

'PRODUCTION OF SPACE' IN THE POST EARTHQUAKE REGION:
THREE CASES FROM DÜZCE

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ABSTRACT

***‘PRODUCTION OF SPACE’ IN THE POST-EARTHQUAKE REGION:
THREE CASES FROM DÜZCE***

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This thesis is about the processes and attitudes behind building production as it is about architecture as such, and it aims at understanding architecture’s critical capacity and its relation to wider society. In this context, the differing attitudes and orientations in the construction of the residential environments in Düzce after the two unsettling earthquakes that took place in 1999 are believed to provide a study field, where the relationship between architecture and different economic, political and cultural structures that constitute civil society can be examined. Against this backdrop, our discussion will concentrate on the specific housing concerns and solutions proposed by three different groups, namely: ‘Solidarity Houses Project’ realized by the villagers of Gölyaka, settlement proposal for Gölyaka prepared by the Project Implementation Unit of Prime Ministry and the struggle of the Düzce Depremzedeler Derneği for tenants’ rights.

The examination of these case studies will be based on our reading of Henri Lefebvre’s ‘Production of Space’ and particularly his analytical categories: physical, mental and social space. The relation between this theoretical framework and the case studies will be a reciprocal one, in which the analysis on the three examples of house production will both utilize the analytical framework and be an instrument for understanding it. Although

considered separately, the concepts we discuss in each chapter are inextricably interwoven. At the end what we aim to outline is a more total picture of the character of the redevelopment processes after the 1999 Marmara earthquakes and represent architectural practice in its complexity.

Keywords: 1999 Marmara Earthquakes, Henri Lefebvre, Solidarity Houses, Düzce Depremzedeler Derneği, social space.

ÖZ

DEPREM BÖLGESİNDE MEKANIN ÜRETİMİ:

DÜZCE'DE ÜÇ KONUT ETKİNLİĞİ

Demirel, Sinem

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

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Bu tez mimarlığın kendisiyle olduğu kadar bina üretiminin gerisindeki süreçler ve tavırlarlarda ilgilidir ve mimarlığın eleştirel kapasitesi ve toplumla olan ilişkisini anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, 1999 Marmara Depremleri'nin ardından Düzce'deki konut alanlarının üretimindeki farklı tutumlar ve yönelimler, mimarlık ve farklı ekonomik, politik ve kültürel yapılardan oluşan sivil toplum arasındaki ilişkinin incelenebileceği bir çalışma alanı sunmaktadır. Bu arka plana karşı, tartışmamız üç farklı grubun özgül barınma kaygıları ve çözüm önerilerine yoğunlaşacaktır. Bu örnekler; Gölyakalı köylülerce gerçekleştirilen 'İmece Evleri Projesi', Başbakanlık Proje Uygulama Birimince üretilen Gölyaka Kalıcı Konutları ve Düzce Depremzedeler Derneği'nin kiracı depremzedelerin konut hakları üzerinden yürüttüğü mücadeledir.

Bu örneklerin incelenmesi Henri Lefebvre'in 'Mekanın Üretimi' adlı çalışması üzerinden yapacağımız okumalara, özellikle de önerdiği analitik kategorilere (fiziksel, akılsal ve sosyal mekan) dayandırılacaktır. Bu teorik iskelet ile durum çalışmaları arasındaki ilişki karşılıklıdır. Aynı ayrı incelenmesine karşın her bölümde ele alınan kavramlar ve durumlar kaçınılmaz olarak birbirleriyle ilişki halindedir. Bu çalışmanın sonunda amaçladığımız 1999 Marmara Depremi sonrasında yapılan yeniden yapım

alıřmalarının zelliklerinin daha btnlkl bir tasvirini sunmak ve mimari pratikleri btn karmařıklığıyla temsil etmektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: 1999 Marmara Depremleri, Henri Lefebvre, İmece Evleri, Dzce Depremzedeler Derneęi, sosyal mekan.

To My Parents
Birsen and Nafi Demirel

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION:

THE SOCIAL CONTENT OF ARCHITECTURE

I.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study focuses on differing attitudes and orientations in the construction of the residential settings in the earthquake region, in the time period following the 1999 East-Marmara Earthquakes. Given as a physical event, the August 17th Kocaeli and November 12th Düzce Earthquakes define the specific location and the time interval for the stories we plan to summarize. The conjunction of this physical phenomenon with the realities of the social fact resulted with the massive destruction of the built environment and a need for housing emerged.

Often the built environment is more resilient to change than the cultures it contains, but with this critical point in the history of Turkey, a whole region was driven to reflect upon how they think about and experience their habitat. August 17th and November 12th Marmara Earthquakes resulted with the loss and injury of human life and the destruction and damage of the constructed and natural environment, and a 'need' for housing emerged. The immediacy of the situation and the extent of the housing need rendered this incident significant and made the state intervention into housing certain. But in the political aftermath of the earthquake the national and local governments were subjected to unprecedented criticism, and moreover the citizens lost their faith in the housing industry and its set of actors. In addition, when the government proved to be inadequate in providing the basic housing units, the victims of the earthquake proposed alternative solution either as individuals or as different kinds of organizations.

Architecturally, this specific context in which the study unfolds suggested architects two main objectives. First, there was the destructed environment, which revealed many of the long-standing problems related with architecture in our cities and a response from the profession was needed. On the other hand, the disasters left many people homeless and public and private agencies started a construction phase to meet the necessary need. Consequently, situated in the middle of destruction and construction, this incident imposed on architects both a “concerns about ends” and “questions about beginnings”.¹ In the given circumstances in which a familiar present was lost into the past and a future waited to be planed, from where should we start in the action of making something?

In this thesis, we will focus on three attempts of housing activity that took place in the subsequent redevelopment period after the earthquake. We have chosen to focus on residential settings because of several reasons. First of all, the practices in terms of housing cut through and bring together “the major conceptual and everyday divides of production and consumption, politics and economics, material and ideological. Housing is work, home and politics.”² That is, these processes work in major spheres of capitalist societies such as the “social relations of production, of state institutions and ‘civil society’ (the home, the community).”³ Secondly, the dramatic changes related with the domestic places have a stronger quality; they upset our sense of belonging and safety and therefore have the ability to focus effort in response. Last of all, they suggest powerful connections between architecture and urbanism, temporality and permanency.⁴

The three stories we have tried to track share the same crisis theme in their origins, beginning after the destruction of the built environment and culminating in an ongoing project until recently. Apart from that, they are

¹ David Bell, “Inmediasres,” in *Ethics and Architecture*, eds. John Capelli, Paul Naprstek and Bruce Prescott (New York:Rizzoli, 1990), 27.

² Peter Dickens, Simon Duncan, Mark Goodwin and Fred Gray, *Housing, States and Localities* (London and New York: METHUEN, 1985), 11.

³ Ibid. 12.

⁴ The connection between architecture and urbanism and temporality and permanency is based on the argument proposed by Dana Cuff, *Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).

independent projects and do not have easily observable commonalities. Nevertheless, within the overall structure of the thesis their combination becomes meaningful and serves to an end. Here, our aim is twofold. First, we study each project in depth and separately, and secondly, we consider them 'in' relation to each other. Finally, we aim to outline a more total picture of the character of the redevelopment processes after the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes of August 17th and November 12th.

The first case to be discussed is 'Solidarity Houses' (İmece Evleri) realized in three villages in Gölyaka, Düzce. Based on the participation of the users in the housing activity, this example offers an interesting housing solution that succeeded in accessing the low-income victims of the earthquake. Background is provided by a summary of some of the socioeconomic facts of the region, and a general description of the nature and the extent of the demolition caused by the earthquakes. In a society dominated by commercial suppliers of housing, this proposal implies some fundamentally different values in which the users and community groups can have greater autonomy and self-determination. This chapter focuses on individuals, households and somewhat larger groups, and the mechanisms they had established in regulating the process of house production.

Second case study analyzes the planning and construction processes that are undertaken by the government, especially the proposal suggested by the Project Implementation Unit of Prime Ministry for the town of Gölyaka. The chapter begins with an argument on modernity where rationality, efficiency and planning can be considered as some of the fundamentalist principles. Dwelling around the relation between State and its spatial organization, the study concentrates on abstract space as the space of urban planners and architects. Then we carry this discussion to the domain of architectural practice where we analyze the housing policies of the Turkish Government through the specific example of Gölyaka Permanent Houses (Gölyaka Kalıcı Konutları). Consequently, in this chapter we focus on the design principles suggested by the government and on their implementation into the built environment.

Third case study is about Düzce Association of Earthquake Victims (Düzce Depremzedeler Derneği), in particular, their struggle against the state, for the tenants' housing rights of the earthquake victims living in Düzce. As an ongoing project, it offers an example to community based actions in relation to disadvantages in housing. To lay the ground for a more specific understanding of the practices of civil society organizations, the chapter begins with definitions of the necessary terms and their significance for Turkey. This is a story about empowerment and choice, about imagining and fighting for a better environment, and therefore it is inherently political. In this section, the focus is on communities and citizens, specifically the ones mostly treated as invisible and through their actions we will propose the question, 'whom should architecture represent?'

The three case studies, then, define our boundaries in terms of location: Düzce and in terms of time interval: Post-earthquake. In fact this abnormal condition, a break within the continuum of a nation, will be the environment in which we will do our analysis. Through the case studies, we set out to understand architecture in all its complexity and the space it helps to shape. In this context, the questions we put forward and the case studies we have chosen are analyzed around the concept of 'space', where spatiality is understood as an issue cutting across disciplines. As an understanding, which relates different levels of operation that take place in the creation of architecture, 'production of space' appears to be an appropriate basis for deciphering the processes that affect the production of built form that occur at multiple scales and simultaneously.

However, in this thesis 'space' is not used solely as a means for understanding the post-earthquake environment, it is also the subject of investigation. "Space is not just the place of conflict, but an object of struggle itself."⁵ Therefore alongside the case studies we also try to develop an argument on space, and try to trace its involvement in knowledge practice through time. In Chapter II, we will look at the differing concepts of space and their relation with architecture. In Chapter III, we will analyze how this architectural space is structured. Then, in

⁵ Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible* (London, New York: Continuum, 2004), 183.

Chapter IV we concentrate on 'social space' as a critical political construct, and analyze its implications for the architectural discipline.

1.2 AIM AND BOUNDARY OF THE THESIS

This is a thesis as much about the broad processes and attitudes behind building production as it is about architecture as such, and it aims at understanding architecture's critical capacity and its relation to wider society. We are not particularly concerned with the geometric configurations of the city or the symbolic use of form but instead on the relationship between architecture and different economic, political, and cultural structures that constitute civil society. That architecture, as an idea and practice, is in a fundamental relation with the social processes may seem as a rather straightforward proposition. And yet the questions concerning the specific nature of this reciprocal relation bring opposing theories into consideration. In fact, the discussion on the autonomy of architecture has a long history in which differing moral underpinnings assigned architects varied social roles and responsibilities.

For most of its history, architecture has been associated with wealth and power. Traditionally, architects "were required by the state and the church, the wealthier classes, administrative bodies and affluent business concerns such as guilds and corporations."⁶ As a consequence, the interests of the patron, throughout history, have played a decisive role in the shaping of the built environment. Yet these intimate ties between architecture and power are not openly distinguishable, rather they are complex and culturally embedded.

Today, power is disguised and difficult to identify, it is internalized in our daily routines and therefore goes largely unnoticed. Many of the reviews on contemporary capitalist city evolve around its changing character where

⁶ "Architects were required by the state and the church, the wealthier classes, administrative bodies and affluent business concerns such as guilds and corporations. This association did not always assure the architects a favored standing in the social hierarchy, but is sufficed, at the very least, to set them apart from laboring class. They were not workmen but rulers of workmen, as Plato puts it; they contributed knowledge not craftsmanship." Spiro Kostof, "The Practice of Architecture in the Ancient World: Egypt and Greece," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 3.

the city does not operate on a visual level anymore, whereas economic processes replaced architecture as a discipline constructing the real.⁷ This statement becomes more complicated when analyzed within the professional realm of the discipline as it is practiced in Turkey, where the visible, concrete and material components of architecture proved to be unreliable after the unsettling East-Marmara Earthquakes of 17 August and 12 November 1999. These disasters revealed many of the long-standing problems related with the built environment in our cities in a way that we cannot avoid easily and this significant break imposed on us the question, how is it possible for architecture to claim its rights amidst the demanding materialization of labor, finance and time?



Figure I.1: Image from the earthquake region after the November 12th Düzce Earthquake. Düzce, 1999.

One place to search for an answer to this question can be the limited domain in which architects are asked to proceed. In our cities, majority of the buildings escape the profession's intervention, whereas unlicensed contractors or speculative builders dominate the residential settings. This is partly due to the nature of the profession in which architects "disengage themselves from the spheres of technique and building construction, thus effectively separating them from the material bases on which their

⁷ *Slow space*, ed. Michael Bell and Sze Tsung Leong (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1998).

professional activities rested.”⁸ Accordingly architecture is reduced to a question of appearance where the architect has a partial control over the issues of façade, materials or pieces of interior spaces. To distance architects from the building activity into the restrictive domain of matters of surface, diverted attention from the toughest issues and questions that fall within the realm of architectural profession, and left the architect as a silent witness to the ongoing processes in the built environment.⁹

In many of the conversations we held with the citizens of the earthquake region, architects were among the first to be accused of being responsible of this unpredicted outcome. Likewise, as individuals, most architects asserted that they are truly concerned about the issues that generated the demolition. But as a profession, architecture did not succeeded in providing a reliable judgmental work that reflects the totality of the situation in our cities. Despite the fact that majority of the buildings that collapsed lacked the virtue of design and therefore categorized as non-architecture, the discussions in the discipline continue to evolve mostly around architect designed buildings. This exclusion of a certain kind of construction from the consideration of the discipline creates a gap where certain questions are not asked, which in return helps to preserve the status quo rather than encouraging architects to critically reflect on their practices.¹⁰

Multiple and complex reasons underlie this professional agreement on what is legitimate and not to the discourse on architecture. This discussion is

⁸ Margaret Crawford, “Can Architects Be Socially Responsible?” in *Out of Site: a Social Criticism of Architecture*, ed. Diane Ghirardo (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991), 29.

⁹ In fact K. Michael Hays points to the significance of 1970s as a period with an increasing concern about the instrumentalization of architecture. “When the issue of autonomy re-emerged in the 70s, architecture was in peculiar situation of being eroded from within by having become a service industry completely determined by technology and programmatic demands of the time...Architecture found itself without cultural or disciplinary specificity...In contemporary vocabulary, we could say that architecture found itself deterritorialized. It lost its domain; it lost the cultural realm that it had controlled.” K. Michael Hays and Lauren Kood, “Twenty Projects at the Boundaries of the Architectural Discipline Examined in Relation to the Historical and Contemporary Debates Over Autonomy,” in *Perspecta: the Yale Architectural Journal* 33 (2002): 55.

¹⁰ *Out of Site: a Social Criticism of Architecture*, ed. Diane Ghirardo (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991).

beyond the scope of this thesis, yet the consequences of this understanding are closely related with our subject. As summarized by Diane Ghirardo “this essentially self- serving scheme for determining what is legitimate and pertinent operates to mystify architecture,” resulting with

two fundamental categories of analysis:

1. *the selection of buildings that may legitimately be considered Architecture: as things now stand, the overwhelming numbers of constructions erected annually are not considered Architecture.*
2. *the relation of Architecture to the wider nexus of social, political, economic and ideological institutions: ...Architecture remains autonomous from the range of ideological, political, social and economic roles that is designed to fulfill and that collaborate in generating the conditions for building.¹¹*

This preservation of the myth gives architecture a relatively high social status, an apparent professional success that rests on contradictory grounds, which in return helps to screen its weakening strength “in a society that is constantly being overwhelmed by the innovations of technoscience, by demographic change, and by ever-escalating cycles of production and consumption that constant modernization serve to sustain.”¹² Consequently, the profession is not “open to debate or modification except from within, according to the standards established by a small group of self appointed professionals.”¹³

To these questions in this thesis we proposed two alternatives. As for architects, the first alternative that we consider to be valuable is to acknowledge the limited territory in which they are asked to proceed and as a way out, to become seriously involved in those areas usually considered external to the practice. This thesis with the choice of its case studies aims to serve to that end.

In all three of the case studies the architect’s role was limited and the significance of the end products in terms of architecture’s intrinsic values is debatable. By concentrating on architectural examples that are usually considered insignificant by the discipline, we have tried to overcome the

¹¹ Diane Ghirardo, “Introduction,” in *Out of Site*, 10.

¹² Kenneth Frampton, “Reflections on the Autonomy of Architecture: a Critique of Contemporary Production,” in *Out of Site*, 19.

¹³ Ghirardo, 12.

existing disciplinary and ideological territories commonly practiced within the practice. Accordingly this thesis was developed with a belief that

by creating compelling stories about social needs, the architectural profession can envision a new set of ideal clients, not the generic masses of modernism, but specific groups whose needs are not being served by the architectural marketplace.¹⁴

In relation with these discussions, the second alternative that we suggest is to politicize the understanding behind the architectural processes and to examine their relationship with the democratic processes. Here we focus our energy mostly to understanding the theories that make the 'instrumentality' of space more visible. In this context we believe that the contours must be rendered clearer and the question 'According to whose interests the objectives of architecture must be defined?' must be openly stated.

In suggesting this question, rather than a static perspective, we have organized the thesis along three scales representing three spheres of social organization: individual tactics, strategies of the governmental institutions and empowerment of civil society. Through these examples it is possible for us to question the relation between the contemporary architectural practices and the 'unrepresented' and the 'invisible' parts of our societies, where the conditions of visibility depend very much to the power relations. Unless we attempt to understand this basis, architects will continue to quietly design for the same patronage and cannot claim autonomy from the standards set out by the sources of finance and power. For that reason, we believe that an examination on the proposed attempts of housing for low income families built after the 1999 earthquakes might mark a contribution not only to this part of our population but to our conception of the profession as a whole.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

As the summarization we have done so far suggests, from its inception this thesis aims to define and theorize the larger social and spatial context. We begin by seeking an analytic framework capable of combining conflicting discourses of 'space' under a more unitary theory. This argument will be

¹⁴ Ibid.

the basis for the main structuring of the chapters. In this thesis we shall examine Henri Lefebvre's unitary theory of space, one resistant to immaterial abstractions that are disengaged from the possibilities of place and time and yet irreducible to simple representations of a dominant culture. A reinterpretation of his trialectics- spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representations- will provide the ground to situate his theory in more architectural terms. Consequently the thesis proceeds in three chapters, each corresponding to one of these analytical categories.

Table I.1: OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

CH II	PHYSICAL SPACE	SPATIAL PRACTICE
'ABSOLUTE SPACE' 'BUILT' SPACE Chapter II, looks at the differing concepts of space and their relation with architecture.	Chapter II, matches with Lefebvre's 'physical space', wherein the material reality of architecture is emphasized as against a culture dominated mostly by a visual logic.	SOLIDARITY HOUSES Individuals and Households
CH III	MENTAL SPACE	REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE
'ABSTRACT SPACE' 'HOMOGENOUS/ FRACTURED' SPACE Chapter III, analyzes how this architectural space is structured.	Chapter III starts with the unfolding of 'mental space' as the space of geometry and maps and tries to integrate mental space into its physical and social contexts.	GÖLYAKA PERMANENT HOUSES Government
CH IV	SOCIAL SPACE	SPACES OF REPRESENTATION
'SOCIAL SPACE' 'EVERYDAY LIFE' Chapter IV concentrates on 'social space' as a critical political construct and analyzes its implications for the architectural discipline.	Chapter IV tries to understand 'social space' and concentrates on people and their relations to structures that shape the built environment.	DÜZCE ASSOCIATION OF EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS Communities and Citizens

Each chapter begins with theory and proceeds to interpretation of specific places and projects. Chapter II, matches with Lefebvre's 'physical space', wherein the material reality of architecture is emphasized as against a culture dominated mostly by a visual logic. In the first section, we try to outline a realistic depiction of the extent of the earthquakes and by doing so attempt at linking the discussion on the relation between body and space to the actuality of our built environments.

This is followed, in the second section, by an argument on the possibilities of individual 'spatial practices' to define and reshape the residential settings. Architecturally, the emphasis is on the activity of housing rather than conceiving it as a product. For that reason, the story is directed towards the set of actors involved in the housing process, to their actions and achievements.

Chapter III starts with the unfolding of 'mental space' as the space of geometry and maps. This argument is then related with the government's housing proposals, where architecture is mostly represented in terms of projects and plans. According to Lefebvre, in contemporary world there is a tendency to render the complexity of life and totality of space into an abstraction. Against this backdrop, architecture's relation with the abstract space is analyzed.

Chapter IV tries to understand 'social space' and its implications for the architectural discipline. Here the concept of spatialization is used not only as the physical environments but also the everyday patterns of social action. In the first part, the emphasis is on 'everyday life' as the primary locus of domination. In Lefebvre's understanding everyday life is a critical political construct, which embodies both practices of oppression and potentialities for transformation.

In the second section, the idea of transformation is related with the empowerment of civil society, where 'lived space' is seen the result of struggle between appropriation and expropriation. Here we are interested

with both the spatialising of a social activity, and social construction of space. In this final chapter, our aim is to sharpen and politicize the understanding of the processes that produce urban environment and especially to examine their relationship to the democratic process.

The chapters collected here are organized around two interrelated and reciprocal themes. First of all we concentrate on abstract arguments, philosophical claims and 'space' as it is involved in knowledge practice. Secondly, it is the reality, the city and its architecture that is the subject of our study; we analyze the transformations of the late capitalist urban space. The boundaries of both these arenas cross each other at times and build upon each other as we move along the thesis. Instead of presenting closed borders we tried to create a route map, where it is possible to follow both these themes throughout the study.

Then again we are aware that we put forward a system of classification and clarification, which can only be achieved by a degree of abstraction. While we simplify the content with proposing distinct categories of space, our aim is not to achieve an exclusive outlook that focuses on one or the other aspects. Instead we aim to use a dynamic approach, "to study space through a variety of scales and from a variety of angles, which are usually set within disciplinary and ideological territories."¹⁵ In this context, although the case studies are organized as to correspond to one of the categories of Lefebvre's trialectics, they shall be considered in relation with each other. For example the analysis of Solidarity Houses becomes more significant when reexamined after the governments housing proposals, and complemented with the activities of DDD. Within each case study all three spheres operate simultaneously, only our emphasis changes.

¹⁵ Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London and New York:Routledge, 2003), 3.

CHAPTER II

‘SPATIAL PRACTICES’: SOLIDARITY HOUSES PROJECT

The discussion on the essence of a work of architecture has a long history, where two leading thoughts that are in opposition to each other can be briefly summarized. To begin with, for some the real meaning of architecture resides in design rather than its realization. In this understanding, the accent is on the intentions of the architect, which are “expressed in their most direct form through notation, set down once and for all in the abstract geometries of the drawing.”¹ For others, the realized work has the true meaning and the built work is the source of substantiation for architectural significance. For us, architecture is a discipline with both material and mental qualities. Architecture is not just a general name for describing the built environment, nor can it be reduced simply to its representations. The processes that affect the production of built form occur at multiple scales and simultaneously. Therefore an understanding, which relates the different levels of operation that take place in the production of architecture is necessary.

In our search for a more unitary understanding of space and its implications for the architectural discipline, we propose a different path, in which we part our analysis in three contexts. To begin with, in this chapter we suggest a framework so as to emphasize the material reality of architecture, where we relate architecture with the ‘life-world’ and the ‘spatial practice’.² With the transformation from the mechanical into the

¹ Stan Allen, *Practice: Architecture, Technique and Representation* (Australia: G+B Arts International, 2000), 31.

² It is important to note that; this discussion is only the beginning of a more extensive analysis, which shall be built as we move along the thesis. Actually, all the three chapters are related with each other interdependently and they do not only complement each other, but their relation is necessary for understanding each one separately. Therefore the perceived, concrete reality of space that is the theme of this chapter achieves additional meaning when it is considered in

electronic engineering era, “questions surrounding the meaning of material object and its life cycle and of the way that individual identity is manifested through production and use of physical objects”³ has become commonly discussed. In contemporary debates on space, especially around the issues of globalization and the developments in the communication technologies, the materiality of space as an essential part of human existence is widely challenged. The implication of this assertion for the architectural discipline is substantial. Nevertheless, instead of focusing directly on the contemporary discussions on the relation between space and time, we will begin our analysis with an attempt for understanding Lefebvre’s first analytical category, ‘physical space.’

This chapter is composed of two main sections. In the first part, ‘Physical Space’, we aim to unfold the basic terms that can be useful for developing a truthful comprehension of what Lefebvre suggests with ‘physical space’. In doing so, we also make an introduction to some of the approaches and dilemmas related with the concept of space. As we shall see, different disciplines have developed differing concepts and perspectives for space, which range from “seeing space as a physical phenomenon, a condition of mind, or a product of social processes.”⁴ Architectural theories have benefit from all these discussions while developing the concepts of space. In this chapter, we focus mainly on the philosophical discussions. Before moving into the second section where we deal with the normative realm of building, we analyze the descriptive and analytical and try to understand the meaning of space.

Following this clarification, the section proceeds with a description of two moments, that of August 17th and November 12th 1999 Marmara earthquakes. Through empirical data, these instants of dramatic change are highlighted and physical qualities of life and the material reality of architecture is emphasized. In the second part, ‘Spatial Practices’, we

relation with the conceived, abstract thought of space analyzed in the second chapter.

³ Clare Melhush, “From Dematerialization to Depoliticization,” *This Is Not Architecture: Media Constructions*, ed. Kester Rattenbury (London, New York: Routledge, 2002), 226.

⁴ Ali Madanipour, *Design of Urban Space: an Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process* (Chichester, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 3.

mostly dwell on the case study and track the story of 'Solidarity Houses' from its inception. The story is directed towards the set of actors involved in the housing process, to their actions and achievements. To begin with, we give a brief review on the nature of the communities we are considering, their ethnical, political and economic background. Against this backdrop, our analysis is developed mostly around the process, especially around the mechanisms the villagers had established in regulating the process of house production. This is followed by the realization of the project, building of the houses. Then, we reflect on the story we had been telling and propose an argument on the possibilities of individual 'spatial practices' to define and reshape the residential settings.

II.1 PHYSICAL SPACE

*I think, therefore I am.*⁵

Descartes

*With the advent of Cartesian logic, however, space had entered the realm of the absolute. As object opposed to Subject, as res extensa opposed to, and present to, res cognita, space came to dominate, by containing them, all senses and all bodies.*⁶

Lefebvre

*Space is not an empirical concept which has been derived from outer experiences...space does not represent them in their relation to one another... in the mind a priori...as a pure intuition, in which all objects must be determined...prior to all experience, principles which determine the relations of these objects. It is, therefore, solely from the human standpoint that we can speak of space, of extended things, etc.*⁷

Kant

...Kantian space, albeit relative, albeit a tool of knowledge, a means of classifying phenomena, was yet quite clearly separated (along with time) from the empirical sphere: it belonged to the a priori realm of consciousness

⁵ Rene Descartes, *Discourses on Method and The Mediations* (London: Penguin, 1968), 53.

⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 1.

⁷ Immanuel Kant, *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), 68-70.

*(i.e. of the 'subject'), and partook of that realm's internal, ideal- and hence transcendental and essentially ungraspable- structure.*⁸

Lefebvre

As the quotations in the beginning of this section imply, the discussion of 'space' in philosophical discourse has a long tradition. In *The Production of Space*, Henry Lefebvre develops a comprehensive critique of a line of thinking based on the separation of human mind and body "that fundamentally informed Christian dogma of the transcendence of spirit and the whole philosophical foundation of rationalist thought which flowered during the Enlightenment and brought the modern industrial age into being."⁹ It is impossible to summarize adequately the complexity of this argument within the limitations of this thesis, since Lefebvre "goes beyond previous philosophical debates on the nature of space, and beyond human geography, planning and architecture, which considered people and things merely 'in' space, to present a coherent theory of the development of different systems of spatiality in different historical periods."¹⁰ Nevertheless, some aspects of his comprehensive critique retain direct connection with the modern architectural practice, and it is my intention to bring out these features into question in the following pages.

II.1.1 'occupied' space

*Before producing effects in the material realm (tools and objects), before producing itself by drawing nourishment from that realm, and before reproducing itself by generating other bodies, each living body is space and has its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space. This is truly a remarkable relationship: the body with energies at the disposal, the living body, creates or produces its own space; conversely, the laws of space, which is to say the laws of discrimination in space, also govern the living body and the deployment of its energies.*¹¹

Lefebvre

That 'space' is fundamentally one of the basic elements of architecture may hardly seem as a controversial proposition. And yet questions concerning

⁸ Lefebvre, *Production*, 2.

⁹ Melhush, 226.

¹⁰ Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics* (London, New York: Routledge, 1999), 146.

¹¹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 170.

the precise definition of the term in architectural terms bring opposing theories from different disciplines into dynamic play. Thus it is not easy to create a framework which embraces the different forms of space that have been defined by different societies in different historical periods. This ambiguity is partly due to the fact that the term has two distinct properties. To summarize, "as well as being a physical property of dimension or extent, 'space' is also a property of the mind, part of the apparatus through which we perceive the world."¹² Space is both a mental and a material construct.

According to Lefebvre, in order to understand space in its totality, we need to grasp these two features- the concrete and the abstract, mutually. The emphasis on this proposition results from his analysis of the modern societies in which he detects a tendency to render the complexity of life and the totality of space into an abstraction. Thus he makes a distinction between our *perception* of space- concrete, material and physical and our *conception* of it- abstract, mental and geometric and between these two poles he introduces the notion of the *lived*.

Following this categorization, in this chapter, I shall examine 'physical space,' one that is rooted in things concrete and substantial. This argument takes as its initial point of departure the immediate relationship between the body and its space, its occupation in space. This relation is reciprocal where "each living body is space and has its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space."¹³ This understanding is against the taken for granted conception of space as a preexisting void waiting to be filled with content. Instead Lefebvre emphasizes the actual 'occupation' of space as against the conception of absolute space as a mode of absolute being. What he offers is '*absolute* (apparent) within the *relative* (real)' or "*absolutely relative*- that is, endowed both with a perfectly abstract quality which leads mathematical thought to treat it as primordial (and hence

¹² Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: a Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 256.

¹³ Lefebvre, *Production*, 170.

readily to invest it with transcendence), and with a concrete (in that it is space that bodies exist, that they manifest their material existence)."¹⁴

This statement has two implications for the aim of this thesis. First of all, it questions the perception of space as a preexisting medium and by doing so challenges one of the implicit assumptions of modern architecture that space is neutral. Secondly, by conceiving the body as "a fully lived, practical and theorized body", in other words as the intersection point of the perceived, conceived and lived, it offers a starting point for an alternative 'subject' position for the architectural discipline. In fact these two related discussions are the underlying themes of this thesis, which we hope to develop through the analysis of the built environment after the unsettling 1999 Marmara earthquakes. These two earthquakes revealed the sharp facts of our environment and it is in these instances and through their consequences that we intend to question the priorities and the limitations of the architectural practice in inscribing the subject into the space of the contemporary city. It is here that we will begin to address the issue of according to whose interests must architecture define its goals.

II.1.2 'absolute space'

Once we establish the notion that space is not neutral, we take a step in the unpacking of its production and begin to question how it is socially constructed and used. In fact, the main theme of *Production of Space*- a discussion that shall be developed through out the thesis - is that "(social) space is a (social) product".¹⁵ This way, instead of being understood as a frame or a container, space is realized as a historical development. "If space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with *history*."¹⁶ What this implies is that every society, with its own mode of production, produces a certain kind of space, its own space.

Here we are concerned with the long *history of space*, keeping in mind that "space is neither a 'subject' nor an 'object' but rather a social reality- that is to say, a set of relations and forms."¹⁷ To Lefebvre, this history starts

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 26.

¹⁶ Ibid., 46.

¹⁷ Ibid., 116.

with absolute space. He defines absolute space, an element of the tripartite-absolute, abstract and differential space- as:

The cradle of absolute space- its origin, if we are to use that term- is a fragment of agro- pastoral space, a set of places named and exploited by peasants, or by nomadic pastoralists.¹⁸

Absolute space made up of fragments of nature located at sites which were chosen for their intrinsic qualities (cave, mountaintop, spring, river), but whose very consecration ended up by stripping them of their natural characteristics and uniqueness.¹⁹

Here and there, in every society, absolute space assumes meanings addressed not to the intellect but to the body, meanings conveyed by threats, by sanctions, by a continual putting-to-the-test of the emotions.²⁰

Lefebvre states that “for any living body, just as for spiders, shellfish and so on, the most basic places and spatial indicators are first of all *qualified* by that body.”²¹ He then links this with the realm of the primitive life, in which the lived experience was a totality in itself, “this experience was *producing* long before *thought* space, and spatial thought, began *reproducing* the projection, explosion, image and orientation of the body.”²² This anthropological stage of social reality, which is at first biomorphic and anthropological, is referred as ‘absolute space’.

There are two features that Lefebvre attribute to absolute space that I find important for this section of this thesis. First of all this space is lived rather than conceived, therefore serves as a foundation for representational spaces. Secondly absolute space is located nowhere, “it has no place because it embodies all places, and has a strictly symbolic existence.”²³ In a way it provides a cultural universal where each society will begin their individual histories of spatialization.²⁴

¹⁸ Ibid., 234.

¹⁹ Ibid., 48.

²⁰ Ibid., 235.

²¹ Ibid., 174.

²² Ibid., 174.

²³ Ibid., 236.

²⁴ Shields, 147.

II.1.3 'double illusion'

According to Lefebvre, each society offers up its own particular space. Correspondingly, in capitalistic societies development of a specific kind of spatiality is evident. To criticize the reductionism present in the contemporary spatial thinking, Lefebvre introduced a critique called 'double illusion', namely "the illusion of transparency on the one hand and illusion of opacity, or 'realistic' illusion, on the other." This critique is later on used by Soja, to evaluate "the epistemological dualism of objectivist-materialist and subjectivist-idealist approaches that has dominated the modern discipline of Geography since its origins."²⁵

The illusion of transparency-

Here space appears as luminous, as intelligible, as giving free rein. What happens in space lends a miraculous quality to thought, which becomes incarnate by means of a design (in both senses of the word). The design serves as a mediator – itself of great fidelity- between mental activity (invention) and social activity (realization); and it is deployed in space.²⁶

In this understanding, space is taken as innocent, free of traps; "under whose reign everything can be taken in by a single glance from that mental eye which illuminates whatever it contemplates."²⁷ Speech and writing achieve further significance because "reality is confined to 'thought things' and comprehended entirely through its representations."²⁸ As it is present in the entire history of philosophical idealism and post-Enlightenment rationalism, this illusion in many ways "resembles what Marxists describe as fetishism, an obsessive fixation on ideas and ideation emanating from presumably infinite powers of the Cartesian cogito or the Hegelian Spirit/Mind."²⁹ In this line of thinking, spatial knowledge is reduced to a representation of the real world in a way that "the spoken and written word are taken for (social) practice."³⁰

²⁵ Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996), 62.

²⁶ Lefebvre, *Production*, 27-8.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁸ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 63.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Lefebvre, *Production*, 28.

The realistic illusion-

*This is the illusion of natural simplicity- the product of naïve attitude long ago rejected by philosophers and theorists of language, on various grounds and under various names, but chiefly because of its appeal to naturalness, to substantiality.*³¹

In this understanding the objective 'things' are considered to have more reality than 'thoughts'. In this sense, the meaning of 'real' is reduced "only to material and natural objects and their directly sensed relations; the 'imagined' is unseen, unmeasurable, and therefore unknowable."³² As a result,

*the social space tends to be seen as either natural and naively given (the space of sculptor or architect 'working with nature', the space of the environmental or design determinist); or it is, equally naively; objectively and concretely there to be fully measured and accurately described (the space of 'geometer', the spatial systems analyst, the empirical scientist, the determinedly scientific socialist or social scientist, the idiographic historian and geographer).*³³

This critique of dualism is important, for it "polarizes spatial thinking around such fundamental oppositions as objectivity versus subjectivity, material versus mental, real versus imagined, things in space versus thoughts about space."³⁴ For Lefebvre, these illusions are not in an antagonistic opposition; on the contrary, "each embodies and nourishes the other."³⁵ For that reason, the analytic categories Lefebvre proposes -the physical, the mental and the social- shall be understood "as simultaneously real and imagined, concrete and abstract, material and metaphorical."^{36 37}

³¹ Ibid., 29.

³² Soja, *Thirdspace*, 64.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Edward Soja, "Thirdspace: expanding the scope of geographical imagination," in *Architecturally Speaking: Practices of Art, Architecture and Everyday*, ed. Alan Read (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 17.

³⁵ Lefebvre, *Production*, 28.

³⁶ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 65.

³⁷ In this context, two philosophical threads that have been especially influential in the architectural discussions are phenomenology and structuralism. Especially for the architectural theory written before 1977, importation of these philosophical understandings "projected questions of 'meaning' into a structure of sheer relations among architectural elements within a field of signification."³⁷ (K. Michael Hays, "Introduction," in *Architecture Theory Since 1968*, ed. K.



Figure II.1: Tschumi argues about the experience of space from within. “Space is real, for it seems to affect my senses long before my reason.”³⁸
Düzce, 14 November 1999.

II.1.4 Limits of Architecture

In the proceeding chapter we will underline some of the concepts of space as developed by different disciplines and we will try to relate these discussions with the architectural discourse. For now we claim that the concept of ‘space’ in architectural discipline is not fixed, it changes “according to circumstances and the tasks entrusted to it.”³⁹ Furthermore,

Michael Hays (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 2000), xiii.) This architectural signification, in both structuralist and phenomenological thought, is autonomous, “at a distance from reality, but an architectural concept is still a concept of something; an idealized or total system of architecture is still a kind of map to reality, even if the particular coordinates of that map lack one-to-one correspondence with everyday world.”³⁷ (Hays, “Introduction,” xiii.)

But around the question of individual autonomy, these two critiques of Cartesian dualism offer differing insights on how to frame “the forces of the physical body and of the social world on the human subject.”³⁷ Where phenomenology concentrates on the world as sensed form the viewpoint of the individual, the language critique criticizes this first person viewpoint and argues for the decentring of the subject. Today, “with the emergence of interpretive techniques that cut across such oppositions and open a more radical heterogeneity”³⁷ (Hays, “Introduction,” xiii.), and “a new concept of self emerges as an empirical unit at the intersection of biological and social processes and of first-person and third-person views of the world.”³⁷ (Ali Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London, New York : Routledge), 37.)

³⁸ Bernard Tschumi, *Questions of Space* (London: Architectural Association, 1990), 20.

³⁹ Forty, 257.

the dichotomy between mental and real space on which the philosophical underpinnings of the term is based is not neutral: "The complex opposition between ideal and real space was certainly not ideologically neutral, and the paradox it implied was fundamental."⁴⁰ To this philosophical gap between ideal and real space Lefebvre proposed the social. Space, then "is created in a historical process that produces and conditions both ideal and real aspects of space." To summarize with the words of another key figure scrutinizing the dualism, Michel Foucault, "when we loose sight of the inherent error of a normative condition and believe that there is a real permitted vs. prohibited, rational vs. irrational, true vs. false, we are being managed by forces that have the power to decide what is real and unreal."⁴¹ One place where the social and political power is embedded is in the physical reality of architecture.

In the time period directly following the 1999 Marmara earthquakes, all the issues regarding housing were reduced to their most fundamental level. In these circumstances, housing emphasized itself as an activity in which the immediate ends of life depended: "the cultivation and preparation of food, the care of our bodies, the procreation and nurture of children and sheltering of those activities."⁴² Underlining the basic problems in a society, the earthquake dramatized the certain basic features of housing in a way that clarified them in the public opinion and gave them a sense of urgency. And a distinction was necessary between the existentially significant and insignificant activities.

People needed houses and no house could be built without land, materials, labor or a system that supplied resources to the actors, which they do not have by themselves. Here another distinction can be made according to income. First of all, the accessibility of the principal recourses is very limited to a low-income victim, even if he has the ability to utilize them to

⁴⁰ Ibid., 69.

⁴¹ Hayden White, "Michel Foucault," in *Structuralism and Since*, ed. John Sturrock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 93. Quoted in Jon Michael Schwarting, "Morality and Reality: In Search of the Better Argument," in *Ethics and Architecture*, ed. John Capelli, Paul Naprstek, Bruce Prescott (New York, Rizzoli, 1990), 67.

⁴² John F. C. Turner, "Housing as a Verb," in *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*, ed. John F. C. Turner and Robert Fichter (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 153.

according to his ends. Secondly, in a market economy, “needs are fulfilled according to financial ability, not according to urgency. Or in traditional economists’ terms, supply is provided according to ‘effective demand’.”⁴³ Therefore, even in the cases where the building industry provided houses, they were not in the prices those most in need of them could afford. Third of all, government’s coverage of housing projects was limited, the speed of construction and the costs prevented some parts of the society accessing these residences.



Figure II.2: Is space a preexisting void waiting to be filled with content, or is it the positional quality of things? What is the relation between physical and social space? Kaynaşlı, 6 February 2000.

These are very general assertions. Whereas, the process of building, the way it is designed, built and occupied is a complex process and has many determinants such as sociology, politics and economics. Each of these fields has its own modalities and none of them supply insights that comprehensively explain all the features of a building process. Nevertheless, this kind of an introduction can be used to emphasize the material reality of architecture in a culture dominated mostly by a visual

⁴³ Hans H. Harms, “The Housing Problem for Low-Income People,” in *Freedom to Build*, 74.

logic, which “transforms (1) solids into images and simulations, (2) dwelling into habitat (housing) (3) finally reduces space to the object of plannification.”⁴⁴

II.1.4.1 1999 Marmara Earthquakes

On August 17th at 3:02 a.m. local time, an earthquake measuring 7.4 on the Richter scale struck the northwestern part of Turkey. Officially called the ‘Kocaeli Earthquake’, it was situated on the North Anatolian Fault Zone and the epicenter of the main shock (40, 70^o N- 29, 91^o E, with a focal depth of 15,9 km.) was about three kilometers away from the center of the town Gölcük.⁴⁵ The earthquake ruptured 120 km of the North Anatolian Fault Zone, affecting “a large area (approximately 41.000 m²) between Bolu and Istanbul, in the economic and industrial heartland of Turkey (34.7% of the GNP).”⁴⁶ The major areas affected from this disaster include the provinces of Kocaeli, Sakarya, Yalova, Bursa, Eskişehir and Bolu. This earthquake resulted with the recorded death of 17.480 people and 43.953 injuries, and more than 75000 buildings within the region were demolished completely.⁴⁷

Not even three months after, on November 12th, at 18:57 local time, another big earthquake with a magnitude of 7.2 on Richter scale occurred in Düzce, affecting mainly Bolu, Düzce, Kaynaşlı, Gölyaka, Çilimli, Cumayeri and Gümüşova. The epicenter (40,76^o N- 31,14^o E, with focal depth of 14 km) of the earthquake was located in Düzce and it ruptured an additional 43 km of the North Anatolian Fault to the east of Gölyaka. Although smaller in extent this second earthquake also caused death and demolishment, 763 people were recorded dead and 4948 people were injured.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Shields, *Lefebvre*, 176.

⁴⁵ Ömer Aydan, A Preliminary Investigation of Kocaeli Earthquake of August 17, 1999 (Istanbul: Türkiye Deprem Vakfı, 1999), 1.

⁴⁶ Alpaslan Özerdem, “The Marmara Earthquake: Not an Act of God,” *Revival* 9 (1999): 9.

⁴⁷ Bülent Özmen, “Izmit Körfezi Deprem Raporu (Rakamsal Verilerle),” (Ankara: Afet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2000).

⁴⁸ T.C. Başbakanlık Kriz Yönetim Merkezi, Depremler 1999: 17 Ağustos ve 12 Kasım Depremlerinden Sonra Bakanlıklar ve Kamu Kuruluşlarınca Yapılan Çalışmalar (Ankara: Başbakanlık Kriz Yönetim Merkezi, 2000), 5.

Table II.1: Number of Deaths and Injuries in the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes

PROVINCES	POPULATION	Number of deaths by 17 August	Number of deaths by 12 November	TOTAL
Bolu	553022	271	48	366
Bursa	1952529	268	-	268
Eskişehir	660843	86	-	86
Istanbul	9198809	981	-	981
Kocaeli	1177379	9476	1	9477
Sakarya	731800	3891	3	3894
Yalova	163916	2504	1	2505
Zonguldak	612722	3	-	3
Düzce	-	-	710	710
Total Deaths	-	17480	763	18243
Total Injuries	-	43953	4948	48901

Source: T.C. Başbakanlık Kriz Yönetim Merkezi, Depremler 1999: 17 Ağustos ve 12 Kasım Depremlerinden Sonra Bakanlıklar ve Kamu Kuruluşlarınca Yapılan Çalışmalar (Ankara: Başbakanlık Kriz Yönetim Merkezi, 2000), 4-6.

Table II.2: Damage Assessment Results of Kocaeli Earthquake

	Demolished or heavily damaged	Moderately damaged	Slightly damaged	total
Houses	66.441	67.242	80.160	213.843
Workplaces	10.901	9.927	9.712	30.540
Total	77.342	77.169	89.872	244.383

Source: Başbakanlık, *Depremler 1999*, 7.

Table II.3: Damage Assessment Results of Düzce Earthquake

	Demolished or heavily damaged	Moderately damaged	Slightly damaged	total
Houses	30.389	40.089	44.895	115.373
Workplaces	5.130	6.888	6.105	18.123
Total	35.519	46.977	51.000	133.496

Source: Başbakanlık, *Depremler 1999*, 8.

Initially considered as a physical phenomenon, earthquakes turn into disasters at the moment they make an impact on the human beings and their environments. To give a definition, a *disaster* can be considered as “an event, concentrated in time and space, which threatens a society or a relatively self-sufficient subdivision of society with major unwanted consequences as a result of the collapse of precautions which had hitherto been culturally accepted as adequate.”⁴⁹ Thus, the two main features that should be taken into account can be summarized as: the size and scale of the event and the socio-economic realities of the civilization in dealing with this natural phenomenon.

The outcomes of the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes for Turkey were unexpected and based on the two features I have summarized in the last paragraph they can be considered as a natural disaster. In these two incidents many people lost their lives and most of the deaths and injuries were caused by the collapse of commercial and residential buildings. In fact, in these two earthquakes 329.216 housing units and 48.663 workplaces have been damaged to differing extents.

Besides the high losses of life and property, the earthquake had negative impacts on economy too. Major industrial facilities, such as Tüpras, Tüvasas, Igsas, Petkim were damaged at different levels. As a result, industrial production in most of these facilities was reduced or stopped

⁴⁹ B.A. Turner, “The Development of Disasters: a Sequence Model for the Analysis of the Origin of Disasters,” *Sociological Review* 24 (1976): 755-756. Quoted in Binali Tercan, “Post-earthquake Relocation Process in Yalova” (MS thesis, METU, 2001), 37.

altogether.⁵⁰ Infrastructure facilities, such as roads, waster distribution, electricity and communication networks were also affected. The total economic loss of Turkey caused by these two disasters was estimated as 9-13 billion US Dollars, which was about 5% of the Gross National Product (GNP) of the country.⁵¹

Thus it is clear that the starting point for our analyses is not the 'normal' time- space conditions in which we continue our lives. This disruption worked, first of all in a temporal manner. A familiar present was lost into the past; it turned out to be the space of a house no longer there. Secondly, it functioned spatially turning the space of life inside out. The house as the domain of reproducibility- in biological, social and political sense, was demolished. Consequently, besides the high level of physical ruination caused, the social unity of the community was also affected. The economic activities of the region was faltered, the composition of the families were destroyed. As a result, it is possible to conclude that any solution aiming to cover the housing problem of the region must create framework capable of integrating the physical, social and economic aspects of the demolishment.

II.1.5 Emergenc(it)y⁵²

What is clear from the summarization I have tried to outline so far is that the earthquake was an emergency in which no one knew exactly how to proceed but everyone recognized that whatever it was, it had to be done immediately. There was this urge to return things to 'normal' and if this required different standards or extreme objectives, it was considered acceptable. Only within these conditions the features of these shelters- they were temporary and prefabricated- were understood as commonplace.

In an urban emergency, shifting notions of the public interest feed modern tendencies to upheaval. If blighted neighborhoods have reached crisis stage, get rid of them. If the defense industry or veterans need housing, slap as much as possible in short order. If there are no sites, clear a place in the park. A sense of public duty surrounded each of these emergencies, and a broad if provisional strategy was needed to address them. Later, when the

⁵⁰ Başbakanlık, *Depremler*, 10.

⁵¹ Özerdem, 9.

⁵² Dana Cuff, *The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 22.

*emergency had passed, divergent long-term solutions would be debated. When a quick strike is needed, the state can step in with emergency measures and the funding to affect them. Private-sector complaints are muted by the public cry for temporary relief.*⁵³

In the post-earthquake region life was not the same, for the individual, for the household or for the city. In each of these levels, the problem of housing was felt extensively, although its meaning and impact changed according to the perspective of the observer. At the national level, solutions that combine speed and economy were explored, which led to a series of permanent, semi-permanent and temporary shelter proposals to meet the massive housing shortage. Along side the immediate responses, the government also had to develop field studies simultaneously, such as site selection, mapping, surveying, land registration that would form the basis of the following long term activities. On the other hand, from the position of a victim the priorities were slightly different. Mostly engaged with their injured relatives and health problems, and searching for a shelter in the tent cities or prefabricated houses, these people were very much involved with the daily struggles for surviving.⁵⁴

⁵³ Ibid., 173.

⁵⁴ “Bocalama ve acil durumun yavaş yavaş ortadan kalkmasıyla yeniden organizasyon süreci başladı. Yerel ve merkezi yönetim bir yandan büyük boyutlara varan barınma sorununu çözmek üzere geçici yaşam alanlarını, çadırkent ve prefabrik konutları oluştururken, diğer yandan kalıcı konutlar ve işyerlerinin inşası, kredi olanakları, borç erteleme vb. gibi çözüm stratejileri. Depremzedeler açısından bu çözüm önerileri henüz bir anlam ifade etmiyordu; bunlar üzerine düşünülecek zaman değildi. Çünkü onlar yaralılarıyla ve diğer sağlık sorunlarıyla başetmekten hasar tespiti ve hak sahibi belgesi düzenlemeye; evrak toplamaktan eşyaları için depo aramaya ve çadırkent ya da prefabrilerde yer bulmaya dek acil gündelik sorunlarının peşinden koşuyorlardı. O sıralar, günü kurtarma telaşı gelecek kaygısını ve resmi makamların geliştirdiği çözüm stratejileri üzerine düşünmeyi geri planda bırakıyordu.” In Erbay Yucak, “Depremzede Dernekleri: Bir Yerel Örgütlenme Deneyi,” in *Kamusal Alan*, ed. Meral Özbek (Istanbul: Hil Press, 2004), 373.



Figure II.3: Examples of sheltering built after the August 17th earthquake.
Adapazarı, 2001.

In this stage of the post earthquake activities, voluntary initiatives played a decisive role next to governmental efforts. Many CSOs (Civil Society

Organizations) took active role in the earthquake region and displayed a successful performance during the urgent aid period. Having differing domains, each of these CSOs with their own characteristics and scale responded to a different phase of the rehabilitation and recovery activities, ranging from efforts such as life saving, raising funds, coordination to education on disaster prevention.

In parallel with the definition of 'natural disaster' I have suggested earlier, every natural disaster is at the same time a social disaster. In an earthquake, in addition to the demolition of the built environment, and because of that, the economic activities of the region are interrupted, the unity of the society is paralyzed and the structure of the community is altered. In this sense, the solutions proposed, especially the permanent ones, cannot be reduced to a problem of providing shelter requirements defined simply by material standards.

II.2 SPATIAL PRACTICE

Spatial practices are the processes of materialization of social spatiality and are the traditional application field of spatial disciplines where architecture arises as one of the levels.⁵⁵ The relation between the spatial practice of a society and that society's space is a dialectical one, in which the spatial practice produces that space slowly "as it masters and appropriates it."⁵⁶ While producing spatial forms and practices "appropriate to, and necessary for, different productive and reproductive activities" spatial practices, "thereby defines places, actions, and signs, the trivialized spaces of everyday and, conversely, places made special by symbolic means."⁵⁷ In return, the preexistence of space in a specific form "does condition a person's actions, perceptions, and exchanges with others, as well as affect competence and performance in these functions."⁵⁸

⁵⁵ "As for spatial practice, it is observed, described and analyzed on a wide range of levels: in architecture, in city planning or 'urbanism' (a term borrowed from official pronouncements), in the actual design of routes and localities ('town and country planning'), in the organization of everyday life, and, naturally, in urban reality." Quoted in, Lefebvre, *Production*, 414.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵⁷ Iain Borden, Jane Rendell, Joe Kerr and Alicia Pivaro, "Things, Flows, Filters, Tactics," in *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, eds. Iain Borden et al. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 6.

⁵⁸ Peter G. Rowe, *Civic Realism* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997), 130.

This production and reproduction of space does not happen in a preexisting, neutral medium, but rather it is “created out of *materiel*, the bits and pieces of arrangements and territories that are our historical patrimony. It is our legacy to create our own spatiality, and the ability and freedom to do so is the prime index of quality of social life.”⁵⁹

According to Lefebvre, each society offers up its own space, and today, the contemporary spatial practice is characterized mainly by its taken-for-granted and unreflective nature.

It became:

*...just the gap between objects and therefore neutral, unimportant and not an object of struggle. This ‘commonsense’ understanding characterizes both taken for granted everyday life (daily routines) and the logically rationalized urban...we do not see they are all linked together as part of an overarching arrangement, or spatilisation, complains Lefebvre.*⁶⁰

In the framework of everyday, our lives takes place in the spaces we use, occupy, work or dwell and for most of the time, these spaces are accepted unquestionably. Moreover, the activities that produce and characterize these spaces usually go on unnoticed through the daily routines of the actors that take part in the building process. But the earthquake imposed us to reflect on the environment we live in, and required a response as how to produce space from then on and therefore suggested a level of intentionality. In the post earthquake region, at points, the energies of groups were capable of transforming the existing routines of doing things.

As an example, the purpose of this chapter is to describe and evaluate the experiences of a shelter program that succeeded in accessing the low-income victims of the earthquake, whose hopes for betterment under the given circumstances were the least. ‘Association of Volunteers for Solidarity’ (Dayanışma Gönüllüleri Derneği), a private non-profit Turkish foundation that has been based upon the concepts of community participation initiated a shelter construction project, which resulted with the building of 57- house units. This project, with its method of

⁵⁹ Shields, *Lefebvre*, 162.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

organization, involved the users in both the decision-making and construction processes and offered an alternative to the existing building industry.

In this chapter, through the case study, I aim to understand two important points. First of all, since “the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space,”⁶¹ I hope to develop a practical comprehension of the contemporary spatial practice as it is practiced in Turkey. Secondly, through the analysis of the ‘Solidarity Houses Project’, I aim to emphasize “the necessity of spatial practices- the things people do, and patterns and physicality they create- for disturbing abstract space.”⁶² Therefore, I will concentrate on the importance of action and practice.

II.2.1 The Origin Story of ‘Solidarity Houses’

Many people from different parts of the world responded to the August 17 Earthquake and different kinds of aids were collected and transferred to Turkey. Consequently the first ideas of ‘Solidarity Houses Project’ (Imece Evleri Projesi) were sketched by ‘Association of Volunteers for Solidarity’ (AVS) as an attempt to utilize the money collected by Turkish people living in Gelderland region in Netherlands.

After the first shock of the disaster diminished, Gelderland Province Council (Gelderland Eyalet Meclisi) and the Turkish people living in that region founded ‘Gelderland Aid for Turkey Organization’ (Gelderland Türkiye’ye Yardım Organizasyonu) and collected an amount of money to be used in a project. In the first drafts of the undertaking to be realized, the plan was to build 35 prefabricated house units for the victims living in Düzce. In their visit to the earthquake region, the Gelderland Delegation contacted with AVS and came to terms for working together.

The AVS developed the initial proposal and presented a more profound model for increasing the budget of the project.⁶³ Among the principal

⁶¹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 38.

⁶² Borden, “Things, Flows, Filters, Tactics,” 17.

⁶³ “Hollandalıların 35 dedikleri rakam, şu an yapmış olduğumuz evlerin maliyetiyle 35 değildi. Onlar prefabrik konut yapmayı düşünüyorlardı. Bizim önerimiz Hollandalıların vakfın aktardığı parayla devletin verdiği kredinin

problems the victims faced after the earthquake was the insufficiency of the credits State gave to the families with demolished houses. For utilizing both the 'Loan for the Individual Construction of Homes' (Evini Yapana Yardım Kredisi) offered by the State and the money suggested by Netherlands, an idea of a money pool was found and a corresponding organization model for using the budget was submitted. When Gelderland Delegation confirmed this proposal, more concrete steps were to be taken. A site was to be chosen and Netherlands requested a village name to authorize the project. The AVS assigned Erbay Yucak, who was a practicing lawyer and a member of the organization, for coordinating 'Solidarity Houses Project'. The first name pronounced was the village of Değirmentepe in Gölyaka. Affected by both the August 17th and November 12th Earthquakes, Gölyaka was one of the towns in Düzce in which the demolition was severe. In a visit to the specific site on September 1999, VSA discovered three more communities with similar qualities residing in the same the valley. Ethical considerations transformed the project to also include these three villages in the housing process.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, according to the technical research held out by geologists the site of Değirmentepe was verified risky for settlement. In this situation, the State had to offer the victims a village site or a house to live in. The choice was up to the villagers and since they preferred to stay in the permanent houses built by the government, they were out of the project. In the end the project comprised the three villages, Hacı Süleymanbey, Aksu and Çay, in which the villagers were in need of any kind of support.

Interrupted by the November 12th earthquake, the negotiations between AVS and the Gelderland Delegation lasted until the beginning of the year 2000. In January 2000, AVS presented an evaluation report signed by the

buluşturulmasıydı." Erbay Yucak, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 21 September 2004.

⁶⁴ "99'un Ekim ayında gittik. Gidince gördük ki Değirmendere köyünün yakınındaki üç köy de aynı şekilde hasarlı. O durumda, o vadide yalnız bir köyün barınma problemiyle ilgilenmek adil gelmedi. O zaman şunu teklif ettik: bu proje dört köyü de kapsasın." Erbay Yucak, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 21 September 2004.

headmen of the four villages and the major of Gölyaka. In this statement, AVS organized the basic principles of the project under general headings and depicted the needs and preferences of the villagers to the Gelderland Delegation. Some of the topics considered in this evaluation can be summarized as,

- The site of the project. The houses will be built within the same village boundaries as the demolished houses.
- The method of construction. The villagers will take active part in the construction process.
- Management of the fund. The villagers will leave the management of the credits given by the government, to the Shared Fund Administration (Ortak Fon Yönetimi).
- The process of decision-making. All the members taking part in this project will be represented on equal terms.
- The supervision of the project. Apart from the supervision service MPWS has to offer, an independent control committee will be assembled from the representatives of TMMOB.⁶⁵

Once this proposal was confirmed by Gelderland, the project was initiated and the principles listed above were realized in the three villages. Many of our observations will depend on the nature of these communities, their ethnical, political and economic background. These distinctions are partly unified, however, by the 'crisis' theme in the origin story of the project. Clearly, if not under these circumstances it would be nearly impossible to focus the energy of such a large and varied group almost immediately. Started with a sense of public duty, the project transformed from being an idea of temporary aids to finding an opportunity for a better environment. These factors that give intensity and power to the creation of the project also contributed to its ongoing maintenance.

⁶⁵ "Evler aynı köy sınırları içinde ve evleri yıkılanlarla birlikte arsa üretilerek yapılacak. Evi yapılacak insanlar inşaat sürecine fiilen en az 50 iş günü katılacak. Köylüler hükümet tarafından verilecek kredinin bütüne yönelik tasarruf hakkını, oluşturulacak Ortak Fon Yönetimi'nin üyeleri eşit bir ilişki içinde ve birer oy hakkıyla temsil edilecek (Merkezi yönetim- köy muhtarları- Gelderland Delegasyonu- Dayanışma Gönüllüleri temsilcileri). Bayındırlık İl Müdürlüğü'nin görevi gereği yapacağı kontrollerin dışında, TMMOB'nin ilgili oda temsilcilerinden oluşan bağımsız bir kontrol heyeti oluşturulacak." In Emine Algan, "Depremzede Kendi Evini Kendi Yapıyor," in *NTV Magazine* 1(2001): 64.

II.2.2 Gölyaka

Geographically, the territory of this case study is these three villages; Hacı Süleymanbey, Aksu and Çay, located in Gölyaka, Düzce. The topography of this region consists of a series of interconnected plains in between a range of mountains situated along Black Sea. One of the series of basins among these mountains is the Düzce Plain. Located to the southwest of Düzce basin, Gölyaka is bordered by the mountains from the north and south, converging to form a valley that connects with Hendek Plain in the west. Formed by the settling activity of the North Anatolian Fault line, these two mountain ranges represent the junction of the two active fault lines that caused the ground rupture in the earthquakes of 1999.

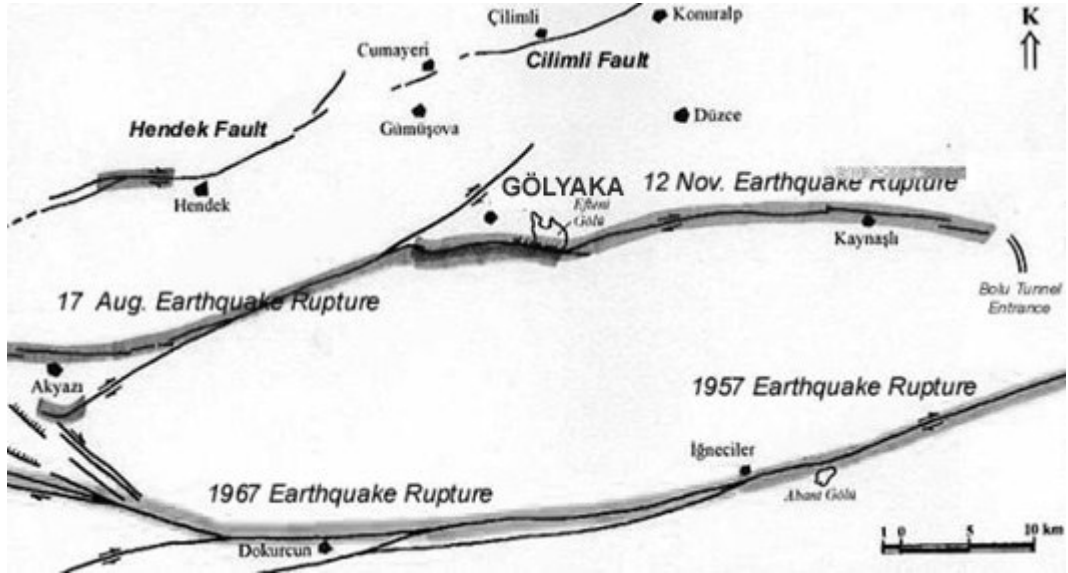


Figure II.4: Two active fault lines that caused the ground rupture in 1999

Marmara Earthquakes. The physical environment of nature is the first context in which the built environment takes shape. The architectural form has been largely influenced by climate, topography or agricultural land.

Separated from the rest of the plain by Büyük Melen River and Lake Efteni, Gölyaka contains high level of water table beneath its surface, though its height is not uniformly distributed. Additionally, the plain consists of young alluvial deposits, which amplify seismic waves and increase the extent of destruction caused in earthquake situations.⁶⁶ As a matter of fact,

⁶⁶ TÜBİTAK- MTA- AÜ, “17 Ağustos Sonrası Düzce (Bolu) İlçesi Alternatif Yerleşim Alanlarının Jeolojik İncelenmesi” (Ankara: Tübitak, 1999).

Gölyaka is considered to be in the 1st degree seismic zone according to the earthquake zones map of Turkey and it is subjected to seismic activity frequently. In fact, the 1999 earthquakes affected the town severely, resulting with 822 heavily damaged and collapsed, 407 moderately damaged and 732 slightly damaged buildings, which of most were located in the town center.⁶⁷

Administratively, Gölyaka is a province of Düzce, a city historically developed as a market town linking Istanbul to the Eastern Anatolia. This small town is composed of a town center situated on the plain with 24 villages residing on the slopes. Based on the “steepness of the mountain slopes, abundance of land and high humidity levels on the plain, dominance of agriculture and animal husbandry, and temperate climate” a dispersed settlement pattern on the slopes can be observed.”⁶⁸

Among these settlements agriculture is the main source of income due to the fertility of soil and the temperate climate of the plain. Most of the population is involved in the agricultural production as the main or secondary occupation, producing mainly corn, grains, sugar beet and hazelnut. The natural setting of the town also made possible the advent of animal husbandry by utilizing the surrounding pastures of the slopes. Milk and dairy products are among the first to be traded with the local markets. Another part of the economic life is the small- scale industry such as processing of hazelnuts, processing of wood or the production of textiles and plastics.⁶⁹

The town center serves as an intermediary market place for these 24 villages, from which merchants from Düzce act as consumers of local products on the one hand, and providers of services and manufactured goods on the other. In short, there is a balanced local economy in Gölyaka “with an adequate level of self reliance and interaction with an upper scale

⁶⁷ R Akyel, *Gölyaka’da Deprem: 17 Ağustos ve 12 Kasım 1999 Depremleri* (Arkas Grubu, 2000)

⁶⁸ Banu Bedel, “Sustainable Urban Design in Earthquake Prone Areas: Gölyaka as a Case,” (MS thesis, METU, 2002), 99.

⁶⁹ KOMİSYON, “II-Coğrafya,” *Dünden Bugüne Bütün Yönleriyle Gölyaka* (İstanbul: Selahattin Avcı Matbaası, 1999), 80-84.

of economies. The town extracts agricultural and natural products, processes and markets these in return for large- scale industrial products.”⁷⁰

According to the 1997 census values, the population of Gölyaka was about 17693 with 5227 people residing in the town center and 12466 in the villages on the slopes. After the 1999 Marmara earthquakes, the rural-urban pattern of migration was reversed and many people moved from the city center of Düzce to the smaller provinces and villages. This abnormal situation revealed itself in the 2000 General Population Census, according to which the population of the town center of Gölyaka turned out to be 8572. Apart from the affect of the earthquake, the increase of population in the town center of Gölyaka is in accordance with the Turkey’s urban population growth. Whereas in the villages, people migrate to bigger towns and cities due to the economic incentives of better jobs and potential advancement.⁷¹ Far from homogenous, the recent population is composed of immigrants from Caucasus, Eastern Black Sea, the Balkans, Southwestern Turkey and Iraq who settled there after the continual warfare in 19th century alongside the local Turkmen population who were already present from the Seljuk and early Ottoman times. In fact, the residents of the three villages that participated in the Solidarity Houses Project are from Caucasus origin, which influenced the character of the activities performed in more than several ways. Consisting of a tightly related knot of people, these communities were used to a sense of participation and communal activity. Also, these communities are based on an understanding of patriarch and hierarchy, where the older ones and males mostly take the decisions.

II.2.3 Organization Model

Completed in two proceeding stages, Imece Evleri offers an interesting housing solution to the need produced by the earthquake and by doing so represents a perspective for low-cost but livable house production. After the earthquake, both the private construction industry and the public housing projects were unable to meet the total housing need I have tried to outline in the previous sections. In addition, even when they provided the

⁷⁰ Bedel, 106-107.

⁷¹ Düzce Valiliği, *Düzce İl Gelişme Planı (DİGEP)* (Düzce: Düzce Valiliği, 2004), 23.

houses and services, they were mostly accessible to middle and upper income groups. Since the private construction industry typically revolves around commercial or exchange value rather than the 'use' value of property, they were unwilling to accept the high risks and low profits of building for the urban poor.

Against these constraints, the AVS initiated a model based on the participation of users in the housing activity. For them, this mode of house production was to solve two practical realities. First, by actively taking part in the building process the users could observe every phase of the construction. This guaranteed the reliability of the structure and therefore the safety of the product, which after the earthquake became the most important criteria in relation with a house for the people of that region. Secondly, this method reduced the costs and increased the availability of the houses for the families involved.⁷² The VSA and Netherlands agreed on this proposal and 57- units of houses were built based on this system.

⁷² "Bu tartışmanın içerisinde önemsedığımız bir nokta vardı- kullanıcının imalat sürecine katılımı. Bu katılım meselesi iki problemi çözüyordu reel düzeyde. Birisi inşaatın güvenilirliği ve güvenliği sağlıyordu. Neyin niçin yapıldığı meselesi. Aynı zamanda kendi oturacağı bir mekanın tasarım sürecine dair, malzemesine dair bir bilgiye sahip olmak ve bunun ötesinde katılımda bulunmayı ifade ediyordu. İkincisi burdaki inşaat yapma usulü nedeniyle maliyet düşüyordu. Bu iki tercihten yola çıktık." Erbay Yucak, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 21 September 2004.

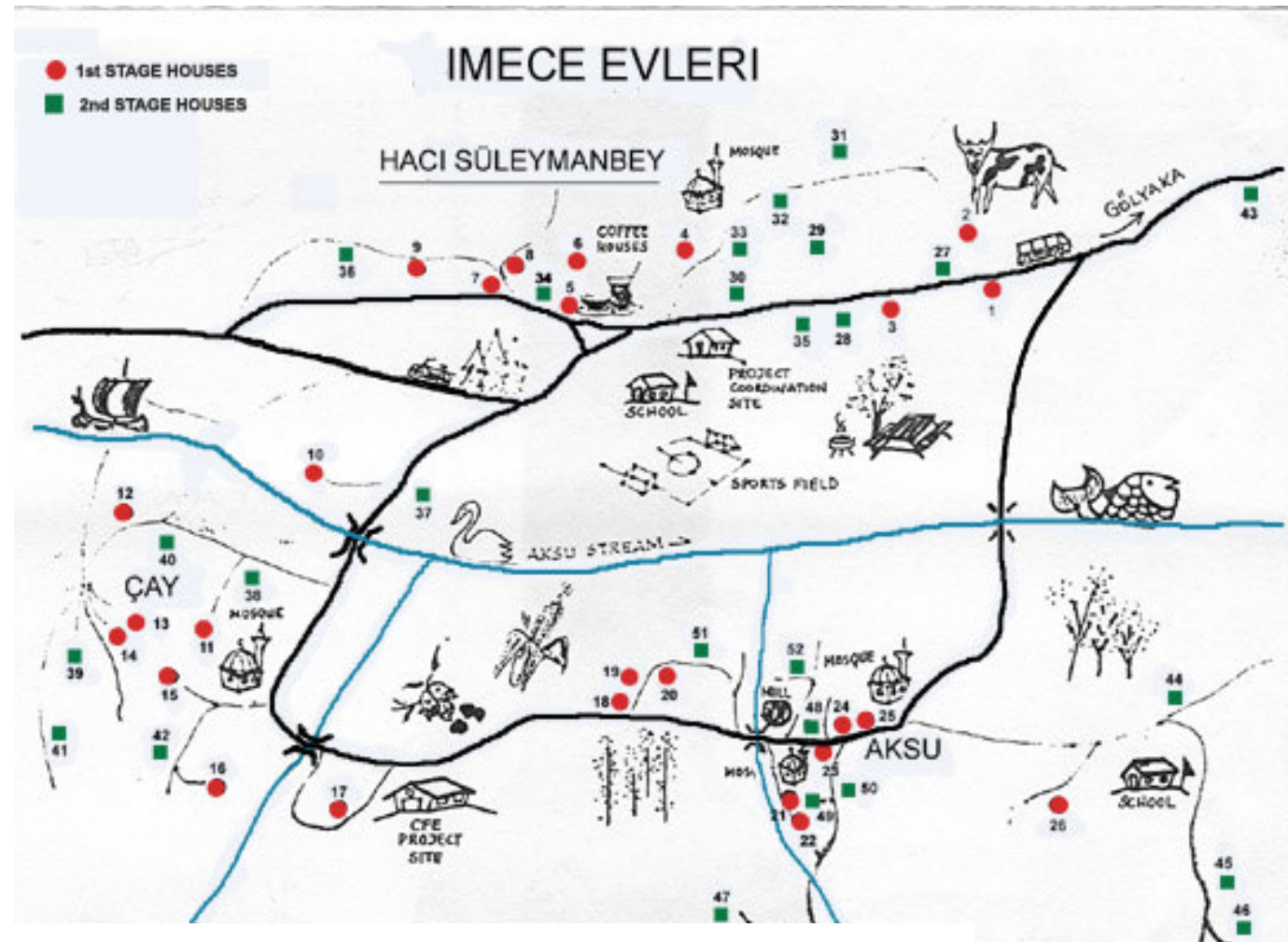


Figure II.5: Schema of Solidarity Houses built in Çay, Aksu and Hacı Süleymanbey Villages.

II.2.3.1 Construction Teams

The significance of this project and the character of its end products, from its inception, were indebted mainly to its method of organization that is based on the participation of the users. The initial step in realizing the project was to inform the villagers about the proposal VSA suggested. The time needed to undertake the technical and political consultations was utilized as a communication phase of 12 months close contact between the villagers and the members of VSA.

The organization of the construction process depended on a system, where each household would participate to the building procedure with one member. In every village, the representatives of the houses would then form a 'construction team' responsible from the building of the houses. Accordingly, in the first stage of the project, three teams were activated for the three villages involved in the project, for Hacıbeyköy, 9 people, for Aksu, 9 people and for the village of Çay, 8 people.

During the first two months of the project, the realization of this construction scheme was suspended due to two factors. First of all, the knowledge and the experience of the villagers in regard with construction techniques were unknown. Secondly, as the victims of the earthquake, the vast majority of the households were still in need of money and to feed the construction teams in charge of building their houses added up to their financial deficit. For that reason, the initial stages were managed with a different system, which also, in part, depended on the principle of solidarity and participation. In this arrangement, skilled workers were appointed, but their payments were less than what they took in the normal circumstances. Therefore, the building of the houses started with a staff that can be considered in part as employees working with salaries and in part as volunteers contributing to the project.

This phase of the project was needed also as a training stage for the inhabitants of the villages who were first of all farm workers and did not possess the necessary skills. In this method of teaching, the villagers

learned the basic elements of practical building so that they can take part in the proceeding stages as semi skilled workers. The villagers by helping the skilled workers were trained while they were working and realized their abilities in terms of construction. Naturally, some building procedures are very easy to learn whereas some require a great deal of work and experience. Consequently, one of the challenges of the project was to utilize the work of the inhabitants in the most productive way and in return train them in order that they can utilize this experience for their needs.

As a result, at the end of this period three basic advantages were achieved: first, the constructions, with the involvement of professionals, started in a more organized manner. Second, the financial load of the construction phase on the households was reduced. Third, the abilities of the villagers in terms of construction were revealed.⁷³ In this phase of the project, the emphasis was on the immediately useful skills, so that trained workers were able to carry out the next phases.

⁷³ “İnşaat usulündede bizim anlattığımız şeydu köylüye. Her evden bir kişi çalışacak ve her köyün kendi inşaat ekibi olacak. Biz köylülerin inşaat bilgileri konusunda emin değildik. Ortada bir de parasızlık hadisesi vardı. Diyelimki geldim ben sizin inşaatınızda çalışıyorum, yemeği siz vereceksiniz ama yenecek para yok. O yüzden ilk iki ayını şöyle benimsedik. Diyelimki Sinem hanım ustayım diyor. Sinem hanımın piyasadaki ücreti 750 milyon ama bu bir dayanışma ve imece işi olduğu için 350 milyona çalışacak. Şimdi bu prensiple o iki ay boyunca iki şeyi sağladık. Bir, inşaatlar bir discipline olarak başladı. İkincisi, insanların o maddi problemlerine bir parçada olsada katkı oldu. Üçüncüsü, biz o hak sahiplerinin içinden inşaata ilişkin yeteneklerini tespit etmiş olduk. Ama bunun ne zaman biteceğini bilmiyorlardı. İkinci ayın sonunda bu devir bitti. Artık kendi başımızayız. Dayanışmayla yapma dönemi başlıyor. Bu yaklaşık 2 ikibuçuk ay sürdü. O sürenin sonundada artık her köyün kendi ustaları çıktı.” Erbay Yucak, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 21 September 2004.



Figure II.6: According to an approach, architectural space comes into being by the erection of walls, as separated from the natural environment a new space is created between them. Villagers working on the construction site. Gölyaka, 2001.

After that, for the proceeding three months until the houses were finished, the villagers were on their own and the construction process carried on by

the construction teams of the villages. During this time interval, most of the villagers still continued to stay in tents erected near their demolished houses. For them, this was a time of despair and hard working. Nevertheless, all of the villagers we had conversed with declared their pride in being able to build their own houses. In many of the conversations we had been a part of, the villagers continued to share their ideas on how to improve some parts of the houses they were living in. Apart from the practical advantages, such as reduction of the cost, this method of cooperating enriched these communities in more than one way.

Mostly involved with the agricultural production, before this experience most of the villagers did not have any skills in the process of construction. In the course of building, the younger men of the community gained experience and learned the basics of construction. Like so, the project released itself from becoming an end in itself, but served as a step in proposing alternatives in the transformation of the community. Differing from the general attitude of expecting solutions from the government or some other parties, the villagers took active role in both defining the problem and proposing an answer. This way, as the individuals gained an understanding of the construction process and strengthen their courage, the village itself acquired a sense of society and interdependence.

II.2.3.2 Management of the Fund

Another noteworthy scheme offered was about the management of the fund. As noted earlier this fund was gathered from the credits given by the State and the money provided by Netherlands. The administration of this money was bounded to a commission that was arranged in a way to signify all the participants involved in this project. The members were: Beşir Özen, as a representative for the villagers; Erbay Yucak, for the Volunteers of Solidarity Association; Murat Şahin, standing for Gelderland Delegation and (as a result of Netherlands' request), a group of four for representing governorship.

After the earthquake, based on the damage assessment studies performed by the technical personnel, the victims eligible to own a new house or to receive construction loans from the government were determined. In

accordance with Law no 7269, the families with demolished or highly damaged houses obtained the right to receive credits from the government.⁷⁴ One of the alternatives offered to the victims was 'Loan for the Individual Construction of Homes' (Evini Yapana Yardım Kredisi). In this scheme, the right-owners (hak sahipleri) by utilizing the construction loans provided through MPWS and Settlement and the Project Implementation Unit of Prime Ministry, build their own houses on their own building lots. This credit was given in two ways:

- In rural areas: The holders of this right, who wanted to build their houses in their own building lots in villages, were given 3.500.000.000 TL.
- In urban areas: The right-owners, who wanted to build their dwellings in their own building lot located in provincial and sub-provincial centers or within the boundaries of neighboring districts and muktarhoods, were given 6.000.000.000 TL.

This method of construction was utilized mostly in the rural areas. According to the official records of the General Directorate of Disaster Affairs, in total 18.268 houses were built based on this method. For the victims of the earthquake, it soon became apparent that this sum would not be enough for a family to build itself a new house through the usual medium of private contractors.⁷⁵ In this project, the general idea was to increase the budget with the money provided by Gelderland Aid for Turkey Organization and to reduce the costs by realizing the self-build concept, using low cost materials and utilizing the voluntary assistance of the professionals.

According to the decree taken by 'Permanent House Construction and Follow up Committee for the Right-owner Earthquake Victims in Gölyaka Villages' (Gölyaka İlçesi Köylerinde Haksahibi Depremzedeler için Kalıcı Konut İnşaa ve Takip Kurulu) in the first stage of the Solidarity Houses

⁷⁴ The situation of the families with no properties will be discussed in Chapter IV.

⁷⁵ "Evini yapana yardım kredisi: depremzedelere kendi arsaları üzerinde konut yapmak şartıyla verilen bu kredi seçeneği, gerek kredi miktarının düşüklüğü, gerek imar planlarının zamanında yetişmemesi ve gerekse yaşanan iki ekonomik kriz sonucunda inşaat maliyetlerinin astronomik rakamlara ulaşması nedeniyle yeni mağduriyetlere sebep olmuştur." In Düzce Depremzedeler Derneği, "Deprem Bölgesindeki Konut Alanlarının Yaşanılır Hale Getirilmesi ve Konut Sorunu" (Düzce: Düzce Depremzedeler Derneği,2002).

Project the total money used for the building of the 26 houses was 301,827,878,000 TL.⁷⁶

This money was collected from;

Gelderland Aid Fund for Turkey (Gelderland Türkiye için Yardım Fonu)	145,827,878,000 TL
EYY credits of the 26 right-owners	117,600,000,000 TL
Extra amount of money taken from Gelderland	38,400,000,000 TL

Then, for the construction of a single house approximately 11,600,000,000 TL were spent.

However, how were the villagers to decide on who will have the right to own one of these houses? The argument related with the number of houses to be built on each stage was done over the analysis of expenses. Since the budget of the project was given and there were limits to what they could accomplish with it, the villagers had to find a way for selecting the right-owners. This was done through a closed voting system, where within the community those in most need of a residence were chosen. After the building of the first 26 houses the first stage was completed. Since the villagers completed the project successfully, Gelderland Aid Fund for Turkey transformed an additional amount of money, which was utilized in the second stages of the project.⁷⁷

II.2.4. Professional Assistance

Throughout the project, an inclination to involve the professionals from the universities accompanied the conviction that intellectual support is a catalyst for upgrading the overall quality of the housing. Accordingly, the time period necessitated for clarifying the objectives of the proposal both with the villagers and the Gelderland Delegation was utilized to coordinate collaboration with the experts in the preparation activities. A technical

⁷⁶ Gölyaka İlçesi Köylerinde Haksahibi Depremzedeler için Kalıcı Konut İnşaa ve Takip Kurulu, Karar No: 19, 09/10/2001.

⁷⁷ “Orda kritik mesele neydi? Hak sahipliklerini hangi esasa göre vereceksiniz? Çünkü yeterli sayı yok, burda evi ağır hasar görmüş herkesi kapsayacak bir proje değil. O yüzdende 2 etaplı yapılmak zorunda kalınmıştır. 1. veya 2. etabı belirleyen sayı tartışması ise maaliyet analizi üzerindendi. 1. etap başarılı geçince ellerinde bir miktar daha fon kalmıştı. O fonuda aktarmalarını önerdik. Onuda aktarınca 2. etap gerçekleşmiş oldu.” Erbay Yucak, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 21 September 2004.

committee, changing according to the needs of the project assisted the villagers in every stage.

First of all, a survey on the site was necessitated which was presented by *Assist. Prof. Dr. Oğuz Gündoğdu* from the Istanbul University to determine the geographical factors central to the constructions in the earthquake zones.⁷⁸ In addition to these analyses on the physical qualities of the region, numerous other professionals took part in examining the specific needs of the villagers, their habits and the structure of their communities.⁷⁹ As a result, from Mimar Sinan University Sociology Department *Meral Özbek*, from Mimar Sinan University city planning department *Maya Arıkanlı* and from Galtasaray University International Relations Department *Zeynep Arıkanlı* outlined a questionnaire that was presented to the victims who were classified by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement as having highly damaged houses in the earthquake. Through this questionnaire the technical committee tried to understand the nature of the local housing system, the housing history of the families, where they lived before, where they wanted to live, what their problems were, what were their priorities and aspirations. Based on these results an evaluation report was presented.

⁷⁸ “Köylülere ve hollandadaki ilgili kuruma temel prensiplerin anlatılması bir yıl sürdü. Yaklaşık 4500 sayfalık bir yazışma arka planı var. Bu süre içerisinde izlediğimiz usul şu oldu. İlk olarak bu bölgeye ait zemin bilgilerinin çıkarılmasıyla başladık. Bu zemin bilgileri için İstanbul Üniveritesi jeofizik bölümünden yardımcı doçent Oğuz Gündoğdu refakat etti.” Erbay Yucak, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 21 September 2004.

⁷⁹ “Ama bunla yetinmedik. Mimar Sinan Sosyolojiden Meral Özbek, Mimar Sinan Planlamadan Maya Arıkanlı, Galatasaray Üniversitesi Uluslararası İlişkilerden Zeynep Arıkanlı, yardımıyla 25 soruluk bir anket hazırladık. Bu ankette daha önce İTÜ de hazırlanmış bir ankette yararlandık Bu anketi bütün o bölgede Bayındırlık Bakanlığı tarafından evi ağır hasarlı olarak saptanmış olan insanlara yaptık ve sonuçları bu arkadaşlara teslim ettik. Onlarda bir değerlendirme raporu sundular.” Erbay Yucak, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 21 September 2004.



Figure II.7: Meeting held with the representatives of TMOBB.

In the preparation activities, the observations on the ground features of the villages and on the sociological disposition of the communities were submitted to the technical committee operating at the moment, who completed their analyses by a visit to the region. Some of the professionals who took part in these activities were Architect *Memik Yapıcı*, Architect *Mücella Yapıcı*, Civil Engineer *Namık Kemal* and so on. By experiencing the life of the villagers and the culture of construction and material used in the architecture of the region, the professionals then developed five different types of houses. These proposals were then discussed with the villagers, and at the end of this process the architectural project and the construction technique and the materials for the first stage houses were decided.⁸⁰

In terms of planning, a distinction must be made between the first and second stage houses. In the first stage of the project, the proposals suggested by the professionals were mostly discussed in the coffeehouses of the villages. As in most Turkish societies, mostly man uses these places and therefore man, especially the elderly ones, affected the formal and spatial qualities of the houses. As the communities got used to working

⁸⁰ “Bu inşaat mühendisliğinden arkadaşlara zemin bilgileri ve bu tür sosyolojik ve demografik verileri teslim ettik. Bunun üzerine kendileri bölgeye geldiler. Halkın yaşam biçimi, daha önceki yapı kültürü ve bölgede kullanılan malzeme ile ilgili gözlemlerde bulundular. Sonra 5 tip proje hazırladılar. Bu projelerin toplantı süreçleri oldu köylülerle. Bu sürecin sonunda bir, mimari proje ortaya çıktı, iki, inşaatta kullanılacak malzeme ve yapı tekniği ortaya çıktı.” Erbay Yucak, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 21 September 2004.

with strangers, and as the actors involved got to know each other more, women started to take more part in the decision making processes. This difference expresses itself in the end products. Below are the plans of the first and second stage houses.



Figure II.8: Meeting held with the villagers.



Figure II.9: Meeting held with the villagers.

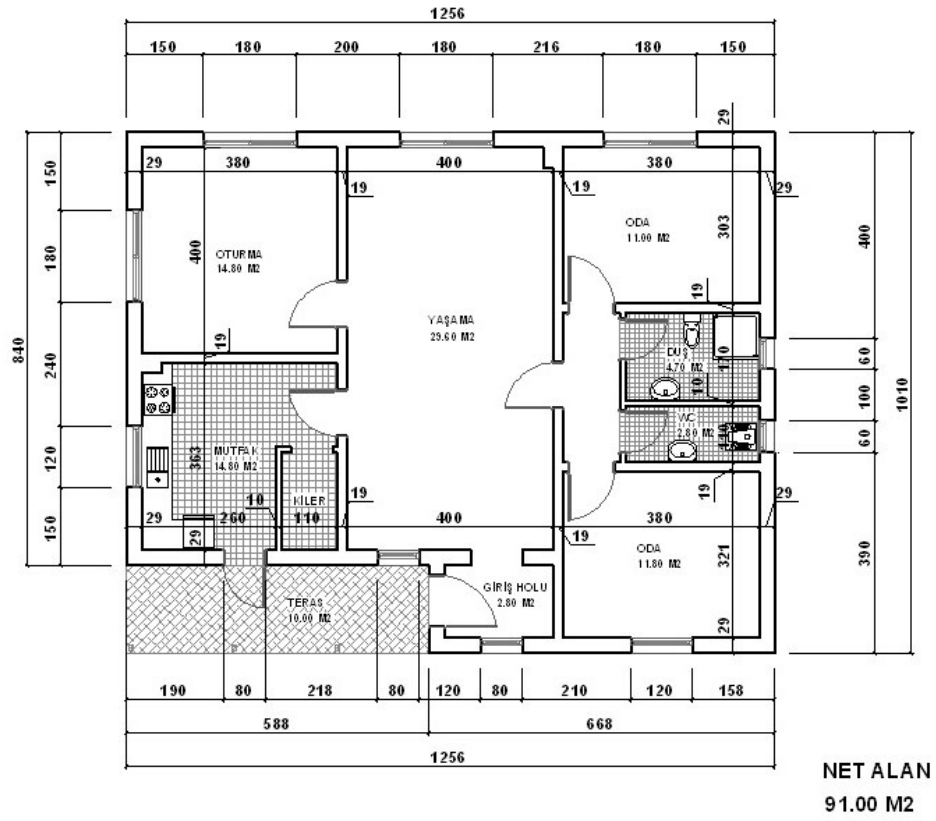


Figure II.10: Floor plan of the first stage houses.

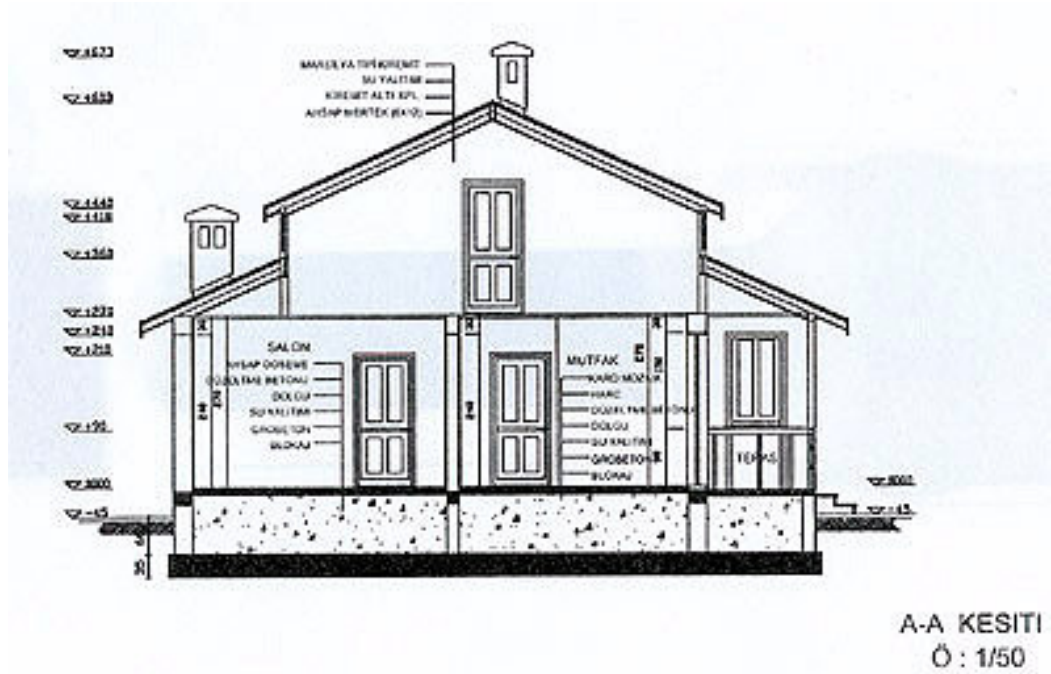


Figure II.11: Section drawing of the first stage houses.

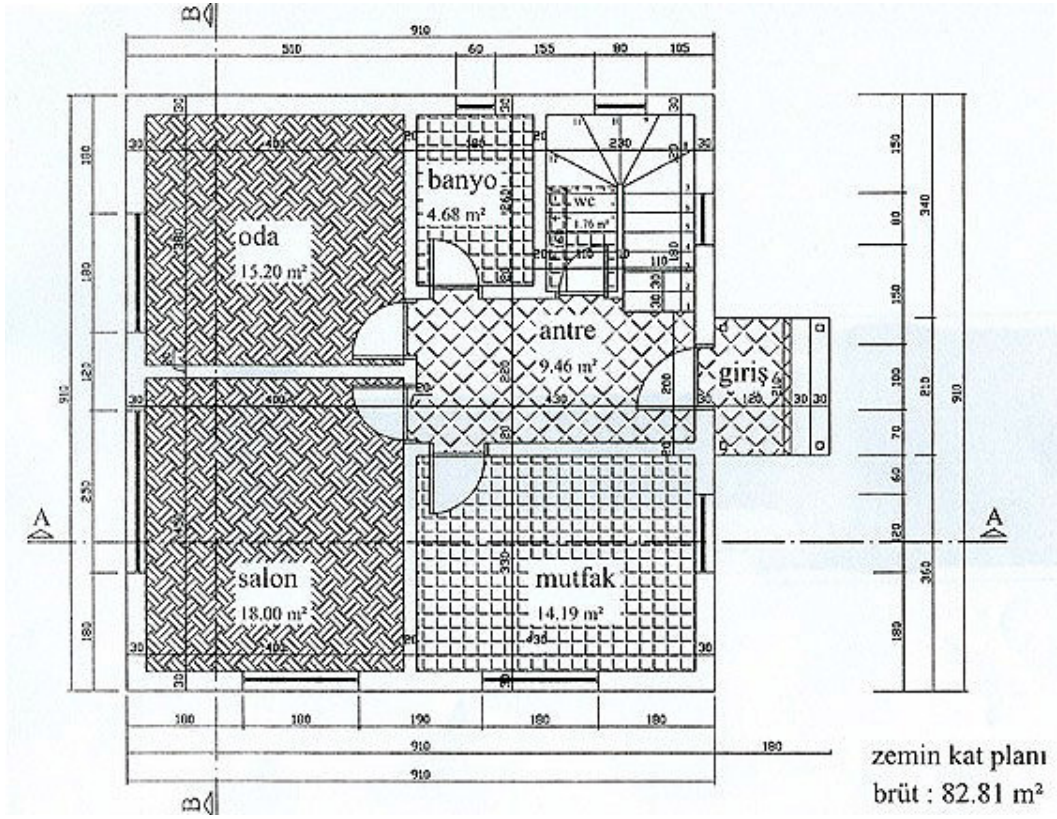


Figure II.12: First floor plan of the second stage houses.

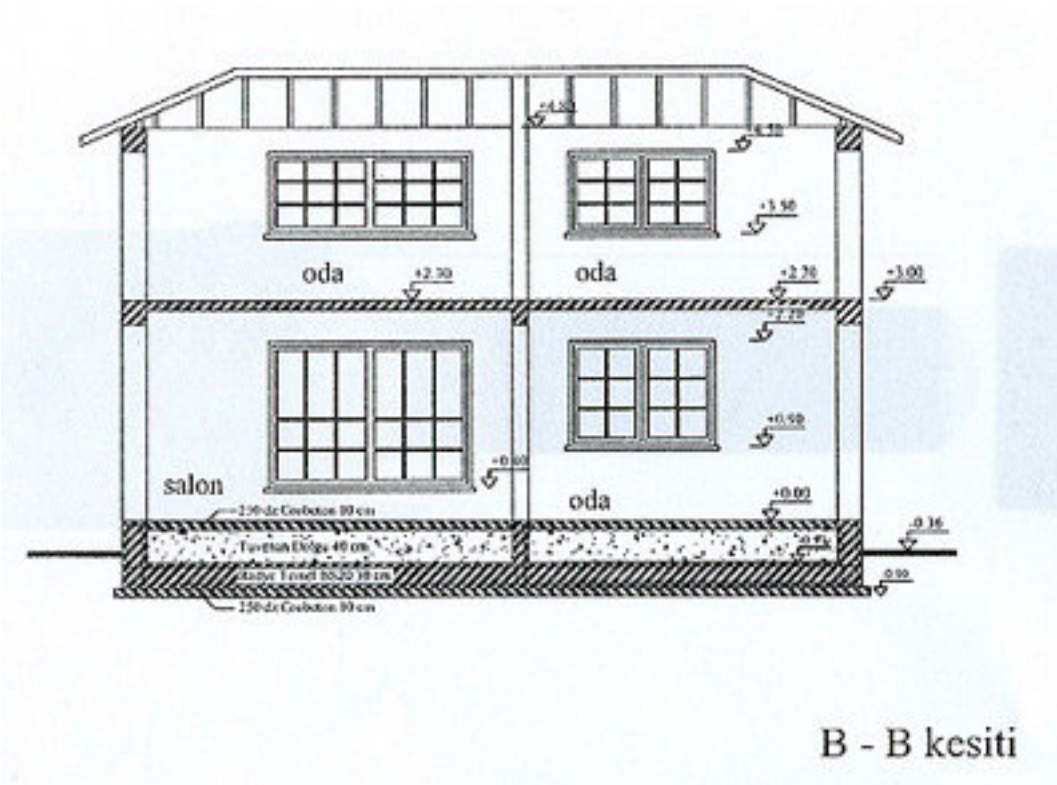


Figure II.13: Section drawing of the second stage houses.

II.2.5 Building 'Solidarity Houses'

Shelter may be defined as a structure providing protection from the natural conditions, from the hostile exterior. To build a shelter is to create boundaries that shield us from nature. This definition is consistent with the stories about the building of the first house, which "tend to begin with descriptions of nature as a state of need."⁸¹ In order to survive man has tried to adapt to the given environmental situations, proposing solutions where 'shelter' was a prime factor.

As we have observed through the demanding conditions of the post earthquake period, the importance of shelter first as a human need and then as an aspect of the house cannot be denied. For many of us, a house initially serves as a place for being protected from the natural elements as well as from the hostile intruders. Although, in our daily lives we usually take these features for granted, after the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes for the people who were left homeless, the basic function of providing a physical shelter for protection became the first priority.

But, can the need for a house be easily equated with this purely functional aspect of shelter? As the emergency situation within the earthquake region started to wane, the victims also began to search for more lasting solutions to reside themselves. This was partly due to the inefficiency of the temporal houses, but the psychological and social reasons underneath these attempts cannot be neglected. In fact any family needs a house adequately large, private and peaceful.

Houses play an important role in the personal and social development, as a center of privacy where identities are shaped and memories are embedded. House, "provides personal space, a territory, a place for being protected from the natural elements, as well as scrutiny of others, a location in the social world to engage in social life, which is socially acknowledged and

⁸¹ In this section of the book, Karsten Harries analyzes 'tales of the origin of building', to understand the essence of a work of architecture. In her perception, Vitruvius's account of the origin of the house "distinguishes even the first house from any animal shelter: beyond addressing physical needs inseparable from our bodily existence, it also addresses spiritual needs. Not only the body but the soul too needs a house." In Karsten Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1997), 137.

legalized...it is also a place for a social unit, which has long been the family.”⁸² Thus, housing is a complex concept involving issues of social, economic and political importance. There are diverse ways of approaching these issues. Different disciplines define housing according to their particular focus and apply concepts related to their perspectives.

In this thesis we distinguish between housing as a process and product, keeping in mind that these foci operate simultaneously. Until now we have analyzed the mechanisms the villagers established in the realization of the project and emphasized this community work as a process. Now we shift our focus slightly to the concrete changes in this locality and analyze the achievements in the physical environment.

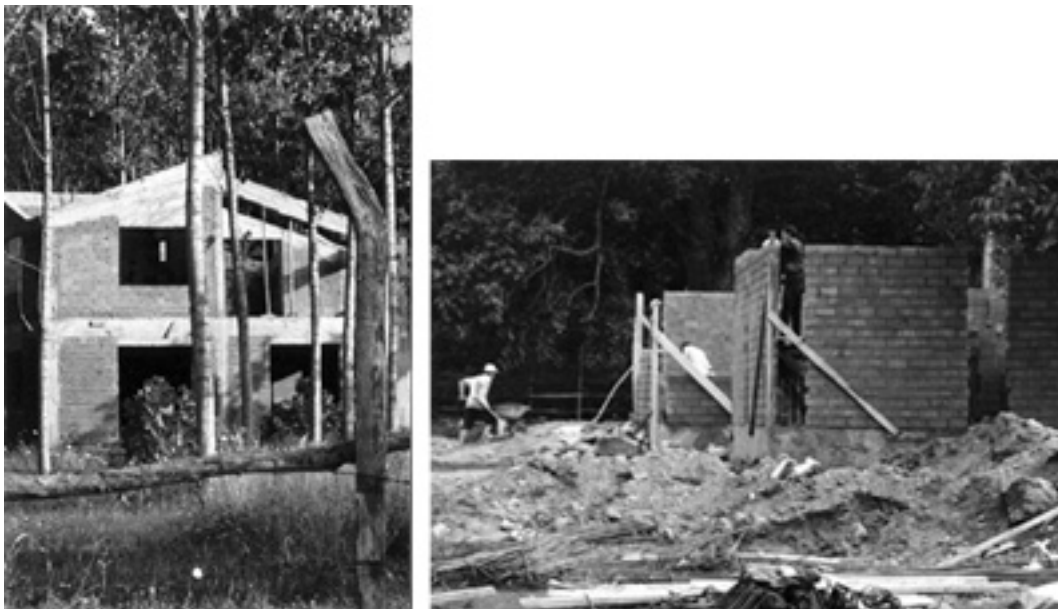


Figure II.14: Views from the construction site. (Gölyaka, 2001)

II.2.5.1 'built' space

An analysis on the value of the houses built in this case study can be done in two separate ways, either by considering its physical qualities or by taking account the relationships between the object and its user. As I have stated in the previous chapter, the way the problem of housing is defined depends on the interests of the actors involved in the process. For a low-income victim of the earthquake, the alternatives in relation with housing

⁸² Madanipour, *Public*, 71.

were limited, which usually resulted with doubling up with other family members for sheltering or moving into very decrepit houses of lower rent. As a matter of fact, in the contemporary world, the mobility and opportunity for choice is mostly restricted by income. Then, it is possible to conclude that from the perspective of a low-income victim of the earthquake, one of the primary considerations was the availability of the house they wish to live in.

By acting as general contractors who direct design, financing and construction, the actors involved in the Solidarity Houses Project, managed to provide themselves with dwellings that would be more costly if they were built by the traditional housing industry of small-scale developers and contractors. In that sense, the project succeeded in meeting the needs of the villagers, which is to obtain a decent house at low-cost without long periods of temporary relocation.

When I use the term 'decent' for a housing, I suggest the quality of these self-help built houses. Based on the variability and the complexity of the human needs the quality of a house is a complex issue with many determinants. Nevertheless, the villagers I have conversed with clearly stated that, in the end they were satisfied with what they established. In fact the quality of these self-help built houses were as high as those, which surrounded them in the same region. In many instances they were indistinguishable from the developer built or custom built houses of approximate market value, except the fact that users felt more confident having a total control over the process of construction.

But, this resemblance with the existing architectural forms may as well be considered as a weakness. Indeed, in such a unique example of house production one could possibly expect to witness a different kind of spatiality, which emphasized the attitude behind the project. Apart from the many limitations characterizing the project, one of the reasons why the potential of architecture was not utilized properly was that the architects who took part stayed as outsiders who contributed to the project only at specific moments.



Figure II.15: Solidarity House No.6, 1st Stage of the Project.
Gölyaka, 2001.



Figure II.16: Solidarity House No.9, 1st Stage of the Project.
Gölyaka, 2001.

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING SPACE

In the last chapter we made an introduction to understanding 'space' and studied 'physical space' as a sphere rooted in things concrete and substantial. In this chapter we move our analysis one step further, to study the space of knowledge and logic. Although these spheres are examined as distinct categories, following Lefebvre, the main aim is to criticize the understanding, which separates mental from the physical and to maintain a more unitary understanding.

In the *Production of Space*, Lefebvre criticizes the existing gap between mental and real space and tries to integrate mental space into its physical and social contexts. In doing so he evaluates the modern emphasis on space as a mental thing, directs his criticism towards the understanding, which gives priority to the sphere of representations over the lived experience and materiality. Following him, we relate mental space with modern thought and focus especially around two principal concepts that also had great effect on modern urbanism: totalization and rationalization.¹

III.1 MENTAL SPACE

The subject is no longer immersed in the world of experience, dependent on the whims of an inscrutable God, but hovers above and outside of temporal and spatial experience. The mind and body are separated into two distinct, if conflicted, realms, with the mind (res cogitans) taking precedence. Benefited by the transcendent faculty of reason, the thinking subject has the ability to 'keep the world in mind' by projecting him- or herself into the object-world. In doing so, he or she cognitively (theoretically) apprehends, codifies and rationalizes the work. Part of this apprehension is the ability to grasp (establish a perspective on, represent), an ability that is contingent on method.²

¹ Elizabeth Burns Gamard, "We Play Until Death Shuts the Door: Toward a Redemptive Practice of Architecture," in *Slow Space*, ed. Micheal Bell and Sze Tsung Leong (New York: Monocelli Press, 1998), 286.

² *Ibid.*, 292.

In the beginning of *Production of Space*, Lefebvre suggests that until recently one view of space dominated the modern thought, which was based on the division Descartes established between *res cogitans* and *res extensia*. This space was formulated “on the basis of extension, thought in terms of coordinates, lines and planes, as Euclidean geometry.”³ This understanding turned space into something that is quantitatively measurable and calculable, and marked the character of the modern landscape. In fact, the twentieth century applications of Cartesian rationality in the transformations of the built environment is extensive and beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, in this chapter we will try to catch some of the clues for understanding the dilemma of mental versus real space and search for ways to overcome the existing gap between them.

Until today, Cartesian dualism has been kept questioned and criticized “on the ground that it separates the mental from the physical and the ‘inner’ mental states from the ‘outer’ circumstances.”⁴ This argument also had a wide-ranging influence on the architectural discourse. Today many of the contemporary theorizations of space are “built around the assumption of a declining Cartesian spatial order. This is a spatiality associated with Western metaphysics and its tribe of grids, binaries, hierarchies and oppositions.”⁵ Although there are many differing opinions on the critique of Cartesian space, it is possible to perceive “a collective desire to promote new forms of conceiving social space in an attempt to account for an eclectic occupation and engagement with an increasingly segregated, oppressively functionalist and electronically monitored everyday reality.”⁶

As a figure whose work has influenced both modernist and post modernist interpretations, Lefebvre and his powerful analysis of social space then serves as a good starting point for our analysis. Indeed, the dialectic of the lived and the conceived, or the ‘real’ and ‘imagined’ had been an ongoing theme in his writings. In his longstanding interest on the spatial

³ Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible* (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), 186-7.

⁴ Roger Scruton, *Modern Philosophy* (London: Mandarin, 1996), 48.

⁵ Benjamin Genocchio, “Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: The Question of ‘Other’ Spaces”, in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, ed. Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson (London and New York: Blackwell, 1995), 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 36.

manifestations of this understanding, Lefebvre criticized Cartesian conceptions of space for being calculable and controllable, which allows for social and technological domination. For him, Descartes' dualism was embedded in, and had profound impacts on the way Western societies were organized. In fact for Lefebvre, *Discourse on Method* should be understood as a manifesto in a triple sense:

*a manifesto of Western civilization, relying on myths, religion, the agrarian civilization of the Middle Ages; of industrial society, the modern human's mastery of nature and the earth- knowing, dominating and utilizing it for their own purposes; and of the ascendant bourgeoisie and liberalism.*⁷

In the last chapter we have begun analyzing Lefebvre's critique of the geometric space on the basis that it separates the mental from the physical, which according to Stuart Elden draws on Heidegger's *Being and Time*. Even as early as 1939 Lefebvre, building upon Heidegger's philosophical critique, had described geometric space as abstractive and likened it to clock time. According to Elden the principal thrust of Lefebvre's argument is that:

*space, like time, has been understood in a narrow, calculative, mathematical sense, which is divorced from our experience of space in our everyday dealings with the world...Instead, he suggests that we deal with the world as a matter of concern, acting with and reacting to objects within it in a lived, experiential way, instead of abstracting from them Cartesian grid of coordinates.*⁸

In the *Production of Space* 'mental space' is identified with the space of knowledge and logic. Defined by philosophers and mathematicians, mental space consists of logical and formal abstractions of space, in which space is seen as an object for reflection. The meaning of this space lies "in the relative location of things, and this is preserved and made systematic in Euclidean space, where place is basically understood as location definable by sets of coordinates."⁹ Thus in this understanding, space is conceived as neutral and homogeneous. It is the space of geometry and maps.

Lefebvre relates this conceived space with the relations of production, "especially, to the order or design that they impose," where such an order is "constituted via control over knowledge, signs and codes: over the means

⁷ Elden, 89.

⁸ Ibid., 188.

⁹ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion Limited, 1976), 24.

of deciphering spatial practice and hence over the production of spatial knowledge.”¹⁰ In his attempts for establishing the role of this spatialization in contemporary capitalism, Lefebvre associates mental space with representations of power and ideology and of control and surveillance. Thus he claims,

*a particular ‘theoretical practice’ produces mental space which is apparently, but not only apparently, extra ideological. In an inevitably circular manner, this mental space then becomes the locus of a ‘theoretical practice’ which is separated from social practice and which sets itself up as the axis, pivot or central reference point of Knowledge.*¹¹

However we believe that the production of space or the construction of our built environment owes as much to the conceptual realms as to the material activities. Our aim is not to underestimate the importance of the mental sphere or to reject it as a part of the spatialization process. Nonetheless, we follow Lefebvre in that space is not a preexisting medium and nor is it neutral. Instead we extend our analysis “to the recognition of conflicts internal to what on the surface appears homogenous and coherent- and presents itself and behaves as though it were.”¹² We believe that as the dominant space of the contemporary society an analysis on the instrumentality of the mental space will contribute to our understanding of the architectural practice. In this context we first of all direct our analysis to abstract space as the space of urban planners and architects.

III.1.1 ‘abstract space’/ of capitalism

In the framework of capitalism, the long *history of space* that we have began to evaluate in the previous chapter with ‘absolute space’ gives its way to ‘abstract space’, “which includes the ‘world of commodities’, its ‘logic’ and its worldwide strategies as well as the power of money and that of political state.”¹³ It is the space of bourgeoisie and of capitalism and it is through the flexibility in constructing and reconstructing of this space that capitalism survived through the twentieth century. Therefore an analysis

¹⁰ Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996), 67.

¹¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 6.

¹² Lefebvre, *Production*, 352.

¹³ Lefebvre, *Production*, 53.

on the basic characteristics of abstract space is inevitable if we are to understand the modern urban space.

At the core of abstract space lies a contradiction, a complicated opposition between homogeneity and fragmentation:

*Between the capacity to conceive of and treat space on a global (or worldwide) scale on the one hand, and its fragmentations by a multiplicity of procedures or processes, all fragmentary themselves, on the other.*¹⁴

According to Lefebvre, the space of the city is broken and fragmented in turn to produce a new unity and order, mostly structured by the state power. "Thus there is the unity of the whole despite the division of parts."¹⁵

Under its homogenous aspects abstract space reduces the distinctions and differences so rendering space visible and readable. By controlling the content of signs and codes and utilizing mathematics, logic and strategy, professionals represent this space with its homogenizing character. When it becomes homogenous its parts become comparable and therefore exchangeable. As shall be evident in the case study that we will study in this chapter multiplicity, diversity and lack

*are rundown and incorporated into the larger project or plan fueled by rationalizing constructs such as efficiency quotients, logistics and quantitative prerogatives which provide- and promote- the mechanisms of capitalist corporations and bureaucratic organizations.*¹⁶

Simultaneously, this same space is fragmented as in the contradictory process of centralization/peripheralization. This is emphasized "by administrative subdivision, not only by scientific and technical specialization, but also- indeed most of all- by retail selling of space (in lots)."¹⁷ In fact private property is one of the basic elements of modern spatialization, cutting across divisions of class, ethnicity or gender. Through urbanization people are drawn to the web of rationalized relations of production and consumption. In the words of Lefebvre,

¹⁴ Lefebvre, *Production*, 355.

¹⁵ Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics* (London, New York: Routledge, 1999), 177.

¹⁶ Burns, 290.

¹⁷ Lefebvre, *Production*, 355.

*Cities are transformed into a collection of ghettos where individuals are at once 'socialized', integrated, submitted to artificial pressures and constraints...and separated, isolated, disintegrated.*¹⁸

But to consider this homogenous/fractured character of space simply as a binary relationship is not sufficient, for "it is impossible to overemphasize either the mutual inherence or the contradictoriness of these two spheres of space."¹⁹ Effective globalism implies an established centrality, a centrality that extends its arm over the social space. The extension of capitalism "could not be achieved within the industrial premises alone or through simple reproduction of the *potential* labor force through consumption; it requires the occupation and administration of the whole social space."²⁰

Here, capitalism is not solely understood as an international economic system but as social structure well. Within this structure power manifests and materializes itself also through the organization and design of the physical environment. "The hegemony of the capitalist class is renewed through spatial segregation and the effects of the 'normalizing force' of state intervention in structuring spatial design."²¹ In a way, space has become for the state a political instrument, one that is of primary importance. The state uses 'abstract space' in such a way that it ensures its control of places. Abstract space is measurable; it is quantifiable as a geometrical object and at the same time it is subjected to "quantitative manipulations: statistics, programming, projections- all are operationally effective here."²² Although it represents itself as being neutral, abstract space is tied to the production relations through the control over the ideological content of codes and theories produced by professionals. How did the professionals working for the government applied these abstract models to built environment is a question we will search in this chapter. We will start our analysis with considering the relation between disasters and Turkish State.

¹⁸ Lefebvre, quoted in Shields, 178.

¹⁹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 355.

²⁰ Shields, 179.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 169

²² Lefebvre, *Production*, 352.

III.1.2 Disasters and the State

III.1.2.1 Disaster Management System in Turkey

Being located in one of the most seismic continental zones in the world, Turkey has suffered losses of life and property through out its history. Based on the experiences gained through the frequent occurrence of earthquakes, in time, a centralized disaster management system has evaluated. Until 1960s the responsibilities and obligations of the state in relation with natural disasters were not clearly defined and reflected a level of uncertainty.²³ Although the law entitled 'Measures to Be Put into Effect Prior and Subsequent to Ground Tremors' was submitted on 22 July 1944, its implementation was not commonly carried out in different parts of Turkey. Nevertheless, 4623 numbered law was the initial step in defining the duties, responsibilities and obligations of the State towards earthquakes, and this change of policy led to some developments in the fields of disaster mitigation and preparedness. As summarized by Binali Tercan, the outcomes of this renewed thinking can be outlined as:

- Development of hazard Figures
- Earthquake design regulations
- Introduction of geological survey
- Establishment of better definition of mandates for Provisional and sub-provisional rescue and relief committees.
- Byelaws aimed at providing the principles for research and training in mitigation activities.²⁴

For the first time, a longer-term policy was enacted towards dealing with the effects of earthquakes with the main objective of preventing and reducing the damages that would be caused by earthquakes. Institutionally, the implementation of this law and the preparation of the national building codes were in the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Settlement. The technical unit operating under this ministry, Technical Earthquake Services Directorate, was the coordinator of many of the disaster related activities.

²³ Fusün Ceylan, "Evaluation of Post-earthquake Long-term Housing Activities in the Rural Areas of Turkey with a Case study from Gediz" (MS thesis, METU, 1983), 8-10.

²⁴ Binali Tercan, "Post- earthquake Relocation Process in Yalova" (MS thesis, METU, 2001), 37.

But the execution of the building code and the construction supervision generally depended the capabilities of the local administrations. In this period, “due to agricultural modernization and the gradual transformation of the society from an agrarian to an industrialized one, there was an immense rural- urban migration causing rapid urbanization and the expansion of cities over vulnerable lands.”²⁵ Given these circumstances, with their limited staff and financial resources the local administrations were not capable of fulfilling their duties.

In 1959, 7269 numbered law of ‘Aids and Precautions to be Taken Due to Disasters Affecting the Life of General Public’, through which the process of institutionalizing natural disaster mitigation reached a certain regularity and certainty, was enacted. The basic aim of Law No. 7269 was “to enable the administrative structure of the government to manage disasters in a timely and efficient way, so that losses and human sufferings were minimized.”²⁶ The Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, which was to be replaced in 1983 with the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı) (MPWS), was founded in 1959 and it was the first governmental agency responsible from the implementation of this law. In 1964, under the dependence of this ministry, Chairmanship of Disaster Works (Afet İşleri Reisliği) was established and in 1965 this unit was reorganized as the General Directorate of Disaster Affairs (Afet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü)(GDDA).²⁷

Although later revised and modified, this law still forms the basis of disaster response, planning and management now evident in Turkey. Regularly updated and revised by bye-laws, regulations and statutes, the implementation of Law No. 7269 is in the responsibility of Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. According to this law, the duties of the State can be grouped under three headings:

- Precautions to be taken before the earthquake
- Urgent-aid services to be presented during the earthquake

²⁵ Kemal Atay, “Evaluation of Post-earthquake Permanent Residences Built in Kocaeli-Döngel” (MS thesis, METU, 2002), 27.

²⁶ Tercan, 35.

²⁷ Ceylan, 7.

- Long-term activities to be presented after the earthquake.²⁸

As can be followed through the 1999 post-earthquake activities, the disaster management system in Turkey is highly centralized where many of the works are in the responsibility of the central government. Formed in 1983 by the merging of the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement, MPWS plays an important role in relation with the disaster management and reconstruction. In their web site, the responsibilities of this Ministry is summarized as “carrying out civil works and major repairs concerning public buildings, and highways as well as providing services related to physical planning, land development and housing for low income families as well as extending disaster relief.”²⁹ In the central organization of the Ministry, three main bodies are actively taking part; namely the General Directorate of Construction Affairs (Yapı İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü), the General Directorate of Disaster Affairs (Afet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü) and the General Directorate of Technical Research and Implementation (Teknik Araştırma ve Uygulama GENel Müdürlüğü). In addition to these central organizations, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement “provides services all around the country through its Provincial Directorates. These Directorates carry out their responsibilities in coordination with the main bodies of the Ministry and under the supervision of the respective Governors.”³⁰

III.1.2.2 Immediate Shelter Provision

Naturally, in the time period following an earthquake, the first aim is to save human lives and then to provide the basic bodily needs. Within this time interval, some of the most urgent activities that shall be performed can be summarized as: the picking up the wreckage, rescuing the victims and cleaning of debris; taking care of the wounded, burying deceased, preventing contagious diseases; feeding and clothing of the victims and providing temporary settlements. All of these undertakings are considered to be in the responsibility of the governments. Starting with these rescue

²⁸ Ibid., 8.

²⁹ “Organization and Functions of the Ministry,” The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement [database online]; available from <http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr/english/index.php>; Internet; accessed 10 June 2005.

³⁰ Ibid.

and relief operations, the government concentrated first on the provision of the temporary shelters, such as tents and prefabricated housing units and secondly on the provision of the permanent residences.

After the 17 August earthquake, the Prime Ministry established a “crisis center” to organize the relief and rescue operations. As to provide the immediate shelters for the victims, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement carried out several activities such as, “disaster aid, land assignment for temporary and permanent housing, preparation of cadastral figures, plans and plan revisions, tendering and construction of the housing areas, as well as planning and construction of their urban infrastructure.”³¹

In the given circumstances, many people were left homeless and temporary houses were to be built immediately. Unfortunately, this need for shelter could not be supported thoroughly, as the State was not prepared with its technical staff and supplies to coordinate an effective settlement strategy. As a result, in the first stage of the relief activities, different solutions were proposed by individuals or groups alongside the governmental procedures.

The provision of the tent residential areas were mostly covered by Turkish Red Crescent Association (TRCA), though the organization’s preparedness and success had been criticized thoroughly after the earthquake. Even before the second earthquake there was a huge demand for tents, and the stocks within TRCA were not enough to meet the necessary need. With the support of private sector and foreign countries 113.934 tents were distributed within the region, which were organized into tent cities in the following days. To express in numerical facts, after the 17 August, 121 tent cities were erected in differing cities, which accommodated 120.726 people in 28.286 tents. Following the 12 November earthquake 41 tent cities were added housing 76.376 people in 16.035 tents.³²

After these short-term solutions were proposed, a more organized scheme was needed to place the earthquake victims until the permanent dwellings

³¹ Tercan, 92.

³² T.C. Başbakanlık Kriz Yönetim Merkezi, *Depremler 1999: 17 Ağustos ve 12 Kasım Depremlerinden Sonra Bakanlıklar ve Kamu Kuruluşlarınca Yapılan Çalışmalar* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Kriz Yönetim Merkezi, 2000), 49-50.

were constructed. While tent areas continued to serve their purpose, the government decided to build the much-needed prefabricated houses before the winter showed its face. To specify the necessary number, State Institute of Statistics with Ministry of Public Works and Settlement constituted a 'demand definition survey'. According to this survey, 26000 prefabricated temporary houses were to be constructed by the end of November 1999. With the donations from the private sector and foreign parties this number was increased to 32.000. After November 12th earthquake, the total number of prefabricated houses that were to be built within that region had reached to 42.161.³³

Table III.1: Distribution of Prefabricated Houses in Marmara Region

PROVINCE	CONSTRUCTED BY MoPWS	CONSTRUCTED BY PRIVATE SECTORS	TOTAL
Bolu	2460	1426	3886
Düzce	3260	2488	5748
Sakarya	5854	4729	10583
Yalova	5216	416	5632
Kocaeli	13850	2462	16312
TOTAL	30640	11521	42161

Source: Başbakanlık, *Depremler 1999*, 54.

Both these short term and long term solutions are part of the disaster management system in Turkey. Level of the government involvement in response to a disaster is dependent on the scale of the catastrophe: responsibility moves up in the government structure, as the scale of the event grows larger. Given such a major event, in the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes, central government was in charge of many activities and local governments were mainly administering the instructions coming from MPWS.

III.1.3 Spatial Dialectics

Both the "August 17" and "November 12" earthquakes resulted with the loss and injury of human life and the amount of the destruction and

³³ Ibid., 53.

damage of the constructed and natural environment gave this crisis a distinct character. Buildings were damaged depending on the site, age of building, quality and type of construction and a 'need' for housing emerged. The quantity of this 'housing need' is central to the subject of this thesis for it structured the events of the post earthquake period. The amount of the unusable buildings distinguished the scale and nature of the redevelopment activities. As I have tried to outline in the last chapter, Turkey was faced with a series of emergencies related specifically to housing and people demanded a response from the State.

Generally, in Turkey and within that region, the share of public sector in housing construction is minor, whereas the private sector plays a crucial role in the production of houses. Nevertheless, in the given circumstances State intervention into housing was inevitable. The 'here-and-now urgency' of the situation rendered the distinction between the concepts of 'housing need' and 'housing demand' visible, in which the need for a healthy dwelling was not simply replicable by an economic vocabulary.³⁴ Given the extent of the housing demand defined by differing institutions within the country, an intense pressure was put upon urban land and housing resources, which was still intensified when the nature of the demand was taken into account.

The two criteria which shaped the nature of the projects presented by the Government are- quantity and timing. A huge number of people had to be situated in a livable environment within a short time period. What this implies is that large-scale projects were to be realized. These large-scale operations focused "upon that intermediate zone between cities and buildings that is both architecture and urbanism, and yet neither."³⁵ The long and complex process of reconstruction, not only the preparation of the new site and its removal, but also the period of consolidation of housing

³⁴ "Statements about housing *demand* describe people's behaviour in defined circumstances- their capacity and willingness to buy, rent and retain housing space of various kinds in various spaces. Statements about housing *need* convey an opinion about the housing that someone should have – the demands that ought to be made affective." *The Right to Housing*, ed. Michael Wheeler (Montreal: Harvest House, 1969), 24.

³⁵ Dana Cuff, *The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 14.

and other activities, must inevitably be spread into a period of time. For a victim even a month makes a big difference, where as at the national level relocation processes inevitably take a longer time period. More over, when decisions are made about these projects they do not only affect the victims residing in these sites, but because of their scale and distribution, they change the city and the region as well. Based on these qualities, the earthquake and its consequences shows an exaggerated form of the relation between 'scale and event'³⁶ or space and time and offer an interesting example to examine.

III.1.3.1 Quantifying the Housing Need

The first step in the complex task of reconstruction of the post-earthquake region taken by the government is to clarify the housing need caused by the disaster. Through the field studies on damage and eligibility assessments the exact number of beneficiaries and the houses to be built is determined. Accordingly, after the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes the technical staff assigned by MPWS assessed the state of damage in all public and private buildings and rated them into five categories, as: undamaged, slight, moderate, heavy and collapsed. Based on these damage assessment results, then, the right-owners (hak sahipleri) are clarified. According to the 4th article of the regulation about 'Assessment of Holder of a Right' of Law. No.7269,

*one is eligible to own a new, government built permanent residence after a disaster if his/her house is demolished or heavily damaged in such a way that it cannot be accommodated anymore. Moreover, owners of houses, which are located on the land that is going to be expropriated for the relocation of people, are also classified as beneficiaries.*³⁷

For the victims of the earthquake who owned a house prior to the disaster, the government offered two alternatives: Either provide them with the government built permanent houses (the focus of our attention in this chapter) or give them construction loans if they choose to build their own houses (a method used by Solidarity Houses in the previous chapter). However, the tenants did not benefit from this system. In contrast to the

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Afet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü, "Kanunlar, Yönetmelikler ve Karanamereler," (Ankara: T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı Afet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2000), 169 and Atay, 34.

policies provided for the property owners, the government did not supported those who lived in rented houses before the disasters (a subject we will study in the next chapter).

Once the right-owners submitted their applications to the local administrations, a commission evaluated them, deciding whether the applicants provided the required conditions. Gathered from these localities the evaluations are reconsidered then by MPWS and the beneficiaries and therefore the scale of the reconstruction activities were decided.

III.1.3.2 Residential Relocation

The two aspects of the situation we have defined, immediacy and the scale of the destruction determined the scale of the redevelopment activities and made relocation processes inevitable. We define 'relocation' as; "the movement of a settlement (or portion of a settlement) from an unsafe location to a safe location to re-establish a community, or it can be defined as; removal to another location with provision of land or housing."³⁸ The legal regulation of this process is bound to Law No.7269. According to the 16th article of this law, the sites to be relocated are to be decided by "a joint committee consisting of representatives of the Ministries of the Interior, Finance, Public Works and Settlement, Health, Agriculture, Forest and Rural Affairs," whereas the implementation is done by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement.³⁹

The management of the relocation processes starts with quantifying the extent of the housing need and defining the target groups of the victims, a process we have defined in the previous section. Once these quantities are defined sites suitable for mass housing must be selected. The selection of the sites for relocation is bound to a commission composed of representatives from the related institutions such as

General Directorate of Disaster Affairs, Technical Research and Implementation, Bank of Provinces, State Hydraulic Works, Rural Affairs and National Property; the Provincial Directorates of Public

³⁸ Tercan, 10.

³⁹ Oktay Ergünay and Polat Gülkan, "Land-use Planning as Instrument of Earthquake Hazard Mitigation," in Workshop on Earthquake Hazard Assessment for Planners and Emergency Managers (Genoa-Italy, 1990), 21. Quoted in Atay, 37.

*Works and Settlement, Agricultural Affairs, TEDAS, Municipalities; Ministries of Health, Forest, Industry and Commerce, Culture and National Education.*⁴⁰

This commission, evaluates the alternative sites according to criteria such as: location of the site, property relations, cadastre and existing land use patterns, earthquake risks, water resources, potential growth etc. Then, based on these evaluations some of the alternative sites are eliminated and the sites for relocation are declared. Once the sites are decided regions must be cleared for the preparation activities. Clearing of regions require an ordering of space by a range of spatial technologies of power, such as laws of private property, the practices of surveying, naming, mapping and procedures of urban and regional planning. When MPWS schedules the sites to be cleared, the government has to offer accommodation to its citizens that approximate a standard quality. Besides sites owned by property, public lands that belong to local administrations or to Treasury may also be used for relocation. Actually, the 21st article of Law No. 7269 claims that MPWS has the right to utilize public lands in case of relocation.⁴¹ Upon these lands the reconstruction activities start with the preparation of the new sites and services.

In our case, the determination of these alternative sites started right after the August 17th Earthquake by the Governors of Provinces and municipalities along side the damage assessment processes. A group of engineers from General Directorate of Disaster Affairs (GDDA) and a group of city planners from General Directorate of Technical Research and Implementation (GDTRI) worked together to determine the most suitable sites for mass housing. GDDA surveyed the sites in terms of their geological and geo-technical properties, whereas GDTRI focused on their potentialities for urbanization. In each case, to reduce the costs of expropriation, the Government tried to make use of the public lands with appropriate soil and ground conditions whenever they were available.

III.2 REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE

This modern space has an analogical affinity with the space of the philosophical, and more specifically the Cartesian tradition.

⁴⁰ Atay, 37.

⁴¹ Afet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü , 41.

Unfortunately it is also the space of blank sheets of paper, drawing boards, plans, sections, elevations, scale models, geometrical projections and the like. Substituting a verbal, semantic or semiological space for such a space only aggravates its shortcomings. A narrow and desiccated rationality of this kind overlooks the core and foundation of space...it forgets that space does not arise from the visible- readable realm, but that it is first of all heard (listened to) and enacted (through physical gestures and movements).⁴²

One level of mental space is the logical relations that enable us to reflect upon space without necessarily relating it to empirical observations. This is more about the symbolic thought, the level of language and discourse. Edward Soja emphasizes the meaning of *meta-* as used by Lefebvre, quoting his definition of meta- philosophy. The term meta-philosophy for Lefebvre

is not the abolition of philosophy. To the contrary, it opens up a sphere of reflexion and mediation in which philosophy appears in all its fullness but also with its limitations...Meta-philosophy differs from philosophy most notably in its acceptance of the world of representations. It analyzes representations as such, as internal to their world, and from this analyses comes the critique of representations...The great illusion of philosophy (arises from the belief that it can completely) transcend representations to reach a more concrete and complex truth.⁴³

Through his critique of representations Lefebvre talks about a trend, that studies the preferred objects as ensembles, configurations or texts which generated the claim that “discourse and thought have nothing to express but themselves, a position which leaves us with no truth but merely with meaning.”⁴⁴ Instead he moves his analysis from the old discourses ‘on’ space to the processes by which meta-level discourses ‘of’ space are socially created. Thus he claims distinctions must be drawn between “discourse in space, discourse about space and the discourse of space.”⁴⁵

The ‘conceptualized space’ we have tried to clarify so far is tied to the relations of production through the control over the ideological content of signs, codes and theories produced by professionals. “These ‘representations’ are central forms of knowledge and claims of truth made in social sciences, which (today) in turn ground the rational/ professional

⁴² Lefebvre, *Production*, 200.

⁴³ Henri Lefebvre, *La Presence et l'absence: Contribution a la theorie des representations* (Paris: Casterman, 1980). Quoted in Soja, *Thirdspace*, 34.

⁴⁴ Lefebvre, *Production*, 131.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 132.

power structure of the capitalist state.”⁴⁶ In fact institutions of architecture and planning are themselves sites for the (re) production of what Foucault called ‘power/knowledge’. The authoritative knowledge produced by professional architects and planners are codified in such forms as building and planning regulations or design guides for certain building types, which in return define our built environment and affect our everyday life.

III.2.1 Universalism of the West⁴⁷

A critique on the practices of ‘architectural urbanism’⁴⁸ can start with an understanding of the ‘project of modernity’, a project “sought to discover that which is universal and eternal through the scientific method and human creativity, in order to dominate natural forces thereby liberate people from the irrational and arbitrary ways of religion, superstition and our own human nature.”⁴⁹ The underlying theme of this understanding is the doctrine of historical progress, a history “which casts an objective, cognitive light on world events and cultural aspirations.”⁵⁰

Under the tradition of modernism, the concept of universalization represented an optimistic connotation, as the advancement of humanity would lead to the dispersal of the global benefits. This approach addressed the emergence of a world culture, a culture that was influenced mainly by the Western civilization. Quoted by Kenneth Frampton in his essay “Culture and Civilization” Paul Ricoeur claims that the phenomenon of universalization

*While being an advancement of mankind, at the same time constitutes a sort of subtle destruction, not only of traditional cultures, which might not be an irreparably wrong, but also of what I shall call for the time being the ‘creative nucleus’ of great cultures, that nucleus on the basis of which we interpret life, what I shall call in advance the ethical and mythical nucleus of mankind.*⁵¹

⁴⁶ Shields, 164.

⁴⁷ This statement was made by Jürgen Habermas during a faculty colloquium at Rice University (Houston, Texas) in the spring of 1992. It was quoted in Burns, 289.

⁴⁸ Burns, 286.

⁴⁹ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989). Quoted in Nan Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 105.

⁵⁰ Burns, 286.

⁵¹ Quoted in Abdi Güzer.

A similar discussion can be carried to the domain of architecture. One of the basic criticisms towards the universal language of modern architecture was that it broke the continuum of the architectural culture. Sidestepping the local historical traditions and needs, the new architecture was a conscious departure from the past. The language of global culture was not tolerating for the continuum of local regional languages.

Generated by the vision of a humanized and democratic space, modern architecture depended on ideals of pure form and unbounded, flowing space. A technically competent architecture that would establish a universal, man imposed order represented itself with “an overarching project or plan orientation, thus predisposing them to a scientific frame of mind and, as such, resisting contingencies and circumstances.”⁵² In fact the universal language of modern architecture reached its impact through its fast and economical construction and with its alliance with technology.

III.2.2 Understanding Architectural Space

*The architect's general task is to provide a warm and livable space...effects are produced by both the material and the form of space.*⁵³ Loos.

*It will not be long before...architecture will be understood, not as a complex of inner spaces, not merely as a shelter from the cold and from danger, nor as a fixed enclosure, as an unalterable arrangement of rooms, but as an organic component in living, as a creation in the mastery of space experience.*⁵⁴ Moholy-Nagy

*The facades and walls of a house, church or palace, no matter how beautiful they may be, are only the container, the box formed by the walls; the content is the internal space.*⁵⁵ Zevi

*Any definition of architecture itself requires a prior analysis and exposition of the concept of space.*⁵⁶ Lefebvre

⁵² Burns, 286.

⁵³ Adolf Loos, “The Principle of Cladding,” in *Spoken Into the Void: Collected Essays 1897-1900*, trans. J.O. Newman and J. H. Smith (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), 66. Quoted in Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: a Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 257.

⁵⁴ L Moholy-Nagy, *The New Vision*, 4th revised addition, trans. D. M. Hoffman (New York, 1947), 60. Quoted in Forty, 267.

⁵⁵ Bruno Zevi, *Architecture as Space: How to Look at Architecture* (New York: Horizon Press, 1957), 24.

⁵⁶ Lefebvre, *Production*, 15.

Although today it is hard to imagine an architectural vocabulary without the term 'space', the fact is that all the discussions we have been developing around its significance for the architectural discourse would be meaningless before 1890s. Originally based on philosophical discussions held in Germany, the term has transformed as an architectural concept and was not established as a category until the 1920s.⁵⁷

This origin story comprises two architectural propositions. One, the development of space as an architectural category has direct relations with the philosophical discourse. Two, its acceptance within the architectural sphere coincides with the development of modernism. Its meaning, in that case, should be analyzed around these specific historical circumstances.

II.2.2.1 Architectural Space and the Philosophical Discourse

In physics and philosophy, unlike sociology, space has been a long-standing concern. One of the leading themes in the philosophical debates about space in the last three centuries has been the dichotomy between absolute versus relational theories.⁵⁸ Closely related with this discussion is the dichotomy between mental and real space. Today the supremacy of 'space' in the architectural discourse does not need much argument. But its definition is still highly contentious, differing within a continuum that has direct experience at one extreme and abstract thought on the other. Here, the question is with the dilemma of mental versus real space, where "real space, as understood through senses, is differentiated from human beings' intellectual interpretations of the world, which create a mental construct."⁵⁹

According to Adrian Forty, architectural space originated out of the philosophical debates in nineteenth-century Germany, where two distinct traditions of thought can be distinguished.

One, the attempt to create a theory of architecture out of philosophy rather than out of architectural traditions, centers on Gottfried Semper; the other, concerned with a psychological approach to aesthetics, though it has some links to Kant's philosophy, only emerged in the 1890s.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Forty, 256-260.

⁵⁸ Ali Madanipour, *Design of Urban Space: an Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process* (Chichester, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 4.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁰ Forty, 257.

In the first tradition, claimed Forty, "German architect and theorist Gottfried Semper who was responsible for the introduction of 'space' as the principal theme of modern architecture", gave emphasis to the enclosing of space as the first impulse of architecture. Semper emphasized the primacy of enclosure against the material qualities and influenced many of the "German-speaking proto-modern architects who first articulated 'space' as the subject of architecture in the first decade of the century."⁶¹

The second approach is related with the nineteenth century developments in the theory of aesthetic perception and Kant, as identified by Forty, is the founder of this philosophical tradition. As the quotation in the beginning of this chapter imply, for Kant space "is not an empirical concept which has been derived from outer experiences" but it "exists in the mind *a priori*."⁶² In this understanding we can speak about space only from the viewpoint of a human, "it is therefore, solely from the human standpoint that we can speak of space, of extended things, etc."⁶³ Also related with this tradition, Forty emphasizes the importance of the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, who even though wrote virtually nothing about architecture, nevertheless affected a generation of architects who read him. Nietzsche emphasized "the notion of space as a force field, generated by the dynamism of the bodily movement,"⁶⁴ and he underlined the rhythmic and musical qualities of space.

II.2.2.2 Modernist Architectural Space

These two lines of thought affected the architects of 1920s extensively and especially three ideas about space became significant: "that space itself was the subject matter of art, that it was a continuum, and that it was animated from within."⁶⁵ Only after that space became a theme talked in the everyday language of architecture. In this time interval variety of conceptions of space existed, which can, according to Forty, "in part be explained by the

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Kant, 68-71.

⁶³ Ibid., 71.

⁶⁴ Forty, 259.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 260.

variety of intellectual problems to which it [space] had been developed as a solution." To summarize:

1. *To describe the original motive of architecture...*
2. *To describe the cause of aesthetic perception in architecture... 'space' provided an answer to the question of what in works of architecture stimulated aesthetic perception.*
3. *To satisfy the expectation, fundamental to all nineteenth-century art theory, that works of art should reveal movement.*⁶⁶

As an answer to these three specific questions, space was incorporated into the architectural vocabulary where it served an additional purpose: "to identify and legitimate the modern, and to establish a way of talking about it."⁶⁷

*In the first place the concept of 'spatiality', in its definition of the distinctive and historically specific features of modern perception, offered as good a case as there could be for a new sort of architecture. Secondly, 'space' offered a non-metaphorical, non-referential category for talking about architecture, and one which at the same time allowed architects to rub shoulders with the socially superior discourses of physics and philosophy.*⁶⁸

At the beginning of this century, then, for many of the Western architects 'space' became a concept representing the 'modern'. Now, architecture was considered to be an art of space, but how it shall be incorporated into the built work was a matter of ongoing discussion. The three senses in which the architects used space: space as enclosure, space as continuum and space as an extension of the body, began to display its consequences in the production of the built environment.

By the 1950s and 1960s space had become a typical category in the architectural discourse. With the postmodernism, the importance attached to space started to disintegrate and when compared to modernist practice, it became unambitious and unclear.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, space continued to be an effective term within the architectural circles in the 1980s and 1990s, in part as a resistance to the linguistic models of architecture. Consequently, Tschumi as one of the leading figures in the architectural discipline who

⁶⁶ Ibid.,262.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 265.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.,269.

worked on the concept of space criticized the “claims that the architectural object is pure language and that architecture is an endless manipulation of the grammar and syntax of the architectural sign.”⁷⁰ Tschumi recognized the difficulty of space and tried to comprehend it in its complexity: “The complex opposition between ideal and real space was certainly not ideologically neutral, and the paradox it implied was fundamental.”⁷¹

Considering these differing theorizations of space, Lefebvre’s work gains an additional significance by attempting to build a general theory of space. His introduction of space as the embodiment of social relations and of ideology brings an additional perspective into the discussions on architectural space. His critique of ‘abstract space’ as the ‘space of architects’ challenges our perception of what ‘true space’ is: what we consider to be reality is relative and manipulated by power relations. Thus as summarized by Adrian Forty, Lefebvre makes clear that “whole discourse of ‘space’ in architecture, far from being an assertion of architecture’s independence, has linked it to the exercise of power and domination in modern era.”⁷² To summarize with the words of another key figure scrutinizing the dualism “when we loose sight of the inherent error of a normative condition and believe that there is a real permitted vs. prohibited, rational vs. irrational, true vs. false, we are being managed by forces that have the power to decide what is real and unreal.”⁷³ For Foucault, space is the arena where the discourses about power and knowledge are transformed into actual relations of power. However disciplines creating the built form do not operate in isolated islands, they are inevitably engaged with economics, politics and institutions. Therefore incorporating a more encompassing understanding of space into the architectural discussions is a process still required.

⁷⁰ Bernard Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996), 36.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁷² Forty, 275.

⁷³ Hayden White, “Michel Foucault,” in *Structuralism and Since*, ed. John Sturrock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) 93. quote in Jon Michael Schwarting, “Morality and Reality: In Search of the Better Argument,” in *Ethics and Architecture...*

III.2.3 Reconstructing the Marmara Region

The management of reconstruction is a very complex task, which involves generating and coordinating the use of resources over a period of years. In this sense, reconstruction activities are a part of the housing policies of the States and they are in relation with different departments and levels of government. In case of emergencies, such as the subject of this thesis, the centralization of the planning activities to some extent may be necessary to maintain order. However, as we have observed through the Marmara Earthquakes, a top to bottom attitude may not be sufficient enough to prevent the anarchy that can be observed in each step of the post disaster processes. Certainly this is very much related with the regional planning policies and the character of the disaster management system in Turkey prior to the disasters. Although the size of the earthquake or the unpreparedness of the State in coping with a disaster may be regarded as the leading causes of the insufficiency of the post earthquake activities, for us the problem is very much related with the existing pattern of urban policies administered by the government.

As we have tried to clarify in the previous sections of the thesis, urban policies and the capitalist ideology is inseparable and the state as the administrator or planner of space, plays a crucial role in the shaping of the built environment. In the case of a disaster a highly centralize disaster management system begins to operate which alongside the rescue and relief operations, reconstruct and rehabilitate the impacted area. MPWS is the chief governmental agency with the task of determining the number of houses that are going to be build, their method of construction, location and types. As follows, in the case of a catastrophe the 9th article of Law No. 7269 charges General Directorate of Construction Affairs working under this ministry with the following tasks,

Preparation of the complete sets of projects for permanent residences that are going to be built for disaster victims.

Determination of their design standards

Approval of the complete sets of projects

Cost estimations

Construction of these permanent residences

Construction supervision.⁷⁴

The story we have begun to trace in the previous section with the relocation processes, then continues with the design and implementation of the projects. Once the scale of the relocation projects and their location was determined, their master plans were prepared either by GDTRI or the General Directorate of Bank of Provinces. Since our subject of analysis is Gölyaka Permanent Houses, we will concentrate on the activities of Project Implementation Unit of Prime Ministry. In the end of the reconstruction processes a total number of 43.053 housing units were provided to the victims. According to the records of GDDA published in 12.03.2002, the sharing of different governmental institutions and voluntary organizations in the provision of permanent houses is as follows:

- Houses built by the MPWS with construction credits from the European Council Bank Development	17.700
- Houses built by the MPWS with its own resources	7.650
- Houses built by PIU with construction credits from World Bank	12.056
- Houses built by PIU with construction credits from the European Investment Bank	2.586
- Donated Houses, voluntarily built by Governors of Provinces, Trade Unions and Chamber Associations	2.502
- Purchased houses from the Real Estate Bank	559 ⁷⁵

III.2.3.1 Settlement Proposals for Gölyaka

After the 1999 Marmara Earthquakes, the Republic of Turkey received credits both from the World Bank and the European Investment Bank to be used in the reconstruction processes of the region. The construction credit taken from the World Bank was primarily used for the construction of the permanent residences, whereas the credit provided by the European Investment Bank was mostly operated in the rehabilitation of existing infrastructure facilities and connection of new sites to these networks. In

⁷⁴ Afet İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü , 13.

⁷⁵ Atay, 53.

this context, the former was utilized in the management of the Marmara Earthquake Emergency Reconstruction Project (MEER) and the latter was used for Turkey Infrastructure and Urban Reconstruction Project (TERRA).

In the scope of MEER and TERRA, the construction of the permanent houses for the earthquake victims were to be finalized in three proceeding stages. Gölyaka Permanent Houses belonged to the first stage construction processes with two other districts of Düzce; Düzce Center and Cumayeri. Other districts where these projects were realized are: Gölcük, Hereke, Gebze-Sekerpınarı and Gündoğdu-Bekirpaşa in Kocaeli; and Camili in Sakarya. Carried out within the scope of MEER, the implementation of these projects was in the responsibility of Project Implementation Unit under the Prime Ministry of Turkey.

As we have stated in the previous chapter the existing site of Gölyaka is subject to seismicity, landslide and flooding. In the process of site selection, then, safe settlement sites were sought outside the existing settlement areas. To determine the geological factors so as to avoid hazardous areas when rebuilding these towns, The Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey (TUBİTAK) and Mine Inspection and Search Institute (MTA) were conducted. Based on the evaluations proposed by these institutions, new settlement sites have been suggested on the surrounding slopes of the Düzce Plain.⁷⁶

Since the funding of MEER is involved with the credits taken from The World Bank, the guidelines specified by this institution were followed through out the project. In the Loan Agreement the houses to be built were determined as 'social houses'. For the designing of the houses PIU charged the consulting firms with revising the plans of another social housing example implemented after the 1998 Adana-Ceyhan Earthquake. Both the consulting and the contracting firms were charged by PIU through bidding, and they worked under the control of the site offices of this institution. In MEER, the construction of the permanent houses, their infrastructure and social amenities was under the responsibility of a single governmental agency- PIU and mostly in each construction site a single contractor carried

⁷⁶ Bedel, 103.

out the building activities. Therefore in the first stage of the project the construction in differing districts were completed closed time intervals.

III.2.3.2 Permanent Houses

Based on an existing example of mass housing, the first stage permanent houses of the PIU are 80 m², with two rooms and a living room. Apart from small variations of architectural solutions, the plan layouts of the houses constructed in all the districts this project was realized are the same. Despite the distinct characteristics and problems of each settlement, uniform solutions have been sought regardless of place.

In this layout, the kitchen and living room is accessed through the entrance hall, while to attain privacy the other three rooms open to the extension of this hall. Each unit has a small balcony and an inset cupboard and a kitchen allocated. The house units then are organized into two different types of blocks, as:

- 3 Storey High Blocks with 4 Flats on Each Storey, or
- 3 Storey High Blocks with 2 Flats on Each Storey.

The flats on each storey are connected through a central staircase, which expresses itself in the front elevations. Another feature of these residences are pitched roofs, which are commonly used in cold regions for the removal of snow. These pitched roofs have overhanging eaves on all sides, with gutters at their edges to drain water by vertical pipes.

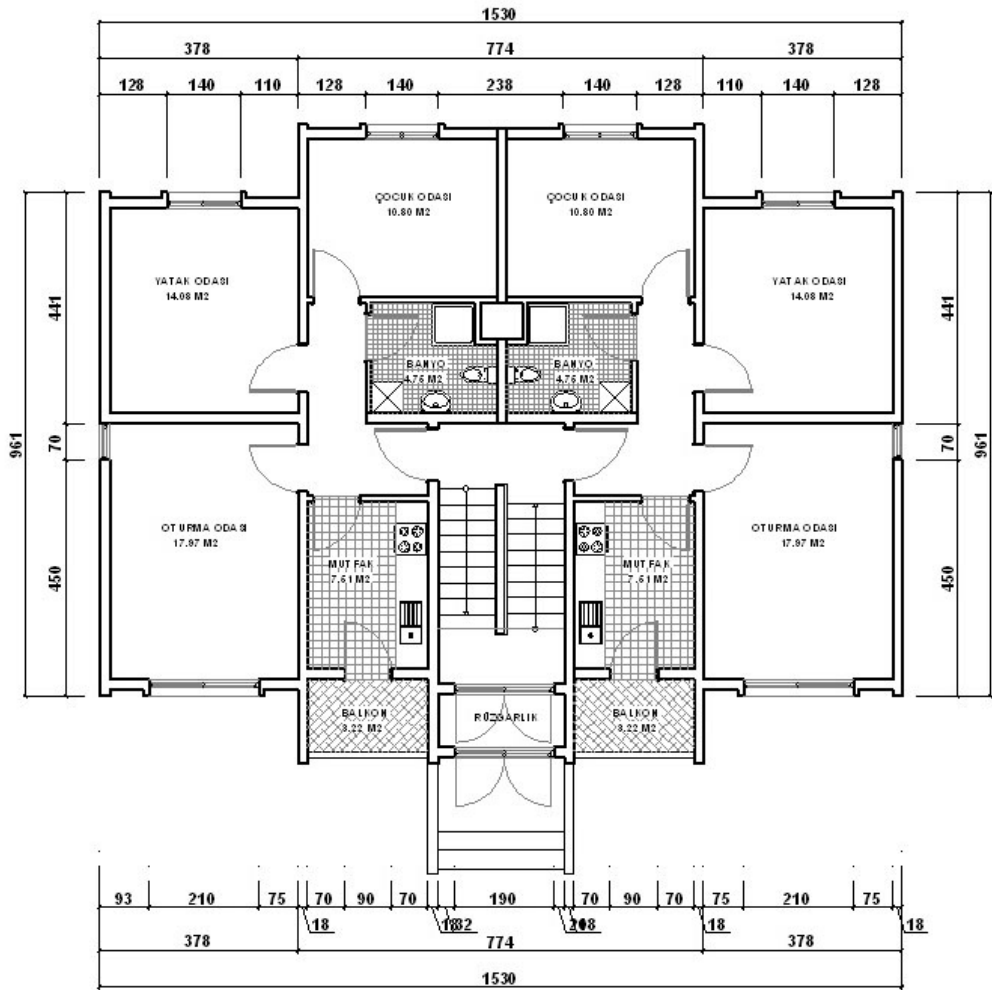


Figure III.1: First floor plan of PIU MEER Project, Houses 'TYPE B'



Figure III.2: Site view of the Gölyaka Permanent Houses. Gölyaka, 2005.



Figure III.3: Site view of the Gölyaka Permanent Houses. Gölyaka, 2005.

CHAPTER IV

STRUCTURES AND AGENCIES:

DÜZCE ASSOCIATION OF EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS

IV.1 SOCIAL SPACE

So far we have discussed that space cannot be taken neither as a frame nor as a container. It is not a collection of things or a void waiting to be filled with content. Instead (social) space is a (social) product. This is a very straightforward statement and it is the main theme of *The Production of Space*. Through the analysis of this assertion Lefebvre attempted “to understand the dialectical interaction between the spatial arrangements and social organization itself.”¹

As the last element of Lefebvre’s spatial trialectics, ‘social space’ is a distinct term, different from the other two spheres, the physical and mental space; yet it both includes and depends on them. In fact, “the three moments of ontological trialectic thus contain each other; they cannot successfully be understood in isolation or epistemologically privileged separately.”² Then, defining the relation between these spheres of spatiality becomes important, for what we aim at is to conceptualize “in one unitary ‘social theory of space’ the various ‘levels of space’.”³

It is a question of discovering or developing a unity of theory between fields which are given as being separate...Which fields?...First, the physical, nature, the cosmos – then the mental (which is comprised of logic and formal abstraction) – finally the social. In other words, this search concerns logico- epistemological space- the space of social

¹ Rob Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics* (London, New York: Routledge, 1999), 157.

² Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1996), 72.

³ Shields, 160.

*practice- that in which sensible phenomena are situated in, not excluding the imaginary, projects, symbols, utopias.*⁴

Therefore before analyzing the nature of social space, we want to briefly underline some of the concepts he used for interrelating this “threefold dialectic within spatialization”⁵ and consider the significance of these discussions for the architectural discipline.

IV.1.1 Understanding ‘social space’

IV.1.1.1 Dualism Between Idealism and materialism

To begin with, one of the motives behind Lefebvre’s work has been his interest “in the relationship between Hegel and Marx, and through this idealism and materialism. Instead of matter being seen as the embodiment of mental constructs, or mind being seen as the reaction to matter, Lefebvre sees both mental and material together.”⁶ This point is emphasized also by Edward Soja, in his formulation of Lefebvre’s relation with Marxism, in which he detects Lefebvre as seeing

*among Marxists as an under appreciation for the power of the “conceived” world of ideas and ideology over the “lived” world of material social relations, he persistently sought to transcend, via his inclusive dialectical or, better, trialectical materialism, the stubborn bi-polarity and dualism that has developed between Marx’s historical materialism and Hegel’s philosophical idealism.*⁷

In fact, as we have tried to underline in the previous chapters, much of *The Production of Space* is about the dialectical relation between the real and imagined, between the material and the mental. To Lefebvre, both social space and the urban shall be considered as ‘concrete abstractions’, such that it is possible to see an obvious use of idealism and materialism together, in which space is considered to be a physical *and* a mental construct. But Lefebvre, when taking up these issues does not limit himself with closed sets of either/or oppositions, instead intends to “crack them

⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 15.

⁵ Shields, 160.

⁶ Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*. London (New York: Continuum, 2004), 123.

⁷ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 36.

open by introducing an-Other term, a third possibility or “moment” that partakes of the original pairing.”⁸

According to Soja, many of the spatial disciplines work somewhere between these two attitudes, “conceiving of ‘pure’ materialism/objectivity and idealism/subjectivity as opposite poles of a continuum of approaches.”⁹ This dualism is also evident in architecture, where the physical and mental spaces are either seen as contradictory or together they seem to define the whole of spatialization. Generally, in the architectural discussions, the social is either neglected or its meaning is restricted. To overcome the reductionism present in contemporary architectural practice, ‘social space’ as a “different way of thinking about space that has long been obscured by exclusive fixations on illusive materialist and/or idealist interpretations,”¹⁰ shall be integrated into our understanding of the spatial. Only then, it is possible to capture the complexity of the situation, “to avoid the extremes of pure physiological and biological determinism, where the social is a physical world to which we apply ourselves, and of pure idealism, where social being is an immaterialized abstraction.”¹¹

IV.1.1.2 Spatialising the Dialectic

Secondly, for a better understanding of the social, Lefebvre introduces the notion of space along side time and history. According to him, “social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space. *Their underpinning is spatial.*”¹² As many have argued, with these discussions Lefebvre tried to transform “Marx’s original ontological categories by the addition of a spatial dimension,”¹³ and he took a step for “experimentally ‘spatialising’ the dialectic itself.”¹⁴

The dialectic thus emerges from time and actualizes itself, operating now, in an unforeseen manner, in space. The contradictions of space,

⁸ Ibid., 60.

⁹ Edward Soja, “Thirdspace: expanding the scope of the geographical imagination,” in *Arcitecturally Speaking: Practices of Art, Architecture and Everyday*, ed. Alan Read (Routledge, 2000), 19.

¹⁰ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 65.

¹¹ Iain Borden, Jane Rendell, Joe Kerr and Alicia Pivaro, “Things, Flows, Filters, Tactics,” in *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, ed. Iain Borden et.al (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 8.

¹² Lefebvre, *Production*, 404.

¹³ Shields, 160.

¹⁴ Ibid., 150.

*without abolishing the contradictions which arise from historical time, leave history behind and transport these old contradictions, in a worldwide simultaneity, onto a higher level.*¹⁵

Through out *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre notes that in the course of history, the struggles of humanity all occur in space. Therefore studying the spatiality of an event is as important as studying its sociality and historicity. According to Soja, until recently the importance of spatiality for an understanding of the being was underestimated, “peripheralized in the humanities and social sciences.”¹⁶ But, the ontological ‘trialectics of being’, that is spatiality- sociality- historicity, should be analyzed interdependently, for a privileging of one of the terms disturbs the balance for conceptualizing and understanding the world.

Through his investigation of the social construction of space, Lefebvre makes an influential contribution in the contemporary critical theory. Today, he is considered as one of the pioneer critiques of the ‘spatial turn’ in theory, which is summarized by Soja as “a growing awareness of the simultaneity and interwoven complexity of the social, the historical, and the spatial, their inseparability and often problematic interdependence.”¹⁷ It should be noted here that, Lefebvre “did not replace temporal with spatial analysis, but thought the relation between space and time, and in the process rethought both concepts.”¹⁸

As follows, Lefebvre influenced many important figures such as Frederic Jameson, Edward Soja and David Harvey “on the importance of the spatial character of a capitalism that increasingly relied on long- distance linkages and attenuated social relations (‘distanciation’), bringing places together in one sense at the same time as compressing the time allocated for almost every task- a shift that Harvey tries to sum up in the phrase ‘space- time compression’.”¹⁹ All these authors emphasized the spatial dimension of globalization regarding it as a geographical project.

¹⁵ Lefebvre, *Production*, 129.

¹⁶ Soja, “Thirdspace”, 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁸ Elden, 170.

¹⁹ Shields, 143.

IV.1.1.3 History of Spatialization

While spatialising the dialectical thinking, Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* proposes a history of 'modes of production of space', which "completes Marx's vision of successive historical modes of production in urban, environmental and attitudinal terms."²⁰ As historicizing the spatialization, Lefebvre uses his 'trialectics of spatiality'- the physical, mental and the social- as the basis that connects different scales of space in the concept of social production. Here the concept of spatialization is used not only as the physical environments but also the everyday patterns of social action with the historical conceptions of space and contains the mentioned three levels. In ideal state, these spheres of spatiality are in a balanced relation where none of them are privileged over the others. But in the contemporary world, as Lefebvre argues there is a tendency to render the complexity of life and the totality of space into an abstraction. The shifting "balance and degrees of repression of one aspect or the domination of another marks out historically specific, as well as socially produced, spatializations"²¹ and therefore mark out the character of the spatialization of a period.

Lefebvre emphasized the importance of spatialization for the survival of capitalism. Shields summarized Lefebvre's approach in relation to capitalism as:

*a set of theses. First, social space is the location of the reproduction of relations of production and of 'society' in all its complexity. Second, the internal contradictions of capitalism have been managed through the development of a mediating system of spatiality and of modes of occupying geographic space.*²²

According to Lefebvre, the historical conditions of an era are closely related to its mode of production. In this sense, the changing experience of space and time can be associated with the birth of modernism. In his analysis of the shift from the rural and the urban, he stated, "the *production of the city* was the end, the objective and meaning of *industrial production*."²³

²⁰ Ibid., 135.

²¹ Ibid., 167.

²² Ibid., 153.

²³ Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 130. Quoted in Elden, 95.

To him, the meaning of urbanism was closely related with the changing social relations and economic factors under capitalism.

IV.1.2 'everyday life'

Two important points need clarification if we are to understand the nature of social space. What is the usage of the term 'production' in Lefebvre's writing and how shall we formulate the relation between the social and the spatial? Lefebvre enlarged the concept of production, as it emerges from Marx and Engels, "from its narrower, industrial, sense (production of products, commodities) to include the production of works in the built environment (ouvres) and of spatialised meanings and other codings of the social environment."²⁴

He aimed at broadening the concept of production "so as to include production of space as a process whose product- space- itself embraces both things (goods, objects) and works."²⁵ Unlike other commodities and products, space has both "a material reality and a formal quality"²⁶; it continually recreates the social relations of its production. This reciprocal relation is what distinguishes social space from other things and products, as the outcome of past actions it is the social space that permits fresh actions to occur. Thus social space is at once 'work' and 'product'.

One of the instruments Lefebvre used as a means of broadening the concept of production and the Marxist ideological critique beyond the issues of economic determinants has been his work on the everyday life, which he continued for more than half a century. Even as early as the 1930's Lefebvre was talking about the importance of everyday life for developing a critique of alienation as one of the key concepts of modernity. In the initial volume of his trilogy, *Critique of Everyday Life* published in 1947, Lefebvre, "optimistically saw the critique of everyday life as a means of connecting Marxism more closely with the discourses of continental philosophy as well as injecting philosophy with a new appreciation for the concrete, the

²⁴ Shields, 159.

²⁵ Lefebvre, *Production*, 128.

²⁶ Shields, 159.

immediate, the routine, and the seemingly trivial events of everyday living.”²⁷

Beginning with this trilogy Lefebvre continued to develop his critique of everyday life in the following years, though his emphasis shifted. Initially considered with the rural life of peasantry, he then expanded his concept of ‘everyday life’ “into suburbia and ultimately to discuss the geography of social relations in general.”²⁸ In *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, published in 1968, Lefebvre “began regrounding his critique of everyday life and alienation in what he called the *urban condition* and in accompanying discourse on *modernity*.”²⁹ The organization of space with spatial attitudes and territorial distribution enabled capitalism to expand its control over the areas of private life and became an essential tool for the survival of capitalism. He suggested in this work that

*the great event of the last few years is that the effects of industrialization on a superficially modified capitalist society of production and property have produced their result: a programmed everyday life in its appropriate urban setting. Such a process was favored by the disintegration of the traditional town and the expansion of urbanism.*³⁰

This stress on everyday life in an urban context emphasized the material qualities of space and opened the term to public debate. Lefebvre developed “an urban political agenda based on the right of access and possession of the city as a common good and an ongoing, collective production.”³¹ In fact his later works on the city such as *Urban Revolution* and *Right to the City* “form a manifesto for independent social movements and community action.”³² The emphasis on everyday life as the primary locus of domination and struggle turned it into a critical political construct, which embodies both practices of oppression and potentialities for transformation. As Kristin Ross argues, Lefebvre presented

A new image of society as a city- and thus the beginning of a whole new thematics of inside and outside, of inclusion in and exclusion from, a positively- valued modernity. Cities possess a center and

²⁷ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 40.

²⁸ Shields, 141.

²⁹ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 42.

³⁰ Henry Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 1971), 65.

³¹ Shields, 143.

³² *Ibid.*, 141.

banlieues, and citizens, those on the interior, deciding who among the insiders should expelled and whether or not to open their doors to those on the outside. ³³

The consideration of everyday life as a political issue will be our starting point for the discussion we are planning to develop in this chapter. As we have tried to express, the primary basis of our argument is that the spaces we use, occupy, work or dwell are produced by social processes and practices. In this understanding, architecture cannot be treated as a series of disconnected objects to be viewed objectively but rather as an essential part of the urban, experienced subjectively. It shall be viewed as “an interdisciplinary nexus, as an intrinsic element of everyday life.”³⁴

In that sense, architecture is a part of the flow of space and time; it is “embedded in all routines, activities, patterns and emotions of quotidian life.”³⁵ Today, everyday architecture is very much influenced by the forces of late capitalist economy and governmental authority. These forces affect the market relations and the workplace, but they also extend their influence into the private spaces of consumption and reproduction- into the street, the home and family. Therefore, the banal arrangements of everyday architecture shall be viewed as the ground for “the inequalities of local cultures, from the repeated routine of everyday life to the cultural monuments and icons of state.”³⁶

The important point here is that, in the idea of everyday life Lefebvre also conditions the possibilities of resistance and criticism. This discussion shall be completed with the concept of ‘lived space’ that will be analyzed in the second chapter. Lefebvre states that,

*there can be no question but that social space is the locus of prohibition, for it is shot through with both prohibitions and their counterparts, prescriptions. This fact, however, can most definitely not be made into the basis of an overall definition, for space is not only the space of ‘no’, it is also the space of the body, hence the space of ‘yes’, of the affirmation of life.*³⁷

³³ Kristin Ross, 1996, 150. Quoted in Shields, *Lefebvre*, 141.

³⁴ Borden et al., “Things, Flows,” 3.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Shields, 145.

³⁷ Lefebvre, *Production*, 201.

At this juncture it is possible to return to the beginning of the thesis, and emphasize the necessity of the spatial practices for resisting the dominant forces shaping spatiality of capitalism. The things people do and the physicality they create does matter, for these actions contain within themselves the potential to transform or create new social spaces. 'Activity', then transforms users into subjects, into productive agents.

The idea of activity can be considered only through the particular conditions within which it takes place. Only through the specific conditions of the post-earthquake region, Düzce Association of Earthquake Victims (Düzce Depremzedeler Derneği) was able to gather around a specific task and struggle against the state for tenants' rights in housing. In this chapter, we will analyze the *activities* of this community-based organization, and try to understand how it developed the critical tools to display how meanings and values are produced in the formation of the residential environments. Within the organization and through the activities they carried out, the clues of a transformation of the victims from being residents to active citizens can be observed. For us, the means they use for reaching their aims and the values they propose imply an awareness of the actuality of the existing housing condition.

IV.1.3 Defining 'civil society'³⁸

The core meaning of 'civil society' designates "those social organizations, associations and institutions that exist beyond the sphere of direct supervision and control by state."³⁹ Today it is possible to talk about its expanded meaning including topics such as "participatory democracy, the social meaning of citizenship and justice in postmodern society."⁴⁰ Thus as a concept civil society has a fluid character so that we may perceive it as a mediation between the individual and the state as well as a basis for active resistance to authority.

³⁸ The concept of civil society and citizenship will be developed in more depth in the proceeding stages of the thesis.

³⁹ John Friedmann, "The New Political Economy of Planning: the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age," in *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, ed. Mike Douglas and John Friedmann (Chichester, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), 21.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 21.

Given that there is not a consensus on the boundaries that define this term, it is appropriate to set out my own take on the sphere of social practices that comprise civil society. In doing so, I will confine myself with the areas of definition that are in direct relation with the subject of this chapter. This is essential, for, as the basis of or at least as a vital element of both the political and economic spheres, civil society and the argument on its limits precede the scope of this thesis.

In defining the civil society, I will mainly focus on the contemporary arguments rather than the descriptions proposed by classical thinkers such as Hegel, Ferguson or Gramsci. Since different perspectives attribute differing meanings to the term, today, civil society is commonly defined in contradictory ways according to the focus, political position and relations of power inserted in the concept. Although it is hard to bring together all these perceptions of the term under one heading, it is possible to underline some common points.

To begin with, many of the definitions of civil society are derived from the character of its engagement with the state on the one side and the market on the other, which is usually formulized as a tripartite model of spheres such as: public, private and civil society. In most, "the concept of being civic lies somewhere between the private realm of one's existence and the public domain of officialdom. More important, it is produced by both spheres of activity and influence."⁴¹

According to Cohen and Arato, civil society is a sphere "of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere, the sphere of associations, social movements, and forms of public communication."⁴² As a part of the wider category of the 'social', civil society differentiates both from the political parties and organizations as well as from the economic organizations of production and distribution. But this definition is not enough since it would be "misleading to identify civil society with all of social life outside the administrative state and

⁴¹ Peter G. Rowe, *Civic Realism* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1997), 68.

⁴² Jean L. Cohen, Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Mass.:MIT Press, 1992), ix.

economic processes in the narrow sense.”⁴³ Instead, the institutions apart from the market and state become a part of civil society to the extent that they are “relations of conscious association, of self-organization and organized communication.”⁴⁴ Cohen and Arato, define four components of civil society as:

*(1) Plurality: families, informal groups and voluntary associations whose plurality and autonomy allow for a variety of forms of life; (2) publicity: institutions of culture and communication; (3) privacy: a domain of individual self-development and moral choice; (4) legality: the structure of general laws and basic rightness needed to demarcate plurality, privacy and publicity from at least state and, tendentially, the economy.*⁴⁵

Some authors underline the role of active citizenry in the formation of civil society. One of the reasons ‘civil society’ has variety of meanings depends on the discussions of the historical roots of the term. In this section, the aim is not to broaden our analysis with an examination of the term’s origins, but to relate our assertions with the conditions of modernity. Thus, citizenship is a term that shall be considered with the process of modernization and nation building. As it is stated in the previous chapter modernization “entails a bringing-in process that leads to the destruction of localism and the switch of loyalties from the local community to the nation- state.”⁴⁶

Within the nation-state as distinct from medieval polity, each citizen remains in a direct relation with the sovereign authority. Therefore, the codification of the rights and duties of the citizens is an important part of the modernization process. The question here is how exclusively or inclusively citizenship must be defined. In the beginning citizenship excluded all socially and economically dependent persons. But “in the course of the nineteenth century this massive restriction was gradually reduced until eventually all adults were classified as citizens.”⁴⁷ The subject was transformed into citizen, and the gradual integration of the citizen “into mechanisms of the national market, public administration and

⁴³ Cohen et al., ix.

⁴⁴ Cohen et al., x.

⁴⁵ Cohen et al., 346.

⁴⁶ Mouzelis, 237.

⁴⁷ Reinhard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship: Studies of Our Social Order* (New York, London: John Wiley& Sons), 74.

educational system went in hand with the formation of national identities.”⁴⁸

As a term citizenry is political, that acknowledges “(a) a territorial unit organized for a life in common- a political community; (b) the rights and obligations of members of this polity- the citizens- and their claim, legitimated by democratic theory, to be the sovereign of this polity to which the state must be accountable; and (c) the right of citizens to claim new rights for themselves.”⁴⁹ According to Friedman, the new awakening of citizen rights can be associated with three interconnected claims: “the struggle for the right to *voice*, the struggle for the right to *difference*, and the struggle for the right to *human flourishing*.”⁵⁰

IV.1.4 Civil Society in Turkey

The nature of politics and democracy in Turkey is different when compared to Western European experience and additional scrutiny is necessary for a more realistic definition of civil society in this region. In Turkey’s context, many authors argue that there is a strong state tradition with the central position of state-machinery and bureaucracy in Turkish democracy. In this asymmetrical power context, the duties of the citizens towards the state are emphasized against the rights of citizens as individuals.⁵¹ Hence, the historical background of civil society in Turkey is very much outlined by the dominance of state. In terms of actual organization civil society has not been very powerful and the people and institutions that constitute it do not have complete, unrestricted freedom from the traditionally coercive state bureaucracy.

Today, with the possibility of becoming a part of the European Union’s enlargement process, another dimension entered into the discussions on the state of civil society in Turkey. In December 1999, EU opened the

⁴⁸ Mouzelis, 237.

⁴⁹ John Friedman and Mike Douglas, “Editors’ Introduction,” *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, ed. Mike Douglas and John Friedman (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), 1.

⁵⁰ Friedman et al., “Editors’ Introduction,” 2.

⁵¹ Süleyman Sözen and Ian Shaw, “Turkey and the European Union: Modernizing a Traditional State?”, *Journal of Social Policy and Administration* 37 (April 2003) : 108-120.

possibility of membership to Turkey and with the agenda on EU accession and political reforms of this consolidation, different proposals proposed by various segments of civil society started to being discussed. This is an ongoing project, and although the political reforms have taken on a new urgency, their precise outcomes are still unknown.

In relation with the subject of this thesis, one important development in relation to civil society involvement occurred in the aftermath of the 1999 Marmara earthquakes. In the post earthquake period, the unexpected unprecedented mobilization of Turkish society and non-governmental organizations was realized by many as “a beginning, or perhaps a continuation of an awakening of Turkish society that started after Susurluk.”⁵² Whether or not the earthquake will be catalyst for fundamental changes is matter of discussion. Nevertheless, given the fact that there is a strong tradition of emphasizing authority over citizen empowerment and participation it may point to a significant in Turkey’s democratization process.

IV.2 SPACES OF REPRESENTATION

In relation with capitalism Shields summarized Lefebvre’s theses in three steps.

*First, social space is the location of the reproduction of relations of production and of ‘society’ in all its complexity. Second, the internal contradictions of capitalism have been managed through the development of a mediating system of spatiality and of modes of occupying geographic space. In volume 4 of De l’Etat this is developed as a third argument, that the production of this capitalist spatialization is accomplished through the activities of the state, which oversees what he calls the ‘statist mode of production’.*⁵³

In Lefebvre’s understanding urbanity can be defined as a centrality, which brings social interactions together. In that sense, the changing social relations or the economic factors under capitalism affect the quality of access and participation to the urban environment. Thus in *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre seeks for a humanistic basis “from which to launch a critique of the denial individual and community’s ‘rights to space’ under

⁵² Kubicek, 769.

⁵³ Shields, 153

the abstract spatialization embodied in capitalism and technocratic knowledge structures of the state.”⁵⁴

IV.2.1 The Origin Story of ‘Düzce Association of Earthquake Victims’

Access to a good living environment is mostly shaped by income and wealth that are linked to property rights and labor markets. This case study offers an example to community based actions in relation to disadvantages in housing. The condition of the environment after the earthquake created the ground for the emergence of commonalities through different economic, political or civic contexts. Consequently there have been many associations formed by the victims of the earthquake in different parts of the earthquake region, such as Adapazarı Depder, Avcılar Gümüşpala Dayanışma Derneği, Bekirpaşa Depder, Değirmendere Depder, Düzce Depder, Gölcük Mağdurları Dayanışma Derneği, Karamürsel Depder and Yalova Depder. In the words of an introductory brochure outlined by the associations named above the aims of this ‘Association of Earthquake Victims’ (depremzede dernekleri) is summarized as an attempt “to ensure that the people who suffer from the earthquake and continue their lives in the coercive conditions of that region *can claim for their basic human rights and make themselves heard.*”⁵⁵

After the earthquake the energy gathered by the crisis conditions transformed into collective action. Consequently, the victims of the 12 November Düzce earthquake, “to cope with the difficulties of the catastrophe environment in company and to offer solutions to the existing problems together”, realized Düzce Association of Earthquake Victims.⁵⁶ The primary relation uniting the members of this association was their geographical positioning; to reside in Düzce was the basic condition to enlist to the organization. For many, Düzce had been the place where they had spent most of their lives, and in spite of the many different solutions

⁵⁴ Shields, 146.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Düzce DepDer Brochure01 (Düzce, 2001). Emphasis added. “Amaç depremzedeler arasında yardımlaşma ve dayanışmayı güçlendirmek. Deprem yüzünden çeşitli acılar ve sıkıntılar yaşayan, hayatları zorlaşan insanların haklarını arayabilmelerini ve seslerini duyurabilmelerini sağlamak.”

⁵⁶ Quoted in Düzce DepDer Brochure02 (Düzce, 2003). Emphasis added. “Düzce Depremzedeler Derneği, 12 Kasım Depreminin ardından depremzedelerin mağduriyetlerini birlikte gidermek, sorunlarına birlikte çözüm bulmak için oluşturdukları bir dernektir.” See Fig IV.3.

proposed in terms of temporary settlement, most wanted to or was obliged to continue their lives within the same region.

This crisis theme in the origin story has intensity and power because a huge number of people sharing the same struggles were seeking housing most urgently and therefore were ready to make greatest sacrifices to get it. In more general terms, a house is one of the most important material possessions a person can have and its lack or satisfaction affect the well-being of the individual. In addition, the residential domain can be considered the region where the citizen relates with the city. Therefore the stability of the neighborhood is an essential part of the continuity of life. Thus an interruption, which affects the unity of the residential settings spark a different kind of energy.

Here a distinction can be made between *organized* and *mobilized* forms of civil society. Although most of the time civil society exists for itself, in some historical moments mobilization “occurs around a specific purpose that, by its very nature, is political in a sense quite different from the politics of everyday life.”⁵⁷ Likewise, in this case study, civil society was set in motion through the associations that were structured around struggles for the right to live in a decent house. In time, by adopting a constitution that is acceptable by the community at large and by establishing a democratic mechanism of liability, DDD legitimized itself as a community organization and was in a position to negotiate with the power holders. Thus, based on the definitions proposed in the previous sections, DDD can be considered as an example of a community based organization, which hopes to be responsive to, and respected by its locality.

One of the first issues taken by this organization was the attitude of the government to the existing structures in the earthquake region. DDD detected many insufficiencies in the arrangements and the applications of the government, which in return provided the ground for illegal practices. With public announcements and written material such as brochures, DDD *proposed* solutions to these problems and moreover *demand*ed from the government for the realization of these suggestions. Although these issues

⁵⁷ Friedmann, “The New Political Economy of Planning,” 23.

have been analyzed by different disciplines in differing mediums, it is possible to distinguish the efforts of DDD in two distinct ways. To begin with, DDD is an organization working at a local level. Here we do not use local as being closed off from the outer influences, but “as the effective terrain for engagement in civic life beyond the household and in relation to the state and the corporate economy.”⁵⁸ Through the process of organization and formulization of the aims, the members of DDD started to learn the basics of laws in relation with housing and become aware of their citizen rights. This also assisted the development an awareness of how the social and economic systems work associated to housing and at times to the disadvantage of those with low incomes. Once the limits and the meaning of citizenship were revealed, the victims claimed for and at times tried to expand these rights. Secondly, in a society where the usage of the public space is limited, DDD’s efforts to make themselves heard is important. The victims did not wait for any political party or another organization to represent themselves, but used the public domain to realize their aims. Of course not all the members of the organization were active participants, but this story shall be viewed as a process, probably a slow one, but one transforming the society from within. In fact these efforts uncover the true meaning of being a citizen, because “citizenship is political and thus a concept in the public sphere.”⁵⁹

We will mainly dwell on the actions of DDD in the time period following March 2002 until today. The significance of this dating is that, in March 2002 Ministry of Public Works and Settlement started working on the elimination of the prefabricated buildings. According to Ayşegül Şenol, when they set off for removing these buildings by regions many people were left homeless, continuing their lives in severe conditions. Hence the members suffering from this situation demanded of Düzce Depder to take more interest in their problems. From then on, the association has undertaken the tenant’s (kiracı depremzedeler) housing problems as a priority.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Friedmann et al., “Editor’s Introduction,” 1.

⁵⁹ Friedmann et al., “Editor’s Introduction,” 1.

⁶⁰ “2002 mart nisan tarihinde tüm prefabrikleri kaldırmakla ilgili bir çalışma başlattı Bayındırlık Bakanlığı. Hatta zamanın Bayındırlık Bakanı bunu sağlamak amacıyla prefabriklerde PKK oturuyor diye açıklamalar yapmıştı. Belli bölgeleri

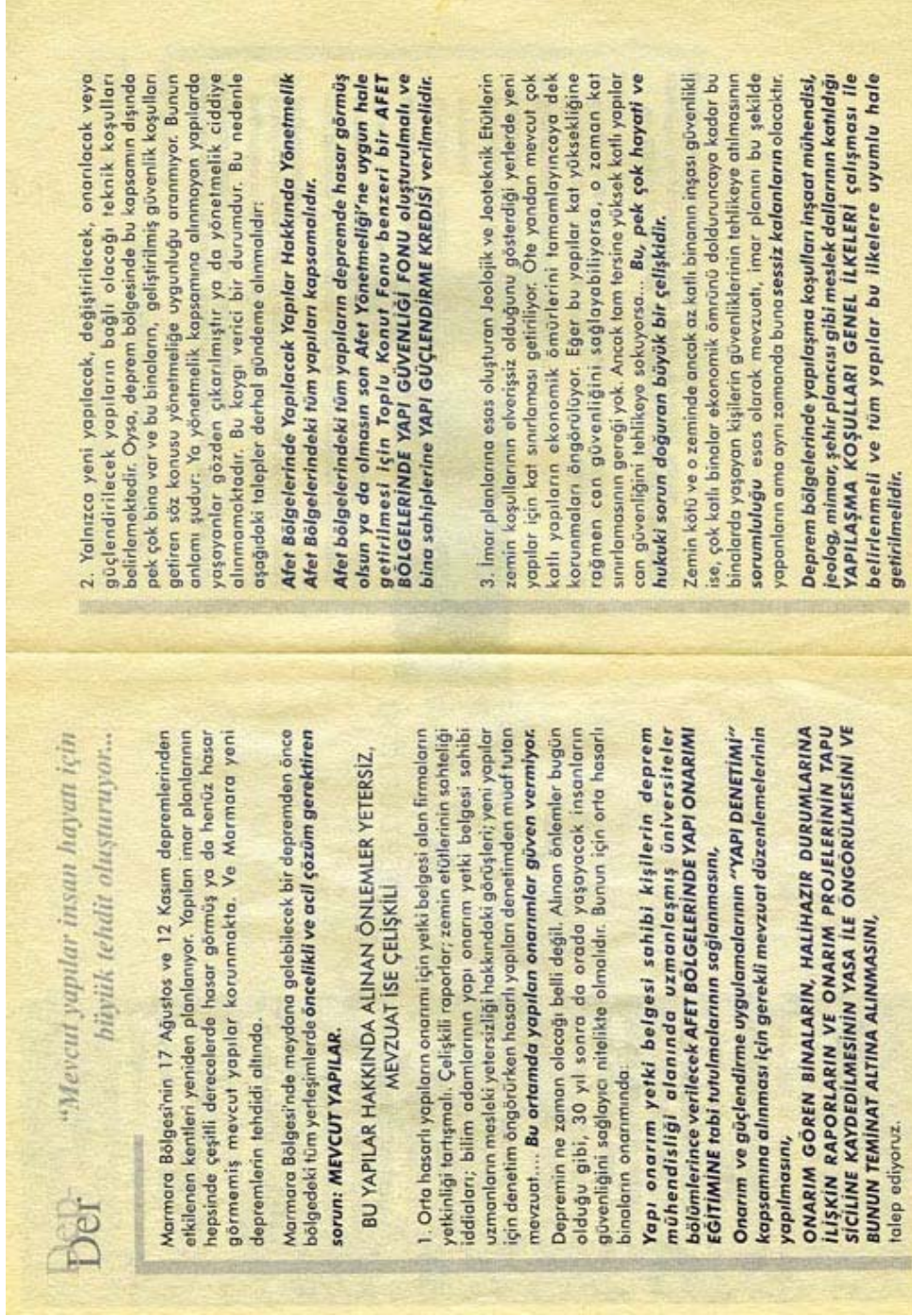


Fig IV.1: Düzce DepDer, Brochure 01, Düzce, 2001.

lokal olarak kaldırmaya başladıklarında- bizde derneğimizde gördük- insanlar mağdur durumda kalıyorlardı. Prefabriklerde yaşayan insanlar bizle hiç ilgilenmiyorsunuz hep hak sahiplerinin sorunlarıyla ilgilenmiyorsunuz dediler, o günden bu güne ‘kiracı depremzedelerin’ konut sorunuyla ilgilenir olduk. O gün için bir müddet daha prefabriklerin kalması yönünde bir karar çıkmasına sebebiyet vermiş oldu yaptığımız bu çalışmalar.” Ayşegül Şeno1, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 12 September 2004.

“Yapı denetimine ilişkin güvensizliğimiz büyüyor...”

Yapı denetiminin yasal zeminini oluşturan, Yapı Denetimi Hakkında Kanun Hükmündeki Kararname;

öngörülen mesleki sorumluluk sigortası uygulamasının, sigorta şirketlerinin reasürans güvencesi vermemesi nedeniyle hayata geçirilememesi,

yapı denetim ek maliyetinin sadece mülk sahibine yüklenmesi, uzmanlığın, mesleki yeterliliğin, sadece 12 yıllık diploma sahibi olmaya indirgenmesi,

kamu binalarının denetim dışı bırakılması,

firmaların ortaklarından sadece % 51'inin mesleki ilgisinin aranması,

gibi nedenlerle uzmanlar tarafından eksik ve hatalı şekilde nitelendirilmektedir.

Bu durum karşısında güvensizliğimiz büyüyor.

Yapı Denetim Mevzuatının, yeniden düzenlenerek, sorununa uygulanabilir ve güvenilir bir çözüm getirmesi şarttır.

Ve biliyoruz ki esas olan kamu kuruluşlarının yapı denetimini yapabilir hale getirilmesidir. Kamu yararını güden bir anlayıştan beklenen budur.

“Deprem bölgesinde yerleşim sorunu hak sahiplerine konut sağlanmasının çok ötesinde çözüm gerekiyor...”

Deprem bölgesinde,

1. yapıların önemli bir kısmının oturulamaz duruma gelmiş olması,
2. oturulamayacak durumda olan konutların ancak belirli bir oranının kalıcı konutlarla karşılanabilmesi (her hak sahibine bir konut),
3. can güvenliği nedeni ile imar planlarında yapılması zorunlu kat indirimleri

sonucu büyük bir konut açığı vardır.

Hak sahibi olamayanların konut ihtiyacını giderici çözümler üretilmelidir. Bilindiği gibi bölge halkının önemli bir bölümü 17 Ağustos ve 12 Kasım depremlerinde birikimini, işini ve belki de ailenin geçimini sağlayan ferdini kaybetmiş ve ekonomik açıdan çok güç durumda kalmıştır. Konut açığının en çok deprem öncesi mülk sahibi olmadığı için hak sahibi yapılmayan bu kişi ve aileleri etkileyeceği açıktır.

Bu kesimin konut sorunu merkezi yönetim ve belediyelerin işbirliği ile; ALTYAPILI ARSA ÜRETİMİ, kamu veya dış kaynakların girişimiyle TOPLU KONUT YATIRIMLARI, birey veya kooperatiflere uzun vadeli KONUT KREDİSİ, gibi,

Türkiye'de bugüne dek pek çok kere uygulanmış ve önemli bir deneyim birikimi sağlanmış yöntemlerle çözümlenmiştir. Bu büyüklükteki bir afet sonrası, iyi örgütlenmiş kamu girişimlerinin kaynak bulmakta zorluk çekmeyeceği, Erzincan deneyiminde görülmüştür.

Fig IV.2:Düzce DepDer, Brochure 01, Düzce,2001.

IV.2.2 Empowerment of the Victims

Even three years after the earthquake there were still significant amount of people residing in the prefabricated settlements, an environment I have already referred to in the previous chapters. Life in these settings was not easy. The houses were small, especially for a traditional Turkish family with more than one child in the household, consisting of a single room roughly 25 to 30 m² in floor area. In most, the infrastructures providing the basic facilities such as plumbing and site drainage were not sufficient. This was partly due to the fact that, these residents were built with emergency measures, and they were supposed to be temporary.

Although the families considered the prefabricated houses as a stepping-stone to a more permanent housing solution, majority of the households had no other choice to shelter themselves. Therefore families continued to stay in these settlements, converting this prefabricated context in various ways. People appropriated and transformed their houses with small additions depending on the idea of what an 'ideal house' should look like. In some instances a porch was added, at others, a lamppost or a curtain or a roof. These insignificant additions answer the need for belonging to a place, carrying these individual tactics of adaptation beyond the production of basic sheltering. At the end, these settlements started to signify a community that cannot be reduced to being temporary.

And so, when rumors about the termination of the prefabricated houses started to come out, a reaction surfaced among the residents. For people who cannot find a decent housing at rentals they can afford to pay, this meant being thrown to the street. Despite the dimension of temporality pervasive in prefabricated settlements from the start, residents and their supporters started to get organized around Düzce DepDer and searching for ways to postpone the closure of these settlements. As a result, the representatives of the residents, Düzce DepDer, Gölcük DepDer and İzmit Bekirpaşa DepDer organized a walk to Ankara, 'Ankara Demonstration' (Ankara Yürüyüşü), to keep the prefabricated houses operating. On June 24, 2002 the spokespersons representing these associations succeeded in meeting with Abdulkadir Akçan, the head of the Ministry of Public Works

and Settlement at the time being.⁶¹ Through this dialogue, they tried to clarify the situation and convince the government that there was not sufficient housing at rents within the income brackets of the settlers. They claimed that people still needed these settlements. At the end, the meeting succeeded with the extension of the lease for another year. But everybody recognized that this was just another temporary solution. Although the residents got what they came for, at the end, the problem at hand was only postponed to some other time. For the residents “the end of the road was seen.”⁶²

In Ankara Demonstration, DDD also met with the President of Turkey, Necdet Sezer. In most of the meetings held in Ankara, for more often than not DDD was confronted with other examples of earthquake regions where the victims continued their lives in more severe conditions.⁶³ The representatives of DDD were asked to be patient and in a way, to be contended with what they had. But according to Şenol, now that they had experienced the disaster it was impossible to sit back and watch the same irregular and illegal activities to take place. She claimed that, “Our lives have changed. It changed because we were situated on the North Anatolian Fault Line. It changed because this incident took place in 1999. Nevertheless it changed irreversibly.”⁶⁴

⁶¹ “24 haziran 2002 tarihinde hep beraber Ankaraya gittik. Giderken Gölcük, İzmit ve Düzce’deki depremzede dernekleri olarak hareket ettik. Abdulkadir Akçan’la görüştüğ. Kendisine durumu açıkladık. Çoğu depremedenin hala prefabriklerde oturduğunu, hatta bir kısmının bu binalarda kiracı olarak bulunduğunu anlattık. Prefabriklere insanların hala ihtiyacı vardı. Ne zamana kadar. Temelli bir konut sorunu çözülene kadar.” Ayşegül Şenol, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 12 September 2004.

⁶² Quoted in Düzce DepDer Brochure02 (Düzce, 2003). “Yaşadıkları prefabrikleri boşaltmaları istenen kiracılara, imza kampanyaları ve yetkililerle Ankara’da yapılan görüşmeler sonunda bir sene daha ek süre tanındı. Ama herkes bunun geçici bir çözümlüğü olduğunu farkında. *Yolun sonu göründü.*” See Fig IV.4.

⁶³ “Başka yerlerle kıyas edilmeye çalışılıyor. Mesela Bartu depreminden hala daha konutlarını alamayan insanlar var. Bunlar doğrudan hak sahibi olan insanlar. Doğrudur tabi, Türkiyenin başka bölgelerinde çok daha kötü koşullarında yaşayan insanlar da var mutlaka. Ama bu bölgedeki insanlar bir miktar şehirleşmesinde etkisiyle çok fazla yapılaşmayla, yapsatıcılıkla, denetimsizlikle baş başa bırakılmış. Belki deprem olmasaydı bu usulsüzlük devam ediyordu. Hiç bir şey değişmiyecekti hayatımızda, ama artık öyle değil.” Ayşegül Şenol, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 12 September 2004.

⁶⁴ “Değişti bizim hayatımız. Kuzey anadolu fay hattında olduğumuz için değişti. Belkide bu 1999 yılında yaşandığı için değişti. Belki 1970 yılında yaşansaydı daha farklı bir sonuç çıkardı ortaya. Ne olursa olsun geri dönüşü olmayan bir



Figure IV.3: Ankara Demonstration. Ankara, 2002.



Figure IV.4: Ankara Demonstration. Ankara, 2002.

şekilde deđiřti.” Ayřegül řenol, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 12 September 2004.

IV.2.3 Homeless Victims' Solidarity Housing Cooperative/ Evsiz Depremzedeler Dayanışma Konut/ Yapı Kooperatifi

*30% of the residents residing the prefabricated houses, because their houses got demolished or heavily or moderately damaged in the earthquake, possessed the right to get a new house or to receive construction credits from the government. But for the victims who did not have a property and therefore had been living in the earthquake region as tenants no policies or solutions were proposed. In this sense it is not possible to conclude that the necessity of the entire population within the region was taken into consideration. Besides, since in the planning process the needs of the victims were not considered thoroughly, it is most probably that the prefabricated houses, which were meant to be temporary, will be used as permanent settlements.*⁶⁵

The 'Ankara Demonstration' and its resulting meeting with Akçan on June 24, 2002, assisted the residents in a way they did not expect. Through their conversation, Akçan mentioned an option: supplying a site with the basic environmental services, such as water, sewerage, electricity and etc. and the provision of low credits to build houses on this land. For the residents, this proposal displayed an approach they did not consider until then. Instead of demanding everything from the State, they could get organized and direct the means for resolving their sheltering problem.⁶⁶

DDD held on long lasting debates on the possibility of getting coordinated and if so, what kind of cooperative would meet the necessary aims of the organization. Once they were confident that they could overcome this task, an example for the 'ana sözleşme' was found and arranged according to the aims and priorities of the victims.

⁶⁵ "Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı'nın Marmara ve Düzce Depremleri Sonrası Faaliyetleri," (Ankara:T.C. Sayıştay Bakanlığı, March 2002), 46.

⁶⁶ "O yüzdende o gün yapmış olduğumuz görüşmede aslında onunda bize verdiği bir fikir vardı. Siz eğer kooperatifleşirseniz biz de size altyapılı arazi ve ucuz kredi sağlarız dedi Bayındırlık Bakanı Akçan. Biz böyle düşünmemiştik aslında, doğrudan devletten istiyorduk. Yapılabilir bir şey olduğunu anladık, kendi iç örgütlenmemizi sağlayabilirsek. Kooperatifçiliğinde ana fikri aslında birbirine destek olmak, güç birliği, dayanışma gibi kavramlar olduğu için bu toplulukla biz bu işi başarırız diye düşündük, özellikle Düzcedeki arkadaşlar olarak söylüyoruz. Uzun süren toplantılarımız oldu, acaba kooperatifleşebilir miyiz, kooperatifleşirsek nasıl bir kooperatif yapabiliriz bunu." Ayşegül Şenol, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 12 September 2004.

The first initiative was to clarify the terms for becoming a member of the cooperative. To begin with, the first principle to take part in this scheme was to reside in Düzce. The members of DDD were sensitive to constitute the cooperative with people who survived the earthquake within the limits of Düzce. Actually, this condition had to be proven by all the associates before they became a part of the project. Secondly, no member including his/her partner and children under the age of eighteen was to own a house in any part of Turkey. Finally, in DDD there were victims with highly damaged houses in which nobody could reside. Therefore a further clause was added about the members who had a house but could not live in it. As a result, the cooperative was made up families who had proven that they had no other alternative for sheltering.⁶⁷

IV.2.4 Organizational Proposal of the Cooperative

In this chapter, we aim to propose an additional perspective that shall supplement the previous discussions. Often, architects treat housing as a technical, aesthetical or a financial problem with no relation to politics. However, many of the decision taken in relation with housing depend on the political attitudes and the current decision systems operating in a country. In spite of the entire housing problems experienced all around the world, self-help actions is not favored by most of the governments. As stated by Francis J. Amos

*Self-help action is dependent upon people deciding for themselves, but governments can see, in this devolution of power to communities to decide for themselves, a threat to the authority of the government. Thus, while there may be a universal acceptance of the need for self-help, political systems may inhibit the development of the very institutions which could assist in improving housing conditions as well as strengthening the fabric of government.*⁶⁸

⁶⁷ “O yüzden bir ana sözleşme örneği bulduk. Bu ana sözleşmeye neler ekleyebiliriz, neleri güvence altına almamız gerekir, onları düşündük. Üye olabilme koşullarından başladık. Bu kooperatife kimlerin üye olması gerektiğini çok önemsiyorduk. Kendisinin, eşinin 18 yaşından küçük çocuğunun üzerine kayıtlı bir evi olmaması lazımdı. Aile olarak düşünülürken oturacak bir konutunun olmaması gerekiyordu.” Ayşegül Şenol, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 12 September 2004.

⁶⁸ Francis J.C. Amos, “Political and Administrative Factors in Low-income Housing,” in *Low-income Housing in the Developing World*, ed. G.K.Payne (John Wiley&Sons, 1984), 164.

The struggle of DDD with the government for site and services will be considered thoroughly in the next part. In this section, we will go over the proposal suggested by Homeless Victims' Solidarity Housing Cooperative about the organization of the cooperative and try to understand if "this devolution of power to communities to decide for themselves" does have a meaning for architectural discipline. Based on the existing situation we have tried to summarize so far and based on the aims of DDD in realizing this cooperative, several objectives were adapted for the project.

To begin with, the most important aspect is that the project has to be accessible to low-income groups that form the majority of the organization. It is planned to be self-financing, but even self-financing projects require some capital to get started. In the case of getting the right to build on the site they plan for, the costs of materials and construction has to be minimized and the implementation has to be completed with minimum subsidy. Secondly, in relation with the previous objective, the project has to be applicable immediately once the disagreement on the site has been solved. Third, the cooperative has to be capable of moving ahead without continued support from the outside agents. Therefore the administration system has to be simple and realistic. And lastly, since this is a unique example for Turkey and since none of agents involved in the project experienced a similar case before, the project has to be capable of modification with time and changing external factors.



Figure IV.5: Düzce DepDer, Brochure 02. Düzce, 2002.



Figure IV.6: Düzce DepDer, Brochure 02. Düzce, 2002.

In this story, we aim to emphasize especially the participatory concepts present in the proposal for the implementation of these objectives. Both the method of construction and decision making process depend on the users'

participations and collective energy. Thus, our attention is on the space of those who are referred as 'users' or 'inhabitants'. Lefebvre, in *The Production of Space*, emphasizes the vagueness existing within these terms:

Their marginalization by spatial practice thus extends even to language. The word 'user' (usager), for example, has something vague- and even vaguely suspect- about it. 'User of what?' one tends to wonder...The fact is that the most basic demands of 'users' (suggesting 'underprivileged') and 'inhabitants' (suggesting 'marginal') find expression only with great difficulty, whereas the signs of their situation are constantly increasing and often stare us in the face.⁶⁹

IV.2.4.1 "sweat equity"

To meet the objectives presented above, HVSHC decided to implement a similar model of construction to the one proposed by AVS for the Solidarity Houses. As stated before, the members of the cooperative were not capable of residing themselves within the framework of the contemporary housing provision system. As an alternative, a model based on the participation of the users in the housing activity was initiated. For them, this mode of house production is to solve two practical realities. First, this method reduces the costs and increases the availability of the houses for the families involved. Secondly, by observing every phase of the construction members will feel safer about the houses they are going to live in.⁷⁰

Through the meetings held in the cooperative, these ideas were transformed into articles and were applied to the contract. According to these additional articles, applicants have to fulfill the requirements of 'sweet equity' throughout the project. This means that all the members of the cooperative are to participate in the construction process as unskilled workers in

⁶⁹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 362.

⁷⁰ "Bunun iki sebebi vardı. Birincisi ekonomik sebebi. Bugün konut sahibi olmak çok büyük maliyetlere mal oluyor. Hatta dışardaki insanlar paranız yok neyle konut yapıyorsunuz diyorlar. Yani yalnızca parası olan insanların konutu olabileceği gibi bir düşünce yerleşmiş hepimizin beynine. Bu çok büyük maliyetleri aşağı çekmiyor belki ama genede bu durumda olan üyelerimizin durumu kolaylaştırarak. İkinciside hala daha insanlar çok katlı ve betonarme binalara güvenmiyor. O yüzden bu güveni oluşturmanın belki bir yoluda bütün inşaat sürecini gözleyebilmekten geçiyor dedik. Bide binasıyla ilgili tüm bilgiye sahip olacak, belki bir mühendis gibi değil ama genel bilgileri bilecek, aklına takılanları soracak." Ayşegül Şenol, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 12 September 2004.

cyclical terms.⁷¹ At the end, the building of the houses will be combination of self-help efforts and the use of skilled workers for tasks such as concrete pouring, bricklaying and carpentry.

In many ways the method of developing proposals is as important as the proposals themselves, but what matters in the end is what is implemented. The members were anxious if they could manage to organize themselves and put these participatory concepts into practice. In this kind of a housing scheme where the emphasis is on the agents, the organizational cost may as well exceed the direct savings aimed through self- help. In addition, the members of the cooperative were not self sufficient since most have not been part of a communal project before. In other words, for the victims it was hard to conceive of themselves and the group in the process of construction clearly.

IV.2.4.2 “administrative equity”

In a cooperative interpreting participatory concepts, the coordination of the agents and therefore the administrative structure requires additional concentration. According to Şenol, there were two main objectives in relation with the organization of the HVSHC: “(1) to obtain the participation of the members in the decision making process, (2) to obtain the participation of the members for controlling the actions of the cooperative.”⁷² In the establishment of the decision system, the members chose not to leave the authority to a single ‘Board of Directors’ (Yönetim Kurulu). Initially, the cooperative started working with a ‘Committee of Representatives’ (Temsilciler Heyeti), which in the course of process transformed into what they label ‘Inquiry Committee’ (Danışma Kurulu).⁷³

⁷¹ “Bu konutların yapımına katılacak olan herkesin inşaat sürecinde kendi zamanlarını ayarladıkları bir güne isabet ederek dönüşümlü olarak vasıfsız işlerde çalışmaları konusunda herkes hem fikir oldu.” Ayşegül Şenol, interview by author, written notes, Düzce, 12 September 2004.

⁷² Ayşegül Şenol, conversation with the author (09, 2004). “Karar mekanizmasını oluştururken iki noktaya önem verdik. 1.doğrudan üyelerin kararlara katılımını sağlamak 2. üyelerin denetimini doğrudan sağlayabilmek, yalnızca denetim kuruluna yada genel kurula bırakmamak.”

⁷³ Ayşegül Şenol, conversation with the author (09, 2004). “İşleyişi yalnızca bir yönetim kuruluna bırakmamak kanaati oluştu bizde. Ve temsilciler heyeti diye bir heyetle başladık çalışmalara. Bu şekil ala ala en son kooperatif ana sözleşmesinde danışma kurulu diye bir anlama kavuştu.”

The members of the cooperative select Inquiry Committee in the general assemblies. In return, each associate of the Inquiry Committee represents ten other members of the cooperative. In the process of decision-making the representatives have the duty to communicate with these ten members and forward their ideas to the Inquiry Committee.⁷⁴

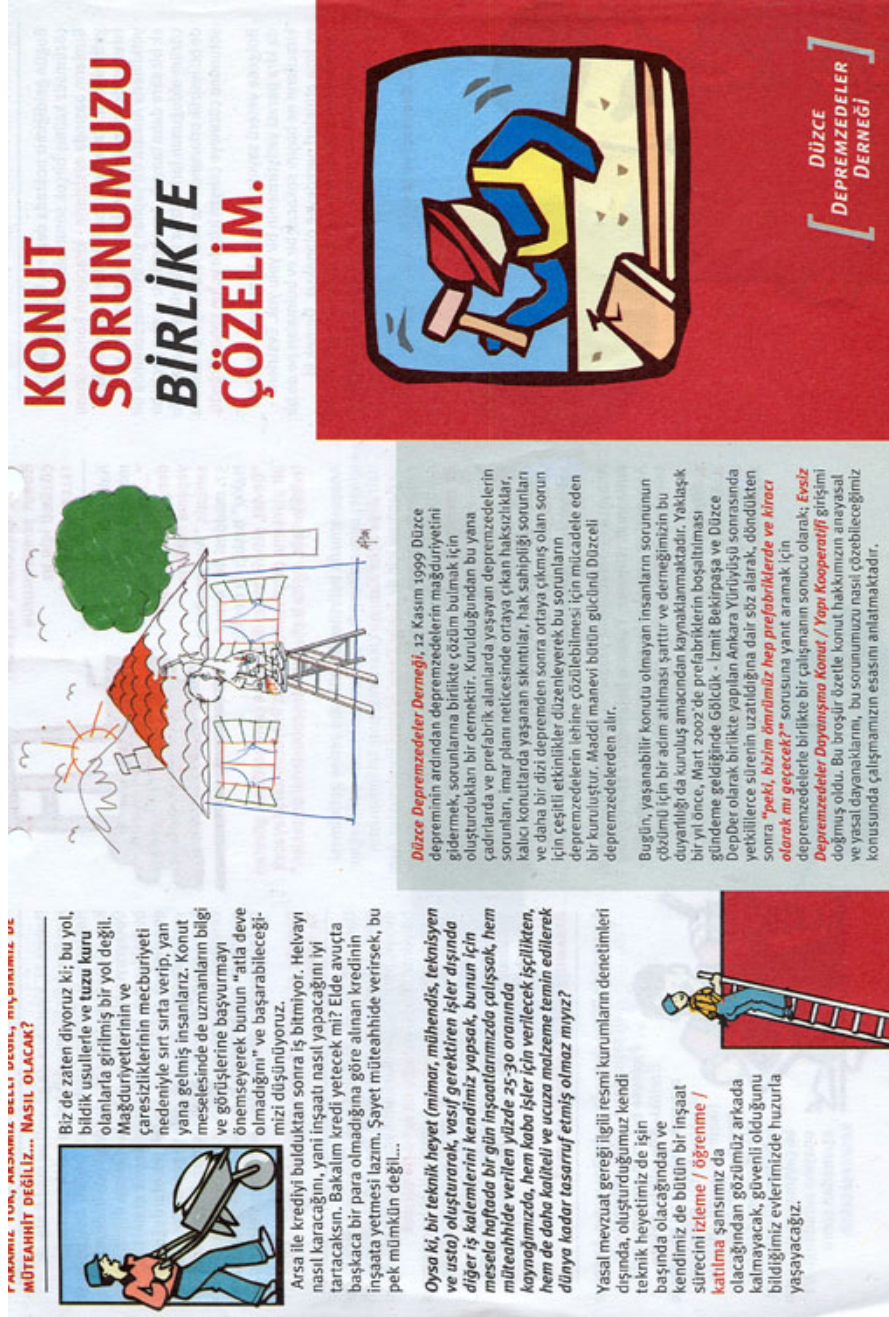


Fig IV.7: Düze DepDer, Brochure 03, Düze, 2003.

⁷⁴ Ayşegül Şenol, conversation with the author (09, 2004). "Bu danışma kurulu genel kurullarda seçiliyor. Her on üyeye bir danışma kurulu üyesi düşüyor. Danışma üyesi kararı alırken on kişinin kararını iletiyor danışma kuruluna. Danışma kurulu da bu anlamda kararlarını oluşturuyor."

BU KONUT SORUNU DA NEREDEN ÇIKTI?

Bugün geldiğimiz noktada deprem bölgesinde hâlâ çözümsüz kalmış birçok sorun olduğunu görüyoruz. Bunların başında evsizlerin - kiraclarının konut sorunu gelmektedir. Yaşadıkları prefabrikleri boşaltmaları istenen depremzedelere, imza kampanyaları ve yetkililerle Ankara'da yapılan görüşmeler sonunda bir ek bir süre daha tanıdık. Ama hepimiz bunun geçici bir çözüm olduğunu farkındayız Prefabrikte yaşayan için de bu işsizlik ortamında zor bela kira ödeyerek barınma sorununu çözmeye çalışan için de **yolun sonu göründü**.

Bölgede yeterli sayıda **güvenilir** konut yok. Olanlara da kira parası yetiştirilmenin bir yolu yok. Evsizlerin - kiraclarının ne başını sokacak bir ev bulmaları ne de bir ev inşa etmeleri neredeyse olanaksız. Demek ki prefabriklerden çıkarılınca ya da bütçesine göre kiralık bir ev bulmayınca geriye kalan çözüm "ya iç güveysi olmak" ya da "sokakta kalmak" ... **Öyle mi?**

HAYIR. Anayasal ve yasal haklarımız var...



YAL HAKLARIMIZ NELERDİR?

KONUT SORUNUMUZUN ÇÖZÜMÜ İÇİN NE TALEP EDİYORUZ?

Anayasamızın 56. maddesine göre

"...herkes sağlıklı ve dengeli bir çevrede yaşama hakkına sahiptir." Anayasamızın 57. maddesi de "konut hakkı" başlığıyla der ki;

"Devlet, şehirlerin özelliklerini ve çevre şartlarını gözeten bir planlama çerçevesinde konut ihtiyacını karşılayacak tedbirleri alır, ayrıca toplu konut teşebbüslerini destekler."

Anayasamızda belirtilen bu hükümün yerine getirilmesi içinse; uygun altyapılı arsaların nasıl temin edileceğine dair **Arsa Ofisi Kanunu** çıkarılmış; parasal imkanların sağlanması için de **Toplu Konut İdaresi** kurulmuştur. Aynı zamanda kurulan Toplu Konut İdaresi'nin kaynaklarının nasıl kullanılacağına dair de **Toplu Konut İdaresi'nin Kaynaklarının Kullanım Şekline İlişkin Yönetmelik** çıkarılmıştır.

İlgili kanun ve yönetmeliklerde: "...ihtiyaç sahibi insanların oluşturduğu toplu konut girişimleri için arsa temin etmek ve afet geçirmiş yerler için öncelikle kredi kaynakları sağlamak..." açıkça belirtilmiştir.

Anayasa ve belirttiğimiz yasalarda gösterilen haklarımızı kullanmak istiyoruz. Yukarıda belirttiğimiz belirttiğimiz Anayasal ve yasal haklarımız çerçevesinde aşağıdaki taleplerimizi öne sürüyoruz; elde etmek için çalışıyoruz:

1. **Altyapılı arsa temini;**
2. **Afet Geçirmiş İl Statüsü üzerinden faizsiz ve en az onbeş yılda geri ödemesi, toplu konut kredisi sağlanması.**

PEKİ BU HAKLARIMIZI ALABİLECEK MİYİZ?

Demek ki, kiracların da güvenli ve maddi olarak karşılanabilir bir ev sahibi olma hakları varmış. Haklarımızı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti Anayasası ve kanunlarında belirtilen esaslar dâhilinde ifade ediyoruz. Dolayısıyla hükümet ve diğer kurumlara düşen görev, bu haklarımızı kullanabilmemizi teşvik etmektir; engellemek değil. Ayrıca, biz tek tek oturduğumuz yerden ilenerek, diyenerek, gelene geçene "ne olur bize kendimiz çalışarak, en düşük maliyetle konut sahibi olabilmek için birbirimizle sırt sırta veremeyi başararak bu taleplerimizi dile getiriyor, yetkililere iletiyoruz."

DIYELİM Kİ KREDİ VE ARSA SORUNUMUZ ÇÖZÜLDÜ. YA SONRA?...

Dar geliri insanlar topluluğuyuz. Bizim için konut kadar onun maliyeti ve güvenliği de önemlidir. Hem maliyeti düşük, hem de güvenilir konut yapımının zor olduğunu biliyoruz. **Biz bu zorluğu da sırt sırta vererek aşabileceğimize inanıyoruz.** O yüzden ki bu çalışmaya katılan her insan en az haftada bir gün inşaatlarda çalışması gerektiğini bilmekte. Pekî kendisi çalışmayacak durumda ise ne olacak? Bu durumu grubundakiler birinin çalışması için başvuruda bulunabilecektir.

ARSAMIZ NEREDE, PROJEMİZ NEREDE?

Arsamız için Düzce civarında, yerleşime uygun, hazineye ait taşınmazlar talep edilmektedir.

Projeyle bulunan arsanın zemin özelliklerini öncelikle dikkate alınarak çözülecek ve bu evlerde

oturacak bütün insanların fikirlerini beyan ettiği ve beyan edilen fikirlerin mimar-mühendislerce değerlendirilerek tekrar bu çalışmaya katılanların onayına sunulduğu bir aşamadan sonra kesinleşecektir.



Başaracağız

Fig IV.8: Düzce DepDer, Brochure 03, Düzce, 2003.

IV.2.5 Urban Social Movements

Throughout the late 1960s and 1970s there has been a change in the Marxist urban research, which emphasized the importance of state intervention in urban economies. These works meant that “the relations of production could not be theorized simply in terms of an opposition between capital and labor: the rise of the state as the administrator or planner of capitalist societies now had to be considered.”⁷⁵ Manuel Castells was one of the first and most influential writers who tried to form a materialist theory of urban processes under capitalism. He explored the formation and effects of the ‘urban social movements’, which were the results of unequal distribution of the elements of ‘collective consumption’, such as schools, hospitals and housing.

The discourse of urban social movements considered the spaces of everyday life as an arena of revolutionary politics. The intervention of the state in urban processes led to the unequal distribution of state services and at times resulted with political movements. These movements are specifically urban in character linking together different classes against government policy. Yet we must be careful about “the articulation between ‘urban’ struggle and political struggle”, because, although the basis of these protest movements are organized around urban issues that link different classes together, “it is very risky to limit oneself to studying the relation in one direction, for there is strong chance of finding the maximum movement of transformation where the political class struggle is the central element of the ‘urban’ mobilization.”⁷⁶

IV.2.5.1 ‘the right to city’

*The right to difference, to be different, against the increasing forces of homogenization, fragmentation and hierarchically organized power that defined the specific geography of capitalism...a meeting place for all peripheralized or marginalized ‘subjects’ wherever they may be located. In this politically charged space, a radically new and different form of citizenship can be defined and realized.*⁷⁷

⁷⁵ C. Greig Cryler, *Writing Spaces: Discourses of Architecture, Urbanism, and the Built Environment, 1960-2000* (London, New York: Routledge, 2003), 117.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁷⁷ Soja, *Thirdspace*, 35.

After the general principles of the Cooperative Agreement was decided and the legal processes of becoming a cooperative was finalized, DDD transformed its energy to accessing the resources they needed for building of houses. There were two main objectives of the organization characterizing the activities from this point onwards: getting the sites and services, and getting credits for building the houses, both of which are required from the government. The administrative relations between the housing agencies and the local and central governments is a very complex issue operating at different levels. Although of great importance, the tensions and the relations between central and local governments will not be emphasized in this thesis. Instead we will dwell on the conflict between the actions of DDD and the central organizations.



Figure IV.9: Images from the first action. Ankara, 2003.



Figure IV.10: Images from the first action. Ankara, 2003.

For DDD, the story following becomes one of delay and incompetence, where the expectations of the victims are not satisfied and the processes are not finalized. One of the problems DDD faced in their struggle for housing was the intricacy of finding an equivalent to whom they could communicate with at the governmental level. Even when they managed to get a meeting with a governmental agency, nothing was clearly stated but stayed as some verbal promises. Based on the experiences the organization had until this time interval, the members decided to change their attitudes and searched for ways to make clear their resistance.



Figure IV.11: Images from the second action. Ankara, 2005.

In these circumstances, DDD organized two actions in Ankara. The first one lasted for 72 days and the second one 142 days, where the members of DDD stayed in tents in Abdi İpekçi Park, in Ankara. Inspired by their collective experience of marginalization and abandonment in spite of individual efforts of integration to urbanization through everyday life, homeless victims began to claim their “rights to the city”, their rights to its legal order and to the types of infrastructure and service available in central neighborhoods. Although this is a struggle against the state, the aim is not to overturn the state or to replace it- but to transform it in ways that will serve all of its citizens.

In terms of becoming visible, DDD appropriated the public space of City Park as “the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in periodic festivities.”⁷⁸

The story we have considered in this chapter illustrates the transformation of a group from feelings of discontent, to the development of clear aims and to allocating roles and responsibilities. Through the emergency measures we have tried to identify so far, the members of DDD acted collectively to create order out of an adverse situation. This example is significant both in terms of the intrinsic values it carries and also because of the practical values of its actions.

The lack of access to land and to credit is typical problems for home ownership. But even in the case these constraints are overcome, the ability to sustain a cooperative based on participatory concepts is hard because it depends on the housing and building laws, government policies and the organization of the construction industry.



Figure IV.12: Images from the second action. Ankara, 2005.

⁷⁸ Madanipour, *Design*, 146.



Figure IV.13: Images from the second action. Ankara, 2005.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A whole history remains to be written of spaces- which would at the same time be the history of powers (both these terms in the plural)- from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat.
Foucault

The most successful ideological effects are those that have no words and ask no more than complicitous silence.
Bourdieu

*What is the goal?
It is the transformation of life in its smallest, most everyday detail.*
Lefebvre

As we have stated all through this thesis, the way we approach architecture and the way we understand space are closely related. The dilemma between real and mental space is one of the factors that characterize the modern conception of space and therefore architecture. One way to get out of this dilemma, as suggested by Lefebvre is "to shift the concept of architecture towards the building development process."¹ Accordingly, in this thesis the object of interest was the production processes rather than things in space, although we are aware that both the process and its product are inseparable.

This shift from the widely held view about the discipline that is expected to express itself only through formal manipulation to architecture as a process was a choice we made at the beginning of the thesis. To understand the built environment we are living in, we concentrated on the process of its creation, where political, economic and symbolic factors closely interact in

¹ Ali Madanipour, *Design of Urban Space: an Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process* (Chichester, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 14.

such a process. This emphasis on the processes relates the architectural field with the politics of change. However with questioning the autonomy of the discipline we do not want to suggest a simple kind of determinism. Instead, we search for a position between a “place based approach to architecture” which tries to create the architectural meaning from the bodily experience of daily life and “ideological critiques of how place is constructed and reproduced” which reduce architecture to the status of a representation of preexisting cultural values.²

In this sense the cases we have chosen to analyze, as well as contrasting, at the same time balance each other in terms of the relative importance given to economy and culture or to determinism and free will. As follows, in the first story we have summarized we emphasized the making of things and their comprehension as a thing rather than as a form. But this attitude did not reflect the complexity of the built space, whereas these analyses were to be situated into the broader economical and technological spheres. Therefore the argument we have started to develop in the second chapter was completed in the proceeding one where we analyzed the structural frameworks in the redevelopment activities taking place in the post earthquake region. However both these discussions lacked a one-to-one correspondence with everyday world, and the notion of the lived should be incorporated. With the last case study then we oriented our focus to the relation between architecture and its reproduction in the everyday life situated in the practical and immediate conditions.

To this end, Lefebvre’s emphasis on the production of space by defining space both as a social formation and a mental construction was our guide in forming a more unitary understanding of the architectural space which refers to the production of spatial practices, representations and also to the

² Dovey defines place-oriented approach as an attempt to construct a theory of architectural meaning from its grounded reception in everyday life which involves a reassessment of the concept of space in experimental rather than geometric terms. He later states that the “key problem with such an approach is that the focus on experience can involve a certain blindness to the pronounced affects of social structure and ideology on that experience.” He uses the term ideology in a broader meaning as a “necessary relationship between consciousness and the structures of the material world.” He states, “What is needed is a framework which integrates place experience and its ideological critique, and which rejects both social structural determinism and the implication of an autonomous subject.”

lived experience. Through the abstract arguments we have developed we have observed that the terms such as space, site, architecture and user are themselves historical and ideological, not universal and neutral. This argument is important if we are to understand the role of architecture in constructing the present state of contemporary urban development. For most of the time architecture is thought to be necessary for existence, yet neutral to the life within. This taken for granted character is what gives the built environment its prime role as ideology.

In our attempt to sharpen and politicize the understanding of the processes that produce urban environment, 1999 Marmara Earthquakes and their consequences provided the ground for reconsidering a number of taken for granted terms. The disasters amplified the long-standing problems of our cities in a way that clarified them in the public mind and forced change and demanded action. Given that the areas of the city previously considered stable was destroyed, particularly homes as the permanent element of daily life, the effects were immense and debate over urban property turned out to be inevitable. Through this environment it is possible to develop an argument on the political dimension of physical space and to clarify the strategies of imposition and manipulation.

The various discussions we have done so far understanding urban space and design are organized around several themes in this final analyzes.

V.1 Housing as a 'verb'

The physical space that we have tried to define is embedded in our daily routines and it is through the deciphering of this process that we can truly understand the meaning of the built environment. As follows, in the analysis of the case studies we distinguished between housing as a noun from housing as a verb, keeping in mind that they are related interdependently. "The noun describes a commodity or product ('a house') while the verb describes a process ('to house'- the activity of housing someone)."³

³ Charlie Cooper and Murray Hawtin, "Concepts of Community Involvement, Power and Democracy," in *Housing, Community and Conflict: Understanding Resident 'Involvement'*, ed. By Charlie Cooper and Murray Hawtin, 95.

Developed as self-help, community-building project and carried out with orientation by architects, engineers and other professionals whose services were incorporated with funding and technical assistance from the civil society organizations; Solidarity Houses Project offers an interesting housing solution that succeeded in accessing the low-income victims of the earthquake. In a final analysis, I will claim that this experiment points to an alternative against the mechanisms of the traditional housing industry as it is practiced in Turkey. In a society dominated by commercial suppliers of housing, this proposal implies some fundamentally different values in which the users and community groups can have greater autonomy and self-determination.

In terms of organization, the emphasis was placed on developing a high level of community participation in the mutual help construction to complete the house units. There were two points we emphasized: 'construction teams' and the 'management of the fund'. Through these mechanisms the villagers had full control over the phases of designing and construction of their houses. By taking active part in these processes they differentiate from passive consumers and become active participants. Since all the decisions were taken by the community through direct participation, it was easier for them to follow and therefore to understand the processes of house production.

Today, the great majority of people have no control over this process of building and so does not have a control over built space. One of the illusions Lefebvre warns us "is the supreme illusion to defer architects, urbanists or planners as being experts or ultimate authorities in matters relating to space."⁴ In this story, the process of participation itself worked to increase people's confidence and abilities. In fact most of the villagers who did not have any experience in the building activity prior to Solidarity Houses Project, gained skills which they continued to use for revising or making additions to their houses.

⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 112.

In contrast, in the second case we analyzed the planning and construction processes were shaped mainly by the government, leaving no room for the participation of the community. Through the long story we have narrated in Chapter III we have observed that the disaster management system in Turkey is highly centralized, even the local authorities or the academic institutions, leaving aside the victims, were not involved in many of the decision making processes. The projective needs were established and the physical and social needs of the community were decided by a top-down planning strategy. In this model of planning architecture was represented in terms of projects and plans.

Within abstract space the victims also become abstractions represented in quantities and defined as stereotyped human beings or families. They are treated as depersonalized and manipulated objects rather than self-actualizing subjects.

What we seem to have, then, is an apparent subject, an impersonal pseudo-subject, the abstract 'one' of modern social space, and- hidden within it, concealed by its illusory transparency the real 'subject', namely state (political) power. Within this space and on the subject of this space everything is openly declared: everything is said or written.⁵

To this end, these two projects offered differing insights on the relationship between production of built environment and the democratic processes. As an example, assessment of the families to own a house after the disasters can be briefly examined where the differences in the organizational model of these projects revealed itself openly.

In the Solidarity Houses Project, when the villagers were faced with a limitation on the number of houses to be built, they chose the families which were to own a residence with a direct voting system. Each household made their choice in terms of who needed a shelter most urgently. However, in Gölyaka Permanent Houses, it was the government who defined the right-owners and selected the families to own house. This system was based on private ownership. However, in the case of permanent houses offered by the government, tenants were left out of the disaster management system and were treated as invisible by the State.

⁵ Ibid., 51.

Here, Düzce Association of Earthquake Victims offers us another perspective by claiming the tenants' housing rights in the post earthquake region. The terms for becoming a member of the Homeless Victims' Solidarity Housing Cooperative defines an additional attitude in terms of democratic processes we are analyzing.

-To begin with, the first principle to take part in this scheme was to reside in Düzce.

-Secondly, no member including his/her partner and children under the age of eighteen was to own a house in any part of Turkey.

-Finally, in DDD there were victims with highly damaged houses in which nobody could reside. Therefore a further clause was added about the members who had a house but could not live in it.

As a result, the cooperative was made up families who had proven that they had no other alternative for sheltering.

Being located in the same locality and having a similar direction in terms of the values adopted, this story has direct relations with Solidarity Houses Project. Representing an example that this kind of a system of house production can be realized in Turkey, the organizational model of Solidarity Houses outlines the basis for proposal suggested by DDD. In a cooperative interpreting participatory concepts, the coordination of the agents and therefore the administrative structure requires additional concentration. Consequently in the third story we have summarized, there were two points we emphasized:

'sweat equity'

'administrative equity'.

V.2 Scale of the Projects

The arguments we have developed so far shall be complemented with a reconsideration of the cases around the theme of scale. To begin with, Solidarity Houses Project was started to meet a unique situation and was not primarily part of any scheme of rural development or a part of an ideological scheme. Instead it was a project set up with emergency measures to satisfy an immediate need. First of all it was an example of an

extraordinary concept of rural housing. For these communities a scheme for building of 57 houses proved to be practical, but whether this kind of a self-help project can be made to work under a larger scale is a matter of discussion.

Here it is possible to point to a distinction that is present in the spatial disciplines, between 'place' and 'space'. As a matter of fact, the definition of place is derived mainly from its distinction from space. Where space is seen "as an open, abstract expanse," place is identified as "part of space that is occupied by a person or a thing and is endowed with meaning and value."⁶ Many of the interpretations of the concept of place in architecture share the common tendency to detect the 'loss of place' where the term implies the loss of certain qualities in the contemporary architectural environments. In this approach, space is seen as a homecoming to a more secure niche as against the modernist dynamic space.

In this thesis, instead of emphasizing places as sites of nostalgia, we aim to apply a more dynamic approach where identities and meanings are open to change. Nevertheless, we have to note that the speed of change in the villages vary from the transformation taking place in the city centers. Here, "place may have a more fixed, but far from dead, meaning. The slow pace of change here means a slower pace of identity change and a more coherent set of relations between social and physical space."⁷

Given the extent of the demolition and the housing need we have defined in the thesis, the reconstruction processes had to be considered in several different scales, starting with a regional analysis. However in the existing system it was very hard for the government to relate to communities in appropriate scales. Officially identified communities were for most of the time too large for a kind of organization we have defined in the previous example. And from another scale of analysis there was not a satisfactory analysis in the regional scale which reflects the long term attitude of the government.

⁶ Madanipour, *Design*, 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

Although we have defined urban and regional planning as an effective and insidious instrument of social control in many modern societies, our aim was not to resign from any kind of designing or planning activities. In fact in this final analysis we claim that one of the weakest points of the governmental intervention into housing in the post earthquake region was the absence of a through analysis of the region.



Figure V.1: Permanent Houses built by the government.
Camili, Adapazarı.



Figure V.2: Permanent Houses built by the government.
Gölyaka, Düzce.

As we have observed through our study in the third chapter there were basically two governmental agencies which controlled the decision making processes of the permanent houses. These two institutions provided prototype communities which were then placed into differing contexts. As

an example a simple look on the two housing projects built by the Project Implementation Unit of Prime Ministry in Camili, Adapazarı and Gölyaka, Düzce may summarize this discussion.

Returning to Lefebvre, under its homogenous aspects abstract space reduces the distinctions and differences so rendering space visible and readable. By controlling the content of signs and codes and utilizing mathematics, logic and strategy, professionals represent this space with its homogenizing character. When it becomes homogenous its parts become comparable and therefore exchangeable. As shall be evident in the case study that we will study in this chapter multiplicity, diversity and lack

are rundown and incorporated into the larger project or plan fueled by rationalizing constructs such as efficiency quotients, logistics and quantitative prerogatives which provide- and promote- the mechanisms of capitalist corporations and bureaucratic organizations.⁸

However the illusion is that, this space represents itself as transparent and readable: "The reading of a space that has been manufactured with readability in mind amounts to a sort of pleonasm, that of a 'pure' and illusory transparency."⁹ Here, the intentions of the design process were hidden in the overt details of the performance specifications. Given the extent of the reconstruction processes, the actors taking part in these processes defined how a middle class family should be organized in a plan layout. In the end numerous standardized units were produced, which can be 'fed' into the application processing mechanisms with maximum efficiency.

But, Lefebvre's project was to argue for differential space, for the right to be different. As we have defined Düzce Association of Earthquake Victims was a community based organization, which used the public domain to make themselves heard by the government. In terms of scale, this organization worked in the local level as the effective terrain for engagement in civic life beyond household and in relation to the state and the corporate economy. In this sense this example differs from the other

⁸ Elizabeth Burns Gamard, "We Play Until Death Shuts the Door: Toward a Redemptive Practice of Architecture," in *Slow Space*, ed. Micheal Bell and Sze Tsung Leong (New York: Monocelli Press, 1998), 290.

⁹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 313.

two, where the meaning of citizenship and rights were under reconsideration.

Düzce Association of Earthquake Victims is an organization, which originated around specific tasks, like the pursuit of the legal laws related with the earthquakes or struggling for the tenants' right for housing. Rather than a rigid management of authority, this focus on tasks enabled the individuals and the organization to concentrate and dedicate their energy into the projects. The victims did not wait for any political party or another organization to represent themselves, but used the public domain to realize their aims. Of course not all the members of the organization were active participants, but this story shall be viewed as a process, probably a slow one, but one transforming the society from within. In fact these efforts uncover the true meaning of being a citizen, because "citizenship is political and thus a concept in the public sphere."¹⁰

Defined by laws and regulations, the responsibility and the duties of the State in case of a disaster is basically to help its citizens overcoming this condition. However if we are to explore the meaning of that achievement for those affected: the ordinary citizens of in whose name and for whose benefit it as all done, the situation becomes more complicated. Through the many activities the Government accomplished in the post earthquake region, some major services were designed to meet the needs of majorities- the average and well-represented citizens.

Based on these observations in this thesis we propose several suggestions to the commonly attitude in building production:

- a shift is necessary in our attitude to the role of people as users, nor passive consumers but active participants,
- a new definition of the house is necessary,
- a new relationship between agencies and housing clients must be formulated where they act as not givers or takers, but partners.

¹⁰ John Friedmann, "Introduction," in *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, ed. Mike Douglas and John Friedmann (Chichester, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), 1.

To this end, we believe that first of all a reevaluation on the spatial code of architecture is necessary and ways for developing a language common to both inhabitants and architects must be explored. Secondly, the levels which are isolated by the existing spatial practice and its accompanying ideology must be brought together and the micro/architectural level and the macro/urban level must find ways for working together.

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