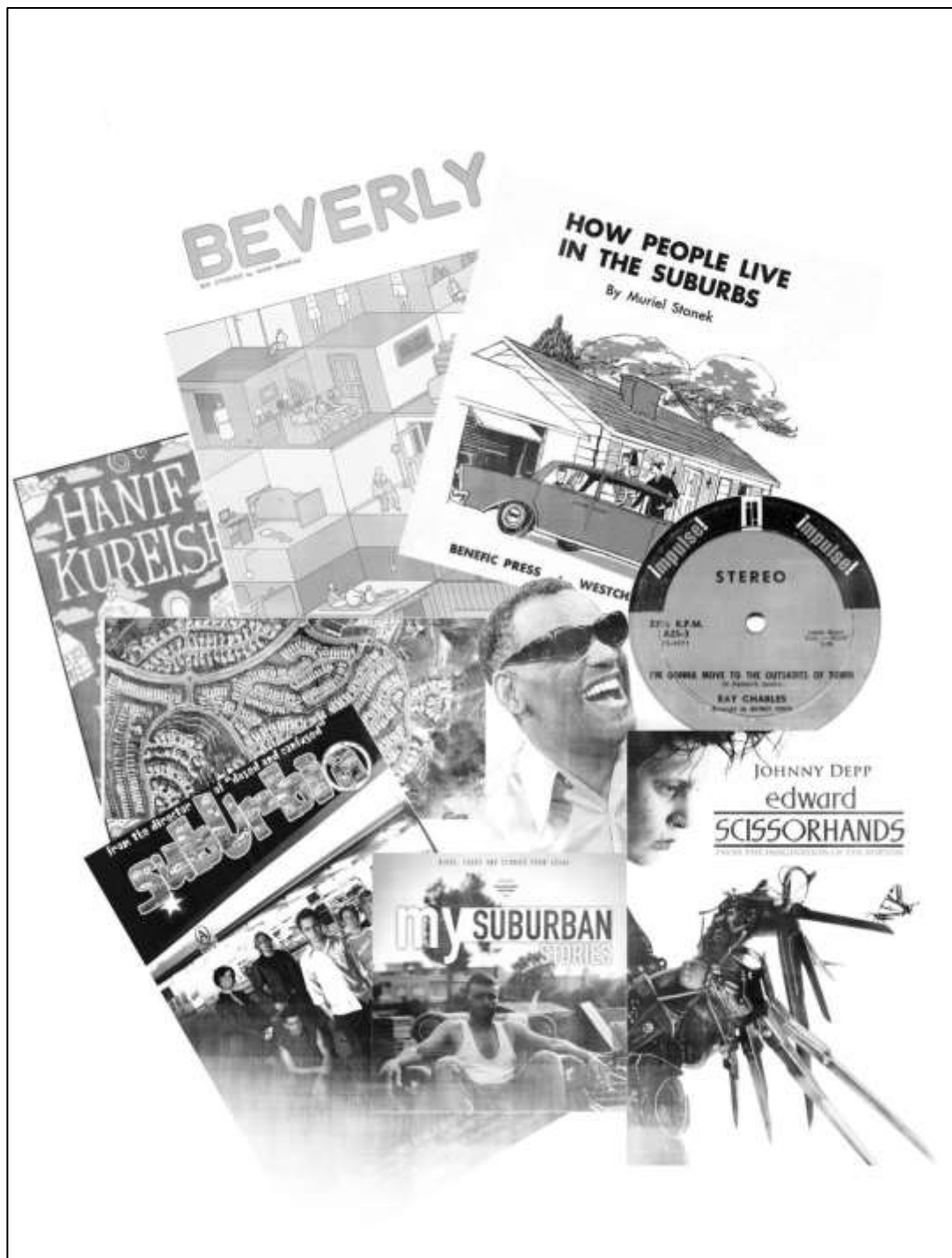


Figure 2.2. Collage of Popular Culture Items Related with Suburbia (Made by Author, 2022)

2.2.2.1 Film & Commercials on Suburbia

Visual materials that are the thin lines between reality and fiction come first in popular culture depiction analysis. Visual materials, which generally produce content through the description of the physical features of suburban life and affirmations, may sometimes convey the problems with a critical point of view.

The most realistic representation of suburbia is shown in movies such as SubUrbia (1996 film) which is an American comedy drama about a group of teenagers hanging out by a garbage dumpster on the corner of a local convenience store as daily habit. Characters generally have the desire of leaving the area they live, Burnfield, Texas and have troubles with alcohol or drug.



Figure 2.3. SubUrbia Movie Poster
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SubUrbia_\(film\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SubUrbia_(film)))

SubUrbia (film) emphasizes the pessimistic aspects of suburbia and emphasizes that real-life problems are hidden behind the embellishments that are often emphasized in concept definitions, through lifestyles, habits, and use of space.

The locations where the events take place in the film provide clues about the physical characteristics of the suburb settlement and daily life and emotions. Wide and orderly roads, markets and other social places where daily needs are met and regularly used, and fixed meeting points of young people whose lives are covered can be given as examples of these physical characteristics and also emphasize the monotony of daily life in suburban settlements. These locations also reflect the dark character of the suburbia, its undesirable aspects, the addictions hidden behind the suburban life, and the depressive mood.

In the promotional trailer of the film, the architectural typology, urban texture, caravans and frequently used large social areas, which are primarily suburban features of the settlement, are shown.



Figure 2.4. SubUrbia - Neighborhood

Another example of the most realistic representation of the suburb is Edward Scissorhands, a surrealistic portrayal of Tim Burton, which takes a contrasting view of the SubUrbia movie's take on the concept. In the movie Edward Scissorhand, the story takes place in Burbank, California in late 1950s. The film takes place in a real suburb of Florida, and only the colors of the buildings have been corrected to reinforce the emphasis on monotony and stagnation.

It has visual and verbal figures represents the suburban life like identical house structure, pastel color palette that expresses the cohesive, bland community, synchronized movements of cars and husbands.

In the production, besides the typological features, there are also details about the daily life in the suburbs, such as the daily activities carried out by women, the use of open spaces, the frequent use of cars as the main means of transportation to social opportunities.



Figure 2.5. Edward Scissorhands – Suburb Neighborhood
(<http://www.thegeektwins.com/2015/08/what-edward-scissorhands-neighborhood.html>)



Figure 2.6. Edward Scissorhands – Social Facilities

(<http://marinaloram.blogspot.com/2010/12/edward-scissorhands.html>)

Contrary to SubUrbia, Edward Scissorhands is a production that is designed to represent the order, harmony and comfort in the suburb areas, typologically reflects the characteristics of suburb settlements exactly, but deals with the psychological problems behind the world shown in the background.

As a different visual material, TV advertisements were also an important phenomenon in the changing process of daily social life and included suggestions about how both the physical environment and the life there should be. In particular, the woman depicted in suburban life is shown as a character in charge of cooking, cleaning, taking care of children and supporting her husband. In addition, a daily life is depicted in which women come together as indoor and outdoor activities in order to promote and sell the products that were popular in the periods they belong to.



Figure 2.7. Ideal Lifestyle. 1950s.

(<https://www.playbuzz.com/lorenza10/the-1950s-ideal-family>)



Figure 2.8. A Product Promotion Party. 1950s.

(<https://rarehistoricalphotos.com/tupperware-parties-pictures-history/>)

2.2.2.2 Music Related to Suburbia

Suburbia and suburb settlements have found their place in literature and other popular culture elements as well as visual materials. Although these sources usually focus on the life or emotional states experienced in the mentioned areas, some examples, such as the composition by Malvina Reynolds, are based on physical description. For example, the song “*Little boxes on the hillside*”, composed and written by Malvina Reynolds, is also a political satire on the everyday life of the suburbs and hints at the settlement typology of suburban areas based on Malvina Reynolds' personal observations of suburban settlements in Daly City, California.



Figure 2.9. Daly City, California.

(<https://steve-emmett.com/2013/03/28/ticky-tacky-horror/>)

While the song describes the architectural features of the settlement and buildings, the location where the settlement built and emphasizes the monotony and boringness.

*“Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes on the hillside
Little boxes made of ticky-tacky*

*Little boxes on the hillside
Little boxes all the same
There's a green one and a pink one
And a blue one and a yellow one
And they're all made out of ticky-tacky
And they all look just the same-tacky..."*

2.2.2.3 Literature – Comics and Illustration Books on Suburbia

In fact, it's not always portrayed in beautiful fictional aspects of the suburbs in popular culture elements. When literature is considered as a component of popular culture, writers often portray the suburbs with their flawed realities and the problems of everyday life. Visually supported genres such as illustrations or comics among written sources can be considered more successful, especially in terms of depicting physical features.

The illustration book "*How people live in the suburbs*" drawn by Muriel Stanek in 1970 as an educational supplement describes the most basic features of the concept of suburb in the simplest way, using both written and visual expression, and often refers to the pressures and social insecurities of suburban life. In fact, it can be said that the book gives a broad definition of the concept of suburb.

The drawings and explanations in the book explain the elements that define the urban boundaries of suburb areas, their connection with the city center, architectural typologies, transportation options and activity possibilities with great clarity. On the other hand, the illustrations in the book reference a group of gossipy teenagers and their inner struggles to the sameness of their suburban settlement. The book, which consists of realistic illustrations, also highlights the failures of the fiction imposed on the suburbs.

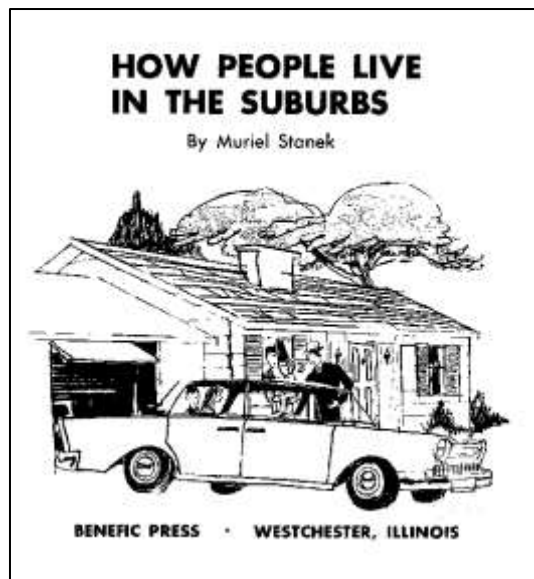


Figure 2.10. Illustration Book Cover – Suburban House and Car Ownership
(<https://flashbak.com/how-people-live-in-the-suburbs-sounds-sights-and-swinging-62138/how-people-live-in-the-suburbs/>)



Figure 2.11. Illustration Book Page – Content About Daily Routines
(<https://flashbak.com/how-people-live-in-the-suburbs-sounds-sights-and-swinging-62138/how-people-live-in-the-suburbs/>)

“*Beverly*” is a current example of a visual representation by Nick Drnaso to reveal the similarity and monotony of the suburbs. What could also be described as a social satire the comic book *Beverly*'s people, are being described as sad, bland people who spend a lot of time sinking and sitting in large furniture of the equally sad, soft kind by critics. The book is briefly summarized by the authors for sale on Amazon;

“A group of teenagers pick up trash on the side of the highway--flirting, preening, and ignoring a potentially violent loner in their midst. A college student brings her sort-of boyfriend to a disastrous house party with her high-school acquaintances. A young woman experiences a traumatic incident at the pizza shop where she works and the fallout reveals the racial tensions simmering below the surface. Again and again, the civilized façade of Drnaso's pitch-perfect suburban sprawl and pasty Midwestern protagonists cracks in the face of violence and quiet brutality.”
(<https://www.amazon.com/Beverly-Nick-Drnaso/dp/1770462252>, retrieved in April 2022)

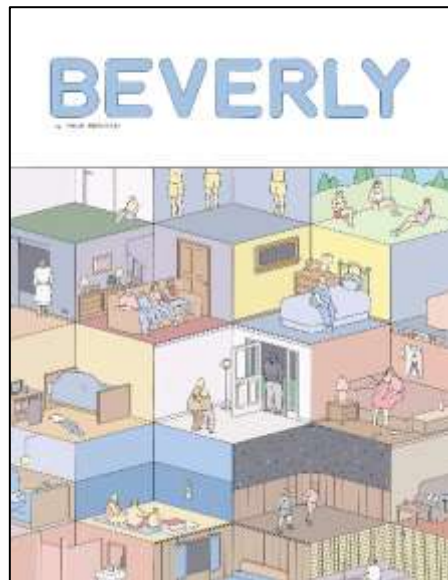


Figure 2.12. Comics Book Cover Showing Daily Practices of Suburban People
(<https://www.tcj.com/ive-fully-embraced-rigidity-nick-drnaso-on-beverly/>)

2.2.3 Fiction & Representation

Cultural critiques of how suburbs are represented have a notable impact on reality. On the one hand, people are slowly starting to realize that this legendary suburb is nothing but a representation, on the other hand, they are striving to bring the real suburb to the represented dimension.

According to Rupa Huq (2019) it is true that society as a whole believes in a certain image of suburbia, most of the time exactly this perfect, depthless image of a happy married couple that seems to float through life. And the public cannot be blamed for perceiving this as a reality, especially since the prominence of the subject in movies and TV shows has contributed to the popular image of suburbia. (Huq, 2019)

Rupa Huq (2019) also deduced what the concept of suburbia stands for in people's minds: “a strong suburban iconography mediated by popular culture: Pile fences, picture windows, sun gates, semi-detached houses crowned by green lawns and manicured hedges. Indeed, these symbolic landscapes say much about the romanticized, assertive values conveyed to us by suburban cultures.”. (Huq, 2019)

This argument proves that the image of the suburb is based completely on popular culture and that it is a reflection of how people dream of living rather than a description of the conditions in which they live already. It also raises the possibility that popular culture representation may have existed before reality.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SUBURBS IN THE NORTH AMERICA, EUROPE AND TURKEY (Specifically in Istanbul) AS A CONCEPT

To clarify the interrelation between suburbia and the popular culture, the historical background of the term and the process of representation of daily life will be explained in this chapter.

3.1 The Emergence of the Concept of Suburbia – American Dream

The first appearance of suburbs dates back to the ancient times when cities began to spread, but in these periods, they were not yet defined as suburbs. However, it can be said that the foundations of suburban settlements that have survived to the present day were laid in England in the 18th-19th centuries.

First, the rich who possessed weekend villas outside of London eventually migrated to their primary house in early nineteenth-century England, and the middle class followed soon. The popular desire for suburban life had become obvious by the middle of the nineteenth century, as evidenced by population demographics in the metropolitan regions of London and Manchester. A succession of technical advancements in transportation pushed migration from the center city to the suburbs during the 19th century and through the 20th century. City people could commute larger distances than before thanks to horse-drawn horse drawn carriages, railways, and trams. In this process, new suburban settlement types emerged, such as Metro-land, which was established in the northwest of London, depending on the developing modes of transportation. Simultaneously, in America, tram lines in Boston and railway lines in Manhattan made everyday mobility practicable, resulting in the formation of the first big suburbs in these areas. On the other hand, while most

suburban communities in the United States grew spontaneously, some, such as Shaker Heights, an affluent suburban planned in Cleveland, and Levittown, NY, a middle-class suburb of New York City in the 1940s & 50s, were developed by architects and carefully planned by real estate developers.

The period described above and corresponding to the end of the 19th century can be stated as the emergence of the notion suburbanization. Erişen (2003), explains the environment to which suburban corresponds at the beginning of the process, through the definition of Johnston and Gregory (1994);

“A socially homogenous residential district within an urban area. Suburbs are usually residential dormitory in character, being dependent on the city for occupational, shopping, and recreational facilities. Socially, the suburb is often regarded as presenting a way of life that satisfies many family and leisure requirements.” (Erişen, 2003, p.47)

Segregation, an important component of the idea of suburbanization, refers to processes of social differentiation and spatial patterns that result from these processes. According to Fishman (1987/2000), suburbia is a middle-class utopia. Erişen (2003) explains the reasons for decentralization, which is one of the characteristics of suburbanization, as follows;

“Among the reasons of decentralization the availability of cheap land, hence more space, better transportation facilities, the provision of infrastructure, technological developments, and more extensive use of land are the most stated.” (Erişen, 2003, p.47)

While Neil Smith (1996) argues that the suburbanization process represents both centralization and decentralization at the same time, he states that this process results from the outward expansion of centralized urban places. (Smith, 1996)

“The development of suburbanization, therefore, cannot be viewed as a decentralization process only, but a continuation of dynamic centralization of capital into urban areas, and suburbanization enhances the internal

differentiation of urban space.” (Smith, 1996, p. 85; Castells, 1977, p.384-386, cited in Erişen, 2003).

Cities and suburbs all over the world differ from each other, with the most noticeable difference being between the American and European suburbs.

“Urban centers in continental Europe and Latin America remained favorable places to live in, whereas they were depopulated and have become impoverished in the United States.” (Fainstein and Campell 1996, p.189, cited in Erişen, 2003)

According to Fishman, in the American suburbs, the upper and middle classes moved to the periphery and the working class remained in the city center due to its location around the commercial district, while in the European suburbs there were poorer segments due to the cheapness of land and the ease of transportation provided by technology. (Fishman, 1987/1996, p.29, Castells, 1977, p. 384)

The suburbanization process, in which social, political, economic and technological developments were effective, and the tendency of the population to spread, started in the United States in the 1890s and continued rapidly after the Second World War.

Before examining the implementation processes of suburbanization, it is necessary to examine the theories regarding suburban planning. Flynn cites Ebenezer Howard's Garden City theory -1889/1902- and Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City theory -1935- as one of the most influential social reform theories for the development of new suburban settlements. He also states that the Garden City theory has been criticized for being too socialist and contrary to free market principles, while the Broadacre City theory is a perspective that embodies the ideals of individuals with an equalitarian perspective. (Flynn, 2003)

Garden City, one of the social reform theories, was designed as an escape from the 19th century industrial city, while aiming to transform a socially and culturally inadequate rural environment into an urban oasis.

“Howard's Garden City would be balanced and economically self-sustaining, combining the best of the rural and urban worlds without sacrificing both.” (Flynn, 2003, p. 38)

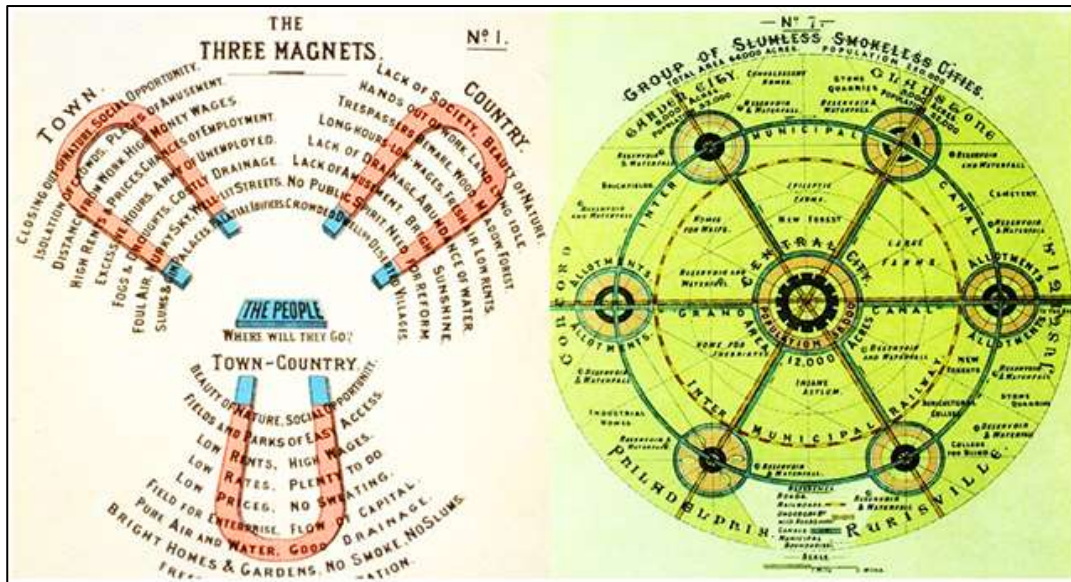


Figure 3.1. Garden City Theory

(https://www.gardenvisit.com/landscape_architecture/urban_design/garden_city_landscape_urbanism_howard)

While the Garden City theory, which criticizes the form, physical features, spatial structure and living conditions of the industrial city, produces an alternative where green areas are intertwined with residential and industrial areas, Broadacre can be shown as the closest theory to suburban settlement among utopias seeking solutions to the problems of the city.

The urban utopia Broadacre, planned by Frank Lloyd Wright, is an urban or suburban development concept designed as an alternative to the high-density metropolitan city. The vast suburban landscape of Broadacre City, seemingly scattered across the continent, illustrates its dominant urban context.

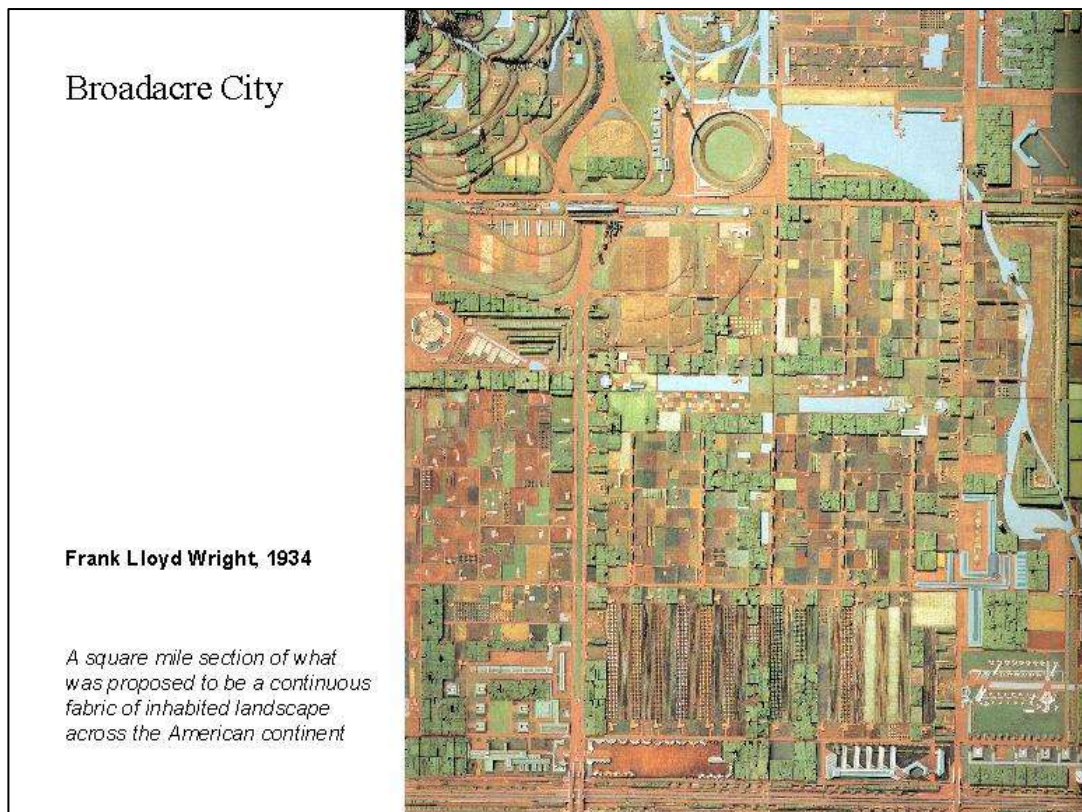


Figure 3.2. Broadacre City Plan

(<http://blogs.qu.edu.qa/ha1003881/files/2014/03/sinzimg032.jpg>)

Watson explains the relationship between suburbanization and Broadacre City with the following sentences;

“Wright developed Broadacre City as a framework for interrogating and managing socioeconomic change. Although it has traditionally been understood as a self-contained formal vision of agrarian democracy, the re-contextualization and reinterpretation of the project offer an opportunity to understand it as a selective intensification of, rather than a departure from, contemporary suburbanization.” (Watson, 2018, p.3)

After the theories put forward by prominent figures in the name of urban planning, the first example of suburb settlement in life is Levittown, the popular figure of United States suburbanization.

“Levittown became the template for suburbia and the subsequent change in the American landscape. Levittown was one of the early suburb communities which quickly became popular through promotions in influential magazines such as Time, Life, and Fortune with positive articles that sounded more like ads.” (Jensen, 2011, p.16)

The concept of suburb, which is considered as the subject of this study, corresponds to suburb, which was formed in America after the World War II and identified with Levittown. The Levittown settlement was constructed as a significant prototype of mass-produced housing during the post-World War II economic development sparked by the enormous movement of returning soldiers to the suburbs to begin a sedentary life and baby boom.

The suburban setting realized in Levittown was a seemingly endless landscape of minimal, stark homes set on small, treeless plots accessed from wide, undifferentiated streets arranged in a grid pattern of loop-roads and cul-de-sac streets. In addition, these similar houses were occupied by a demographically homogeneous population of middle-income, white and families with children.

“The suburban dream manifested at Levittown was a seemingly endless landscape of small, unadorned houses set on small treeless lots accessed from wide, undifferentiated streets laid out in an unimaginative grid pattern interspersed with loop road and cul de sacs.” (Flynn, 2008, p.28)



Figure 3.3. Levittown Urban Layout

(<https://untappedcities.com/2020/07/31/the-controversial-history-of-levittown-americas-first-suburb/>)

Mass immigration to the suburbs after 1945 reshaped American life, and the relocation of the majority of the US population to live in the suburbs led to a revolution in construction. A symbol of the new builders was William J. Levitt, who met his immigrant father's construction task in the 1930s (B. Nicolaidis and A. Wiese, 1945). The Levitts developed what would become the most renowned housing development of the era, the 17,000-home Levittown on Long Island, New York, in the late 1940s, after trying out with mass production during WWII (B. Nicolaidis and A. Wiese, 1945).

“By the mid-1950s, Levitt was the nation’s largest builder, with an annual production of more than 2,000 houses. While large-scale builders such as Levitt attracted the lion’s share of media attention, more typical were smaller-volume and custom builders who constructed fewer than 250 homes per year, but they too turned-out homes uniform in appearance and amenities, reflecting the broad standardization of the industry and the landscapes it was producing.” (Jacobs, 2015, p.20-21).

The post-war homes of the 1940s also met the FHA's minimum building standards. These houses are usually small for users and in case of population growth although they will be insufficient. They were considered modernistic with their up-to-date equipment and systems. An average house in 1950 could be defined as a type of 5-6 rooms in total, with 2 bedrooms, a bathroom, a living room and a kitchen area on one floor, within 980 square meters. In the following periods, the change of users caused these houses to be resized and their simple structures deformed. From the 1950s to the 1960s, builders began to diversify the sizes, plan schemes, and categories of houses produced in response to buyers' demands for greater space, resulting in designs that offered differences in use and appearance. In the continuation of this period, depending on the developments, the suburbs, which emerged as the coexistence of different classes, became homogeneous and the classes of the masses they addressed began to draw their own boundaries.



Figure 3.4. Levittown Portrayal

(<https://untappedcities.com/2020/07/31/the-controversial-history-of-levittown-americas-first-suburb/>)



Figure 3.5. Levittown Street View

(<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/apr/28/levittown-america-prototypical-suburb-history-cities>)

In the planning of the settlement, besides the housing parcels, there are also areas reserved for community centers, educational, regional facilities and shopping centers throughout the development.

Flynn (2003) states that in Levittown planning, land is reserved for community centers, schools, churches and shopping centers as well as residences throughout the development, the parcels are designed by avoiding the adjacent layout, and this design decision is the factor that prevents the formation of a town center. (Flynn, 2003)

“Beyond 'more house for the money,' the public and community facilities planned ... were considerable, indicating once again the firm's intent to build communities for the auto age and not mere housing projects. These included 22 miles of road, 43 miles of sidewalks ... 57 acres of parks and parkways, 38 acres of land for school sites, and ten acres for prospective churches ... a complete shopping center, railroad passenger and freight station, parking lots, a professional size baseball field... a pre-school nursery, swimming pools and a town hall.” (Levy, MetroPojis, 1987, p. 77, cited in Flynn, 2003).

With the increase in this serial housing production, due to the increased mobility towards suburban areas, the increase in shopping malls in these areas has helped people to shop for different goods and services in one central location without having to travel, while helping the malls to remain a part of rapidly growing new residential areas. Highways built to provide access to suburb areas and the increasing number of product advertisements introduced in suburban life on televisions also supported the increase in shopping centers. The reason why these shopping malls, built to serve with a wide variety of options, are so important is that these areas are preferred as a social focal point in the American suburbs.



Figure 3.6. Levittown Shopping Center

(<https://pixels.com/featured/levittown-shopping-center-roger-higgins.html>)

The massive developments that the Levitts pioneered in the early postwar years, made feasible by FHA laws, probably contributed to defining the typology, tone, and speed of suburbanization till this day. That type is characterized by a distributed, monotone, centerless, and edgeless monoculture that is more concerned with the efficient subdivision of land and the transportation and storage of cars than with the quality and diversity of urban life for its residents.

The attractiveness of the suburban life, which is often characterized by an image of elegant society living gracefully in an ideal setting, where neighborhoods of single-family houses on private lots are integrated with closeness to the city's economy and

trade opportunities, as well as cultural attractions, has aided the rise of modern suburbia. (Flynn, 2003)

3.2 Changes in the Process of Community Life

The main concepts of suburb life have undergone changes and developments with physical, demographic, political, geographical and sociological factors since its emergence. Since the changes in the architectural and urban order in the settlements are rational, comparisons can be made more easily between their past and current situations and the change and development of these physical characteristics paves the way for changes in society.

As can be clearly seen in the Levittown example, the most prominent concepts of the suburbia concept are the prevalence of car use, the role of women in society, and class discrimination in the process, in addition to its architectural and urban features.

When evaluated primarily in terms of architecture and urban structure, suburb areas can be characterized as more advantageous areas in terms of housing sizes and opportunities that can be obtained in the city. It offers users a wide and varied choice in terms of especially planned developed suburb areas, land use and housing sizes. However, due to the inadequacies in the transportation network and vehicles, it may be lacking in reaching social opportunities and diversity. Over time, the increase in the population in the suburbs, the concentration of the settlements, the growing closer to each other and the city, the developing roads and transportation network, and the diversified transportation options have reduced these inadequacies and fed the disadvantaged points of the suburbs compared to the city.



Figure 3.7. Collage Describing the Concepts of the Process (Made by Author, 2022)

3.2.1 Architectural & Urban Features

“Suburbanization is global but its evolution in the global North and South has been interpreted separately, using different terminology.” (Angel, 2012; Champion and Hugo, 2004; Harris, 2010; Phelps et al., 2010, cited in Harris, 2015, p.660). *“The literature on suburbanization has focused on North America and, to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom and Australasia.”* (Clapson, 2003; Palen, 1995; Teaford, 2008, cited in Harris, 2015, p.660).

When the suburbs such as Levittown formed after the World War II are examined, architectural typology has also diversified according to culture and geography, and in some areas, it has begun to break away from the characteristics of the suburb concept. While these features were generally adhered to in America and Europe, the concept of suburb began to correspond to mass housing settlements in Far East or Middle East countries, where economic opportunities and social characteristics are quite different.



Figure 3.8. Current Street View of Thinsmith Circle, Flo Rida (Google Earth, 2022)



Figure 3.9. Shanghai Suburbs (<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/aug/20/why-havent-chinas-cities-learned-from-americas-mistakes>)

Thus, when the architectural typology is evaluated in some areas that can be defined as suburb when its location and relationship with respect to the city center are evaluated, the repetitive layout of one or two floors in the garden, which is the most distinctive feature of suburban residences, has been replaced by repetitive multi-storey apartment blocks in some regions. Harris suburb defines the urban and residential structure as follows:

“In many cities, the typical urban dwelling is a townhouse (row or terraced) or apartment building, while a suburban home is likely to be detached or semidetached.” (Harris, 2015, p.660)

On the other hand, the development process in the urban context differs depending on geographical and economic factors. Harris says that urban periphery transformation manifests itself as high-rise apartments in cities such as Hong Kong, Singapore and Istanbul, where incomes are low and land prices are high (Harris, 2015). It is also seen that suburb areas, especially in China and Soviet countries, correspond to cramped, marginalized, apartment blocks, contrary to what is depicted in the concept and popular culture.

3.2.2 Widespread Use of Vehicles

In the early periods, suburb areas that spread to the city periphery due to the development of transportation were seen as places where transportation was provided by trams in some regions and railways in some regions, while transportation in the planned suburban areas was primarily provided by car and other activities began to develop upon this. With this development, living in the suburbs meant that residents needed a car to go to work or perform any of their activities. In addition to being used as a means of transportation, car addiction has begun to be included in the content of daily social activities, with examples such as drive-thru restaurants and drive-in cinemas.



Figure 3.10. Drive-in Cinema, Chicago, 1951.

(<https://www.losbagliato.it/drive-in-back-to-the-50s/>)

Later, as suburb areas diversified, their density and location began to change, transportation options increased, and both public transportation and private cars became the options that provide transportation between the city and suburb areas. However, due to the high level of comfort, especially in suburbs far from the city center, driving is often preferred.

3.2.3 Social Dimension of Suburbia

3.2.3.1 Family Life & Women in Society

“An examination of the history of suburbanization in the United States shows that the suburban ideal has, from its beginnings, been associated with a vision of family togetherness, meaning that husband, wife, and children choose to spend their leisure time with one another.” (Miller, 1995, p.)

In the idealized suburban daily life, the roles of husband, wife and children are defined and the fact that family members benefit each other comes to the fore. For example, the role of ensuring the continuity of life by working and earning money is attributed to the man, while the role of following the work and responsibilities of the house and children is attributed to the woman.

Particularly, in popular culture depictions, the role of women in daily life is seen as the most prominent feature of suburban family structure. In the 1950s, when popular culture portrayed the role of women in society, it was a profile that the greatest satisfaction in life was raising children, meeting the needs of their husbands, and having all the labor-saving appliances money could buy.

“The Saturday Evening Post depicted the American woman as a full-time homemaker, age 35, married for ten plus years, with two kids and more than a high school education.” (Mosgaard & Goddard, 2011, p. 40)

3.2.3.2 Class and Race Discrimination

Suburbs are subject to criticism in every aspect, from the type of houses they house and new cars to the items used in the houses, and the sameness is emphasized the most in the criticisms. While this sameness represents a physical feature, it also evokes a democratic development that reduces class discrimination. As it became easier to own a house in the newly planned suburb areas, families began to exist in

these areas, generally earning the same amount of money, living in the same residences and leading similar lives. The fact that the soldiers who settled in the suburbs after World War II were also from different religions and backgrounds is considered a positive step towards breaking the prejudices in the approach to these issues.

Although this positive situation was aimed at the basis of suburb settlements, there were elements that damaged this thought, which can be seen especially in the example of Levittown. Elliot explained William Levitt's point of view and attitude on this issue as follows;

“William Levitt was an unapologetic segregationist, declaring openly that his subdivisions were for whites only. In 1960, not a single resident of Levittown, New York was black. Suburbs throughout the nation enacted restrictive covenants that prevented homeowners from selling their houses to African Americans or Asian Americans, upon the pretense that their presence would lower property values. Although the Supreme Court ruled in 1948 that such covenants were unenforceable, de facto segregation continued and was frequently enforced by violence and intimidation.” (Khan Academy, Accessed January 2021).

3.3 Suburb & Suburbia in Turkey

This section of the chapter includes the development process of suburbs in Turkey, following the worldwide examples and explain how the concept of suburb corresponds to settlements in Turkey when compared to the general perception around the world, how it evolved and how it is described.

3.3.1 The Emergence of the Concept of Suburb in Turkey

Turkey experienced the urbanization process experienced by European and North American communities in a period of approximately 150 years. In fact, while the transition of Turkish cities from traditional to modern urban settlement began in the middle of the 19th century, real mobility in terms of urban growth was seen after World War II. (Erişen, 2003)

The year 1950 was the period when important changes were experienced throughout Turkey and in big cities such as Istanbul and industrialization began, with the effect of the political developments in the world after the Second World War. (Ozdamar, 2006) In the period following the 1950s, when suburban settlements emerged throughout the world, the transformation of urban environments in Turkey depending on international economic relations, the development of upper socioeconomic groups, social polarization and developing consumption behaviors made the suburbs an agenda item.

“Within a few years after the end of the Second World War, Turkey's political system, economic policy and foreign relations underwent a fundamental change..” (Zürcher, 1996, p. 299, cited in Gayretli, 2016).

While expressing that the period between 1947-1980 can be called the period of populist and planned modernity, Erişen also states that the populist policies of the multi-party regime in Turkey that will lead to permanent urban results were at the forefront during this period. (Erişen, 2003)

“...the years following the 1960 revolution characterized as the planned period witnessing high rate of urbanization mainly caused by migration from rural towards urban areas.” (Erişen, 2003, p.80)

3.3.2 Application Typologies and Framework

Suburban settlements, which enabled the communities that defined the high income groups in the 20th century to escape from the congested areas in the cities, have been in the interest of researches since the early periods of industrialization as a part of the economic order. The formation process of suburban areas, which accelerated with the effect of the economic order, developed differently in big cities from different parts of the world, and especially the American suburbs came to the fore with their sociological and physical characteristics. As noted earlier in the study, researcher Jackson (1985) defined the characteristics that influence the prominence of American suburbs which can be accepted as prominent typology in suburban settlement types as follows: density of population, strong homeownership rates, residency status, and transit time to work. (Jackson, 1985)

Similar suburban areas have begun to form in various parts of the world in recent times, with global economic links, emerging high-income upper-class groups, social division, and the worldwide spread of new spending patterns being the main reasons. Turkey's metropolitan cities have also experienced a major change in their urban growth patterns in recent years; their land uses have expanded both to their surroundings, whether residential, commercial or industrial, and to new small settlements along developing transport networks. For these reasons, there is a tendency to create new living spaces in the urban peripheries of middle-upper and upper-income groups in many big cities throughout Turkey.

Erişen explained the factors and changes affecting daily life in this process as follows:

“The emergence of new international commercial relations, developments notably in transportation and communication, services, many other developments, and novelty resulted in the improvement of daily life. Among these transformations the most important and effective one occurred in the administration field and bureaucracy was reorganized with the replacement

of military governing élites who were highly paid civil servants.” (Erişen, 2003, p. 81)

At the same time, a new indigenous middle class, mostly non-Muslim businessmen, emerged, adopting a western lifestyle, followed by a high-level ruling elite, who together formed a new urban fabric. These transformations directly affected the urban space development in big city centers such as Ankara and Istanbul. (Erişen, 2003)

3.3.3 The Process of Suburbanization of Istanbul (1950-1980)

The rapidly increasing population in Turkey after the Second World War and the structural change experienced by the country accelerated the migration to the cities and thus the expansion of the cities. While this change was experienced in an unplanned manner throughout the country, it caused some cities, especially Istanbul, to not be able to handle the increasing population and to have a tendency to expand, and this expansion in the 1950s and 1960s made Istanbul a metropolitan city and diversified its settlement features.

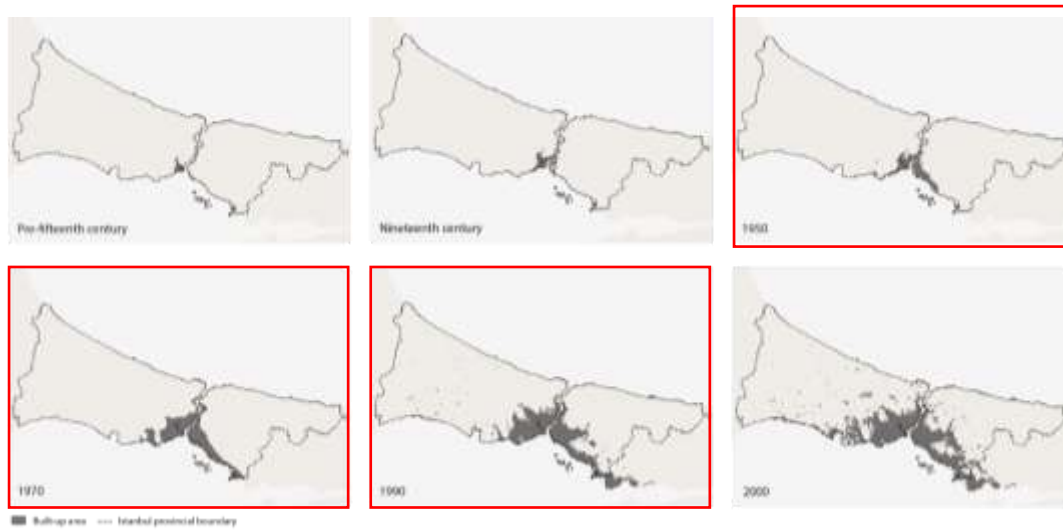


Figure 3.11. Historical Evolution of Istanbul's Urban Footprint
 (<https://urbanage.lsecities.net/data/historical-evolution-of-istanbul-s-urban-footprint-2009>)

In this process, municipal policies and planning problems started to be encountered simultaneously with the world, illegal construction and the formation of adjacent areas began to be observed. At the same time, with the migration wave from rural to urban in this period, the urban space of Istanbul began to take shape, and the city, which remained within certain borders until the 1950s, grew towards new development areas with this effect. (Erişen, 2003)

While some districts such as Zeytinburnu, Alibeyköy, Ümraniye, Gaziosmanpaşa developed unplanned, the first example of the *garden-city* concept, which was closest to the suburban housing characteristics of the United States in the 1950s, was Levent, Koşuyolu, and then Ataköy in the early 1960s. Later, Ataşehir, Acarkent, Beylikdüzü, Bahçeşehir and Başakşehir became places that followed the planned development process. (Kanat, 2017)

While traditional urban texture and architectural features are observed in the existing residential areas of the city, where mostly the middle income group resides, mass housing areas that appeal to the middle and upper income groups have started to form in the newly planned areas such as Levent, Etiler and Koşuyolu. (Kuban, 1996)



Figure 3.12. Map – Suburb Development Areas – 1950 Urban Stain based (Map by Author, 2022)

The years 1946-1947, which coincided with the establishment of Emlak Bank and the beginning of the design of Levent District, were also an important turning point in terms of the acceptance of economic policy in Turkey, and witnessed the development of housing areas under the influence of industry. (Gayretli, 2016) Meanwhile, developments such as the developments in the transportation network and the shift of interest from agriculture to industry have increased the interest in cities and caused an increase in the demand for housing.

In order to meet this demand, build-and-sell production for the middle and upper-middle classes, “make-yourself” slums for the lower-middle classes, and cooperatives for the lower-middle and middle groups became the prominent housing production practices of the period. (Bilgin, 1990)

In this period, the planning studies of architect Henri Prost, which also determines the new residential areas to be created in the city, are preparing the conditions that will also be decisive for the Levent neighborhood which will be detailed explained in the 5th chapter. However, the “*ambitious scope of the Prost plan (1935-1951), which is the source of the boulevard line that will reach Levent in the future, has greatly influenced the order of Istanbul, and the change in the nature of the urbanization process, especially in the post-war period, has caused its implementation to be limited.*” (Tekeli, 2013, p.149, cited in Gayretli, 2016, p.11)

Among the planned housing areas that developed depending on the planning conditions and needs within the mentioned urbanization process, Koşuyolu shows significant similarities with Levent in terms of settlement characteristics. In order to reveal this similarity, it is necessary to give brief information about the area.

Kosuyolu Houses, completed in 1954, whose site plan was designed by Kemal Ahmet Aru and architectural design was made by Sait Özden & Leyla Turgut, financed by Emlak Bank, were designed according to the principles of the *garden-city* movement in Istanbul, such as Levent - Denizciler Farm.

“In addition to housing structures of different sizes and floors, it also has common areas such as nursery, market, school area and sports area. Although it was densely built compared to its surroundings at the time it was built, it is one of the important architectural examples that reflects the social housing understanding and lifestyle of the period with its low-rise and greenery with gardens.” (<https://www.imar.istanbul/tr/proje/kosuyolu-emlak-bankasi-evleri>, retrieved in April, 2022)

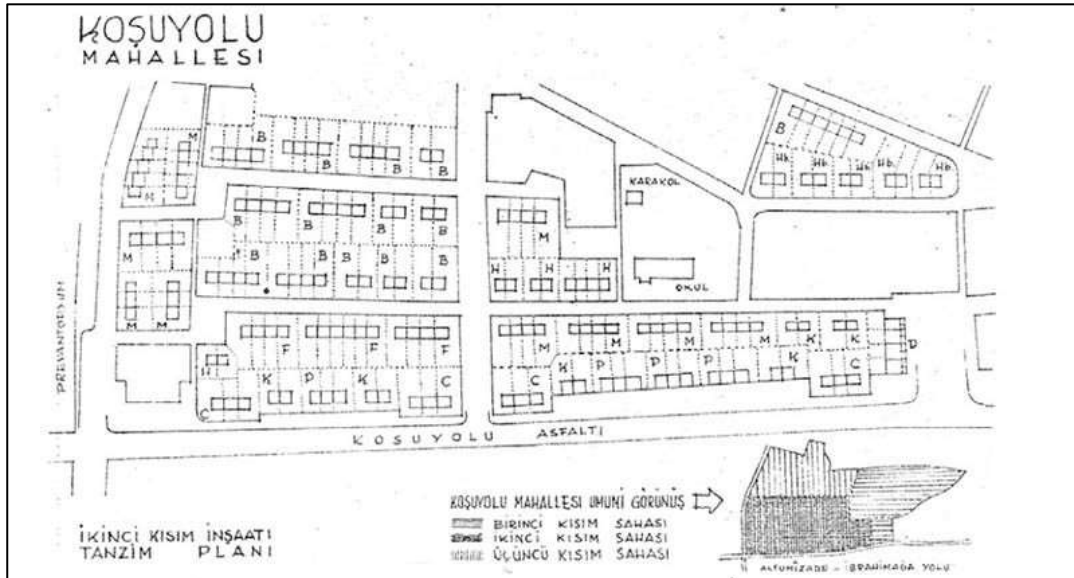


Figure 3.13. Urban Layout of Koşuyolu

(<https://www.imar.istanbul/tr/proje/kosuyolu-emlak-bankasi-evleri>)

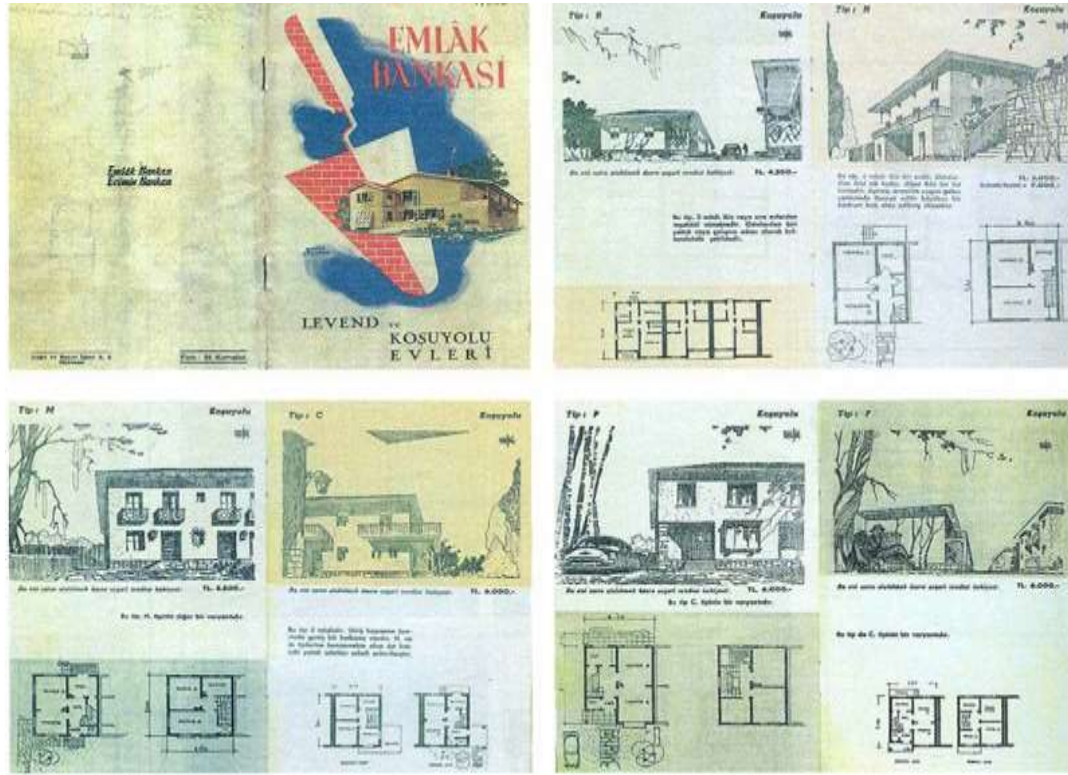


Figure 3.14. Emlak Bank Brochure of Levent and Koşuyolu Projects
 (<https://www.imar.istanbul/tr/proje/kosuyolu-emlak-bankasi-evleri>)

Although Kosuyolu Houses project does not exactly overlap with the concept of suburb with its typological features and urban settlement, it can be said that it is close to the suburbs with its distance from the city center, land use type, row garden housing typology and living practices.

In Turkey, the establishment of the State Planning Organization and the developments on development plans define the post-1960 period as the planned development period of Istanbul.

“In this period, the important problems defined in the urban development are defined as the development of the city depending on the new ring roads, the decentralization of the urban areas (housing, industry, trade, etc.) due to the developing transportation opportunities, the shantytown based on the shared

ownership, the apartment building in the old slum areas.” (Berköz, 1991, Tekeli, 1992, cited in Ozdamar, 2006, p.48)

On the other hand, with the adoption of the Cooperatives Law in 1969 and the intense migration from rural to urban areas, many mass housing areas were formed in the city periphery. Ataköy mass housing, which has been mentioned above, is one of the areas planned in this period.

Lastly, as explained throughout the 3.3.3 part of the chapter, the suburbanization process of Istanbul, which started in the 1950s, accelerated in the 1980s and has affected the whole city in the last 10-15 years, causing changes. This mobility in the city progressed as the old city center was abandoned and used more for tourism purposes, the population concentrated in the suburbs and, accordingly, the trade resources escaped from the traffic jam and shifted to the suburbs with wide transportation opportunities.

The re-centralization of the city, the distribution of central functions to the surrounding settlements and the formation of sub-centres, the formation of residential areas in the form of safe sites triggered by the economic segregation in the city, and the polarization in the society prove that Istanbul started to show post-suburban characteristics after the suburbanization process.

CHAPTER 4

TYOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBURBAN SETTLEMENTS DEPICTED BY INFERENCES FROM POPULAR CULTURE SCANNING

Based on the information obtained from the literature research, in this part of the thesis, first of all, the Levittown suburb settlement was examined in detail with its morphological features within the scope of its historical development process, and the morphological and sociological observations obtained from the scenes of the Edward Scissorhands movie, which is the clear equivalent of the American suburb in popular culture, were determined by using the descriptive observation method.

In the continuation of the Chapter, popular culture elements in which the concept of suburb can be observed in Turkey were selected (*Otobüs Yolcuları* – film), and inferences were made about the character, spatial context and sociological situation that the concept of suburb corresponds to in Turkish popular culture elements.

The inferences made from the examples from the world and Turkey reveal the criteria to be used to analyze the compatibility of Levent - Denizciler Çiftliği with the emergence of the concept of suburb and its popular culture depiction.

4.1 Urban Layout and Depiction of American Dream Suburb

In the content of this part of the fourth chapter, primarily Levittown, which is seen as the first and most important application of the suburban concept, and the architectural features of the settlements depicted in popular culture examples, the street textures, the singular features of the buildings and their architectural interactions are explained in the process.

This comparison discusses the compatibility of the concept with the Turkish practice by determining the common points that the existing suburban settlement practices have with the suburban settlements reflected in popular culture, especially in terms of architecture and urban texture.

4.1.1 Current Settlement - Levittown

First, the Levittown suburb application, that is, the typical American suburb settlement typology, is examined through the masterplan. Levittown, which was established at a point far from the city center, has radial but continuous connection roads connecting to the main transportation roads and a cul-de-sac street structure that provides access to the parcels.



Figure 4.1. Map Showing Levittown's Far Location from NY City Center.

(Made by Author, 2022, Base: http://maps.stamen.com/m2i/image/20220203/toner-background_q2CEq8QqAXg)



Figure 4.2. Urban Layout of
Lewittown, 1950

(<https://i.pinimg.com/564x/5a/30/8c/5a308c83b3417fdb013577eb0a4f7769.jpg>)



Figure 4.3. Street Pattern of
Lewittown

(http://maps.stamen.com/m2i/image/20220203/toner-background_pMCQtf6zJ-A)

First, the Levittown suburb application, that is, the typical American suburb settlement typology, is examined through the masterplan. Levittown, which was established at a point far from the city center, has radial but continuous connection roads connecting to the main transportation roads and a cul-de-sac street structure that provides access to the parcels. Although the distance of the settlement to the city center allowed transportation only by car for a long time after its establishment, as can be seen in Figure 4.2, the developed metro and tram lines are used as an alternative to transportation to these regions.

Also, as seen in Figure 4.3, the urban texture, which was constructed over main roads, connection roads and cul-de-sac's, has been preserved until today and its spread to the surrounding of the settlement has continued in a similar texture.

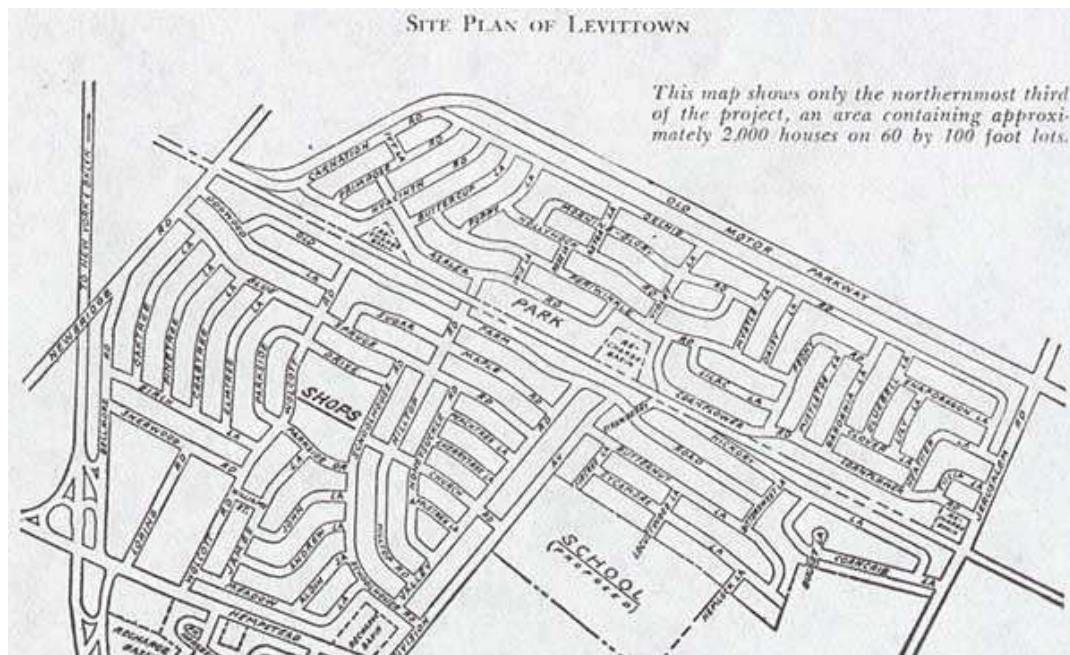


Figure 4.4. Site Plan of Levittown, 1950

(https://college.cengage.com/history/ayers_primary_sources/levittown_1948.htm)

While the layout was based on the gridal structure, it also approached the radial form with beveled turns based on usage. This urban network makes transportation open to criticism in terms of indirectness and design, due to the scarcity of shortcuts and the very similarity of street silhouettes. While strip islands are left to be lined up on the road for residential areas and each parcel can be directly accessed to the road, the areas reserved for social facilities can be read as larger islands.

In the 1950s, when the Levittown settlement was still planned, the area where the campus would be established was a bare area outside the city where there was no other opportunity or crowd. Over time, with the growth in the cities, the increase in the road networks and the increase in the population, the settlement texture of the surrounding of Levittown began to intensify like many suburban areas. The most striking feature here is that while this concentration is basically the same as housing, various equipment such as industry and commercial areas are also included in this region where the population is concentrated.

In the Levittown settlement, with the rectilinear transportation network created, the land has been planned in such a way that the residences will be located adjacently and in a row. In the island between two roads, the buildings were placed in the plots that were planned back-to-back and sequentially, with various pulling distances, slightly breaking the rhythm of the repetition. This sharp parcellation order is not only read on architectural plans but can also be clearly seen in the silhouettes of the city and the street.

At the same time, this arrangement made it possible for each building to have its own front and back garden, special parking areas for its vehicles, and the general settlement pattern to have a hollow and green structure.

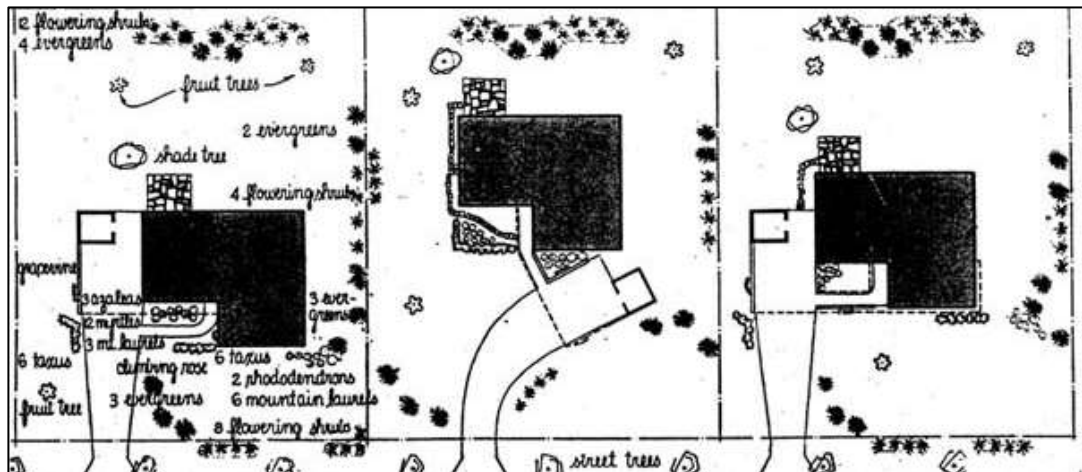


Figure 4.5. Levittown Plot – Block Relation
<http://statemuseumpa.org/levittown/one/d.html>

As another feature, architectural typology forming the silhouette of the city is also an important issue that needs to be examined in new settlements.

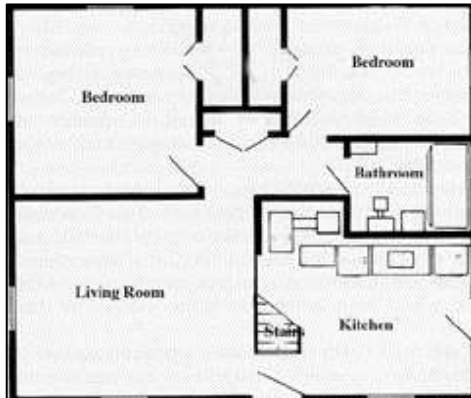


Figure 4.6. Levittown House Basic Plan
(<http://instanthouse.blogspot.com/2011/08/levittown-ny.html>)



Figure 4.7. The Levittowner Type
(<http://statemuseumpa.org/levittown/one/d.html>)



Figure 4.8. The Rancher Type
(<http://statemuseumpa.org/levittown/one/d.html>)



Figure 4.9. The Jubilee Type
(<http://statemuseumpa.org/levittown/one/d.html>)

Although Levittown residences were designed very simply to meet basic needs at the beginning, they have diversified and expanded over time with increasing sales prices. Since the first stage of the project, mass production and low cost were at the forefront, the designs could not be customized much, however, six different types of residences were created over time in line with the demands of the users. The Flyer, The Rancher, The Country Clubber, The Jubilee, The Pennsylvanian and The Colonial were the housing typologies produced. Although Levittown's residential typologies, often consisting of one or two floors, were criticized for creating monotony, it offered users ample living space both inside and outside, and personal private spaces for each family member. In addition to the monotony of building typologies, all Levittown models were produced with branded materials, established features and modern, efficient designs aimed at appealing to young consumers, which will inspire the builders who will operate in the region in the future. Levitt and Sons were quite assertive about this;

“Regardless of the Levittown house which you choose, you will be acquiring the latest in modern design with the most up to date appliances and features.”

(Levitt and Sons sales brochure)



Figure 4.10. Levittown House Components – Building Site

(<https://helmofthepublicrealm.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/house-materials-shot-smaller.jpg>)

In the first building model, a new system, an open plan scheme, was implemented, using the fireplace as the focal point. In addition, large windows, large doors connecting with the patio, and expandable attics were also characteristic features of Levitt homes.



Figure 4.11. Levittown – Current Pattern Figure Ground (Map by Author, 2022)

Although Levittown settlement has changed in terms of user profile and typology over time, as seen in many American suburbs, it has been observed that the usage character of the area is residential, and the buildings are still used for the same purpose. The structures of different facilities that have been included in the region over time have developed in their own unique typologies and parcels, different from the residential buildings. Other activities were not included in the areas planned as residential areas but continued the functional separation that came with the concept of suburb.

In addition to its morphological features, Levittown has daily life practices corresponding to the concept of suburbia with the activities of its residents. This is clearly seen in the following sentences:

“Say the name “Levittown,” and you’ve just opened the cover to an American postwar picture album. Go ahead, flip the pages: the aerial photograph of a landscape of identical houses looking like a black-and-white checkerboard...down below, a young ex-GI and his family smile broadly in

front of their new home, a Chevy sedan in their driveway...inside the front door, Tupperware parties and paint-by-number kits...out the back door, a new power mower, pitcher of lemonade and a smoky backyard barbecue. Hear the saxophone?" (Ruff, 2007, <https://www.historynet.com/levittown-the-archetype-for-suburban-development/>, retrieved in April, 2022)

While racial discrimination in housing was unknown during this time, there was a racist attitude towards the sale of homes, and homebuyers believed that higher property values, like Levitt's, were directly related to the all-white development. Even if the federal government mandated integration, they all used this defense to protect the restrictive contract. (Kushner, 1957) This process, which is also the subject of David Kushner's book *The Legacy of Levittown*, caused Levittown to move away from the homogeneous structure targeted by suburbia.

4.1.2 Popular Culture Portrayal – Edward Scissorhands Suburb

“Urban spaces such as city/town/village take place as a complementary element to the narrative of the film. Urban space in cinema; It undertakes the task of completing the footer such as the characteristics of the period in which the story takes place, its cultural and sociological structure, and its technological development.” (Torun, 2017, p.149)

In this part of the study, Edward Scissorhands movie, which is one of the clearest definitions of the concept of suburb and its story is set in a real suburb, is analyzed in terms of urban context, space use, building and land relations, building typologies and daily life routines by determining certain scenes.

The film, which takes place in the 1950s in Burbank, California, often features elements describing architectural and urban features. In the first scenes of the movie, which starts with the introduction of the neighborhood where the story takes place, it is seen that the characters live in a suburban settlement that is isolated from the city and introverted.



Figure 4.12. Edward Scissorhands Neighborhood (Movie Scene)

When the film is examined in detail within the framework of the 1950s, the fact that each neighborhood resident has their own car and can only access every opportunity by car, the fact that daily life generally flows through women whose spouses have gone to work during the day, shows that the area is far from the city and there are no intensive usage areas in its immediate vicinity.

Tinsmith Circle, where the movie was shot, is also an area where the features of American suburbs that emerged with Levittown have been applied both urban and architecturally. When the urban texture of the settlement where the story takes place is examined, it is seen that it consists of connection roads and cul-de-sacs in a radial system, as seen in the Levittown example. The area where the story takes place in the movie is just a cul-de-sac of the Tinsmith Circle settlement.



Figure 4.13. Tinsmith Circle, Flo Rida - The Urban Texture of Current Neighborhood Where the Movie Takes Place (Google Earth, 2022)

The fact that the characters in the film make long journeys on wide and open roads to reach facilities such as schools, banks, and hospitals, and that they spend time in the same places with the people in their neighborhoods in their daily lives, indicate that the settlement density around the region was low at the time the story took place. On the other hand, when the current texture of the existing area is examined, it is seen that the area has expanded towards its surroundings, with the residences being the main ones, less frequently compared to the Levittown example.

The land-plot relations of the buildings in the movie are in the same order as seen in the Levittown example, and they consist of similar housing blocks lined up back-to-back on a single route. The settlement features, which are frequently shown throughout the film, also show how the life in the region is shaped within the framework of these physical factors.



Figure 4.14. Edward Scissorhands Neighborhood – Street Silhouette Showing the Sequential Order of Plots and Architectural Typologies of Buildings

In the neighborhood layout, which is often seen in wide-angle or detail shots, the use of open spaces is emphasized as well as the interrelationship of the buildings. Barbecue parties, watering the lawn, sunbathing, pruning trees, etc. daily routines of each character in their own fenced garden can be seen. These details show how the buildings relate to the parcels they are in and how the parts of the building are used that allow the formation of spaces in the urban framework.



Figure 4.15. Edward Scissorhands Neighborhood – Barbeque Party

The buildings that make up the neighborhood are very similar to Levittown residences and diversify within themselves. The most basic example of Levittown houses, The Flyer type residence is increasingly similar to the main character Peg's

house which is shown in Figure 4.13 both in terms of interior solution and overall design. While the open plan system is observed in the interior solution of Peg's house, the presence of a private room for each individual in the house, the use of attic space, and large glass details which are the characteristic features of the Levittown house attract attention.



Figure 4.16. Edward Scissorhands Neighborhood – Peg’s House

Since the story is very limited and takes place in an area where the characters usually spend time at home, it does not give much information about the use of the area outside the residence. However, it is seen that the buildings such as schools and banks, which they provide transportation by car, are different from the architectural building typologies and are in a separate location.



Figure 4.17. Edward Scissorhands Neighborhood – Kevin’s School Building

Although the environment of the Edward Scissorhands movie is actually an existing suburban settlement, the film gives clues about the physical characteristics of the settlement with the routines and activities it conveys, and also emphasizes the connection between suburbia and settlement.

4.2 Context of the Concept of Suburbia in Turkey - Popular Culture Analysis

In this part of the study, in order to understand the context of the concept of suburb in Turkey, Turkish popular culture elements are analyzed and inferences are made about the life practices of the period and the use of space. In order to make a visual analysis of places and lifestyles and to obtain a consistent background for the analysis of the Levent region, which was determined as a case, this study was made on films shot in Istanbul.

“In Turkish cinema, Istanbul is generally portrayed as an area where “happiness is promised”. Especially the films of the 1950s and 1960s reproduced the ‘Istanbul myth’ by depicting a ‘fairytale’ Istanbul.” (Ozturk, 2004, cited in, Ozdamar, 2006, p.40)

During this period, the dominant representations in the cinema are differentiated according to income groups. According to Ozdamar, it is seen that lower income groups represent slums by migrating from historical areas to the city periphery, while high income groups are moving from apartments in the city center to suburban areas, which were seen as secondary residences in the previous period. In addition, the increasing number of cooperatives and mass housing in the city periphery are also in the foreground. With the changing face of the city, the contradictions created by the social-class distinction and the transformation of society are also reflected in popular culture. (Ozdamar, 2006)

“In this period, although Istanbul continued to be a fund for films, it now takes place in the plot with the character of 'person-city'.” (Torun, 2017, p.154)

Levent was frequently used to describe the lifestyle of the middle and upper class during the 1950-1980 period. Since it is analyzed as a case in the continuation of the research, it was decided to examine the popular culture elements that have taken place in this region. Yeşilçam's promotion of Levent as the new face of Istanbul's modernity between 1960 - 1980 was also influential in this. Films shot during this period often feature sections from 4th Levent - Akçam Street and Akasyalı Street.

The 1961 film *Otobüs Yolcuları*, directed by Ertem Göreç and written by Vedat Türkali, is a popular culture element in which the urban development of the Levent region and its relationship with the city can be read. While the film presents sections from 4. Levent - Akçam Street, it also allows the ongoing construction process of the Levent region to be seen within the framework of its subject. The film, which has a story of individual and social rebellion, is the subject of the love story of a contractor's daughter and a young man who works as a driver in municipal buses. The film is based on a real cooperative corruption in the early 1960s as a reflection of the current social situation.



Figure 4.18. *Otobüs Yolcuları* – Opening Scene Showing Means of Transport (Movie Scene)

The opening scenes of the movie give an idea about the users of the subject area, the mode of transportation to the city center, and the developing housing structure. While

transportation to the Levent region, which has begun to develop in a planned manner, is provided by road, buses and minibuses are used as public transportation vehicles. While the Levent houses seen in the background in Figure 4.19 are residential areas whose construction has been completed, information about the method of acquiring the houses and the comments of the users is obtained from the conversations between the people getting on the bus.

- 1- *Ee Hamdi bey, evlere geçiyorsunuz öyle mi? (Well, Mr. Hamdi, are you going to the houses?)*
- 2- *İnşallah, Bekir Usta. (Inshallah, Master Bekir.)*
- 3- *Erkenden dolaştım bu sabah, evler gıcır. (I walked around early this morning, the houses are brand new.)*
- 4- *40 sene çalıştık, çok şükür bir evimiz olacak. (We worked for 40 years, thank God we will have a house.)*



Figure 4.19. Otobüs Yolcuları – Levent – Denizciler Çiftliği Houses Seen in Background (Movie Scene)

While the scenes shown in Figure 4.20-4.21-4.22 give ideas about the architectural structure of the region, the street layout, the density of the area, buildings relations with each other and with the street, different housing typologies brought by the urbanization process in the background of the 1st Levent area, which is referred to as Levent - Denizciler Farm in Figure 4.21 and density.



Figure 4.20. Otobüs Yolcuları – Akasyalı Street – Street Perspective (Movie Scene)



Figure 4.21. Otobüs Yolcuları – Urbanization Process - Background (Movie Scene)



Figure 4.22. Otobüs Yolcuları – Building Relations (Movie Scene)

In addition to the physical features, the movie *Otobüs Yolcuları* gives important information about the construction understanding and social situation of the popular cultural elements of the period, and the user profile of the residential areas created. The fact that the region is located far from the city and is accessible by public transport, that the residential areas vary according to classes and that the housing production is provided through cooperatives are among these inferences. In the movie, it is seen that the people belonging to the upper class group live in the planned areas in the 1.Levent region, and the group representing the lower class live in the slums.

Turist Ömer (1964), *Yuvasız Kuşlar* (1970), *Sev Kardeşim* (1972), *Vukuat Var* (1972), *Aç Gözünü Mehmet* (1974), *Babaların Babası* (1975), *Banker Bilo* (1980), *Dolap Beygiri* (1982), *Yedi Bela Hüsnü* (1982), *Adile Teyze* (1983), *Züğürt Ağa* (1985) are also films set in the same period, with different contents, in Levent.

4.3 Investigation Criteria of Levent - Denizciler Farm Example in the Context of Suburban Based on Concept and Popular Culture Items Inferences

Based on the settlement and popular culture examples analyzed in the first two parts of the Chapter 4 of the research, some criteria were determined in order to examine the Levent-Denizciler Çiftliği, which is the leading example of suburb settlement in Turkey, based on the features that stand out in these examples.

Since Levittown, which is examined primarily in this section, is seen as the starting point of the concept of suburb, it was decided to examine the Levent region, which is an example of settlement in Turkey, based on the morphological criteria determined over this area. In addition, *Edward Scissorhands*, an American example of selected popular culture elements, is an element where both morphological features and sociological elements can be read, physical elements can be associated with emotions and situations, and the connection of daily life practices with space

can be clearly observed. Therefore, it is important in determining both morphological and sociological criteria.

On the other hand, the movie *Otobüs Yolcuları*, which is an example of Turkey, gives clues about the current physical structure of the Levent area, which is determined as a case, in the date range that is the subject of the study, with visual messages in the scenes. At the same time, the way of life of the society, the use of streets and other places, the economic and political structure of the period and how this structure affects daily life are important narratives that are effective in determining the sociological analysis criteria.

Criteria for Morphological Dimension

- Urban Texture & Density
- Road Network
- Plot - Block Relations
- Architectural Typology
- Purpose and Diversity of Use of Buildings

Criteria for Sociological Dimension

- Use of Space
- Life Practices

The criteria determined are mostly physical and they are the elements that are effective both in the planning phase and change in the process. For this reason, both the planning and development processes are evaluated when examining the area determined for case study.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY OF DENIZCILER ÇİFTLİĞİ – LEVENT, ISTANBUL

This chapter focuses the case of *Denizciler Çiftliği* in Levent, a suburban district in Istanbul. It examines *Denizciler Çiftliği* as a unique suburban residential site, and compare it to other suburban residential areas with regards to its architectural and urban characteristics, to show its similarities and differences.

The examination of the case study relies on the primary and secondary data resources. The primary data resources includes the analysis of films from America and Turkey and the secondary data resources comprise the features of selected areas.

The process of the “*Denizciler Çiftliği*” example has been examined in a way to explain how the concept of suburb has evolved according to environmental factors since its establishment, how much the continuity of life is ensured and how it interacts with popular culture.

5.1 The History and Development Process of Denizciler Çiftliği – Levent

Established as the first planned residential area in the history of the Republic, Levent is located in the Beşiktaş district of Istanbul, surrounded by the Etiler, Akatlar and Maslak districts. The first use of the district coincides with the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid I in the Ottoman period, and because the area was given to Algerian Hasan Pasha, who was a naval soldier at that time, this area began to be called Levent Farm. At the end of the 1700s, this area was used as a barracks, remained as a region where military activities were carried out, and started to be used for agriculture in the period until the republican period.



Figure 5.1. Levent Neighborhood Borders (Map by Author, 2022)

After the proclamation of the republic, the ownership of “*Levent Çiftliği*” passed to the Municipality of Istanbul and was determined as the new location of the mass housing projects planned in order to meet the housing shortage due to the change and population growth in the city after the World War II and this move started the planning process of Levent.



Figure 5.2. Levent in 1/5000 Development Plan - 17.02.1954 (Erbaş, 2012)

Erbaş (2012) explains that in the period when the Levent region was planned, the city was far from the center where the residential areas are located, and transportation was provided by public transportation as follows:

“It is known that the surroundings of Levent were empty in the 1950s, deserted countryside stretched out here, and the residents reached Taksim and Beşiktaş by infrequent buses. The fact that Levent Neighborhood was shown as a settlement area in the 1/5000 scaled Zoning Plan dated 17/02/1954, while the surrounding areas were marked as "non-residential areas" contains important discussions.” (Erbaş, 2012, p.5)

The planning process of Levent housing areas started in 1947 within the framework of the mass housing project prepared by Emlak Kredi Bank and continued gradually until 1957. The construction of 1 Levent, which is the subject of this study, was completed in 1952, 2-3 Levent in 1953, and 4 Levent in 1958. Architect and urban planner, Dr. In these areas, which were planned by Kemal Ahmet Aru and Architect Rebiî Gordon, a total of 1374 residences, 411 of which were planned in the first stage. (Erbaş, 2012)

According to the article of Aru and Gorbon in the 1952 Arkitekt magazine, a neighborhood consisting of 391 houses was established and built on the land of the "Levend Çiftliği". The company named “Tarko” undertook the construction. The construction cost 8 million liras. The “Levend” farm was purchased from the municipality in raw form, its infrastructure was created, and the construction started after it was parceled out in accordance with the principles of urban planning. The neighborhood is connected to the Zincirlikuyu-İstinye asphalt road. The bazaar consists of a cinema, a square, row houses with six shops around it, and many types of single and double storey houses. (Aru and Gorbon, 1952, cited in Gayretli, 2016)

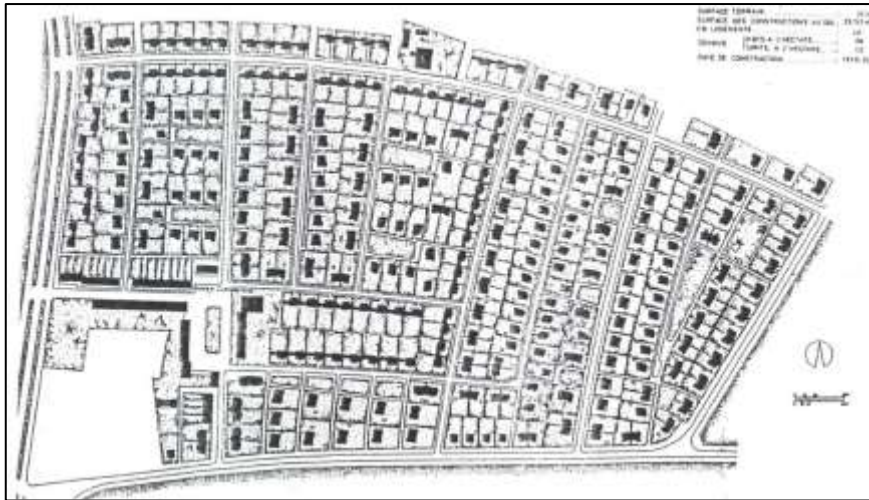


Figure 5.3. 1. Levent Site Plan - (Gayretli, 2016)



Figure 5.4. 2. Levent Site Plan - (Gayretli, 2016)

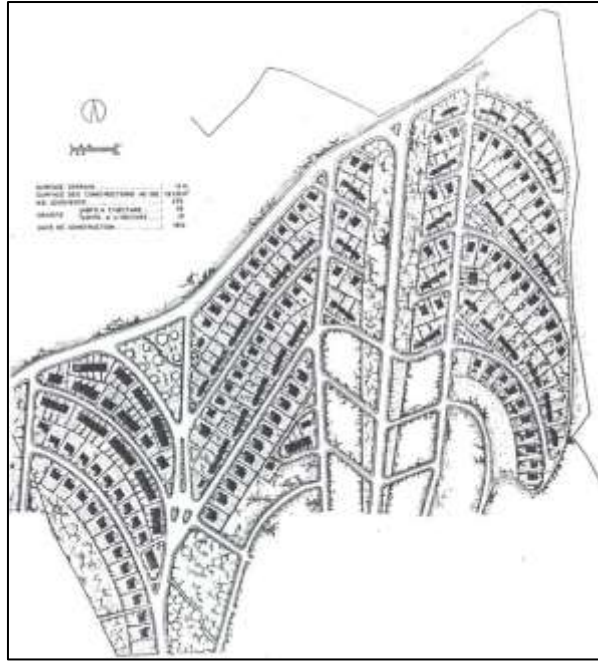


Figure 5.5. 3. Levent Site Plan - (Gayretli, 2016)

According to the article of Aru and Gorbon in the 1952 *Arkitekt* magazine, a neighborhood consisting of 391 houses was established and built on the land of the "Levend Çiftliği". The company named "Tarko" undertook the construction. The construction cost 8 million liras. The "Levend" farm was purchased from the municipality in raw form, its infrastructure was created, and the construction started after it was parceled out in accordance with the principles of urban planning. The neighborhood is connected to the Zincirlikuyu-İstinye asphalt road. The bazaar consists of a cinema, a square, row houses with six shops around it, and many types of single and double storey houses. (Aru and Gorbon, 1952, cited in Gayretli, 2016)

Kırdar's words contain basic information about the location, scope and features of Levent – Denizciler Çiftliği;

"Land prices in the city are high. In fact, most of the fire places you mentioned will be park number one. For this reason, we searched for cheap land outside the city and found Levent Çiftliği. A neighborhood of a thousand houses will be established here, and all kinds of installations of the new

neighborhood will be perfect. Roads will be built, electricity and water will be supplied, as well as a primary school, a secondary school, a theater, a cinema, squares and parks. In short, this will become an ideal city...” (Lüftü Kırdar, Akşam, 1951, quoted by Yıldızeli, 2014, p.45, cited in Gayretli, 2016, p.20)

The construction of 411 residences, which were planned in 1947, could be started after the tender held in 1949 and handed over to their owners between 1951-1952. While planning in the region, functions other than housing are also placed according to the connections of the roads.



Figure 5.6. Levent. 1950s -
(<http://besiktaskultursanat.com/anilardaki-besiktas/>)

In this period, the fact that a new settlement was to be established in Levent drew a lot of reaction due to the location and desolation of the region, which is quite far from the city center. However, the price and payment plan of the planned houses softened the views on this issue. The prices of the houses vary between 10.000 TL and 20.000 TL, and 20-year installment payment options are offered.



Figure 5.7. Emlak Bank's Brochures Presenting Levent Houses (Yıldızeli, 2015)



Figure 5.8. Newspaper Clippings - Advertising Denizciler Çiftliği
 (<https://paylasmag.com/levent-etiler-tarihcesi/>)
 (<https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/143622675588386259/>)



Figure 5.9. A Newspaper Clipping About Reactions
 (https://galeri13.uludagsozluk.com/724/levent-evleri-yapilirken-yapilan-elestiri_1823914.)

In this area planned in suburban concept, the houses arranged in rows are mostly designed in a similar typology. In order to make the houses included in the planning cheap and accessible, the materials used were also decided to be simple.

With the increase in the population and the demand for the 1 Levent region, whose construction was completed, the construction of 2 and 3 Levent was started with revisions made by evaluating factors such as wind and land compatibility in their designs. Features that were evaluated and revised in this process; with the revisions made on the quality and width of the roads, the separation of pedestrian and vehicle roads, the reduction of the number of houses on both sides of the main road, the avoidance of narrow corridors by providing orientation in building sessions, and the creation of large green areas.



Figure 5.10. Levent Settlement.1950s

(<https://twitter.com/EE034/status/774177799959552002/photo/1>)

With each stage of the project being more popular than expected the planning of 4 Levent was started quickly in the process following stages 2-3. Although the suburb settlement characteristics seen in the previous stages were desired to be maintained at this stage, 2 or 3-storey mass housing forms emerged in line with the population and needs.

In the period when the Levent neighborhood was founded and in the following years, the distance of the area from the city center, the limited transportation and the layout of the buildings ensured the continuity of the neighborhood understanding and strengthened the communication with the street.

“Levent was the only district in the world where the seller passing by the door was called by his name...” (Mehmet Tengiz – Yıldızeli, 2015)



Figure 5.11. Levent Houses (Photo by Ferhat Güray – Yıldızeli, 2015)

When the Levent District was established, which was registered as an "exemplary prestige area" in terms of settlement and architectural style of the housing development, it became a residential area where civil servants, teachers, artists, writers, scientists, small and medium-sized merchants and businessmen lived. (Erbaş, 2012)

“Workers, civil servants, retired and businessmen lived side by side in houses. There were doctors of all professions, lawyers, tradesmen, and people from every income bracket. Regardless of religion, language, race or color, a common class was accepted under the name of "neighbour". It is a unique first because of these qualities. Maybe it is an example of a last neighborhood like no other.” (Ferhat Güray – Yıldızeli, 2015)

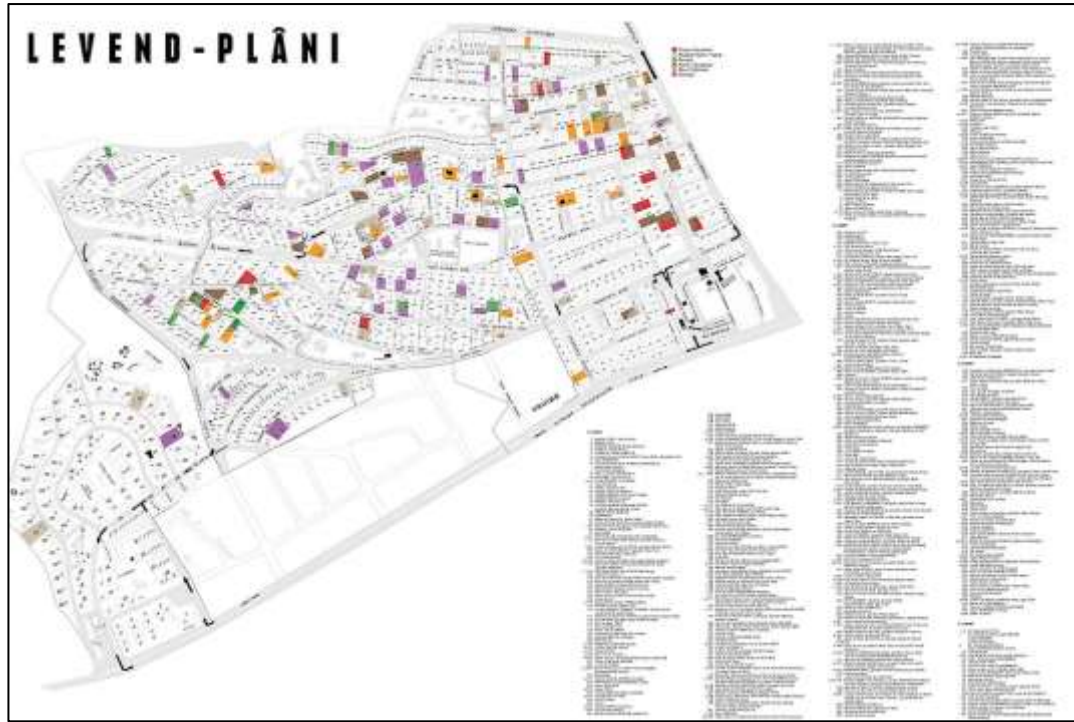


Figure 5.12. Map - Levent residents who lived between 1950-80 (Yıldızeli, 2015)

Among the names whose houses are engraved on the map are names such as Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Aziz Nesin (bookstore owner), Yılmaz Güney, Fatma Girik, Göksel Arsoy, Türkan Şoray, Gönül writer, Haluk Tarcan, Melike Demirağ, jazz singer Rüçhan Çamay, Zeki Müren.



Figure 5.13. A Family from Levent (Photo by Levent Dölen – Yıldızeli, 2015)

5.2 Evaluation of the Urban Characteristics of the Region through the Criteria from Concept of Suburb and Popular Culture

This part of the study includes combining data from previous chapters with the example of the “*Denizciler Çiftliği*”. The criteria determined by the samples analyzed within the scope of chapter 4 which are urban texture & density, road network, plot - block relations, architectural typology, purpose and diversity of use of buildings as morphological dimensions; use of space and life practices as sociological dimensions are questioned on the “*Denizciler Çiftliği*” settlement in this section.

First of all, when the settlement is examined in terms of urban texture and density, differences emerge between the planned period and the following periods with the effect of the changing conditions throughout the city.



Figure 5.14. Levent’s Location – Distance from Old City Center (Made by Author, 2022)

The urban texture of the 1 Levent region was quite sparse in the first planning periods of the Levent settlement, which developed at a point where transportation options were not yet developed, quite far from the city center of Istanbul. In the movie *Otobüs Yolcuları* depicting Levent in the period determined as the scope of the study,

which was analyzed in the previous chapter, the sparseness of the region's texture, its distance from the city center and the limited transportation options can be observed.

As can be seen in Figure 5.15, there were no residential, commercial or social resources around the area during the planning and construction period. The construction of the Levent district is an important step in the expansion of the city in terms of housing and other resources.



Figure 5.15. Levent Neighborhood Surrounded by Vacant Lots
(<https://fatosaltintas.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/image2.jpg>)

The region, where the only transportation option was the car at the time it was planned, has become accessible by many public transportation vehicles with the development of the city's general transportation infrastructure. Not only the development of the transportation network, but also the growth of the city and the fact that the settlement of Levent - Denizciler Çiftliği is now within the city center has an impact on this situation. Therefore, this settlement, which was surrounded by agricultural lands in the past, has now become a settlement that creates its own space within the urban congestion.

As can be seen in site plans in previous section such as Figure 5.3, the road network of the region has a grid-based structure shaped according to the topography that creates the residential parcels planned around the social facilities. While the gridal texture can be observed more clearly in the planning of the 1 Levent stage, the layout has been deformed in a way that facilitates use in the following parts, with the effect of land structure and natural environmental factors. It can be said that the cul-de-sac connections seen in the general suburb character defined based on the literature review are not seen in this settlement, and the connection roads are arranged in a way that connects to each other.



Figure 5.16. Figure – Ground Map & Levent Urban Site – Current (2012, Kemal Ahmet Aru and Levent - A Successful “Republic Project” Exhibition Booklet, Publisher: MSGSU)

When especially the 1st stage is evaluated within the Levent settlement, the plot-block settlement is identified with the suburb character represented by Levittown in terms of ratio and sequential order. On the regular road system, the buildings were placed in such a way that each of the adjacent parcels corresponded to about half of its occupancy. While this arrangement allows the buildings to have their own large gardens, it also allowed the formation of a hollow structure by creating distances between the buildings.



Figure 5.17. Levent Street View Shows the Silhouette Created by the Plot-Block System

(https://twitter.com/tarih_foto/status/875736687493738497/photo/1)

From an architectural point of view, the houses planned in the settlement of Levent - Denizciler farm have a uniform and simple design, as observed in the general characteristics of the suburb concept. This situation was caused by economic reasons, similar to the situation that emerged during the formation of the Levittown suburb settlement. The building typologies, which vary a little in themselves, have broken the monotony caused by the repetition of the sameness with small additions such as balcony, eaves and balcony railing details.

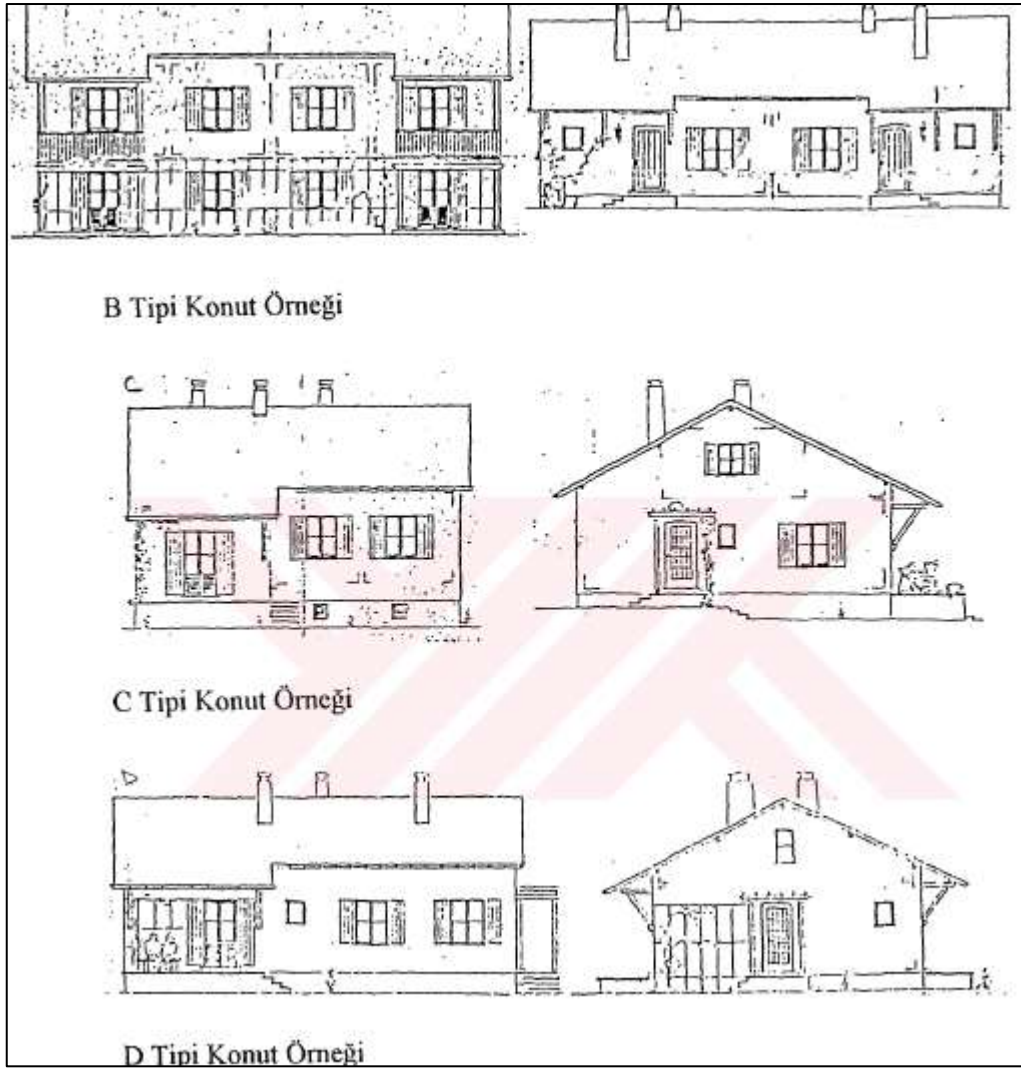


Figure 5.18. Building Typologies of Levent – Denizciler Çiftliği
(Tepe, 1995)

Limiting the architectural typology, which is seen as similar in both Levittown and Levent examples, is one of the most important factors in the formation of the silhouette of the region. This structural design boundary and the proportion in the plot-block relationship ensure that the street structure is preserved even when the city develops, and the region maintains its own space within the city. This situation also brought along features such as the user profile being similar and everyone having approximately equal opportunities.

Levent region, which was a priority residential area at the time it was planned and the use of buildings was concentrated in this direction, has also changed in terms of use, with the effect of the development of the city and the change in the user profile. In addition to the usage purposes of the buildings, slight changes are observed on the physical properties of the buildings.

The general architectural typology of the houses is still mostly preserved, and it is seen that while simple modifications such as paint and facade cladding are made, additions that will affect the typologies are made in the buildings where the usage purposes have changed.



Figure 5.19. Examples of Residential and Commercial Buildings on Lale Street

To demonstrate this change, the buildings on the section of Levent Street, which is located within the borders of 1 Levent, between Karanfil Street and Lale Street, were compared in order to reveal the change in the use of buildings.

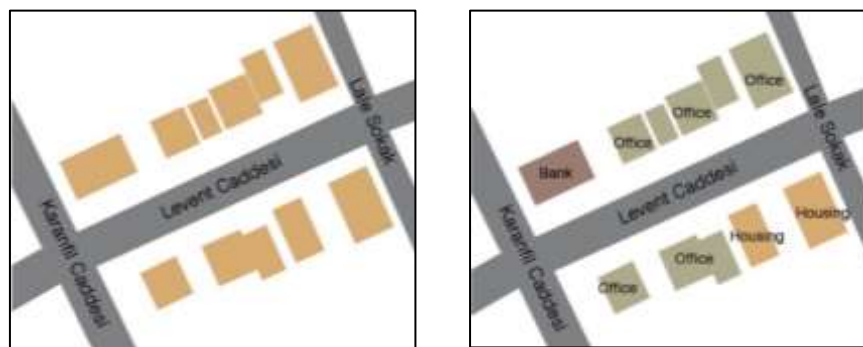


Figure 5.20. Section of Levent Street – Functional Transformation

From the 1950s, when all the buildings in the region were designed and built as residences, to the present day, it is clearly seen that the use of buildings has changed over time in the selected section by being dominant throughout the settlement.

The main reason for this change can be shown that the Levent - Denizciler Çiftliği settlement, which was planned as a suburb area, is now a texture that tries to preserve its identity in the city center and new suburb areas begin to form in areas far from the new center of the city.

When examined from a sociological point of view, the use of space has changed both functionally and as experience, and its effect on daily life practice has also changed. It can be said that the relations between the streets and the buildings were stronger due to the distance to the city at the time the area was planned, the fact that it was used only for residential purposes, the proximity of the user profile to each other, and weakened with the effect of the changes it went through over time.

The intricacy of the various functions of the city with the region has led to the disappearance of the homogeneous structure in daily life practice.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Within the scope of this study, the Levent - Denizciler Çiftliği suburb settlement application was evaluated in terms of compatibility and continuity, based on morphological (urban texture & density, road network, plot - block relation, architectural typology, purpose and diversity of use of buildings) and sociological (use of space, life practices) criteria that emerged from the analysis of the concepts and elements whose mutual interactions were examined.

In order to establish a connection between popular culture elements and settlements, firstly the concepts of suburb and suburbia, the definitions made by different researchers on various dimensions and their interpretations were discussed, then the concepts of popular culture and its components and their contents were analyzed in detail. The physical, functional and social characteristics of the concept of suburb and the effects of dimensions such as location, built environment characteristic, transportation, and activities on the formation and diversification of this concept were determined. The settlement typologies, which are formed according to criteria such as planned or unplanned development, class differences, purpose of use, ethnic structure or location of the users, emerged while diversifying the suburb settlements over the dimensions discussed in the definitions are expressed. Afterwards, the concept of suburbia, which corresponds to the life in the suburbs, was evaluated on the basis of the physical and sociological phenomena that formed the concept, and the interrogation criteria that could be determined in order to criticize the settlement were determined.

In addition to the concepts of suburb and suburbia, the definition and scope of the concept of popular culture, which elements it corresponds to and how it can be ranked in terms of effectiveness among these elements were determined, and the

descriptions of popular culture elements that focused on the analyzed concepts were examined within the framework of the features that make up these concepts.

In the examinations made on popular culture elements based on these concepts, it is seen that the concept of suburb has an intense place in popular culture both as a description of its physical features and a description of its routine. Features such as repetition, routine, order, and simplicity that the concept corresponds to are common inferences made from popular culture elements that have been examined.

On the other hand, it is also among the results that the features presented in the popular culture elements play an important role in the preference of suburb settlements by the users, and this situation directly affects the demographic structure of the region.

When it comes to the Levent example, the acceptance of a residential area far from the city, where access to many facilities is difficult and the development process of which is uncertain, by the users of the city has been facilitated by the support of popular culture in marketing the planned area. In addition to the attractiveness of the physical features of the new settlement, the fact that a settlement is planned in the ideal city concept, which has been ingrained in their minds through popular culture, can be shown among the reasons why users prefer to settle in this region.

Although it changes over time in terms of the concept it corresponds to, the great effect of popular culture elements on the preferability of any settlement has also been revealed within the scope of this research.

6.1.1 Findings and Comments

In order to make a connection between the current features of the concept of suburb and its reflections on the fictional world, this study has analyzed suburb settlements in terms of concept definitions and historical framework, and based on this, the suburb areas that are the subject of the study, in the areas of the cities that tend to grow, generally appeal to the middle-upper class. It reveals that it was designed

within the framework of simple architectural standards, and that the life formed in these areas, depending on these conditions, corresponds in both ways with the suburbia reflected in the fictional world. On the other hand, the information obtained from the analysis of popular culture shows that spatial elements are at the forefront in films about the American suburb, while the current social situation, conditions and life practices are observed in Turkish cinema. The example of *Edward Scissorhands*, which deals with the American suburb, clearly reveals the urban and architectural structure, with the effect that it takes place in a real suburb area as a physical space.

On the other hand, the movie *Otobüs Yolcuları*, shot in the Levent region of the research area, used the space only as a background and mostly gives an idea about the social profile of the users and their interactions with the city. According to the context shown in the movie, Levent is described as a region far from the city, where the construction process continues through cooperatives, where transportation is limited, and where the middle-upper class is concentrated.

According to the comparisons made between the popular culture elements and the existing settlements of the suburb, Levittown and Levent - Denizciler Çiftliği, it can be said that the Levent - Denizciler Çiftliği region is similar to Levittown, an example of an American suburb, in terms of its architectural structure and urban texture that preserves its vacant layout. However, in terms of street-human relations, it offered a practice closer to the suburbia in its establishment periods, but in the following periods, with the assignment of various functions to the region, it broke away from the street and moved away from the context that symbolizes the ideal life. The same functional diversity causes a decrease in the number of well-established housing owners, and the increase in uncontrolled businesses causes a decrease in the comfort level of the neighborhood. On the other hand, it is seen that Levittown mostly preserves its original character and continues to develop in the same context.

When the Levent region is examined through the determined criteria, it has been seen that it is mostly compatible with the concept of suburb in morphological terms, and can be evaluated within the framework of the suburb concept in terms of urban

texture, plot-block relations and architectural structure. On the other hand, in relation to geographical conditions and topography, the road and transportation structure, the purpose of use and diversity of the buildings show differences among the samples examined. In the Levittown example, the cul-de-sac, which is seen as the most prominent feature, was not constructed in the Levent region and it is seen that a continuous road network was created.

It can be said that building uses are similar in terms of planning as a residential area during the planning and construction phase, but differ in terms of development processes. Levittown has preserved its residential texture and surrounded other functions with different typologies, while Levent can be defined as a region where residential and commercial use have become mixed today.

It is aimed that this study will pave the way for future studies in terms of comparing popular culture and physical settlements, strengthening the context of description and reality, and considering different forms of experience in design processes. According to the result obtained from the study, the elements of popular culture, in which daily life practices, social and cultural structure, political framework, space-human relations can be clearly observed, have been influential in the formation of physical settlements, in turn, the structural features and experiences in the settlements are mostly reflected on these elements. This interaction can be included in the design process and contribute to strengthening the context between the user and the space and ensuring the sustainability of the design.

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