MIXED-USE HIGH-RISE [RESIDENTIAL] COMPLEXES: A NEW URBAN FORM(ATION) IN İSTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

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Following Industrialization and Modernization processes, Globalization allowed the capital to manifest itself in every aspect of daily life and spatial practices at the end of the twentieth century. As separate functional bodies; work, leisure and accommodation are reorganized according to the will of the capital and obtained new spatial dimensions and forms. Financial agglomerations in the form of Central Business Districts (CBDs) and re-contextualization of leisure/shopping as an urban activity in the form of Malls would be critical evolutions in the built environment. Concurrently, a new generation of housing is rising in the urban life.

Mix of uses in urban schemes is clearly popular and described as a necessary criterion since 80s and especially 90s with New Urbanism movement. The primary concern was creating lively, healthy and sustainable neighborhoods. Within this framework, a new Urban Form is generated in İstanbul which brings together these functions in one project including office towers, residential blocks and a Mall. Since 90s, accumulation of political and economic circumstances prepared the foundational basis for this spatial formation via city scale urban renewal projects and interventions of private/international investments in the construction sector. As a result, last

decade highlighted a major transformation in the urban pattern of residential stock.

This dissertation hypothesizes that Mixed-Use High-Rise Residential Complexes (MU-HR-[R]-Cs) are organized as capital oriented objects of the metropolis and produce the new urban language by executing contextual transformations in the configuration of city-house-user relationship in İstanbul. While providing micro-scale imitations of city-life by combining a strict selection of urban functions; the spatio-contextual notions of planning are dissociated from the conventional historical trajectory in order to create these new urban forms. As a result, the nature of MU-HR-[R]-Cs are individually processing their program and compartmentalizing the urban fabric. Moreover, these projects target house and user relationship by contextually reducing the meaning of "home" and validating the new context by spatially reproducing it. Consequently, this study aims to investigate and critically analyze the foundational basis, contextual and spatial components, and articulation of MU-HR-[R]-Cs as a new urban formation and city-object in İstanbul through a series of case studies.

Keywords: urban space, mixed-use, high-rise, housing, capital, İstanbul

ÖZ

ÇOK KATLI KARMA KULLANIM [KONUT] YAPILARI: İSTANBUL'DA YENİ BİR KENTSEL FORM(ASYON)

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Endüstriyelleşme ve Modernleşme süreçlerini takiben 20. yüzyılın sonuna varıldığında; Küreselleşme, günlük yaşamın her alanında ve mekansal pratiklerinde sermayenin kendisini yapılandırmasına izin vermiştir. Birbirinden bağımsız fonksiyonel birimler olan iş, eğlence ve yerleşim temaları, sermayenin avantajı ve isteği doğrultusunda yeniden örgütlenmişler ve yeni mekansal boyutlar ve biçimler kazanmışlardır. Finansal yoğunlaşmanın iz düşümü olarak Merkezi İş Alanları (MİA) ve eğlence/alışveriş fonksiyonlarının bir kent aktivitesi olarak yeniden yorumlanmasının ürünü olan kapalı alışveriş merkezleri (AVM) yapılı çevrede gerçekleşen kritik evrimsel süreçlerin neticesidir. Buna paralel olarak, yeni nesil konut üretimleri de kent yaşamında yükselişe geçmiştir.

80'lerden, hatta 90'lardaki Yeni Kentleşme akımlarından bu yana kent planlamasında fonksiyonların karma kullanımı popülerleşmekte ve gerekli birer unsur olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Temel hedef daha sağlıklı, daha yaşanılabilir ve sürdürülebilinir bir çevre üretme arzusudur. İstanbul'da bu çerçeve dahilinde, başta konut blokları, ofis kuleleri ve alışveriş merkezi olmak üzere, bir çok fonksiyonu tek proje içerisinde bir araya getiren yeni bir kentsel form üretilmiştir. Elbette 90'lardan bu yana siyasi ve ekonomik konjektür bu

mekansal biçimlenmenin temelini hazırlayacak unsurları bir araya getirmiştir. Kentsel dönüşüm projeleri ve inşaat sektörüne yapılan yerli/yabancı yatırımlar bu sürecin bazı örnekleridir. Sonuç olarak, özellikle son on yılda konut stokunun oluşturduğu kentsel doku büyük dönüşümler geçirmiştir.

Bu tez karma kullanım çok katlı konut yapılarının sermaye kontrolündeki birer metropol nesnesi halinde organize edildiğini; bu süreçte kent, konut ve kullanıcı ilişkisini biçimsel ve içeriksel olarak değiştirerek İstanbul'da yeni bir kentsel dil ürettiğini savunmaktadır. Bu yeni kent formları, birer mikro-kent şeklinde çalışıp kentin kullanıcıya sağladığı fonksiyonlardan oluşan bir seçkiyi kendi bünyesinde küçük ölçekte kopyalarken, mekansal ve bağlamsal planlama kavramlarını konvansiyonel tarihi güdümlerinden ve tanımlarından çıkartmaktadır. Bunun sonucunda, karma fonksiyon çok katlı konut projeleri, bireysel olarak kendi programlarını yürütüp kent dokusunu parçalamaktadır. Ayrıca, bu projeler konu ve kullanıcı ilişkisini de hedefe oturtarak, yuva (home) kavramında anlam daralmasına gitmekte ve bunu mekan üretimi ile de meşrulaştırmaktadır. Bu sebeplerle, bu çalışma İstanbul'daki karma fonksiyon çok katlı konut projelerinin kurucu temellerini, bağlamsal ve mekansal unsurlarını ve eklemlenişlerini, hem yeni bir kentsel biçimlenme, hem de kent nesnesi olarak bir seri arazi çalışması üzerinden inceleyecek ve analiz edecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Mekan, Karma Kullanım, Yüksek Yapı, Konut, Sermaye, İstanbul

To my parents Nilgün & Mahmut Aslankan
And to my brother Can

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Maria Jimena Guzman, Neha Parkar, Berrin Terim and other colleagues/friends from my time of residency in Penn State for their priceless support through my research and exciting friendship in every moment we shared together. I especially thank to my best buddies İlker Oruç, Mehmet Ünal andTaner Yılmaz with whom I shared countless wonderful and unqiue memories. I would also love to thank my life-long friends from İzmir, Işınsu Ersan, Ece Gençtuğ, Nurdan Ladikli, Demet Havaçeliği and Ayça İkier for supporting me at all costs during my academic years. All these people are the greatest and endless inspirations to me.

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INTRODUCTION

Cities exhibit socio-cultural, economic and political dynamism. They are multi-dimensional organisms adapting to change and absorbing the new. The spatial translation of this mostly autonomous and active character generates the material body of the cities. Although human settlements tend to evolve in a natural and genuine growth, urbanization processes always undergone critical interventions and planned structuration by the authorities. Hence, construction, transportation and information technologies appeared to be the primary ingredients of urban development in terms of context creation and form finding.

History conceded that distribution of population and capital are two crucial criteria in spatial organization of cities (Tekeli, 1998, p. 20-22). It is obvious that both subjects are highly dependent on each other within the historical context. Following Industrialization and Modernization processes, Globalization allowed the capital to manifest itself in every aspect of daily life and spatial practices at the end of the twentieth century. Navigating the flux and ensuring the continuity and preservation of the capital, global financial system upgraded itself by constituting the global metropolises as mere geographical nodes functioning as whirlpools of capital such as London, New York and Tokyo (Friedmann, 1986). The process follows two objectives. First, capital regulations reorganizes the spatial configuration of a metropolis by concentrating on three major aspects: the Central Business Districts (CBDs), the transportation network and the residential space. All other urban

institutions would come as secondary components of the city in the hierarchy of capital's agenda. Second, capital reorganizes the urban life by reconfiguring the work, leisure and housing aspects of it. In this respect, the physical body of the metropolis and the urban life it accommodates are subject to change both naturally and artificially in order to adapt the global economic and political conjecture.

Considering the functional composition of a metropolis, CBDs are the centralized notion of finance, power and control whose presences are in the shape of office towers and skyscrapers. CBDs are important to comprehend the socio-economic transformation of cities in the Information Age. Although downtown formations from the older era appeared to be born in the nineteenth century industrial cities, contemporary CBDs sweep over the context of a downtown with their super-towers. Thus, financial concentration appears as a natural development pattern that took form in the previous century. Actually, tall buildings or super-towers are not new to the world especially where Chicago, New York, Dubai or Hong Kong represents resourceful examples of the late twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries. However, location and organization of CBDs are powerful on the regional impact of a metropolis in the global arena. This is because spatial connectivity is crucial for the Information Age and a strong transportation infrastructure is obligatory to be provided by the metropolitan municipality and the state to guarantee a satisfactory functional setting. Likewise, "work" -as an urban function- is re-contextualized in the new century as well as the physical environment that contains and surrounds it. Traditional office spaces change in order to adapt the centralized notion of power. Technology allowed the designer to provide new office spaces in both building and urban scales. That is why spatial agglomeration, densification and building higher have been next steps in the urban evolution for the case of CBDs.

As a second attribute of urban composition, retail sector was transformed within the framework of globalization. First and slowly, the core functioning of

major cities changed from production to consumption following deindustrialization and postwar era. Although the financial decision makers remained in the urban core, industrial and production facilities left the city and service sector inhabited in their place (Yırtıcı, 2005). Additionally, since 1980s the service sector started to generate new job opportunities (Akın, 2000). In İstanbul's case, this spatio-functional distribution stimulated creation of sub-centers and towns which as a concurrent growth increased the distance between work and home. Meanwhile, since consumption traditions were changing, the spatial form of shopping changed as well. The mall was a product of the new economic strategy since 1960s. However the next turn was the reorganization of "leisure" activities for the benefit of capital. The combination of leisure and shopping created today's form of Mall (*AVM* in Turkey) which provides restaurants, cafes, movie theatres and sports facilities in addition to a shopping market (for instance Migros) and various retail. As happened in the case of CBDs, designers provide a new form that contains all above mentioned urban functions that would be found within the city and practiced in their daily life. By nature, a Mall has its own indoor dynamics with limited relationship to the outdoors (which is why most of the earlier examples of malls are not located in the city centers). As an urban object, Mall re-contextualized the shopping behavior by separating the activity from the urban life and re-assembling back as a solitary purpose (Yırtıcı, 2005).

Third attribute of metropolis creation is the accommodation aspect of urban life which demonstrates itself in the form of hotels (temporary residences) and the residential units (as permanent quarters). Considering city centers, hotels have their own agenda of location finding, mostly looking for touristic sites as well as the zones of cultural heritage and business districts. Orientation of CBD is crucial for the hotel formation. On the other hand the construction sector nourish with residential space. Capital can gain the most from the housing sector by commodifying two aspects of a metropolis like İstanbul: (1) the natural resources and (2) the city center. Since the UTPs and other renewal

processes alter the aging neighborhoods for further financial gains since the 80s (which accelerated in 2000s), central zones are left for land speculation which cultivates international interest and high profits. Considering the large scale residential projects in İstanbul, contemporary versions of residences with high-rises launched an opposition to the old housing stock. Examining the advertisements on the grand scale residential projects via various media and design offices, it is observed that; at the domestic level, they illustrate –or propose- a more flexible and free design which is high-tech, environment-friendly and luxurious. Concerning the highlights on the proposed life styles appeared to be a part of the marketing strategy applied by the investors and the designers. In these advertisements, the variety in plans and programs are presented as novelty and unique attributes. Moreover, in the urban level, the projects are demonstrated as positive additions to the city with a motivation of creating a healthier future for both the users and the city itself. This study anticipates that this spatio-contextual transformation in the new residential formations has similar intents with the previously mentioned urban organizations and city-objects. They all exhibit individual dynamics as well as urban connection in terms of capital generation.

Therefore, according to the spatial development identified by this study in the historical context; work, leisure and accommodation are reorganized as separate bodies according to the will of the capital and obtained new spatial dimensions and forms. In relation to this framework, a New Urban Form is generated which brings together these functions in one project. Mix of uses in urban schemes is clearly popular and described as necessary criteria since the 80s and especially 90s with New Urbanism movement. The primary concern was creating lively, healthy and sustainable neighborhoods. However, this dissertation claims that bringing the functions of an office tower, a mall and a residential tower (which might also include a hotel, a performance hall and etc.) together to form a new body is different from the conventional notion of mixed-use strategies and brings its own architectural and functional context to

the neighborhood and the city, which has also a local accent and particularities. According to this point of view, the project provides a new understanding of spatial organization, architectural language and urban life. The underlying agenda might be to secure the continuity of economic capital via construction, finance and advertising sectors. However, this study concerns the circumstances that prepared the foundation for these urban objects to appear and be a part of the metropolitan life. In the last decade, they already become an important part of the urban formation in İstanbul.

1.1 Problem Definition

One of the major problems of İstanbul is the exponential urban growth which directly leads physical expansion by overwhelmingly stretching the boundaries of the city and unfortunately towards the natural resources. Uncontrolled planning endangers the nature and the existing urban life of the inhabitants. Residential areas as a crowded and crucial part of the built environment, dragged people further out of the city cores. More people live in the suburbs today since they cannot fit in the existing central infrastructures of the cities. However, for a world city, incoming populations and expansion at the periphery are expected to increase the construction costs and the energy consumption due to the fact that people who work at the city center spend much more time through the traffic which should require a stable transportation system that is highly deficient in İstanbul. Ascending need for more highways and subways increase the costs further. Depending solely on private vehicles due to difficulty in transportation is a major problem especially in the biggest metropolis of Turkey.

Considering the physical expansion and spatial concentration in urban centers; this study underlines “densification” as a key terminology to the planning strategies in the contemporary metropolis. Densification via high-rise is a spatial necessity where the land is scarce and urban growth is accelerating.

Although tall structures existed throughout history, Post-industrial era required a new spatial solution for highly dense city centers especially for the commercial business enterprises. Despite the existence of multiple advantages such as leaving space for recreation and public use, building tall brings its own set of problems. Careful consideration on advanced construction techniques, sturdy materials and sensible planning are required. Nevertheless, increasing density in a limited space and obliging people to live in higher buildings decrease the time they spare for commuting; ie. energy spent for transportation, as well as energy spent for daily life (heat, light, etc.), compared to energy spent when lived in separate quarters. It is a sustainable call. Another point is, high-rise residential structures are also land marks and define the skyline as well as the housing culture and the urban language of the city. Therefore it is not only economic and social, but also a physical entity. Definition of 'urban language' is not only framing a physical style –or formal attributes- which has its own restraints but also a functional and social context. These new urban forms or city objects are not only high-rise structures but also entitled as mixed-use complexes by investors and architectural offices.

'Mixed-use' -generally speaking- is a concise explanation of combining different functions in space. Mixed-use settlements are widely known and continuously applied as planning strategies around the world throughout the history. The notion of mixed-use development has an evolutionary and multi-dimensional past which intricately associates itself with urban life and formation of cities. As long as the technology allows and the investors support, the designers are coming up with more grand scale projects and generally in mixed-use facilities. This study claims that mixed themed projects as applied in İstanbul create micro-cities, offering micro social-climates or life forms by imitating a selection of functions from the urban core and re-presenting them in a physically closed three dimensional environment which in fact open to scholarly investigation. This study asserts that the architectural formation of these projects are the crucial instruments of new spatio-contextual organization

in the urban space, thus it is important to acknowledge the role of the architect on the production of this new urban life and the configuration of new material culture in the field of housing.

Mixed-Use High-Rise Residential Complexes (MU-HR-[R]-Cs) appear to dwell on this fundamental background. However, this dissertation observes the proposed variety illusional and questions the decision makers on their definition of 'how people are supposed to live.' The most popular mixed-use residences are designed by celebrated architects/firms in İstanbul. They have the financial power and political collaboration with the state which allows the designers to have more freedom and fewer limitations in their work which is a great opportunity. Therefore they act as the leading force in the construction business. Simplistically, the projects have more functional elements in the program. Thus in İstanbul, several programs are split in different masses by creating group of structures with different functions. It is important to comprehend two stages of creating a new urban form: what is produced and how it is planned.

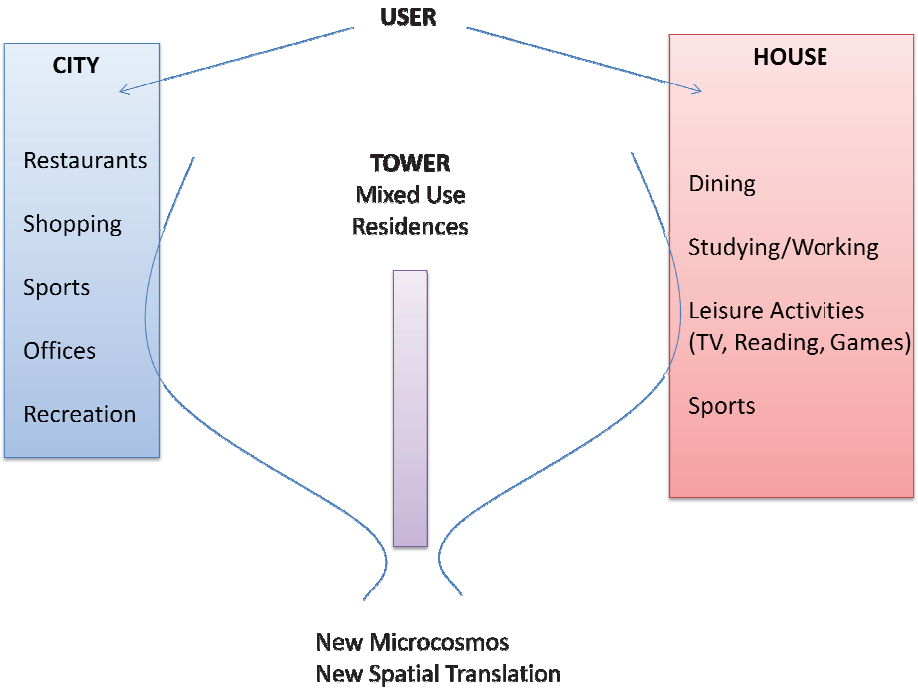


Figure 1.1 This chart explains how MU-HR-[R]-Cs work in İstanbul.

Figure 1 illustrates the procedure of collecting program elements from the original bodies and composing them in the MU-HR-[R]-Cs. This study recognizes this functional formation as a spatial reconfiguration. On the city-scale, the activities of certain institutions are mirrored in the new project. On domestic scale, the activities are not only expanded into the wider body of the project but subtracted from the context of the residential unit. Every program element accommodates a combination of functions, necessities, human participation, meanings, experience and spatial practices. The new context which is investigated by this study through a series of case studies is combining necessary attributes in one body and reducing the original contexts by re-presenting them to the civic life (users) which reveals an alternative perception of urban life. This dual objective is expected to reflect itself on the architectural space. One of the major results would be observed through the design of floor plans and sections of the dwellings.

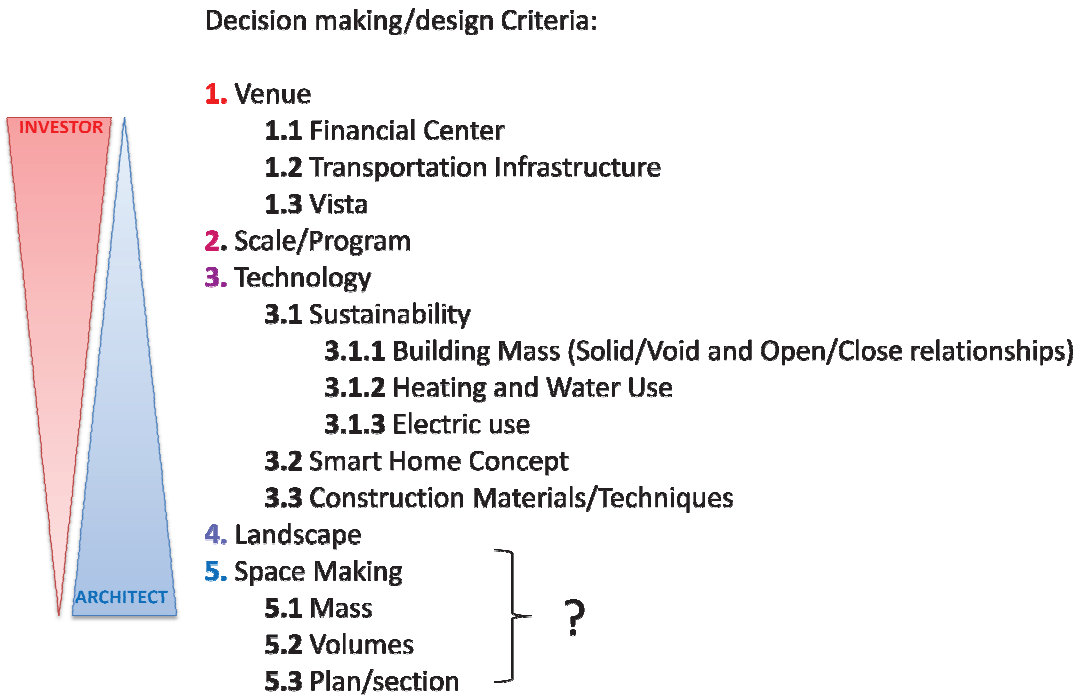


Figure 1.2 Decision making process of the Project.

Second figure illustrates how these cases in İstanbul are actually planned. The superior examples draw together a common list of criteria of project making: choice of venue, program varieties, level of technology, implementation of landscape and variety in architectural plans. As it is illustrated, although the investors and the architect both have control over all items, architect is more powerful in the fourth to fifth whereas investor in the first. Therefore, investor picks a valuable location for the project. In the case of İstanbul, Levent/Şişli-Maslak and Ataşehir are the financial centers and perfect nodes with good intersections of highways and direct links to both bridges and airports. The vista comes as a very important attribute as well since the high-rises allow the user to experience the city and the sea from the heights. Second item is the program which actually shapes the scale of the project. It might be stated that, the wealthier the investor, the bigger the project. That is a simple formula with no complexity. On the other hand technology has its own advantageous competition among the other examples and promotes a new mind set for a sustainable world. However all the projects claim that they follow the cutting-edge technologies to provide the best environment friendly solutions for the users that will save time, energy and money.

Last two items fall in the territory of the architect and the planner. Aiming to find the best architect with a signature name would be advantageous even from the start. That way the investor might hold a head start to guarantee to impress potential customers. Providing green space is a part of the sustainable world and it is expensive which makes it a privilege. But also it is a part of the overall agenda to preserve and if possible increase the number of users by changing their habits and daily routines. In the end, all projects seem equally valuable and not formally but contextually same. However that would be a disadvantage in the market. The advertisements claim that owning a house from their residence tower is a unique opportunity like no other. That is a very big claim. What are the spatial means of this promise?

1.2 Objectives, Questions and Hypothesis

İstanbul is a global gateway between Europe and Asia. Due to the recent changes in the context of neo-liberal urbanism and land regulations, İstanbul gains strong economic resources. As a result, the city and its multidimensional boundaries are expanding. Big construction corporations, brand architects (Tabanlıoğlu, EAA, etc.) or small design offices, as well as public institutions such as TOKI produce and re-produce the housing stock available to different socio-economic segments of the society. There are two preliminary reasons why this research dwells in the field of housing and targets the residential segment of the MU-HR-[R]-Cs:

First, the production of housing is bound to economic capital due to its practical dependency on advancing technologies, new construction materials, shifting land values and reproduction of labor. This makes housing a commodity, a material for consumption, a reassurance and a powerful investment for multiple parties. Furthermore, housing is not only an individual possession but also a public entity that is influenced by the dominant political discourse enabling the context to stage power relations.

Second, the built environment is mutually related to the society that can shape, change, transform, and even alter the existing built form. This dynamic relationship correlates individuals' understanding of the world, their perceptions, decisions, values, beliefs and actions to a geographical setting, one that is highly influenced by the cultural landscape of that society. This makes housing a cultural artifact, reproducer of social relations and a symbol of social identity. Neglecting the socio-cultural conditions of a city through the design processes of housing practices create conflicts and inconsistencies between the architect-user and conceived-lived relationships in the spatial realm. Therefore how architects and urban planners engage the public and respond to the cultural and spatial context of cities becomes very crucial.

Returning back to the scope of this dissertation, this study asserts that the overall experience marketed in here is not only a housing unit from the residential tower but the greater body of the mixed-use complex. There is a conceived user -a life style- as the investment arena. Installation of residential space into an urban space specifically considered as a central business district is a new investment which enable MU-HR-[R]-Cs to rise as a New Urban Form. The expectations dwell on an excellent variety of floor plans and sections. However, the picture described especially by the real estate developers so far is so powerful that this study suspects the existence of superimposition on the new context creating an illusion of variety and excellence in the design of the housing units. Moreover, the mode of operation is predicted to promote individualization by disassociating the installed context from the greater body of the city and builds a deficiency in sense of belonging to the place which should be investigated as well. A diligent case study would reveal the reasons whether the contextual shift by the superimposed agenda strictly reduces the contextual formation and meaning of the housing units as well as the city.

This dissertation hypothesizes that MU-HR-[R]-Cs are organized as capital oriented city-objects of the metropolis; and the spatial notions affective in the cultivation of these forms are disassociated from the conventional contexts in historical trajectory of planning. This study claims that while providing micro-scale life samples of the city with individual contextual installations, they spatially compartmentalize the urban space and create urban-deficiency in İstanbul. Similarly, these projects contextually reduce the configuration of city-house-user relationship and validate the new context by spatially reproducing it. Consequently, this study aims to investigate and critically analyze the foundational basis, contextual and spatial components, and articulation of MU-HR-[R]-Cs through a series of case studies. The significance of this research would be introducing MU-HR-[R]-C as a New Urban Formation and city-object of the current century in İstanbul; and deciphering the contextual

dissociation from the conventional definitions of notions such as mixed-use, high-rise and even home through investigation of cases.

Questions (for the 21st century İstanbul):

(1) What is the foundation of a MU-HR-C in İstanbul? How is this New Form as an object of the city created?

(2) How does it affect the urban context once installed in the metropolis?

(3) What changes in the relationships between the city, the house and the user? How?

(4) What is the architectural vocabulary created in residential component of MU-HR-C?

(5) What kind of an urban life it produces?

(6) What is the role of the architect in the creation of a New Form?

1.3 Method of the Study

This research will require qualitative research methodologies to comprehend the foundational basis and contextual components of MU-HR-[R]-Cs in İstanbul which is selected as the case venue of this study. As a preliminary step, the concept of mixed-use will be examined in its historical context in order to understand the journey of this spatio-contextual formation. The global development is as equally important as how İstanbul responded to the spatial evolution.

The second step is defining the major political, economic and social turns that would be influential on the foundation of the New Urban Form. There is a natural and planned intervention of city formations. Therefore, dwelling in the recent spatial history of İstanbul, the research will advance the examination in

identifying the actors and criteria in the creation of MU-HR-[R]-Cs. Following this step, the context of MU-HR-[R]-Cs will be analyzed in building and urban scale in order to understand the organizational dynamics of the New Urban Form and how it produces the urban space. In order to support and enhance the theoretical discussion, the study will acquire a careful selection of cases in İstanbul which share a common ground to represent the new urban language. Housing phenomenon is multidimensional and practice based critique is crucial.

The evaluation of case selection will primarily consider architectural drawings, built form, installed spatio-functional context, proposed urban life and spatial relationship with the city. This study physically limits itself to six projects yet will be open to comparison with a variety of other examples from larger base of İstanbul as well as other contemporary and cosmopolite cities of Turkey.

Due to limitations of this dissertation, the demographic studies on how demand is created, deciphered through user profiles and/or interviews; how political conjectures in relation to the production phases are arisen; how collaborations are created between municipalities and the state; and finally the role of the architect in the picture, though fully acknowledged with the related projects, will not be included within the scope of this study.

1.4 Overview of the Dissertation

The second chapter elaborates the understanding of the concept of mixed-use in its historical context. Mixed-use development is a comprehensive conception that might apply in any urban, suburban and rural planning programs by combining a variety of uses such as residential, commercial, industrial or educational institutions as well as recreational facilities in different scales. This planning pattern is widely common in the urban historical context of cities. Physically and socially, those institutions have been integrated from a variety

of aggregation. This study, however, focuses on the concept of mixed-use development specifically in residential complexes which gathers residential, office and commercial bodies in one contextual whole.

Third chapter reveals the rationale behind the cultivation of a new urban form, its dynamics and attributes in the last three decades of İstanbul. Production of such project is a process of context-making that will reformulate the spatial boundaries of the neighborhood where it will be implanted; generate a new urban terminology in response to architectural requirements of the cutting-edge technologies; and in the end, reconfigure the urban life for the future residents, incoming visitors and others who will experience the representation of the project via the advertising industry. Impact of Global City/World City discourse is discussed in relation to the political and economic foundations of this new formation in İstanbul. This chapter concludes by framing the new urban life projected by the concept of mixed-use in real-estate arena and makes an overall critique.

Fourth chapter dwells on the foundation that the previous chapter articulates and proceeds to analyze how this new spatial formation operates the city space and urban life in return. The hypothesis of this study highlights a micro-city conception cultivated within these projects which also validates their existence. Therefore, this chapter seeks to obtain an elaborate understanding of the micro-city conception which is an imitation of the several urban functions enclosed in one place and represented to public. Examination of the merging contexts provides the critical lenses to investigate the case selection.

Chapter 5 executes the case study with the theoretical framework organized in the previous chapters. After presenting the selection criteria and objectives of the cases, the investigation process follows two concurrent steps. First, the physical analysis of each project is conducted through urban, intermediary and domestic scales focusing on the spatial dialogs cultivated between the projects and the surrounding built environment as well as between the material bodies

of each function. Then, contextual analysis is conducted questioning the articulation of newly installed spatial components and the dynamic interactions cultivated within these boundaries. Investigating the selected cases from an architectural point of view helps to identify organizational principles of the projects in relation to the conventional contexts of planning.

Conclusion chapter of this dissertation discusses the foundation, articulation and components of MU-HR-[R]-Cs as a new urban formation and city-object in İstanbul resting on the investigation and findings of this study. Revealing how the spatio-contextual production of these projects are dissociated from the conventional spatial notions of planning, this study asserts that MU-HR-[R]-Cs are individually organized spatial forms emerging in the metropolis, compertmantalizing urban space in a self-validating organization and introducing a recontextualized city-house-user relationship.

CHAPTER 2

MIXED-USE URBAN FUNCTIONS AND THEIR RELATION TO PLANNING IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT: 1800s – 201X

This study launches the historical journey of "mixed-use" development starting from the 1800s as ground zero which would be a significantly influential time period as generating the fundamental instruments of the contemporary city. Until the late eighteenth century, the colonial era was at the zenith and the administrative domains of powerful empires were connecting the world from East to West. However, industrialization, early capitalism and emergence of the bourgeois class upgraded the entire system. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the world was witnessing major political turns. Cross continent colonies like US, Brazil, Mexico declared independence meanwhile in Europe revolutionist movements were actively spreading from France to Balkans triggering regional fragmentations and national awareness. The emerging political turmoil and the harbinger of the new era acknowledged that once great empires were prevailed upon to perish.

It is true that the influences which might be potent on the formation of the cities vary across time and geographies. As a common point, however, the history conceded that reconfiguration of human settlements corresponds to the socio-political, technological and economic shifts in the existing societal patterns. Considering the historical scope of this study, from nineteenth to twentieth century, colonial era was ending, empires were diminishing, industrialization matured, capitalist economy transformed the market, and urbanization processes accelerated. Twentieth to twenty-first century,

globalization took the leading role; nation-states diminished, liberal economy transformed the global financial system, and urbanization processes leaped forward to unprecedented scales. Thus, the spatial translation of all changes would be observed in the built environment.

Transportation, construction and information technologies always worked concurrently to set the accumulative stages of economic and social configuration of the world. As the regeneration of capital whirlpools, the architectural components of this equation would be observed through the urban spaces. Considering the urban life in historical context, mix of uses in planning schemes (1) emerged and strengthened as a response to the transition from pre-industrial to industrial cities; (2) abandoned for the period of modernity and (3) readopted since 70s.

2.1 Global Development of the Notion of Mixed-use

The phenomenon of mixed-use urban form derived its spatial generation from the natural evolution of urban life. The terminology started as mix of uses in human habitat which especially materialized in building scale. Only after the Industrial era the natural evolution was accompanied by the participation of architects and planners aimed to provide a planned future for the salvation of cities. This utopian approach concurrently open a new stage for the spatial urban organization by validating the mixed urban fabric of the Industrial city as a problem and abandoning the individualistic stance of the mix of uses and promoting the functional separation.[1] This critical ground expanded the spatial organization from building scale to the regional. By the 70s, the notion of mixed-use had already been matured and transformed the phenomenon into a spatial context that will further encompass the creation of the contemporary metropolis and new century's city-regions (Soja, 2000).

[1] See Joost Van den Hoek (2008, p. 69) for more information about the phenomena of the mixed-uxed urban tissue.

This section presents a historical overview of the notion of mixed-use –as known today- by definition, evolution and spatial practice. Although it is difficult to identify clear cut dates for historical periods, according to the major spatio-temporal developments, four periods would provide the relevant framework to conceive a better understanding of the phenomenon and associated settlement patterns. First period is the era of Industrialization and the Industrial city, second period is the era of Modernity, third is a transitional era towards the Global city and the last era is the Contemporary Metropolis.

2.1.1 Era of Industrialization: 1820-1920

Industrialization is a lengthy period of impressive multi-dimensional development in financial, political and social stratification of civilizations. Starting from this period, the understanding on time and space continuum altered. From antiquity to present day, global distances have been diminishing before the human being. Advanced transportation and telecommunication technologies enable people to travel very long distances in very short amount of time –which was not even possible to imagine a couple of centuries ago. Likewise today, people can connect to each other via means of digital communication tools. Especially after early 1800s, changes began to occur and new forms of urban organization challenged the existing settlement patterns (Ottensmann 1975: 10). Since this study aims to investigate the chronological formation of the phenomenon of mix of uses, it would be wise to briefly comprehend the epoch from where the Industrial age took off.

2.1.1.1 Brief Moments of Pre-Industrial Era

Until the development of "mercantile system and organized trades" (Johnson-Marshall, 2010) the major city centers of the world were fortified and composed of mostly religious and governmental buildings. The Feudal system

requires a closed-economic framework which was attended by the rural communities where the dominant economic activity depended on the agricultural production. The lands were ruled by the wealthy classes in a self-sustaining socio-cultural sphere. Therefore the urban planning of the towns was a mix of housing, working and recreational spaces in varying degrees. Socio-spatial segregation was still in medieval mind set. The cities were small in physical size, spatially accessible for all and every institution of a town was in walking distance (Ottensmann, 1975).

Colonial era brought a series of specializations including new urban forms of finance such as banks, stock exchange (bourse) and coffee houses. Market streets with small retails and ports with off-shore trade hinterlands dominated the urban formation of the feudal and monarch rules. At the end of eighteenth century, the population of New York was limited to 150.000 and "23 percent of all workers in New York City were employed outside of home" (Ottensman, 1975, p.10). Chicago, for instance, was not founded yet. The capitals of powerful countries such as London, Paris and İstanbul had populations less than one million in 1800 except Beijing which passed the border of a million and in progress (Derviş and Öner, 2009).

2.1.1.2 Towards the Industrial City

Industrial Revolution was a result of accumulated knowledge and opened an unprecedented era. In basic terms, Industrialism introduced new forms of production, economic organization, urban activities and planning. However the overall process is not homogenous and –following the agricultural revolution in England in late eighteenth century- proceeded through two sequential phases: (1) Industrial Revolution (1820 – 1870) which introduced "steam power" and "iron making" (metal industries) to the transportation and construction fields; and (2) the Second Industrial Era (1870 – 1920) which was technically the period of succession for Industrial development in an improved velocity until

the World War I by introducing “electrification” and “mass production” (Ottensmann 1975). The framework of change followed concurrent developments in primary fields: technology, transportation, planning and the urban life.

Technology and Transportation

The infrastructure was provided specifically by the acceleration of technological progress. First breaking point was the invention of machinery. In 1769 James Watt invented the steam engine which removed the necessity of human labor in production (Gallion and Eisner, 1986). This innovation not only changed the relationships between the employer and blue collars but also increased the distance between the home and the work (Gallion and Eisner, 1986, p.63). Additionally, the nature of innovation increased the production capacity and aided the producer to expand the market regionally further.

The factory system and machine age changed the physical environment of the production facilities and improved the fiscal power of the producer (Giedion, 1967, p.165). Social conglomeration emerged within the new financial structuration and population growth accelerated. The residential stock became insufficient for incoming migrations. In the early periods, European examples highlighted that the development of manufacturing industry accelerated by the introduction of railroad network in 1820s (which became a dominant factor in financial and spatial reconfiguration of the urban life in 1850s) inevitably affecting “home and private life” (Giedion, 1967).

Means of transportation is the second area of improvements. Transportation is crucial in two ways: first the manufacturing and metal industry require the raw materials to be carried to the factories as well as spreading the end products to the markets. Secondly, cities became crowded zones of human habitation and the physical expansion required more options to enable people to reach different locations. By the provision of mass transportation via omnibuses,

steam railroad and street railways in both Europe and US, densities of the cities increased while the city boundaries expanded.[2]

Third, information technologies are the substantial step to bend the time-space understanding of the world. Typewriter (1868), telephone (1876) and Edison's light (1879) enabled people to communicate from far distances. Adding up to the transportation technologies, tech-sphere prepared the conditions for people to obtain an alternative option of living which was away from the city center.

Planning and Urban Life

Although several contextual key words would define the evolution of Industrial city, "centralization" is the most significant principle of spatial formation which directly affected the cities to experience an urban life dwelling on the notion of mixed-use functional strategies. Spatial organization of a center generated the context of "downtown" as an urban form of concentration. The early formations of downtown for office spaces including banks, exchanges, wholesales, retail, market, governmental administrations, insurance companies and office buildings appeared in several cities such as London, New York and Toronto (Dennis, 2008). The first skyscraper is claimed to be a ten storey steel frame office building named "Home Insurance Building" in Chicago which was built in 1883-87 (Giedion, 1967, p.207). The term of Central Business District (CBD) is a concept generated in 1929 by W. E. Burgess who was one of the founders of Chicago School (Büyükcivelek, 2012. p.337) and the first examples of CBD appeared around 1870s as areas of specialized activity in US (Ottensmann, 1975, p.17). Consequently, agglomeration of shopping places in

[2] See Gallion and Eisner (1986) for the chronology of extensions on transit lines. In 1819, the omnibus was an option in Paris which became the precedent for the horse cars in US appeared around 1831. In 1825 the steam railroad was built in England and applied as railroad lines in US beginning in 1829. Furthermore, electrification was the key instrument for the first subway system in 1897 Boston and 1900 New York.

central locations including museums, exhibitions, theatres, clubs, retails and restaurants appeared to be another function of an early downtown (Dennis, 2008).

By 1900s, continuation of industrialization and economic growth created highly dense and polluted cities by implanting industrial enterprises within the urban space. While the industrial city blossomed, the natural development of mixing uses and central concentration started to shift in disadvantageous forms. First, urban activities started to be separated via accumulation of functions in assigned locations and then followed by social segregation.

As Richard Dennis (2008) underlines, social homogenization in neighborhoods started at the end of the century and politically independent small suburban formations appeared as early as 1910s. On the other hand eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings were vertically stratified by social class (Dennis, 2008, p.226).[3] Appearance of middle class apartments, "the tenements" for working class were claimed to be the cancer cells of cities rapidly spreading in urban centers because of lack of maintenance and poor living conditions (Dennis 2008: 228).[4] The dominant city center slowly turned in a place of unreasonable density, pollution and congestion.

On the other hand, iron and steel frames renovated the construction paradigms.[5] Furthermore, first elevator introduced as hydraulic (1879) and

[3] See Dennis (2008, p.226-227) for further information on planning arrengements. The ground floor and first floors were for the wealthy (with higher ceilings and larger windows and fewer stairs), the attic and basement were for the poor. For instance: Farringdon Road Buildings in 1874 London.

[4] In 1865, 15.000 tenements with 480.000 inhabitants located in New York. European migration was at peak. New York was six million where Boston reached three million inhabitants. By the 1900s, more than two million people were living in tenements. (Dennis 2008, p.231); also see Richard Plunz, A History of Housing in New York City (New York, 1990) 11, 22, 30.

[5] Fiedion (1967, p.184) mentions that early appearance of cast-iron column in 1780 was furthered through production of iron beams and development of steel frames in the late nineteenth century.

electric powered (1880s) which enabled the architects to build even higher.[6] The keywords for this era would be reinforced concrete and apartments for the middle class. This period would be a major transition towards central oriented spatial segregation. Large numbers of people moved to the urban centers during this era. Asymmetrical growth and proportional disengagement between rural and urban was increasing. In one hundred years, urban population in Europe increased 300 – 400 percent (Gallion and Eisner, 1986).[7] Although the first signs of Modernization were at the threshold, the significant breaking points will not be visible till 1920s.

2.1.2 Era of Modernity: 1920 – 1970

> "The industrial city reached its highest stage of development during the 1920s. [...] The center oriented pattern of the industrial city has given way to a new, more dispersed urban structure in the modern metropolis." (Ottensmann, 1975, p.19, 24)

This new era is marked by two parallel spatial developments: one is the natural evolution of cities towards multi-centered metropolises, second is the utopian cities designed and discussed by famous architects and planners. In this section, decline of the aim for mixing uses in spatial organization of urban environments will be briefly examined. As mentioned, the Industrial city began to collapse in itself by high growth rates, congestion and pollution which could not keep up to maintain a healthy and functional urban life. Functional orientation of mixing different uses in the urban core overwhelmed by the industrial facilities and densely built cramped high-rise apartments -mostly

[6] The system of a functional elevator was introduced at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in New York in 1853 while the same innovation appeared in 1867 in Paris (Giedion, 1967, p.208-209).

[7] See Gallion and Eisner (1986) for the changes in the demographicsin European capitals between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 1821 to 1936, rural population in England dropped from 10 million to 9.5 while in Germany 23 million to 19 million. On the other hand, in the same period, the urban population of the former increased from 4 million to 37, while in the latter 2 million to 48 million.

tenements- that were grey, damp and depressive. As Robert Fishman (1977, p.4) puts it the old cities were done and a new understanding of city creation was looked for.

2.1.2.1 Fate of Mix of Uses: Decentralization

The technological innovations not only created the base for the spatial evolution, they also created the problems of Industrial metropolis to trigger this shift. Previously mentioned developments (natural and utopian) dwell on the notion of "decentralization". Until early twentieth century, this new organization of space was revealing itself through differentiation of residential patterns via social homogenization and spatial segregation. Step by step, leaving the city center became the only wise option for the middle to upper class families who owned their own vehicle of transportation and did not necessarily require public transport. New settlements began to appear in between the country and the city which imitated the concept of two hundred years old suburbs. It might be claimed that use of automobiles accelerated the changes in the urban form.[8] However, since the eighteenth century, due to the technological innovations and new financial system, societies created a new concept of suburbia different from the examples from London in horse-ride distances. This time, suburbia represented a secluded life which was not only socio-spatially distinct from the city but economically and politically individual. This individualization is a subject matter for several utopianists one of whom is famous Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959).

Although, decentralization countered the natural phenomenon of mix of uses in multiple ways between the two World Wars, formations of CBDs and shopping zones did not retrograde but improved. For instance, the first modern shopping

[8]Ottensmann (1975, p.19) underlines that the motor vehicles in US: 1900 – 8K, 1920 – 9M, 1930 – 26M, 1950 – 50M

mall as we know it was opened in 1956 in Edina Illinois.[9] One of the major factors –apart from strengthening capitalism- was the development of steel industries and skyscrapers that beamed towards the following decades redefining the skylines of the great cities as well as reconfiguring the urban life.

After the World War II, the balance in global political space changed by affecting all powerful nations of the era. First, the well-known colonial context of imperial domination was over for good. Defeat of National Socialist Germany, Italy and Japan and the rise of the United States were prime upgrades for the new era and triggered the fate of the rest of the world. "A significant factor contributing to the emergence of world cities today, whether in the core or peripheral regions of the world economy, is the disappearance of the hegemonic control of formal empires" (King, 1990, p.X). Second, economic capital began to advance its reach towards the developing countries whom began to declare independence one after the other. The impact of the new era on social sphere and the built environment demonstrated itself in diverse ways. For instance functional boundaries of metropolitan areas shifted from 10 miles to 25 miles diameter in US (Ottensmann, 1975, p.20; Sjoberg, 1960).

In late modernization, polarization between the cities and the suburbs increased (Ottensmann, 1975: p.19-24).[10] This magnitude highlights the fact that suburban population was boosting as well. Boston shrank 13%, its suburbs gained 17% while New York and Chicago lost 2% and their suburbs gained 70% (Ottensmann, 1975). Meanwhile the home and workplaces separation increased due to the fast growing suburbanization. The population flows "out"

[9] Designed by the architect Victor Gruen and accepted as the beginning of the modern shopping mall. http://www.labelscar.com/minnesota/southdale-center-victor-gruen last visited on February 2014.

[10] See Ottensmann (1975; p.7) for the population magnituteds. For instance, the urban population was %73.5 in US with an estimate of 150 million people out of 200.

of the city followed by the industries and manufacturing firms which means retailing and wholesaling decreased in central cities. As Ottensmann (1975) mentions, the predictions for the future of cities and urban life was not positive referring there would be less density in city centers and smaller size of employments.

Therefore, the physically incommodious spaces in urban cores and extreme density in urban life gave rise to a natural decentralization process for nearly half a century. This socio-economic movement was clearly spatial. Meanwhile, famous thinkers were developing projects for future cities many of which were never materialized yet still stand as the artifacts of the century.

In this era, the common motto was "modern city would have no ties with the past" since every new age requires its own spatial organization, vocabulary, built environment and life style. Lewis Mumford's famous book *The Culture of Cities* was published in 1938 which was promoting functional separation for the urban life while Jane Jacobs famous book *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* in 1961 regenerated the integration of different functions by opposing decentralists. Likewise, the most critical gathering was the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) which was launched in 1928 and disbanded in 1959. Over thirty years, the journey of architecture through the alleys of Modernism cultivated immense debates. The critical moment of the first half of the century would be the contextual shift in the phenomenon of mix of uses in urban life. By the 60s, the ingenuous evolution of mix of uses in the spatial formation of cities elevated to the notion of mixed-use as a planning strategy. One reason would be Jacobs' warning about deprivation of social networks and unsuccessful utopias yet other reason would be the realization of the fact that the urban core kept growing due to the transition from deindustrialization to the information age. However, such spatial and theoretical organization did have a foundation back in late eighteenth (since the French Revolution) and nineteenth centuries (expanding revolutionist ideals).

The idea of achieving an ideal living environment appeared in England in early nineteenth century.[11] In the first half of the twentieth-century, secondary examples developed such as 1930 Red Vienna, Alvar Aalto's experimental town in 1940 and 1960-70 Solari's Arcosanti, yet major impact on the field of architecture would be identified by three distinct yet linked examples: Howard, Le Corbusier and Wright. Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) developed his idea of the Garden City in late nineteenth century where he offered a moderate decentralization; Le Corbusier introduced his ideas of utopian cities through 1922 *La Ville Contemporaine,* 1925 *Plan Voisin* and *La Ville Radieuse* in 1933 where he offered spatial centralization with a strong grasp on centralized power and order; on the other hand Wright introduced his idea of Broadacre in his 1932 book The Disappearing City with the notion of radical decentralization and individualism by elimination of distinction between the urban and rural life styles (Fishman, 1977).[12] [13]

The utopian notions challenged the idea of city formation and urban life alike since one could not be separated from the other. Although Howard and Wright were insisting on preserving the healthy country life which would be the core to start with the new formation of the "urban space"; what Le Corbusier promoted underlines the fact that technological innovations would allow the

[11] (1) Robert Owens's self-supporting Industrial Town for 1200 people dates back 1816; (2) J. S. Buckingham's model town for 10.000 in 1849 and (3) towns in Newry 1846 and Bradford 1852 were the original sources of inspiration for the next century (Gallion and Eisner, 1986, p.87-90).

[12]Also see Fishman (1977) and Peter Hall, Cities of Tomorrow (Blackwell Publishers, 1996). First examples of the idea of creating such a utopian life style would be found through all nineteenth century. (1) Edward Gibbon Wakefield mid-19th century Southern Australian Colonization, (2) Peter Kropotkin 1898 – *Fields, Factories and Workshops* and Herbert Spencer – land nationalization would be the base examples in that respect (Hall, 1996, p.87-91). In 1900, the first Garden City was launched at Lechworth by the architects: Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) and Barry Parker (1867-1947). The project was finished through 1938-1945. The spatial aim was "decentralization".

[13] British version of Garden cities are named as "the satellite Garden Towns" (Gallion and Eisner 1986: 85-98). The Garden cities of Letchword in 1903 and Welwyn in 1920 were the only two examples really realized in England which aimed for the principles set by Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928). Wythenshawe and Becontree on the other hand planned as the satellite garden towns (Hall, 1996).

society to build higher and to gather in denser communities which would directly serve for the economic capital. This kind of centralization does not ignore the individualism but also not in need of functional mix of uses as well. Despite the differences on the departure point with Le Corbusier, the truth about the high-rises remains salient that skyscrapers allow the existence of green spaces and public squares with smaller foot prints and denser human habitation including office and residential spaces yet still create a lively urban environment. Radiant City's over control on the society, however, was challenging the old socio-spatial systems by attacking the architectural heritage and historic centers in Europe.

2.1.2.2 CIAM and Anti-mixed-use currents

The International Congresses of Modern Architecture was an organization created by architects and planners, founded in Switzerland and held in eleven meetings in different countries between 1928 and 1959 (Günay, 2012). The main motivation was defining the principles of Modern Movement and spreading the manifestos to the world. Not surprisingly, the dates fall between the post-war eras.

As Baykan Günay (2012, p.58-59) introduces, the first meeting in 1928 (La Sarraz) was majorly focusing on the relationship between architecture and economics, defining the principles of a better life and functional aspects that oriented city space. Second meeting in 1929 (Frankfurt) focused on low cost housing as well as determining the council members and contemporary problems of the cities. Third meeting in 1930 (Brüksel) was oriented around the society based issues and requirements for better living conditions including debates on garden cities and high-rises. Therefore until early thirties, the general body of CIAM and the core problems of the industrial city were designated in quite a rapid pace.

1933 CIAM IV the Athens Charter is significantly important because of the subject topic: the functional City. There were three important topics in this meeting on city space: the regional context, functions and the results (Baykan, 2012, p.55; Ersoy, 2012). Mixing different functions as a planning principle was highlighted only with a focus on high-rise construction. On the other hand, after 50s major critiques targeted these principles to the base line especially because of the lack of human oriented concepts. 90s was a revival for the Athens Charter and re-framed by the European City Planners in 2003 as the New Charter and proposed the following principles: (1) the historic heritage will be accumulated and preserved; (2) cities will be linked to each other with meaningful and functional networks; (3) creative designs as well as user and nature oriented understanding will be encouraged (Baykan, 2012, p.17-18). The key terminology is "connectivity" for the New Charter which directly underlines the necessity of mixing uses as a planning strategy and developing an integrated neighborhood with a variety of functions for twenty-first century metropolises.

2.1.3 Towards the Global City: 1970 - 1990

The natural evolution of cities via population movements as well as financial re-centralization achieved the idea of escape accumulatively whereas the famous architects of the era purposefully aimed to create solutions and redefine the cities for the new age. However, advancing globalization and accumulation of economic capital required spatial whirlpools around the world, which were physical nodes for consumption instead of production. The cities did not become less dense; instead the number of urban citizens increased tremendously and the suburbs became more car-dependent. The physical expansion of the cities on the periphery started to generate their own integration problems where various new ideas for a successful human settlement began to emerge. Brainstorming sessions summoned around the core idea of mixing residential units and small commercial functions in close

locations, and generating pedestrian friendly neighborhoods since concentration of people would bring the vitality back to the city centers. Therefore, at the edge of 70s, the notion of mixed-use established as a solution for the degeneration of metropolitan environment and the urban life.

Increase in urban population might be a dominant criterion on the formation of new millennium's metropolises. "In advanced countries three out of four people live in urban areas" (Florida, 2008, p.309). King (1990, p.51) claims that "expansion of capitalist-based urban growth is clearly taking place in the industrializing and developing countries." However the economic structuration of the societies has always been more powerful on the spatial configuration of the built environment. Especially at the end of the twentieth century, the fate of mixed-use functional schemes became highly dependent on the new paradigms of economic capital. Consequently, spatial polarization of capital re-defines the entire built environment by global (peripheral, already industrialized regions), regional (semi-peripheral, rapidly industrializing dependent economies) and metropolitan (inner city ghettos, suburban squatter housing and ethnic working class, more like what is left) (Friedmann, 1986).

> "After the Second World War the American image of shirts to cars, from cars to skyscrapers, and from skyscrapers to cities assumed supreme status in every material item of life. For the politicians the only easy way to glory was rebuilding the cities and the country." (Kuban, 1996, p.423)

The context of mixed-use as a planning strategy has been changing in the twenty-first century. The scales of cities are expanding and the magnitudes of populations are measured by millions. New political and financial system required new solutions for city centers which were not adequate enough to allow even the vertical expansion. By the development of new concepts such as New Urbanism and Smart Growth in late 80s and 90s, the notion of mixed-use re-evoked in the urban life. In this case, the mixed-use is contextually re-framed and intended to generate a new spatial solution for the societies by

providing residential, recreational and office spaces in one location with close proximity to the urban core. Building high-rise within this context furthered the gain of this solution which means technology is crucial for this evolution.

2.1.3.1 The New Spatial Paradigms: Compact City and New Urbanism

Jane Jacobs' (1961) sparkling words highlight that a balanced mix of living and working in an urban block is necessary to create an active, viable and safe neighborhood. Until the composite projects that are built on a one-piece land masses, the earlier understanding of the concept has been defined as the Compact City (70s), New urbanism (80s) and Smart Growth (90s) aiming to increase densities and providing mixed land use as a planning policy (Rowley, 1996).

The problems and challenges of the new age are framed as social and urban inequality, excessive consumption of natural resources, environmental degradation as well as uneven development, decay and deterioration in the quality of urban life (Haas, 2008, p.9; Grant, 2002, p.80). As Castells mentioned (2008, p.314-321) the process of urbanization is concentrated disproportionately in the metropolitan areas. Metropolitan regions contain urban constellations scattered throughout huge territorial expanses which are functionally integrated and socially differentiated around a multi centered structure (Garreau, 1991; Hall, 1996).

A compact city is an earlier result of the search for a more sustainable world. A compact city means a relatively high-density mixed-use city with an efficient public transport system and dimensions that encourage walking and bicycling (Burton, 2000; Rabianski, 2009, p.207-208) Elizabeth Burton (2000) claims that the benefits would include improved public transport, reduced social segregation and better access to facilities, however the main problems are

likely to be smaller living space and a lack of affordable housing. This problem changes shape in the 2000s only to become more valid.

> A common idea in the *compact city* concept is that in attractive urban areas, each neighborhood provides a sufficiently rich variety of functions, which allows its inhabitants to realize all their daily activities without having to move to other parts of the city (Handy, 1992; Breheny, 1995) (Koster and Rouwendal, 2012, p.734)

Developing in 20 years, the Charter of New Urbanism was summoned in 1993 around the contexts of walkable, diverse, mixed-use, mixed income; compact, pedestrian friendly, transit-oriented neighborhoods (Kelbaugh, 2008, p.42).[14] That is why the main idea of the New Urbanism is spatial connectivity. Haas (2008) highlights that long-term functional viability of New Urbanism is secured by the inclusion of the principles of mixed-use strategies.

2.1.4 Information Age and the Contemporary Metropolis: 1990 – 201X

Information technologies and economy blossomed within the globalization. The world is connected via internet and other computational means. The local merged in the global and cities became a part of the greater regional programs in larger scales. In this techno-connectivity and new socio-cultural network, the spatial arguments re-phrased in order to define the metropolises of the next century. New paradigms are translated in new urban forms and responding the continual problems of the previous century. From this perspective, "mass regional urbanization, with its combination of both decentralization (the migration of jobs and people from the old inner city) and recentralization (in new "suburban cities" as well as some old downtowns) has been replacing the mass suburbanization processes that dominated postwar urban development in most of the world's cities" (Soja, 2008, p.293). In other words, the new

[14] Also see Anthony Downs (2005, p.367-380) for the concept of Smart Growth as an upgrade in the context of New Urbanism.

metropolitan structure dwells on regional urbanization and creates city regions or regional cities. The instruments and grounds for this organizational change for the mix of uses in urban space would be found through the globalization processes.

2.1.4.1 Impact of Globalization on the notion of mixed-use

Twentieth century experienced major changes in social and spatial configuration of the cities. According to Hakkı Yırtıcı (2005, p.10) new metropolises of the twenty-first century do not have an evolutionary and organic bond with the past precedents. Consequently, the major difference is mentioned to be the influence of capitalist spatial organization which requires the maximization of financial gain from the space. As it is observed the nature of socio-economic structuration has been changing from production to consumption. Space becomes an instrument of capitalist economic system and objectified since the capitalist space is claimed to be destructive and temporary (Yırtıcı, 2005, p.11-12).

Although the era of modernity rejected the worldview of the past, they never truly abandoned the qualitative critique on architecture (Yırtıcı, 2005). On the other hand, the new world order is objectifying the space which is under the pressure of quantitative tradition. As applied in the Industrial city, the formation of urban centers experienced functionally mixed agglomerations which would be observed through the constitution of downtowns. Claiming that centralized territorial nodes are growing, Saskia Sassen (2006) questions "why information technologies and industries designed to span the globe require a vast physical infrastructure containing strategic nodes with hyper-concentrations of material facilities." She adds that when the new information technologies and telecommunications infrastructures were introduced on a large scale in all advanced industries beginning in the 1980s, the CBDs sharply

boomed in the leading cities and international business centers of the world such as New York, LA, London, Tokyo, Paris, Frankfurt and etc.

It is already acknowledged that the global cities are the command points of the capital network where we can find the key locations and markets for leading industries as well as major sites of production. As Sassen (2006) puts it, "the leading financial districts in the world have all had rapid increases in the density of office buildings since the 1980s" (p.122). Accordingly, spatial consequences of the digital era would be found in the urban core. The question is: how the existing urban form can accommodate them? According to Yırtıcı (2005) Capitalism as an economic phenomenon has the ability of creating spatial variety (for instance north and south hemisphere and west/east Turkey). Moreover, the capitalist notion of space enforces the polarization in every aspect of urban life including the center and periphery differentiation. As in the case of İstanbul, the urban shift became stronger in the late 90s.

In order to capture the instruments and results of spatial transformation we have to comprehend the fact that the new world leaning strongly towards centralization and agglomeration of different city-functions. This semi-natural impact triggered the debates on developing new urban forms and urban life styles. Mixing uses as the core strategy, a new urban form is inserted into the metropolis which will be the case subject to explore. However, it is highly important to comprehend how İstanbul responded to all the evolutionary stages of the phenomenon of mix of uses in urban spatial organization and life.

2.2 Provisions on the Notion of Mixed-Use in İstanbul

İstanbul is the largest metropolis in Turkey and inhabited by over 14 million people from all social segments, ethnic background, political orientation and religious affiliation. İstanbul's autonomous nature of physical evolution is no match to the programmed construction of the urban space in the hands of the political authorities. The historic city confronted a disfavored post-imperial

depletion, a nationalist modernization and globalization as well as mass migration within the last century.

Previously, the evolution of mix of uses is examined from a historical perspective. It is clear that the development of civilizations exceeded the centuries-long leadership of Europe and collaboratively launched a mass-transformation in discreet geographies. Meanwhile, İstanbul was aiming to catch up with the rest of the world observing Europe scrupulously and imitating as much which were significant novelties for the Muslim empire that time. Therefore this section will focus on the experience of İstanbul in response to the journey of the phenomenon of mixed-use functions in the spatial configuration of the city.

2.2.1 İstanbul: the Ottoman Rule in 19th century

The Ottoman Empire whose dominion expanded over three continents in its 600 years of life was at the period of regression dealing with extensive financial, social and political conflicts in the nineteenth century. The revolutionary winds of societal changes in Europe marched further in the continent. Modernization processes for the Ottoman Empire launched at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One of the mile stones for this process was the Treaty of Balta Limanı (1838) signed between the Ottoman Empire and the United Kingdom granting the latter full access to the Ottoman markets (Çelik, 1986). This formal agreement spread over other European countries which brought an open market system to the empire and delivering advantageous positions to the western countries. The capitalist organization of space was evolving rapidly and expanding its reach by bringing different parts of the world together.

The Ottoman Empire aimed for bringing the technological innovations and mind set of the West in order to process modernization of the society and its institutions as well as gaining a financial stability (Çelik, 1986). In terms of

demographics, the population growth accelerated in the second half of the century due to the migrations triggered by the wars. Overall population of İstanbul was 391.000 in 1844 and jumped to 864.000 in 1906.[15] According the Shaw's studies on İstanbul's demography in the nineteenth century the population was 213.992 in 1844 and 873.575 in 1885 which is clearly doubled yet stabilized around 1906 (864.576) and 1914 (909.978) (Shaw, 1979, p.265-277). Conversely, the population of 1.2 million halved in 1927 and increased to 1.167.000 in 1950 (Tekeli, 2009; Akpınar, 2010).

The Ottoman capital İstanbul aimed to be more European in terms of financial and political structures of the empire which required a spatial urban response at the verge of global scale downturns. The history of spatial organization is directly linked to the political reforms which were organized by the Ottoman government who was aiming to reconfigure the social space. As mentioned by Çelik (1986), second half of the 19th century is the reconfiguration age of capital for the European countries as exampled in Paris by Haussmann (1853-1872), Vienna (1860) and Rome (1882). However, Ottoman Empire never experienced the colonial expansions and economic organizations. Likewise the historical heritage of the capital struggled through the changes in public and governmental institutions of the Muslim doctrines. The architectural modernization and planning strategies were furthered by replicating the precedents in Great Britain and France. However, the continuous defeats in various wars in European regions as well as middle-eastern districts, Ottoman Empire was struggling through financial crisis as well (Çelik, 1986).

2.2.1.1 Spatial organization of İstanbul

The city constituted in three parts: Golden Horn (Fatih), Galata and Üsküdar. Surrounded and limited by the sea, the complex web of streets and layout of monumental buildings infilled with the residential units. Urbanization took a

[15] 1787-88 Ottoman-Russian war and 1913-14 Balkan Wars were the primary ones.

leap forward in İstanbul which aiming to become a modern and European city under the impact of Industrialization. There were three important planning criteria to achieve this objective: designing an urban core, implanting new transportation network and upgrading the socio-political framework. These new physical structuration required the spatial vocabulary of the Industrial era which was actually observed through the domestic and foreign proposals planned to be executed.

The Urban Core:

Between the declaration of Tanzimat reforms (1839) and the Second Constitutional Era (1908), three crucial urban design schemes were considered for İstanbul (Çelik, 1986). The common point between the projects was considering the city as a whole and establishing transportation network by improving the street patterns, implanting public squares, providing new and wider roads and railroad lines to connect all sides of the city. Second important point is the notion of "centralization" which is the core principle of urban planning during the Industrialization processes in different geographical settings.

First project was proposed by Helmuth von Moltke who was a German field Marshal assigned to work under the command of Sultan Mahmud II to prepare an extensive city plan of İstanbul demonstrating the street networks and proposing a redevelopment plan for the urban core (Çelik, 1986). Moltke aimed to connect administrative and commercial regions to the Byzantine urban structure. The construction techniques suggested for the dwellings and the ports were stone to avoid the potential fires. The objective dwelled on improving the pedestrian life and spatial communication within the whole historic city.

Second project was proposed by Compagnie Internationale du Chemin de Fer de Bosphore which is basically a ringroad project that connects European side

of İstanbul to Anatolian side circling around the city including two bridges (one between Üsküdar and Sarayburnu, and the second is between Rumelihisarı and Kandilli) (Çelik, 1986). The French engineer Arnodin's aim was projecting a railroad connection for the metropolitan area which was beyond the urban scale.

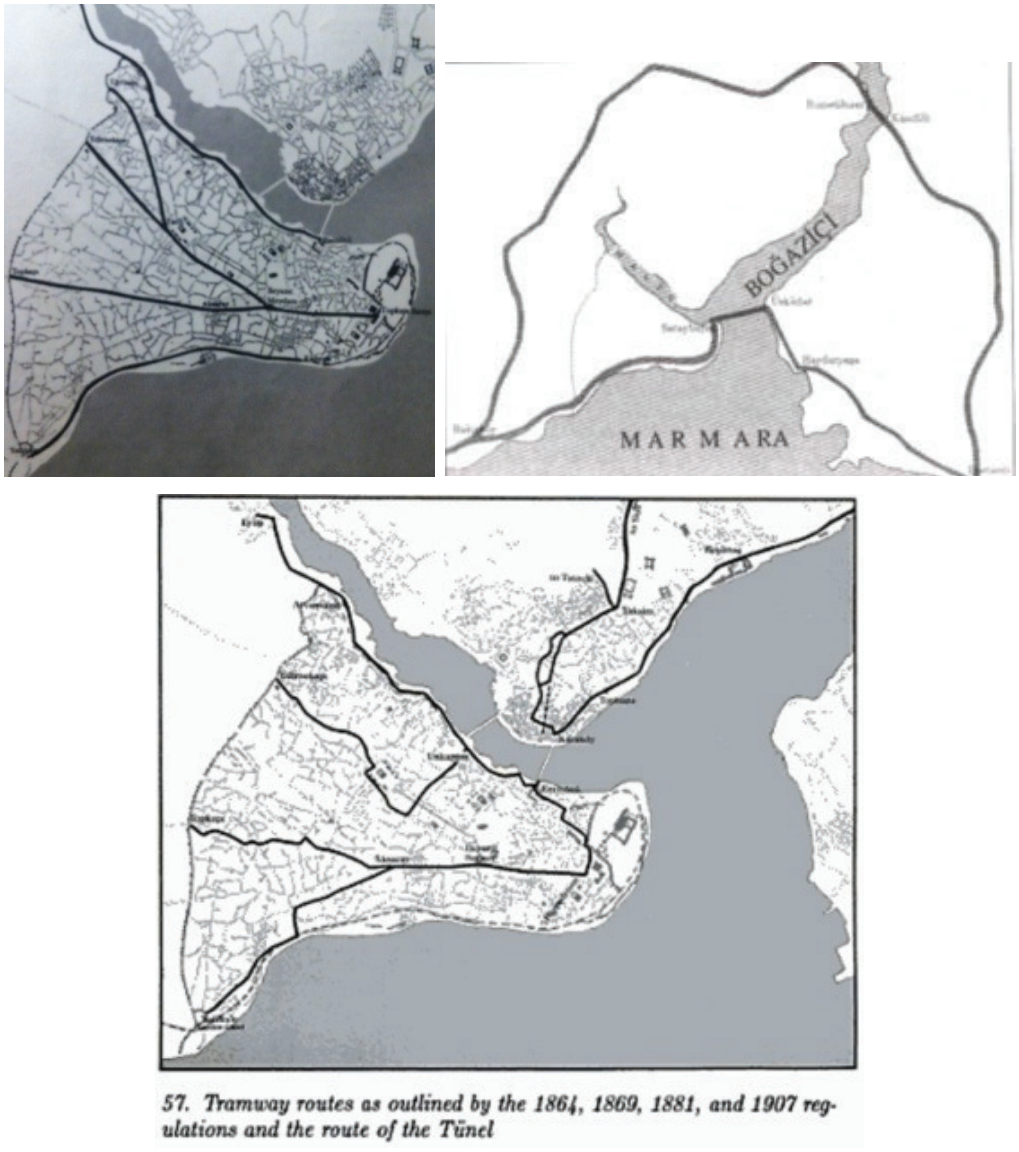


Figure 2.1 Moltke's plan and Amodin's plan. Third image is the plan for tram-lines. (Çelik, 1986)

Third project belongs to Beaux-art trained Parisian architect Joseph Antoine Bouvard (Çelik, 1984). His proposal included four sections: the Hippodrome,

Beyazit Square, the Galata Bridge and Valide Mosque Square. Bouvard's main aim was designing the first urban center of the imperial capital which had never existed before (Çelik, 1986).

Industrialization brought a new planning strategy for the countries: centralization as exampled in London, Paris or Vienna. Although İstanbul demonstrated a similar typology in demographic expansion, the Ottoman Empire did not experience the Industrial Revolution as the western countries did. Nevertheless, some principles are relevant for İstanbul as well. Galata was the commercial center and Pera was the residential district for the elite. Production facilities of iron, steel and weaponry emerged in Zeytinburnu, shipyards in Bakırköy and gunpowder factories in Küçükçekmece (Çelik, 1986).[16]

Residential fabric is crucial to be mentioned in order to understand the urban life fully. Since the monumental structures were dominating the urban fabric, the residential architecture formed in between them. According to Çelik (1986, p.7-8), this fabric was composed of five distinct types of houses in İstanbul: "*odalar*, one-room dwellings; neighborhood houses; houses with larger gardens; *konaks*, palaces and villas; and *yalıs*, villas or seaside mansions of sultans and dignitaries." There were also neighborhood houses where you can find separate quarters for men and women. Palaces and villas were only for government officers and rich merchants. The urban core exhibits an organic spatial development due to the social and cultural values of the empire. As Çelik (1986) mentions, excluding the *bekar odaları* from the neighborhoods, it was possible to see various house types built together despite the difference wealth of the owner. Additionally, the 1885 consensus of Ottoman subjects in the capital demonstrates that the Muslim population of the capital was 44.06 percent, thus 47 percent foreign, 32 percent non-Muslim Ottoman and 21

[16] The spatial growth was visible through three directions at this era. Pera, Tepebaşı and Taksim districts were forming a triangle. Taksim expanded towards Harbiye, Fındıklı expanded towards Dolmabahçe and then Beşiktaş as a longitudinal axe. These new neighborhoods were predominantly residential.

percent Muslim were the permanent residents in Beyoğlu including Pera, Galata and Tophane. Although the ethnic and economic distribution highly varied, it is observed that there was a joint tendency of acquiring mixed-communities as well as more European inspired residential neighborhoods (Çelik, 1986, p.133-137).

> The change in the street layout and the fabric did not affect İstanbul's urban image significantly. The life style in the İstanbul peninsula maintained older patterns, whereas residents of Galata now tried to imitate the lifestyles in European cities. The symbols of modern living – office buildings, banks, theatres, hotels, department stores, and multistory apartment buildings- were abundant in Galata. In contrast to İstanbul's ottoman monuments, gave a more nineteenth-century European appearance (Çelik, 1986, p.81).

Inner-Transportation Network:

Transportation is the next important criteria towards the industrial city to sustain the urban growth. There were several projects proposed including railways and horse-drawn trams in 1860s (Çelik, 1986, p.90) and İstanbul Tunnel in 1875. The routes were determined according to the physical expansion routes.[17] However, inner connections required demolishing existing neighborhoods for wider roads. Old city emerged as the first obstacle in that point. The alternative proposals aimed to create regional connections for the developing neighborhoods in other locations of the Bosphorus. The tram line and the tunnel were the major outputs of the era as connecting Galata to Pera which means old religious center of Eyüp was now on the north south axis.

[17]Çelik (1986, p.90) presents that The first route connected the Eminönü end of the Galata Bridge to the Hippodrome and Beyazit Square via Divanyolu. From Beyazit Square it led to Aksaray, where bifurcated: one branch followed Samatya Caddesi and reached Yedikule (the Golden Gate) the other linked Aksaray to Topkapı on the Theodosian walls.

Central Business District (CBD)

Until the impact of Westernization movements and foreign capital, there was no financial district or any spatial organization for the purposes of a central business zone in İstanbul (Büyükcivelek, 2012, p.339). The neighborhood that connects Eminönü to Fatih was the historic core of the city which was functioning as a center for centuries. Beyoğlu would be claimed as the first business district that was framed by locating the residential unit along with the Taksim-Karaköy axis. Galata Bridge and the tram lines connected both sides of Haliç and created a spatial integrity within the city. First municipality of the Ottoman capital emerged as a reform in urban administration in 1857 around Pera after this improvement (Çelik, 1986). Galata was a popular part of the city with its multi-ethnic residents. Sea transport was more popular than the train lines, so wealthy dwelled alongside the shore while the middle class gathered around the train stations.

When the First World War broke out, the Ottoman Empire was already experiencing problems in all territories dealing with greater scale conflicts. The spatial development of İstanbul was on hold for the time being and because of the migration flows as well as the transition through the 1919-22 War of Independence, Empire capital İstanbul was a witness rather than a player.

2.2.2 İstanbul: Early Modernization to Republic's late Metropolis, 1923 - 1990

First and Second World Wars mark the history of the world as thresholds of socio-political transformations. The former is the most effective on İstanbul's case. Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 after the World War I by abolishing the caliphate, the sultan and all the institutions associated with the imperial past. The new nation state claimed to be unified, modern, new and western oriented. The republican attitude towards the creation of a new capital

had an intense impact on İstanbul leaving the old imperial capital in stand-by condition.

It is widely known that cities transformed by social, political and functional changes. The industrial character of İstanbul did not have time to mature but the urban core was established before the war. The social, governmental and financial functions gathered around in centralized strategies cumulating around Galata and Beyoğlu. Next formation was differentiation of central business districts and expanding settlements. Although during 1920s the economic system was quite liberal and open market oriented, from 30s and 40s on the situation has changed (Osmay, 1998). İstanbul did not experience the modernization in the same pattern with western countries. The periods of development was significantly separated due to the ruling parties. This era would be divided in two as 1923-1950 and 1950-1970 since the urbanization processes in İstanbul did not upgrade until 50s. That would be observed from the population distributions as well.[18]

The urban core in İstanbul had a dual character. The old city center remained in traditional pattern however a new center was required for the new business enterprises. The Ottoman CBD was limited with the historical neighborhoods. As Osmay puts it, metropolitan city formation requires the spatial organization of a variety of urban functions in one location which would be central to the city (Osmay, 1998, p.152).

By 1930s, İstanbul was expanding on the periphery. The city center was still Eminönü and the CBD kept improving within this frame. However the residential neighborhoods spread out towards Osmanbey-Şişli direction to the north and Bağdat Street direction to the East (Bilsel, 2010, p.55). Similar to the planning of Ankara, the authorities needed council and mentorship for the planning of İstanbul. Modernization process in Europe was a learning ground

[18] The urban population of İstanbul was 16.4% in 1927, 26.3% in 1960 and 35.8% in 1970 (Osmay, 1998). On the other hand in 1990, half of the population of İstanbul was urban.

for the Turkish Republic especially the German and French examples. City planning competition was announced for İstanbul in 1933 and three participants were named: Herman Ehlgötz from Germany, Donat Alfred Agache from France and Henry Prost from France (Bilsel, 2010, p.49).[19] Henry Prost accepted to work for two years in order to develop a grand city plan and program for İstanbul (Bilsel, 2010).[20]

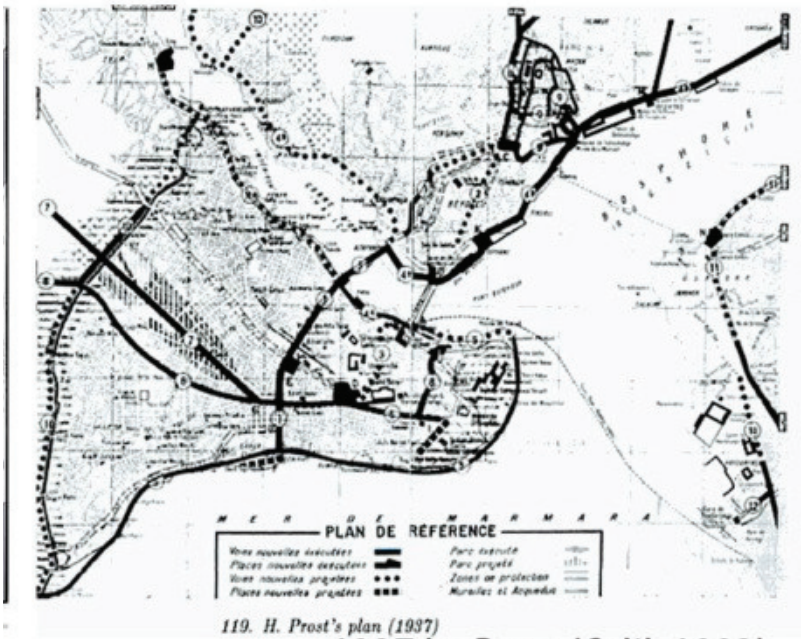


Figure 2.2 H. Prost's plan of İstanbul, 1937 (Çelik, 1986)

Main aim of Prost was not manipulating the physical expansion of the city due to the population growth, but spatial reorganization of infrastructure, residential districts and the public squares which is a method of modernization (Bilsel 2011: 57). There were three assigned strategies to develop: transportation network, green spaces and public spaces (*les espaces libres*). As it is observed, this spatial strategy aimed to be influential on urban life. Every configuration in the built environment proposes a new dynamic for the existing life styles.

[19] Ehlgötz worked on Essen, Agache worked on Rio de Janerio and Buenos Aires and Henry Prost worked on Paris.

[20] See Bilsel (2010) for comprehensive information on the planning of Prost in İstanbul,

Until the 70s, the search for a healthy planning strategy would not be found in the decentralization context of urban formation. The financial boost of the late twentieth century cross landed on the revival of the notion of mixed-use towards the development of global metropolis. As the next stage towards becoming a global metropolis, Turkey experienced multiple political upheavals until 90s including a major military coup in 1980. Concluding societal structures such as the fall of Berlin Wall and dissolution of USSR speeded up the liberalization process in Turkey. By 1990, İstanbul was at the edge of becoming a World City with over 4 million inhabitants and direct economic investment.

Until now it is observed that, the urban form of İstanbul could not manage to catch up with the Western velocity of spatial configuration during the industrial and modern eras. Despite the conscious and purposeful attempts in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the political turns twice in a row affected the contextual development of the city. On the other hand, postwar era and liberalization movements raised the ground for multiple countries in the developing world including Turkey. In the second half of the twentieth century was the era of transition for İstanbul to become the largest metropolis in all dimensions. Therefore, it might be claimed that 90s changed the face of the world by transforming what is local into global which made İstanbul open to the global arena and capital. The spatial paradigms of new urbanism and so forth were already bringing new terminologies to the city, yet 90s provide few cases of the new application of mixed use functions in architectural practices. The next section will explore this new urban form, its definition and the actors participated in its creation.

2.2.3 Mixed-Use High-Rise Complexes in the 21st Century

Since the 90s, mixed-use complexes have been developing as a system of real estate production. However, the primary role is providing more than mere

apartments. They contain a desirable balance of open spaces and vegetation which aims to mitigate the surrounding congestion and offer a pedestrian oriented terrain of recreation. Secondly, in human scale, the projects contain private and semi private spaces (even public in certain examples) on the ground level (or lower levels) to provide easy access to retail hubs, cafes and other entertainment facilities. Open and closed parking opportunities for the use of the residents and the visitors are always an obligatory part of the projects. The upper floors which are mostly tower blocks contain residential units, offices and/or hotels. According to the request of the investor, the projects might even include cultural centers, performance halls and opera houses. In short, the internal spatial and functional dynamics of mixed-use residential complexes are intertwined yet clear in purpose: maximizing the space usage and providing a rich variety of amenities in a diligent architectural expression (for example see DeLisle and Grissom, 2013).

> 'Developments that provide a "live, work, play" community have been heralded as key components of urban regeneration, infill, compact cities, New Urbanism (CNU, 1996), Smart Growth (Downs, 2005), and sustainable development.' (Niemira, 2007; Rabianski et al., 2009, p.205)

Mixed-use formation combines compatible programs to generate capital flows and sustain urban life as a solution for the tiresome central business districts. Collecting different programs under one umbrella on an undivided land mass is an easier way of nourishing benefits for the people. Providing walking and cycling paths with notable security, shopping and dining in close proximity, enjoying greenery as well as doing sports before going back home or after an intense office hour would be an impressive and healthy version of urban life in micro scale. A dwelling is the core part of this configuration. People require a focal point, a central locus for them to begin with. Therefore the concept would be only as successful as the residential stock because mixed-use development is supposed to be a human oriented design. In İstanbul, densification in the urban core revitalizes the social and spatial depression where the urban

expansion exceeds humane limits and turn into a humongous unpredictable and incoherent mass.

Alan Rowley's (1996) model of mixed use focus on the horizontal dimension between the buildings; yet Hoppenbrouwer and Louw (2005) point out the need to consider the vertical dimension which illustrates a single structure offering different uses throughout the course of the day and week. This typology is organized by function (land use), dimension, scale and urban texture. DeLisle and Grissom (2013) question the purposes of mixed-use programs under the theme of efficacy and performance whether they create more 'independent, vibrant, sustainable communities and neighborhoods.' There are multiple measurements to seek and it is relevant to recall what we learned from the past practices and whether they worth the effort and meet the expectations of the users, investors, the city and the discipline of architecture.

There are at least three major programs required to be fulfilled for a project to earn the title of mixed-use, and this study focuses on the residential program of the projects. There are considerable examples traced back 90s which consisted of primarily office blocks with commercial zones. It can be claimed that the discourse of global cities acknowledge the city as a material node for the capital. That is why the mixed use facilities have majorly constructed in the financial centers of those cities. Additionally, the urban core is a densely built environment and in order to improve the situation in favor of the investor, the architect has to build higher. In the recent decade, application of residential towers is becoming more pertinent for a more effective designation of the concept. Expedient heterogeneity is a key factor to create a productive neighborhood. Main argument from the investors' wing is the genuine demand coming from the society. It is clear that İstanbul needs a clean start for the urban core. However, there can be no immediate interpretations in that respect.

İstanbul hosts two financial centers on each continent: Levent and Ataşehir districts. Starting from those venues, investors majorly head for the primary

transportation nodes surrounding the business centers holding in-city zones and avoiding suburbs. Actually, the notion of mixed-use –as practiced in İstanbul- is not evoking the spirit of a gated community but still obtains conceptual and invisible walls built directly in our minds. Additionally, the target audience has never been the middle or low income families. The investors directly target the wealthy, high-income strata.

Rowley (1996) claims that "mixing residential and commercial zones encompasses concern for the needs of diverse segments of the society including different age groups" (p.87). That might be the first signs of the quest of social equity. However it does not translate in social medium in exact shape. It is true that most of the programs function for the public, however there is always 'that' boundary between the mere visitor and the wealthy resident. That might be discussed further later.

So far, it is observed that the notion of mixed-use traveled through time and geographies only to re-emerge over the debris of failed projects and utopias. After two centuries of evolution, new paradigms revealed that the necessity of the principles of mixed-use strategies for the healthier, sustainable and livable cities is stronger than ever. The problems in Industrial era transformed the spatial organization of urban form at the end of nineteenth century. Similarly, after the hurricane of modernity, the cities transformed once again into multi-centered suburban metropolises. Today whether we experience global metropolises or regional cities, mixed-use is back on the agenda. However, despite the advantageous and positive provisions and expectations of mixed-use functions in relation to the planning strategies, the problems observed in İstanbul continue to grow. Next section will briefly define the problems that were raised by inserting these new projects into the urban core.

CHAPTER 3

THE FOUNDATIONAL BASIS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF MU-HR-[R]-Cs

This chapter focuses on the socio-economic and political conjecture that prepared the stage for the emergence of a New Form within the existing urban space in İstanbul. In this respect, global setting and the significance of capital regulation on the formation of metropolises is explained. As the next step, urban development in İstanbul is explored (through 90s and early twenties) dwelling on spatio-contextual changes in financial, commercial and residential agglomerations in the metropolis. In this respect, the natural and artificial reasons behind the formation of MU-HR-[R]-Cs are investigated. In the end, this chapter reveals the problems confronted on this new spatial organization and draws attention to the architect as an influential actor on the whole process.

There are a few urban clusters in terms of socio-economic composition of life, urban planning and means of transportation in İstanbul. First one is the districts facing the bosphorus: Fatih-Beyoğlu-Beşiktaş axis on the European side and Kadıköy-Üsküdar axis on the Anatolian side. This two-piece region spatially dominates İstanbul primarily because of the existence of historic city center including palaces, Ottoman mosques and centuries-old mansions as well as other built forms in a hierarchy of economic, cultural and political values. Connected to each other visually, this display affects the representation of İstanbul with a multitude of architectural artifacts in addition to the natural beauty. Secondly, both sides are connected physically through sea transport and the two bridges. On each side, vehicular traffic as in public transport is sufficient enough to convey mobile connections between the neighboring

districts pedestrian routes with acceptable landscape elements and parallel sea transport. Both sides are back to back with the financial cores of the city which are Levent/Maslak on the European side and Ataşehir/Üsküdar on the Anatolian side.

The physical layout of İstanbul is presented clearly on the general (political) map of Turkey. However, the physical perimeter of the built environment is expanding rapidly on west-east axis with no established limit and towards north-northwest in a dynamic and continuous mobility. The reason is not only the overgrowth of population by rural migration and birth rates, but also the state oriented grand scale projects such as the third bridge and the third airport. Mass construction sites could be encountered in most of the places due to the encouraging support to the private companies and noteworthy investment on UTP's and TOKİ in the last decade. The history of İstanbul goes back several thousand years, however the transformation we experience today in the 21st century is beyond imagination.

3.1 Impact of Global Setting on Spatial Organization: Reorganization of CBD in İstanbul

Urbanization is the dominant spatial key after 50s for İstanbul. Liberal Economy would be the second after 80s. The Dynamics affecting the spatial organizations of cities could be defined under two sub-topics: changing demographics in population and reorganization of the capital in space. Since the 80s, Turkey experienced the impact of globalization in a rapid velocity on especially the latter. By 90s, the political structure of liberal economy was advancing in Turkey by adapting the globalization stream and joining wider networks: development plans focusing on open trades, becoming a part of the communication hub and cyberspace, building new institutions required by the global economy and many other reforms in finance (Tekeli, 1998, p.20-22).

During the Industrialization, Western countries changed the production magnitude from agriculture to industry and following the Post-war era the economic system corresponded by transferring the focus from industry to service sector. On the other hand in Turkey, there was a sharp transfer from agriculture to service sector which was visible from 1970 to 1985.[21] The second half of the twentieth century already conceded that the progress of societies changed from production to consumption by the flux of globalization. Actually, production left the cities since 60s and cities became the center of trades, control and culture with visual images of office towers especially in the US (Dökmeci et al., 1993, p.10-14). The critical point here is the boom in service sector which clearly amplified the generation of CBDs in the urban cores of metropolitan formations. The strength of service sector came from centralization which could be claimed a natural evolution in the information age since the necessity of financial agglomeration and the capital whirlpool engaged the private sector like a magnet. This new spatial segment allowed the banking and accounting sector to decentralize the branches widening their reach without losing the central control (Dökmeci et al., 1993, p.16). In order to enable this spatial organization, transportation hub was crucial for new spatial organization and İstanbul's new CBD started to be formed.

Scott Kirsch (1995, p.531-532) claims that the developments in the transportation technologies do bring people closer by shortening the time we spend on trying to reach from one place to another. Entitling this position as a space-time compression, Kirsch criticizes Harvey's interpretation (1989) of the shrinking world theory which reposes the fact that how people experience the space is changing. More importantly Kirsch demonstrates the process as a "reconceptualization of the relations between technology and space *without* the so-called shrinking world as a backdrop; through a Lefebvrian interpretation, technology is seen here as a mediating force in the production of space

[21]As given by Dökmeci et al. (1993): agriculture 67.66% to %58.95 and service 18.20% to 25.59%. Similarly in İstanbul the service sector increased from 47% to 52% where the dominance was on restaurants, trade centers, banks, insurance companies and real estate.

commensurate with the processes of production and social reproduction" (Kirsch, 1995, p.532).

After 2000, Turkey completed adaptation process to the neoliberal economic system by also configuring the spatial dimensions of the cities. Since the new era required new urban forms and institutions, new laws supported the construction sector. Privatization processes and Urban Renewal Projects (URPs or UTPs) highlighted the change. However, the city's uncontrolled expansion did not diminish or taken under control. Instead, urban growth has been unintentionally supported by the development of mega residential projects in significant nodes of the urban space which is an instrument of self-validation in the case of land-value speculation (Kuyucu, 2010).

The historic core of the city could not adapt to the fast growing changes in urbanization processes since new technologies created new demands and international corporations began to install themselves in the business sphere. The accumulation of small scale production generated a negative social growth within the districts creating congestion, pollution and danger of fire and after this period new industrial sites were provided outside of the core which suspended the pressure (Tekeli, 1998, p.16). When the functions of a city and the instruments of control change, the social stratification changes in return. The natural progress of urbanization reacted to the social densification and as a result the industrial urban forms left the city. In the end, the new age required new spatial instruments for the business and service sectors. The old CBD location of İstanbul was in Eminönü-Beyoğlu district with an extension towards Taksim. However, neither the streets nor the built environment were not adequate to let the new age inhabit. Therefore, CBDs organically moved/transferred via the expansion route on Şişli, Mecidiyeköy and Maslak due to the physical expansion of the peripheries. Concurrently, residential development was accompanying the new built form.

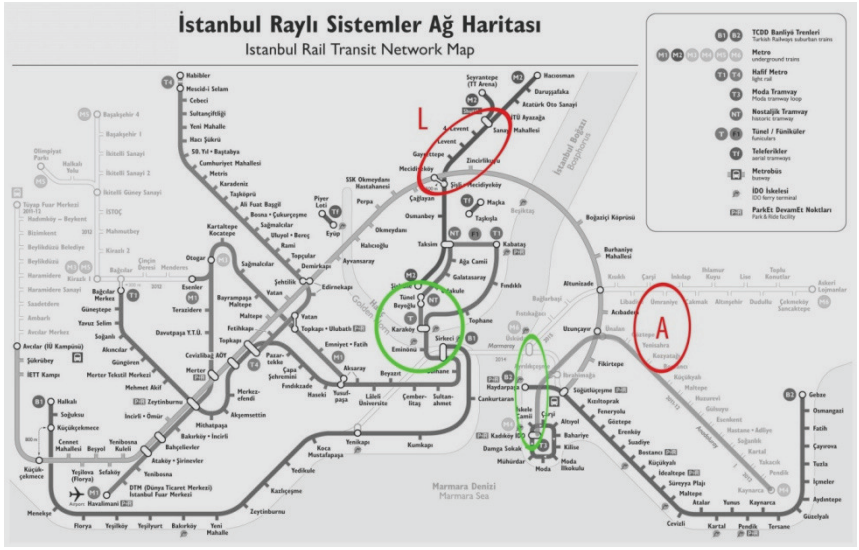


Figure 3.1 Subway routes: Green circles highlight the old CBD zones and Red circles highlight the new (L-Levent and A-Ataşehir).

Leaving more space for the business enterprises and consumption venues in the city core, the CBDs earned a new position in the dominance of information age. However, the CBD requires significant spaciousness which would be delivered by prudent transportation infrastructure and land use which lead to emergence of towers and prestige zones (Tekeli, 1998, p.22). The materialization of subcenters [*altkent*] or towns to support the urban core is a natural step in the urbanization process as experienced in all global cities.[22] In the case of İstanbul for instance, the construction of the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973 influenced the development of Kadıköy as a secondary center on the Anatolian side and allowing the business enterprises to leave Beyoğlu-Galata district towards Maslak and Şişli (Osmay, 1998, p.145-146). Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge was built in 1988 and solidified the presence of Levent-Maslak as the future CBD of European side. Such transformation triggered the residential spaces to be reorganized with a new theme. Eventually, prestigious housing projects appeared on and around the highway network aligned with the new spatial formation. Therefore, macro forms of the cities are affected by the decisions on (1) orientation of CBDs, (2) installation of effective transportation

[22] The urban population in 1980: 45.5% and 1990 56.3%. (Osmay, 1998, p.147)

network and (3) presentation of residential spaces. As understood, this constitutional scheme involves the obligatory constituents that set the ground for creation of MU-HR-[R]-Cs in İstanbul.

3.1.1 Change in the conceived space: Office Towers, Malls and New generation of Housing

It is already acknowledged that control over the capital and its reflection on the spatial organization is the dominant feature of urban development in the new era. The fluidity and accumulation of capital could be preserved through the metropolises. Thus, capital seeks to maximize the profit from the urban space. Therefore capital reorganizes the urban space by objectifying the city (Yırtıcı, 2005). The spatial components of objectification redefine the dynamics of work, leisure and housing as well as their physical form.

Spatial agglomeration based on economy creates new geographies and new urban forms by polarizing the urban space and life. Since the financial decision makers remain in the core and production facilities leave the city, the process of metropolitan formation primarily dwells on distribution of urban activities and functions. During this process, because of the natural evolution of the city, the residential segments fall far from the business zones. One reason would be the conscious preferences of middle class residents; however the UTPs and zoning regulations reformulate the real estate prices challenging the purchasing power of a great majority of inhabitants in İstanbul. This socio-economic segregation is not an indirect move towards the society but actually a reflection of capital. The distance between the work and home increases and generates its own pool of problems. In order to balance the pressure, the city gives birth to subcenters (closer than satellite towns) and the suburbs. In İstanbul case, Kadıköy, Maltepe and Kartal route is the insurance of the central orientation of European side. As mentioned, while the CBD is reorganized in Levent-Maslak-

Şişli triangle, Anatolian side developed Ataşehir with direct connection to both bridges as the secondary CBD of İstanbul.

Yırtıcı (2005, p.88) claims that metropolitan space is where the contextual relationship between the urban form and place demolished and instead the infrastructural relationships become prominent. CBDs not only dominate the region they matured in but also implant a self-sustaining context into the existing structure. Capital as the rule-maker, seeks regional dominion rather than a compromise. As Soja (2000) puts it, the metropolis of twenty-first century would not be defined by the older terminologies as the new grandiose form transcends the traditional notion of metropolis. Soja names this new scale as *postmetropolis* which creates a regional city or city-region. However, office towers are not the only spatial and functional agglomeration of the era. Second urban form is the mall which is influential on the cultivation of new urban life styles.

Shopping habits changed under the influence of consumption culture. Malls reorganized the recreational functions. In traditional sense, people would visit the central areas of the city to spend time for a variety of purposes. After 90s, people are lead to a new urban form to spend their time (such as Galleria, Capitol, Akmerkez). Although earlier examples of malls would frame only houseing supplies or similar necessities, contemporary malls expanded the functional purposes to include different stores, restaurants, cafes, movie theatres and even sport facilities. People experience an alternative understanding of leisure in comparison to what was provided within the city. As a part of the metropolitan culture, malls become an objective for people and a final destination (Osmay, 1998, p.152). Therefore, malls replace the scattered functions of entertainment by gathering them in one place which is closed to outside world [the city] and promotes consumption as the core activity. Consumption disengages from the context of its place and becomes a tool, an action (Yırtıcı, 2005, p.107). In the end, the life provided by the mall disassociates people's perception and experience from the city by altering the

lived space. At this point both work and leisure contextually changed and spatially reformed.

Residential development is the third stage of urbanization. Enabling the use of private cars by upgrading the transportation network, middle to upper class citizens jump over the poverty belt of squatter settlements and settle down in the periphery (Tekeli, 1998). Seeking social distance is an old endeavor in the planning history. When the city expands without formal planning or limitations, the once sprawl and poor neighborhoods as the outer ring gain a central location, the context transform into a neighborhood within the megapolis. TOKI –as mentioned- is followed by the Municipalities because the infrastructure for the new settlements has to be provided. For the European model, the city center is the tourist showcase: restaurants, cafes, entertainment venues and luxurious residential neighborhoods (for instance Champs-Elyse). Hence, the core is expensive and marginalized with poorer neighborhoods waiting to be gentrified. "By defining property rules and market dynamics in informal housing areas and dilapidated inner-city neighborhoods, UTPs achieve two major goals: physical and demographic 'upgrading' of particular localities and construction of a neo-liberal governance regime" (Unsal and Kuyucu, 2010, p.53).

> Gentrification can be defined as the "transformation of the deprived, low-income, inner-city neighborhoods into new wealthy areas based on population change and on improvements to the built environment." (Criekingen and Decroly, 2003, p.2454)

It would be understood that deprived neighborhoods or slums would be a treat for the city by diminishing the quality of life and the spatial experience for the residents. Therefore the relationship established between the state authorities, developers, foreign and local investors and the residents would help to figure out the spatial nature of urban transformation in housing for the case of İstanbul (Unsal and Kuyucu, 2010, p.53). An increasing number of architects and planners have already begun to participate in the decision making

processes which increased the quality of constructions and buildings. A life in discreet locations of the city might disable people to experience the city in the first place. However, this situation is valid for the poorer segments of the society. On the other hand, the capital is actively reorganizing the urban space and providing new investment arenas for the people who can actually afford to live in the center. Depending on the new construction technologies, residential spaces in the forms of super towers began to appear in transportation nodes and especially in the subcenters of İstanbul. Building high-rise is the only solution for densification and still protecting the central status. Therefore, residential space has to adapt to the new formation of the urban life in all scales.

As it is observed, office towers, residential skyscrapers and the grand malls with multi-purpose uses are the products of metropolitan formation processes. The MU-HR-[R]-Cs emerge to provide a combination of activities discussed so far in addition to accomodation facilities and performance halls depending on the demand of the investors. Two points should be highlighted again. First, capital is reorganizing the urban space and life. Second, mobility of population according to their social status create the natural evolution of the urban habitat. However, there is a parallel planning strategy advocated to rationalize the context of MU-HR-[R]-Cs in İstanbul.

3.2 Artificial vs Conjectural Rationale behind the Cultivation of a New Form

According to Akcan (2013) Turkey is a part of its own internal dynamics as well as the global conjecture. There are continuities, thresholds and ruptures in the architectural space which gives shape to the contemporary contexts. People's ideas, possessions, technology, knowledge and images flow through space and time in the contemporary world which is subject to change. As mentioned before, mixed-use context is a multi-dimensional implant and directly affects the locale by upgrading the social and economic status. Before

questioning the architectural impact however, the nature of this 'upgrade' should be examined. Once the city turns into a profitable object in the hands of the authorities, every piece of the land becomes means of trade and interpreted into financial profit –not social or cultural but financial. Commodification process is primarily a fiscal system and sub-merits are affecting the society. Therefore it is important to investigate and comprehend how the city is commodified.

Urban life styles are targeted primarily for consumption and capital circulation. Sharon Zukin (1998) claims that "strategies of urban development based on consumption focus on visual attractions that make people spend money" (p.832). In short, city cultivates money. This mentality is dominant in public domain, in private retailers and now their reach is furthered into the houses. The city life –or metropolitan life- is claimed to be different than any other elsewhere (Diepen and Musterd, 2009, p.331). It would be claimed that rural life most likely represents a community of agricultural (or other means of production) producers while the city stands for consumption. In fact a better version would be considering the fact that spaces of consumption are located in the urban areas such as all kinds of commercial bodies in collaboration with the real estate, advertising and entertainment industries.

> 'These changes in the material and symbolic fabric of the cities alter previous conceptions of consumption as a residual category of urban political economy. Cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production, but landscapes of consumption' (Zukin, 1998, p.823).

The consumption spaces are located in every museum; stadiums and concept stores which provide a wide selection of artifacts that are cherished or presented to be purchased as a souvenir to treasure further. In the end, everyone would have an exact copy of Van Gogh hanging on their wall or a statue of the favorite soccer player on their desk which is a process of successful commodification.

> "Therefore, urban social structures, reflected by residential patterns, are not interpreted as products of choice or preferences, but as products that are highly affected by social and economic constraints to urban life" (Diepen and Musterd, 2009, p.332).

People seek a healthy and sustainable environment in an efficiently organized land with easy access (respectful to universal design principles) and aesthetical outlook. However, the decision makers redirect various dimensions as elements of prestige and necessity in order to validate the project in wider community. Despite the fact that authorities seek a more controlled and planned urban development, it is better to classify the conjectural criteria behind this program.

3.2.1 Public Health

Commercial, residential and industrial segments are important parts of the modern land-use planning and zoning (Angotti and Hanhardt, 2001, p.145). Despite the contemporary technologies, the physical separation of uses becomes beneficial to avoid public-health crisis since air pollution and toxic waste would be a consequence that should be handled by the authorities. However, this research focus on the mixed-use residential projects not the wider planning and zoning that includes the industrial uses as a part of the mix. The problem of maintaining the safety of public health does not only include the project or the surrounding environment. The mixed-use programs would gain important benefits from the advancing technologies and open green spaces that indirectly support the city life for the greater good.

Auto dependency is one of the causalities of suburban sprawl and single use community planning (Angotti and Hanhardt, 2001). Stress and depression are other psychological side effects that might develop due to long hours in traffic and less time to spend on refreshing open air activities such as sports or sightseeing. Although one of the advantages of mixing different communities would be assigned as a psychological benefit, it is obvious for the case selection in İstanbul that the target group of people is from high-income sects

of the society which means there is no interest in mixing different parts of the society but a subconscious start of segregation according to fiscal power. Possibly, it cannot be count as a ghettoization or a private gated community since the mixed use of functions especially for the commercial segments; and the office units aim to invite people rather than reject them. The project should be welcoming, an opportunity of interaction (Coulson and Wright, 2013). On the other hand the residents of the housing units would be ordinary citizens.

In a place where traffic jams and congestion is common and continuous in addition to the degradation and deterioration in inner parts of the urban core we cannot talk about a healthy built environment or a healthy future for the next generation of inhabitants. Therefore, the expectation from the mixed use projects would be to exist as a three dimensional green zone where adequate parking is available, the connections to the major public transportation nodes are in close proximity and safety is assured for the pedestrian life. That is important for the aging population as well as the children.

As another crucial responsibility, the land of the project should not be a barrier or a wall of protection from the polluted and contested life of the city. Instead, it should act as an instrument of negotiation between surrounding neighborhoods and an agent of collaboration in terms of distributing a healthy message that might trigger a spatial transformation in the wider regional area and an economic gain would be acquired in addition to the main goal of providing hygiene and safety. Hygiene should not be a concept to underestimate for planners. Actually, the concept of hygiene is becoming a valuable yet obligatory instrument for a healthy neighborhood to survive and demand from the citizens as an urgent necessity to be provided by the authorities. The authorities in this case are not limited to political bodies as we can guess. The designer's job begins from any demand.

The purpose is clear however the confusion appears within the application of the programs. Since the target audience is the wealthier segments of the

society, how come we can talk about a mixture of different income groups and social cohesion? It should not be misunderstood that such attitude or outcome is a fault. It is not. It is a preference of the decision makers however the core principles order social consolidation in the 'social space' by providing communication and improving the relationships between the neighborhoods and creating an alternative built environment with much variety of amenities and health opportunities. However the limitation of target users is clarified by the advertising industry as the high-income families and who are supposed to live like them. That is the controversial part of the argument.

If someone talks about benefit on public health, we might ask which public? You mean the ones that supposed to come and spend money? Or the one who come to spend time enjoying the green space, parks and fountains and spend money? On the other hand this vortex would be addictive. It is true that instead of spending at least two hours to reach any green space or the shore would not be the first choice once you have an alternative like a mixed use parcel nearby which provides adequate of 'everything'. Similarly, the residents of the project might think the city is the alternative to what they have. At least that is what the advertisement says: the unique paradise to live in, which we already deserve to experience. It is all about the quality of life provided in these boundaries.

3.2.2 Land efficiency and Accessibility

Land use in architectural terms defines the mass and open space proportion, more like a solid void study. However, it also means the active use of the program by the residents as well as the visitors. Accessibility is a collaborative and additive virtue by providing public transportation nodes and proximity to the major centers, available parking lots as well as pedestrian and bicycle friendly streetscape. Scale and marketing is directly related to the investor as well as the policy making and political agenda.

What is the relevancy of transportation nodes in these projects? Urban sprawls and suburban life is heavily car oriented. On the other hand mixed-use residential neighborhood offers a pedestrian and public transport oriented urban core. One of the major objectives is achieving densification, in other words 'urban compactness' (Burton, 2000, p.1969). Nevertheless, connection to public transport such as subway system or buses is as important as the positioning the venue on the major highways that are possible connected to the bridges in İstanbul. It does not matter whether the resident have an automobile, it is important for the resident to reach other parts of the city. However, enabling other parts of to city to reach the site of the complex is more crucial.

The application of mixed-use cultivates social and spatial connection between the surrounding communities and itself. Socially dense, visually aesthetic and spatially transparent contextual quality would be an architectural asset for a neighborhood. The program elements and the sensible organization of open spaces might provide a breath of fresh air to the region and trigger further transformations. Likewise, the character of the community and the surrounding region will communicate and provide the codes of local and regional accessibility and social expectations. "In those areas with high-levels of local accessibility, residents have the option to make trips, such as walking trips to downtown, that are simply infeasible in areas without good access to local activity" (Handy, 1992, p.268).

3.2.3 Sustainability: Environmental and Ecological Concerns.

Mixed-use residential areas promote and encourage development and investment. According to Michael Breheny (1995) the application of compact cities might reduce the energy consumption that we experience via transportation, water use, heating and artificial lighting. Although urban decentralization remains as a powerful response to acquire a life away from

pollution and crowd, the mixed-use residential complexes bring a new understanding of sustainability into the city.

Sustainability comes with the problem of performance and aesthetics. High performance comes with green technologies. Globally, there is an ascending demand on 'building green' and seeking environmentally conscious buildings. Idea of the energy efficient buildings is a part of the architectural and social context. As an obligatory attribute of the contemporary world, it is marketed as a privileged quality of life which would not be provided in the ordinary settlements. Although the direct benefit is for the residents, the larger environmental merits are affecting the whole city.

Formally, the residential units, offices and the hotel (if it is included) would be high-rise towers. In the most basic terms, thin structures have smaller footprints and slender bodies. In the most basic architectural vocabulary, building mass, fenestration, roof and balconies are operated as the solid and void relationships and utilized as an architectural strategy to decrease the need on energy sources. It might be illustrated as an advantageous beginning which should be decided through the design phases. Heat consumption will be suspended with the new insulation technologies, low emitting materials and green roofs while the wider surfaces will take the advantage of day light longer and in larger portions.

Unlike horizontal land use, vertical allows more space for public use and especially green areas. On ground level, parks and different kinds of vegetation might be suspended. Controlled water use, waste water reuse, encouraged recycling and diminished use of artificial lighting are powerful sources of environmental friendly spatial context. Indirectly, the complex will incorporate fewer cars into the circulation of the traffic which will lead less traffic, less gas consumption, less carbon monoxide emission. Furthermore, Smart Home Concept is independently a cutting-edge paradigm. The implications require spatial configuration in design of the overall dwelling. It does not only

authorize the user full control on electrical equipments, water use and heat sources of the house, but also provides easy access to shopping, communication, health care and even educational means.

The dichotomy between the artificial reasoning and the original/conjectural rational behind the resurgent of a context like mix of uses in one collaborative project is clear. The economic agenda and reorganization of the urban life in a metropolis like İstanbul would be no different than any other world city in the competitive global arena. However, the emergence of MU-HR-[R]-Cs does not dwell only on the foundational basis of the globalization. The conjectural attributes and the architectural components of cultivating a New Form undermined by the artificial superimposition of solely capital oriented strategies which dislocates the vital urban contexts and relocate a new one in an incompatible manner.

3.3 Problematic behind the Mixed-Use Residential Complexes in İstanbul

Mixed-use concept is born out of necessity. The nature of interest and the expectations depend on the constituencies such as investors, residents and visitors. In terms of social and architectural opportunities, mixed-use projects might provide new varieties in housing options. Investors and developers majorly seek financial gains from these projects. They should be politically correct and socially demanding. Both the project and the land could manifold the economic value of each other.

> Developers have proposed mixed-use developments to adapt projects to infill locations, request increased density, and create a resident population to provide financial support for commercial tenants (Rabianski et al., 2009, p.206).

It is accurate to say that mixed-use project targets people to provoke activities and ignite enthusiasm in a contemporary and exciting architectural wonder (Hoppenbrouwer and Louw, 2005; Niemira, 2007; Rabianski, 2009). Social

and economic merits are repetitively clear so far. Furthering in the urban planning terrains, an uncontrolled urban sprawl would be reoriented by densification as a key attribute of the mixed-use approach.

Grant (2002, p.73) explains three levels of mixing objectives two of which are relatively important. First item is increasing the intensity of land uses mentioned as 'densification'. A range of choices helps to generate different types of dwellings according to the life-cycle and income levels which mean different households would come together and create a social mix as well. Second item is providing a diversity of uses by encouraging a compatible mix which prevent conflict and create synergies. The options might increase in variety through experience which is the best feedback. 'Commercial and civic' activities are necessary to be in secure conditions and close to each other to decrease dependence for the elderly and the children as well as the handicapped.[23]

The majority of the problems emerge from the examples in İstanbul because of the false interpretation of the mixed-use principles. First, the spatial organization in any urban core requires the vital "highways" to feed the system with population flows. Second, as Yırtıcı (2005) puts it, the structuration of a metropolitan area is flexible and region base relationships become important. In İstanbul, this flexibility turns into individualism which demonstrates a focus of attention only its own conjecture. This kind of closed-concerned configuration weakens the relationship between the project and the place which makes the location important and the spatial context of that particular location irrelevant. As again mentioned by Yırtıcı (2005), such planning attitude promotes a gated space closed to the wider context of the region and

[23] Although it means social integration, economic strength, and environmental improvement; Grant claims that in Canadian cities, districts become more segregated and less affordable as well as land consumption ascended rapidly. Planners' expectation seems to be mismatched with the consequences. As another example, Montgomery (1998) claims that vital urban areas require more than one primary purpose; these purposes and the secondary activities will ensure the presence of more people on the streets and in the spaces and buildings across different times of the day for variety of reasons (also see Jacobs, 1961).

encourages only self-sustaining spatial organization. Additionally, the surveillance becomes so powerful; the life promoted within the project becomes artificial and consumption based as experienced in the malls. These applications lead to disengagement from and even indifference to the overall context of cities by losing the qualitative aspects of urban form. That is relevant for the residential units as well. The themed life styles proposed by the market do not only standardize the life of significant locales but with false references loses the genuine instruments of novelty.

The space is translated into economic capital and people lose the sense of belonging to the environment they live in. The proposed residential space becomes so abstract, we cannot locate it in our experiences and the space itself loses the identity of belonging to a context (Yırtıcı, 2005, p.94). As the next step, the space loses the context, function and role in the configuration of urban life.

There is a resemblance of significant attributes of gate communities with mixed use residence. The physical boundaries which are the walls, security cams and landscape elements that visually block the view of inside from the street could be accepted as the spatial and contextual blockade of safety and symbol of power that separates the residents from the 'others' or from the rest of the city (Coupland, 1997). In here, maybe there is no physical wall rising towards the sky however you feel the presence of the power dominating the perception of the user with mixed symbols such as giving idea of "you don't belong here" but "you should be here". Somehow people know they cannot afford to live here but why not enjoying the facilities anyway since someone 'allows' them to experience the beauty provided. What is the real benefit here? Who gains the most?

This study claims that the notion of mixed-use originally dwells on the community or mixing communities since the nature of the spatial development was processed out of necessity, however in İstanbul's case the human presence

as the core subject is forgotten. Second, mixing uses become an obligatory solution for the current state of the big metropolises however the scale is beyond measure and the projects disassociate themselves from the regional context. Third, the developer is a member of the actors and share similar responsibilities with the architect. In this case, the ingenuous spatial development turned into a capital oriented program where the financial gain is the major focus. If the economic capital overshadows the natural development, the city will evolve into a different form. Today in Turkey it would be claimed that the positive urban conscious is ignored and the spatial production under the theme of mixed-use creates an urban life which is contextually disassociated from the city and spatially displaced from the urban space.

3.4 Actors: Participation of the Architect

The spatial body of İstanbul has been regulated and transformed by large organizations starting in mid-nineteenth century and speeded up especially after the interpretation of neo-liberal economies. SurYapı, VarYap, EmlakKonut, Soyak, İhlas and Ağaoğlu are a few to be acknowledged in İstanbul today. TOKI is the parallel social housing institution directly under the control of the government and regulate the URPs (or UTPs) and provide housing for the displaced. The transformation in the physical fabric of the city is constantly in progress. For instance the new development dynamics asked for an upgrade in the poor neighborhoods which affects people. While transferring the original residents of a territory to another location which is of course formerly assigned; the economic value of the land will increase in an instant for the private corporations and become an investment arena. If the future projection of the land foresees a residential benefit, the forthcoming residents of the land will be from another socio-economic segment of the society.

> The increasing public awareness about the problems of the physical environment has been one of the positive contributions made by the architects. […] The struggle of architects over decades has shown that, unless a certain consciousness of urbanity can be imparted to the new citizens of rural origin, the diffusion of a modern urban discourse among masses is inconceivable (Kuban, 1996, p.447-448).

According to Kuban's claim it is understood that until the society accompanies what the architect aims to achieve, it is difficult to transform the spatial structure. Since the awareness is very low, a very distinctive selection of high educated elite become prominent to be the decision makers on behalf of the rest of the public for the greater good. Kuban (1996: 449) claims that the relationship between İstanbul and the culture of its inhabitants is the real reason for the existing chaos.

> […] it is assumed that there was a 'natural' relationship between everyday lived culture and geographical territory or place – a pre-given or natural order of things embedded in, and confirmed by, one's locality (Jacobs, 2004, p.29).

Expanding sprawls slowly transformed into apartments; UTPs and social housing projects under the control of government replaced older neighborhoods and private corporations began to seek for financial profit by introducing gated communities wherever they believe advantageous. Therefore since 80s, the architect became compatible with the system rather than challenging it to create profound examples of architecture in İstanbul. Slowly becoming norms themselves, only few revealed crucial examples to expand the existing pool of typologies in the housing sector and the problem of facing this deficiency in architectural production needs more effort than what is experienced today (Akcan, 2010, p.147).

The instruments of technology redistribute the role of the architect in the design process. Being the stronghold of freedom it might lead to certain limitations as well. Society will keep changing and technology will keep adapting. It is a relationship of endless auto-control mechanisms. As Lefebvre (1991) puts it "space is endlessly negotiated and reconfigured."

3.5 Discussion

Different research care about different scales of the mixed-use practices: neighborhoods (Jacobs, 1961), building (Coupland, 1997) and local (Grant, 2002). Several significant examples focus majorly on the architectural framework and planning. This study appraises the design of the residential units and how they are affected from the superimposed agenda. It does not mean that political, social, psychological or economic dimensions of the context are underestimated; they are in fact very crucial in collaboration with each other and architecture has cooperated with them in different degrees of influence.

In social and economics means, mixed-use program creates an environment which is active for whole day; creates new job opportunities for non-residents to work in the commercial facilities and provides a variety of houses according to the needs and economic power (Grant, 2002, p.72-73; Hirt, 2007). Social equity is always mentioned as one of the primary goals of mixing uses in many debates. The target group is the high-income strata in selected cases from İstanbul which makes a socially equal environment in an ironic manner. Nevertheless dwelling on the field of housing, the impact of this spatial context on the design of residential units requires further investigation.

The point of departure for this research is the reformulated context of mixed-use high-rise residential complexes in İstanbul which subconsciously promote a separation in the relationship between the bodies of city-housing-user triad. Until this point, we acknowledged that mixed-use practices implement an agenda of reductionist approach to the spatial relationships. There are two major contexts overlapping on execution of these projects. First, the mutual interaction between the city and the citizen is reframed. How people experienced the city is shrunk into a micro scale habitat and represented to the customers. Second, the definition of home is changing since the context is

reduced in this scale as well. Both will be examined and discussed further in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

MU-HR-[R]-Cs: A NEW URBAN FORM AND URBAN LIFE IN İSTANBUL

In the previous chapter, İstanbul is introduced as the venue of this study and the economic, political and social inputs were examined in order to identify the criteria effective on the creation of a new urban form entitled "mixed-use high-rise [residential] complexes". As a preliminary part of the scope, this study not only questions the instruments in the cultivation of the new urban form but also launches an analytical critique on the role of the architect in the preparation phases of spatial production. It would be wise to acknowledge again that İstanbul is the largest metropolis in Turkey and inhabited by over 14 million people from all social segments, ethnic background, political orientation and religious affiliation. This chapter questions (1) how this new urban form is contextually installed in İstanbul, (2) how it spatially reproduces the city space and (3) what kind of urban and domestic life it produces.

First part will explore the production of urban space by the installation of the MU-HR-[R]-Cs. Second part will focus on the apprehension of the changing relationship between the city and its inhabitants. City will be considered as an object as well as 'the' subject that fosters the civic life. Both theoretically and practically, residents of a city are its natural users, consumers and practitioners of the urban life. Although it is ascertained one sided -even parasitic- in certain cases; the involvement is mutual, mostly depletory yet still collaborative. Geographically speaking, the boundaries of a city enclose urban, suburban and rural territories despite the numerical size of the population or region. On the

other hand, how people from and within each of the districts experience the city is significantly different. That being said, third part will examine the changing relationship between the dwelling and the user by focusing on how (and why) the context of home is reframed and functionally reduced as well as physically underdeveloped. The spatial body and the architectural components will be critically analyzed in the next chapter.

The core argument of this research highlights that the mixed-use complexes suppose to promote advantages of both urban and suburban life on an individual domain which would provide a better quality of life than both separately. However, surrounded by invisible walls, the life style conceived and designed for the future use of potential customers –a.k.a. residents- is contextually reduced. In order to grasp a better understanding of how this architectural implementation would affect the symbiosis of human action in the urban stage, it is necessary to decipher the reciprocal involvement of both from all scales from regional to domestic.

> Urban space is a complex social and economic product. The production of space is at the heart of the economy as both process and project. Built space is an expression of material reality. It is a commitment to a certain way of organizing both economic production and social reproduction. Space is not a 'servant' to a 'master' [...] rather, space is a medium, used by those wielding economic, social, and political power in constructing both material and an ideological world that constrains its inhabitants (Hayden, 1994, p.161).

4.1 Installation Process of MU-HR-[R]-Cs in the City

The city is basically a profound and sophisticated combination of built environment which –of course- compartmentalized through time, people and authorities (political, civic, etc.). The built form as a part of the larger urban setting and the wider regional environment, evaluates itself in a multi-dimensional hierarchy of spatial contexts. Understanding the city begins with

understanding the diverse forces clashing, conflicting, compromising and 'continuously modifying the urban environment' (Wright, 1988, p.10).

The formulation of the spatial recipe includes political and economic concerns before the installation of the project into the public realm. Locating a new structure within the context of the existing city requires careful investigation in a variety of terms. The investors question the methods that might cultivate highest demand and render direct financial returns. By political dimension, diligent negotiations between the executive office, the municipality and the planning authorities are required to assuage the need for civic stability. The conceived constraints imposed on the job necessitate positing the question of 'what will be replaced' similar to what Gwendolyn Wright (1988) asked as 'what is demolished to make room for a new structure' (p.19)? Through the lenses of spatial theories, it is possible to reform the question and posit again as 'what kind of contextual change occurred by the proposal of current mixed-use residential complexes?'

Replacement as a terminology entitles both physical and conceptual transformation. The investment begins with provisions of collective perception of the executive partners (hopefully including the designer) and acquiring the land from the city which has already an elaborate story of its own. There might be existing buildings that would be raised or partially preserved. Considering a pre-existing structure, architectural and social value would be the second criterion to be considered whether it is worth to be demolished and altered or protected in various means. The relationship between the land and the wider territory in economic, social and cultural network is the third criterion. Even if it is an empty land, the new context which will be implanted on this bare 'place' will actually be embedded inside the city as a whole. Miscomprehension would disrupt the equilibrium of urban dynamics which might result in detachment from the spatial network. That is exactly what Yırtıcı (2005) underlines as the contextual disengagement and losing the sense of belonging to the place.

Built environment can be utilized as a ‘strategy’ of enforcing new meanings on a society as well as maintaining a pre-existing ideology (Wright, 2002, p.125). This action is interwoven and multidimensional in terms of all the phases until the structure is fully functional. The architectural perspective would play the most influential role by conquering all the territories of construction. It should be understood that the trajectory of the project’s vitality is highly dependent on the architectural outcome. The acceptance and synthesis work like the real human anatomy. We have to consider whether the body will accept the new organ without any complications. Put it in a nutshell, the role of the architect is exponential and architecture represents a constituent element of the society.

When we talk about the contextual formation of urban space, it is crucial to grasp the meaning of space in a multitude of perspectives. Space is a multidimensional medium of social and cultural production which is actively produced and reproduced. Space interacts with human experience and is subjected to change over time. As a physical medium, space is a ‘material base for social practices’ (Castells, 1977). As a social and cultural medium, space is multi-dimensional (Bourdieu ,1984) and effective on the articulation processes of the built environment (Rapoport, 1969, 1976) with a possibility of reciprocal interaction (King, 1984; Soja, 1969, 1980; Wright, 1988). By referring Castells, Soja (1980) puts it, ‘space is not simply a reflection, or mere occasion for the deployment, of social structure, but a concrete expression of a combination, a historical ensemble, of interacting material elements and structures’ (p.112). Thus inequalities are reproduced through the type and quality of environments that people live in, with the extreme situation being the wholesale abandonment of areas once they and their inhabitants are no longer seen as productive. By the same token, however, these places can be ‘rescued’ in another cycle of the capitalist enterprise, resulting for example in the phenomenon of gentrification (Franklin, 2001, p.88).

There is also another level of distinction by pooling the relationship of one’s self to the object and one’s self to the wider community which directly links

the object to the wider society as well. The agent is human in this respect as the provider of spatial connection between different scales of urban life. Therefore, targeting the human agent and reframing the spatial continuum and functioning between the city and housing dwells centrally in the reorganization of urban space in the case of MU-HR-[R]-Cs.

4.2 Towards a Micro-city Conception: Contextual Change in City and User Relationship

> Cities are both more and less than the sum of their parts, the essence of the city (if such a thing exists) exceeding the details of its constitution, whilst the identity of the city seems as lodged in marketing slogans and branding exercises as in a collective sense of what a city means for its population as a whole (Knox, 2010).

Last decade of İstanbul demonstrated that, the functional and spatial segregation is stronger and local urbanization contextually changed shape. Building higher became the new motto despite the dedicated preservation of the 'precious' silhouette of historic (ex-Ottoman and ex-Byzantine) city center. The debates are ongoing between the political bodies, planners, architects and the investors. As a part of the high-rise as a residential approach; this study claims that the mixed use residential projects as it is applied in İstanbul, creates their own micro-clusters and function as micro-cities.

Acknowledging –and respecting- the political discourse and the economic expectations, the social transformation in relation to the physical requires further investigation. The theoretical lenses of this study identify the mixed-use projects as a microcosm that creates a virtual boundary between the residents and the city itself by creating an alternative micro-city that functions as the real one. This would be called 'spatial-urban-deficiency' or 'lack of city within a city' [*Kent yoksunluğu, Kent içinde Kentsizleşme*]. There is no exact terminology to define the contextual shift and the new form of this relationship;

however losing the idea how urban institutions and spaces function within the new mixture of micro-urban would be a starting point. In order to understand the procedure and the new mind set, it would be beneficial to proceed through examining how 'city' [of İstanbul] works as a reminder.

City is the multi-dimensional ground where people inhabit. Users live, work, go to school, do shopping, spend time on leisure activities like doing sports, eating in restaurants etc. For a city like İstanbul where it is difficult to travel from one location to another, providing many functions in one location works successfully such as shopping malls with sports facilities and restaurants as well as offices and parks. However, the occurrence of a contextual shift comes into focus. These mixed-use programs mirror certain functions which people generally experience within the city. The expectation would be creating an alternative habitat for people to spend time once in a while. However, the concept of mixed-use residential complexes aims to ensure that people remain in where they are. The new life style is forged as a subject of desire reducing the meaning of the city and its relationship to the project as well as the inhabitants. Involuntarily trapped in the new micro-city, people begin to lose the connection to the real city. Hence, the projects draw attention from outsiders who would like to pay a visit as a financial sub-theme originally designed by the investors and presented as 'for the city's sake'. Of course that is the contextual shift. The formal mass, spatial connections to the surrounding and land use are further items that change concurrently.

Figure 4.1 Examples from Zorlu and Varyap Meridian.

Considering this picture, we could ask whether the city is losing its influence on the residents as a subject. Perhaps it becomes a visually and physically static and vulnerable "object", a generator of congestion, pollution and deterioration? Should we care? Validating the expression of a micro-city ideal in a physically limited environment would be achieved through architectural vocabulary. Urban design, in this respect, is fundamental for the spatial and social articulation of the city to provide a healthy and livable built environment. Urban form would be interrogated under several titles such as landscape ecology, economic structure; transportation planning and community design (Clifton et al., 2008). While mentioning the *European Commission: Green Paper on the Urban Environment* (1990), Montgomery underlines the fact that 'for the diverse, multi-functional city [...] the quality of life is not a luxury but an essential.' (Montgomery, 1998, p.94)

> Jane Jacobs (1961) was the first to explore urban quality from the premise that *activity* both produces and mirrors quality in the built environment. She identifies four essential determinants which govern or set the conditions for activity: a mixture of primary use, intensity, permeability of the urban form and a mixture of building types, ages, sizes and conditions. [...] Thus, we can now see that successful urban places must combine quality in three essential elements: physical space, the sensory experience and activity. Theorists such as Relph (1976), Canter (1977) and others (and most recently reinterpreted by Punter (1991)) show the components of a sense of place and the relationship (in abstract terms) between them (Montgomery, 1998, p.96).

A prospering urban environment would be obtained by combining diverse uses and activities diligently, providing different levels of human density and creating 'sufficient levels of demand to sustain wide-ranging economic activity' (Montgomery, 1998, p.98). Therefore, MU-HR-[R]-Cs are supposed to be appropriate places to provide respective variety. Vitality of the realm depends on the conceived life which would be self-sustaining and should guarantee an unbound schedule of daily activities. 'It is important to recognize

that successful urban places tend to have a more active (and certainly recognizable) public realm: a space system for the city in which meeting, movement and exchange are possible' (Montgomery, 1998, p.100).

Considering the notions of this paradigm shift, the spatial language changes concurrently with the life provided by the container. The urban life will obviously bear a new sub-version. It is important to understand the interpretation of the citizens (users) where they share the responsibility of change whether intentionally or not.

4.2.1 New Urban Life and Experiencing the City

> "Urban life is multifaceted. A large variety of expressions of taste, speech, outlook, manner and sense are noticeable in cities. Due to the attainment of critical masses in cities, different lifestyles, embedded in various social networks, can emerge and flourish" (Fishman, 1994; Maffesoli, 1996; Clarke, 2003).

When people design and built their own domestic environment, they can shape all the physical structure according to their needs. Vernacular architecture might provide essential tools to understand the nature of the spatial practice especially considering cross-cultural experiences. On the other hand, when people receive a dwelling from within a variety of options, their preferences are still shaped by the social and cultural codes which define their life styles. However, the limits cooperate with the available design options that are introduced by the architects, planners and investors. The preferences are evaluated and selected by potential customers –or consumers. Next, people aim to adapt and conform themselves within their new house and generate their own domestic life out of it. Dwelling on the new environment and sustaining the same life is a complex issue and there are plentiful studies on this very subject. However, the point here is the subject of the 'domestic life' that is proposed in the new setting. Before reaching the house itself, the formation of

the setting where the house is located is important. The house will be nourished on the facilities and life via the surrounding.

People obtain a series of expectations on certain taste of living which are accumulated through life (Bourdieu, 1984). The architect will either reinforce a life style by providing the necessary instruments, or sustain it as it is - if not altering it mostly and shaping a new spatial experience for the incoming resident(s). The project will start an architectural dialog with the surrounding built environment and the people who will experience it visually and physically. Returning to the point of context creation, there are several steps that might be counted in hierarchy. This study will be stressing on two of them in collaboration with each other: first the interpretation of the social context and second is the architectural context. As Wright puts it 'housing design remains the realm where the preferences and experiences of different groups - architects, builders, and the public, with all the permutations each category encompasses- must coexist' (Wright, 1987, p.19). The concept of mixed-use illustrates how social space reconfigured the physical environment by explaining the structuration of social distance and how it materializes in the physical medium.

Geographical mental map of the city would be imprinted in a person's mind through experience. Memory as a spatial medium collaborates in the construction of identities. People recall the memories for different aims and generally functional purposes (Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004; Said, 2000. Also see Fentress and Wickham, 1992). Each time people follow a route, walk through a street, visit stores, parks or friends or just stand and observe, they spend time processing a daily routine or a mission to be completed. Thus, people encode the whole experience spatially into their memory. In order to memorize an event or any subject, we have to tie it to a physical locale and then imprint it into our mind. Therefore, the psychological and mental portion of that experience merged with the physical space that includes the built environment, landscape elements and even the cladding of the street. If we

dismantle the process we have a better understanding of how a resident would consume the city. Experience is the overall practice; consumption is only a segment of it.

Movement is the core activity to achieve any use of the city. As a spatio-temporal problem of big metropolises, people prefer to live close to where they work to spend less time in traffic. The core spatial node is home for anyone. People start their journey from home only to return in the end if not carrying it with them to wherever they go like a nomad. Secondly, people spend time on shopping, sports, sightseeing, going to school/college, travelling, watching a movie at a theater or dining in a quality restaurant as well as grabbing a beer at a bar. Movement is the key component. The question, however, is 'how people experience the city?' What purpose the city acquires? What is the difference between urban and rural life? There are numerous research and scholarly work on urban vs. rural debate however, this research specifically relate them under the title of mixed-use residential complexes. In fact, mixed use, as discussed in the previous chapter, provide multiple opportunities and bring different uses necessary for human habitation into one territory which is reachable for all (who dwell in the surrounding neighborhoods as well as the ones included within). However, the execution and products of the cases required to be analyzed from architectural lenses since in İstanbul the planning strategy has multiple agendas.

Once the project starts functioning, the package would be effective immediately on the neighboring districts in social and economic means. Therefore it is important to understand the process of transformation in the neighborhood scale. Although the internal dynamics of the project would be designed according to the desires and demands of the potential residents, other neighborhoods surrounding the periphery of the assigned site will be in the center of attention as well. The process might follow a collaborative dialog and trigger continuous changes that might spread over time of course.

4.2.1.1 Neighborhood

It is true that people always seek healthy, secure and friendly neighborhoods where they can feel safe every hour of the day, feel comfortable with the idea about children playing in the gardens or the street as well as the elderly (for example see Ellen and Turner, 1997). It is also convenient if shopping facilities and other services are available in close distance (Greenberg, 1999). There are multiple aspects of neighborhoods to be qualified as a preferred territory and provide and preserve the expected good quality life style. Of course there would be no ultimate character to satisfy everyone since people's needs differ according to their social origin, socio-economic status, age, occupation, size of the families as well as region, country even time matters in this respect.

Neighborhood as a collection of housing units stands for a combination of "daily activity patterns, social networks and identity constructions" (Karsten, 2007, p.95). The vitality of the site -that accommodates the residents and their daily routines- is highly dependent to the proximity and selection of the facilities. The location of this small scale settlement in the city is the first crucial attribute for the family which is studied under the topics of distance and time in daily life (for examples see Brun & Fagnani, 1994; Green, 1997; Jarvis, 1999; Droogleever Fortuijn & Karsten 1989; McDowell et al., 2006).

> Working families must integrate public and private activities on a daily basis, and some neighborhoods accommodate this daily struggle better than others. Some neighborhoods may also be more strategically located with regard to a broad range of facilities, including work. Households are engaged in complex trade-offs involving a variety of costs and benefits related to the type of neighborhood and the living location (Butler, 2003; Hardill, 2002 by Karsten, 2007, p.85).

Our understanding of residential choice can be further extended by considering the social construction of residential identities (Bourdieu, 1984). Housing is one form of consumption through which the self can be expressed (Cooper Marcus, 1995). To date, the interior of the home is more frequently related to

the identity of the resident, but the location and the quality of the neighborhood are important in terms of identity, too (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Where do you live? Our answer to this question provides information not only about the location of our home, but also who we are. It is the choice to live in certain places (and leave others) that makes social distinction manifest. As quoted from Giddens (1991), where we live is a part of how we narrate our selves (Karsten, 2007, p.86).

An important point to mention is the comparison between the public's perception of their neighborhood and the conceived one by the authorities and planners. That might be the basic conceived vs lived experiences of Lefebvre's triad however highly influential on what people expect and what they received. Physical decay, scarcely used spaces, underdeveloped or designed parts of the physical territory might discourage people getting interested in their neighborhood and directly affect their sense of belonging to the environment. Assurance of safety is crucial. Residing in the city with an extensive ability of reaching any facilities necessary does not necessarily mean to live in a safe zone. Comfortably letting the children spend time outside -even in day time- without supervision is a luxury to be achieved. On the other hand, overly crowded spaces and close proximity to express highways might scare people to spend time or trust the environment equally. Greenberg (1999) mentions the primary factors that are affective on the perception of the quality of a neighborhood through the eyes of a resident under five attributes: (1) crime and physical deterioration, (2) problematic industrial and commercial developments, (3) absence of parks, schools, public transportation and other amenities; (4) residents' personality and (5) standard demographics (Greenberg, 1999, p.608).

Narrowing the scale of units of urban life, single dwellings come next. Every household is a self-sustaining unit of life which constantly changes, develops and sometimes ends. Time is a crucial element in terms of changing the shape and context of a household. Young people get married, middle-age people get

older, some members have a child may be a second. Although the nature of the dynamics never changes, the expectations from a house, a neighborhood and in a bigger scale from the city changes.

4.2.1.2 Household

> The household can no longer be considered as a single economic actor or a social monolith in decisions concerning the use of space, and in particular in the location of residence (Brun and Fagnani, 1994).

Contemporary urban structures are composed of multitudes of households and household demographics are affective on the urban transformation (Buzar et al., 2005). Number of the occupants, their occupational and educational status, social background and professions play a crucial role in the production of favored type of housing and the audience for the investors. Due to the liberal global economy, the socio-economic demographics are changing. The housing stock has to be corresponding to the changes. Understanding the urban implications of the global dynamics can be helpful to improve the quality of life proposed for the citizens.

> [...] the spatial organization of urban functions and forms reflects the spatial agency of the personal contacts and consumption patterns of the household structures that occupy them (Buzar et al., 2005, p.415).

Cities simultaneously shape the society and reconfigured by it in return. It is a mutual process of consumption practices and mobility patterns of their constituent households. Kirsch (1995) states that the households could be reshaped to be able to accommodate social and technological transformations (Buzar et al., 2005, p.425). Considering the gender biases, in conservative societies, the stable member of the household would be the female figure who remains at home while the dominant one is the male. However, participation of women in the spatial practices is changing in the new century. It would be

interesting to observe that the context of mixed-use might generate contradictions.

Wright (1981) claims that 'women are becoming a housing market and a political force because they are entering both the work force and politics in unprecedented numbers' (p.469). At the beginning of the 17th century, the advancing construction of suburbia beyond the poor neighborhoods separated the women from the urban society and their participation in the urban life in London. Same thing happened in the post-war suburban expansion in US as Hayden (1983) mentions which restrained the female within the house taking care of the kids and the elderly dependents. In 21st century, employed women are the crucial dimension of the household dynamics even in İstanbul. Children who are still in school ages are no different however, women who reside at home as a housewife will be experiencing the same restrictive standard. This time, providing a variety of facilities within the mixed use complex, the investor will be advertising a pioneer proposal which is the most advantageous attribute of the project for a woman who will not be bothered to take a trip to downtown since everything is just below their feet. The task is a big one.

There are various studies about the influence of working women on the reconfiguration of the home expectancy (for example see Brun and Fagnani, 1994). What is the motivation of working woman and what are the differences with unemployed or housewives? Women would be affective in the definition of an individual goal for the family by identifying the economic, psychological, cultural, emotional or aesthetical inputs. What is the reference? Actually the reference is created by the architect and advertised by the investor through the critical use of media.

4.3 Contextual Change in House and User Relationship

This section of the study aims to examine the changing nature of the relationship between the house and its users in mixed-use high-rise residential complexes built in İstanbul. In order to reveal the change, the dynamics of existing state of communication will be distinguished by dwelling on the source which is the architectural space and human experiences. The New Form validates itself by executing the transformation in the concept of home and altering the components to forge a new framework. Therefore, how people define the house as home, how people develop a sense of belonging to a given space and transform the context of the house in their own favor via spatial practices are crucial to understand. Then it is possible to critique what MU-HR-[R]-Cs change in domestic space and why.

A house is basically a physical structure that serves as a living quarter for people. Both *house* and *dwelling* refer accommodation and define an action. It is difficult to entitle this human-made shelter only as an object. Instead, house can act as a framework for the human experience and both physically and mentally accommodates a life style which makes the house also a subject. Architects design houses with certain predictions on the future of the product. There might be concerns on the material body however the real issue is about the social life which will be contained within the designed object. The architect attaches a context to the material body before it is built. The journey of the house starts from the moment of creation in the architect's mind. It is a cognitive process. However, architects' knowledge on housing practices and design skills are highly affected by the education they received and the accumulated experiences of self. Nevertheless, staying out of that portion of the journey, the formulation ends up on paper or computer screen then the construction starts. Once the structure is completed there will already be an assigned role attached to it before being occupied by anyone. That is the ground breaking point of conceived space. The prediction frames how people

supposed to live in this new space. The moment when the house is on the market, investors begin to advertise.

The advertisements illustrate a fully furnished house where family members are enjoying their moments in different rooms of the house with certain activities. The transcription of the images exemplifies a possible future for the customer which is always a privilege and nothing like a standard living. Then the message will be inscribed in the potential resident's mind of course. Following stage delivers another level of development. Once a resident receives the house certain meanings will be attached to the space through experience. Personal preferences are affective and in time, the concept of *home* would be referred. Considering the house as the agent here, becoming *home* cannot begin from the moment of someone settling in but from the moment of cognitive stage of the design. "The word home is used for the physical structure of the house, for the meanings attached to the house, as well as for the process of homemaking" (Coolen and Meesters, 2012). Mallett quotes from Giddens (1984, p.82) claiming an important point as "home is simultaneously and indivisibly a spatial and a social unit of interaction" and it is "the physical setting through which basic forms of social relations and social institutions are constituted and reproduced" (Mallett, 2004, p.68). Home is a person's personal jurisdiction over physical space. In order to achieve that attachment people need an identity, security and stimulation. Reminding the fact that house provides the frame for the human interaction and I insist on the impact of the architect as a contributor in that case.

Home is the focal point, the core, the center. Whatever we do, we return to the very same point. The crucial detail is the definition of home is changing by the praxis of MU-HR-[R]-Cs. It is not the attributes of home making which are mentioned in various decoration magazines or interior design articles. The argument of 'change' is happening at the source which is the intertwined organization between the spatial body of the house and human experiences. The concept of home is the agency to attach the new production of housing

stock to the bigger context of the mixed-use high-rises in İstanbul. The projects utilize the instruments gained from the process of home making from the human-space interaction and spread/implant them in to the wider body of the project. Redefinition of home is the strategy to elevate the interest and influence the design of architectural space. Since this composition is reformulated, the meanings attached to it will change in return. However, this research does not seek to judge whether this occurrence is negative or positive. The core argument is the change is real and should be explored by distinguishing the codes and instruments of reconfiguration. This study claims that the role of the architect is crucial and the context is reduced by them.

4.3.1 Contextual Reduction in the Concept of Home in MU-HR-[R]-Cs

> There is nothing like staying at home for real comfort. (*Emma,* Jane Austen, 1815)
>
> "Home is a building unit or area, of more or less measurable dimensions, in which a considerable emotional investment is made by the individual." (Porteous, 1976, p.386)

The concept of home is defined in multiple themes in different disciplines for decades. Home is a physical, socio-cultural, spatial and psychological context. One of the major concerns of the housing researchers is the question of how residents receive a dwelling as an empty shell and create home out of it. Transformation of the physical structure into home requires everything that is associated to the inhabitant (Gram-Hanssen and Bech-Danielsen, 2011) which is basically the construction of the resident's identity (Lewin, 2001). It is generally acknowledged that only after assigning a meaning to the physical body we can acquire the whole idea of home. Human experiences are the key context towards a coherent definition (Easthope, 2004, p.135; also see Gurney, 1990; Somerville, 1997).

The concept of home is fluid, flexible and continuous. It is a temporal personal creation (Finch and Hayes, 1994), a material structure (Després, 1991), a place (Blunt and Dowling, 2006), a cultural phenomenon (Gurney, 1990; Case, 1996; Somerville, 1997; Moore, 2000; Oliver, 2003), a psychological process and a socio-political construction (Somerville, 1997). It is 'an active state of being in the world' (Mallett, 2004).

In the literature it is common to see that the discussions are summoned around the idea of differences between the notion of home and how it is associated to the house. Refering Rapoport (1995), Coolen and Meesters (2012) claims that 'dwelling indicates the physical structure; home indicates the relationships we experience with the physical structure and the meanings we attach to it' (p.3). Similarly home is observed as place attachment which covers the bonds between people and places (Moore, 2000) and while the house is rooted in the concrete world, home is both a concept and a physical entity (Moore, 2000, p.211).

So far two agents are designated in the creation of *home*: the house (with architect's signature) and the users. It is important to understand the constitution of the concept in order to understand the contextual change. Reminding the fact that MU-HR-[R]-Cs mirror the functional structure of the city and collecting them in one place, this study claims that same operation proceeds in the domestic space as well. The difference is born in the composition of the urban life embedded in design and influenced the anatomic network of spatial practices of people that tie them to the space.

The procedure is not simple however the path is clear. Considering human agency, daily activities, social networks and the identity construction process are influential (Karsten, 2007). We have to consider the physical environment separately from everything attached to it. The context of the project aims to redefine the notion of "home" and the meanings attached to it in order to strengthen the inclusive character of the complex. This way, the common

attributes embedded in the idea of home in other examples of residential areas will be spread over to the whole body of the complex by expanding the activities and creating alternatives. This new feature makes the project different than available housing options in the market. This mind set actually attacks the standard notion of housing and the user relationship by making the current structure deficient and sloppy. This contextual reduction is a dual objective of the bigger project which is a social, economic and political construct. Theoretically erasing the function, or extracting them from the body of the dwelling and displacing them into the other parts of the residential complex (malls, parks, libraries, cafes etc.) triggers a contextual and functional migration which results in spaces without context in the housing unit, and the new architectural terminology is created to suspend that yet unintentionally validating the process. The architect's role is empowering the whole project by producing architectural components to balance the reduced context however ending in very poor, unimaginative and identical floor plans which are marketed as 'new' and 'unique'. In that case, not only the house loses its ability to be the subject, but the architect losing the dignity. Next step would be the exploration of the problems self-generatively cultivated in this new formation.

4.3.1.1 Problems in the Formation of Residential Space

Mallet (2004) claims that ideal home would be defined through three aspects: the past experiences, socio-economic status and the marketing industry. The MU-HR-[R]-Cs in İstanbul targets people with high-income status which means they already removed the input of different social segments of the society. The advertising industry on the other hand targets everyone aiming to create a society that envies, admires and desires the upper class families.

> "Houses as material objects and homes as symbolic entities are shaped and reshaped by owners and tenants over time in response to both changes in the individual's life course and the social context within which they are set" (Perkins and Thorns, 1999).

What do we expect from home, or an ideal home? There are two actors. First, accumulated experiences of people generate their idea of the 'ideal'. Second, the construction and advertising industry shapes the perception of people into their understanding of the ideal. Although there is infinite number of ideals for people to define, the marketing industry creates one on behalf of the society. The confrontation is a thug of war; they either collaborate or reject each other. When there is rejection, that project fails. On the other hand if they can reach the public in the very end, the project will resolve into a financial success. From there on the people will start building their sense of place and attachment through embedding meaning to the space they received. In short, the process begins with the architect and evolves by the spatial practices of the residents.

Multiple factors are affective on human nature to construct one's identity. Social, cultural, economic, psychological and emotive factors are as important as the geographical and physical associations. People tend to develop personal attachment towards the places they born or live for a considerable amount of time. They produce their identity in and through places such as houses, gardens, and communities (Duncan and Duncan, 2004, p.3; Meier and Karsten, 2012, p.520). Residential space accommodates 'symbolic boundaries' which link the social space to the physical medium (Savage, 2010, p.115). The dwelling would be used as a recreation, reinforcement or representation of social class (Meier and Karsten, 2012; Skeggs, 2005; Bourdieu, 1984). Place as a physical body is an element of identity by embodying social symbols, meanings and maintaining reproduction and continuity of the self (Speller, 2000). In order to attach a meaning to a place, people should experience the place, perceive it consciously, understand it and develop an idea about it; transform the place into a fully aware and experienced space and then attach a cumulative and flexible meaning to it which is subject to change in time. Reminding over and over again, identity and place attachment are not static terminologies. They are always dynamic, continuous, mostly autonomous and temporal cognitive wholes.

Temporal dimension of the attachment to a place brings forth a cumulative cultural space and embed it into the newly inhabited built form. This built form represents the architect as well as the conjuncture of the era and the spatial discourse which combines already assigned meanings of the wider regional urban context. By the involvement or the interpretation of the new residential stock in MU-HR-[R]-Cs, the mutual composition represents a novel value which exceeds the limitations of both the resident and the dwelling alone. The new contextual and temporal depth of the built environment provides an arena for compromise and resistance. The result would only be constructive in multiple senses for the future of the urban life. Starting from this point on, the architect would receive the necessary feedback and obtain a better understanding of the housing and social space as well as the relationship between the people and their attachment to a place. That is one of the reasons why housing practices theoretically stand for a process rather than a product. Likewise, the artifact as a spatial construct would be the subject rather than an object as represented in many research. The reciprocal communication denies the idea of being an object.

> The valence of cognitions making up the identity of a place depends on the overall quality of the physical environment and on its specific characteristics, on the quality of the social features associated with this environment, but also on the individual's capacity to adapt to the environment, or to transform it (in reality, or, particularly in the case of children, in their imagination) (Giuliani, 2003, p.151).

As understood, place attachment is a primary requirement for the construction of the concept of Home. It is a temporal facet of home building and permanent sense of belonging could only be achieved through the personal spatial practices. Place attachment is a dynamic and goal driven process that is spread over time according to the length of the practice (Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). As a brief framework, we have to accept that people change, and their lives are tied to the tides of the life around them. People also change what they found once they arrive to a new place. However the urban life is cultivated in

the built environment and what they find is not mere open fields or nature. The human-made environment mostly starts in the chamber of a designer. Since people as users will receive the container (physical space) to be practiced, a controlled and thoughtful level of flexibility might be an asset for the configuration of future by the potential user. On the other hand, creating mass produced standardized residential spaces and entitling the notion as “freedom” and “variety” while replacing the lived experiences with numerical tags (such as 2+1) might definitely disrupt the process of attachment. People lose the sense of permanency in the notion of home making which removes the tangles of attachment to the dwelling only to diminish what is presented into a hotel suite in function. Although the advertisement claims that once the customer purchases a unit, they purchase the whole complex as their new home; it is not the reality when the cards flipped. In order to investigate the challenges produced by the MU-HR-[R]-Cs, several case studies in İstanbul will be explored and analyzied from an architectural perspective in the next chapter.

4.4 Discussion

The notion of mixed-use *in* the residential complex follows a hierarchy of application processes: installation, resistance, consolidation and then follows two tracks, either acceptance and inclusion or rejection and exclusion. The power of built environment on human behavior and perception would be encouraging on evoking alternative behaviors. The control mechanism works full performance for acceptance and collects feedback. Actually grand scale projects barely fail if there is no state-level disorientation because investors have good command in advertising industry. Marketing tools are compatible enough to overcome any difficulties of indifference in the society.

As mentioned before, the city is commodified. There are two groups of people on the target board: the high-income potential customers and the *others*. The others are the ordinary citizens who would be willing to visit the site for

shopping, spend leisure time, attend activities, join sports clubs and basically spend money. However, the most important thing is they will experience the luxurious life from a distance as “the ideal”. That is the alternative mentioned above and that alternative might turn into an illusionary *freedom* and *variety*. In real terms *variety* means that people would have a multitude of options and free to choose among those according their preferences and personal needs. *Freedom* is associated with the concept to the bones.

In summary, this chapter majorly explored the changes in the relationship between the city, the user and the house. In common sense, both city and the citizen manipulate each other in a variety of degrees and occasions. That dialog is launched by the authorities one of which is the architect of course. Basically, the architect and the investor collaborate to decide on a location, the scale of the program, the financial investment and returns and the political framework. On the other hand, the architectural formation, the urban language of the project, the contextual message and satisfying degree of space creation are significantly architect’s concerns. The system has a self-validating mechanism. The instruments are spatially constructed by the architect. Therefore it is crucial to question the results.

It is already acknowledged that the life styles are used as a marketing strategy in all advertisements. Mixed use residential complexes are profitable application of socio-economic utilization of architecture. The impact of the project will be both local and regional; people would be interested in spending more time in this micro-city and they might be no longer interested in the city itself. That paradigm shift is one of the objectives of the project makers and only the half of the story. The second objective is contextual reconfiguration of space making and domestic life in the housing unit which changes the relationships between the house and the user.

CHAPTER 5

SPATIO-CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF MU-HR-[R]-Cs IN İSTANBUL

The winds of change brought forth by the Information age set the urban stage in İstanbul primarily influencing the construction and real estate sectors since the 80s. As discussed, financial concentration reorients the location of Business District(s) and posits them in a central venue aligned with the transportation infrastructure of the metropolis. Approvingly, service sector, private corporations and international entrepreneurs in the form of office towers sprouted rapidly one after the other in less than three decades in İstanbul. Similarly, redistribution of capital within the city space reorganized the settling of large scale retailing and shopping activities as well as leisure in the form of malls inserting a new understanding of perpetual consumption within the heart of the city. As the current step, despite being a challenge for the last century, collocation of work and home in the urban life via functional mix of uses in close orientation with CBDs as well as city center introduced to be the new stage in the urban formation of İstanbul. Under the frame of real estate development, however, the target audience clearly formed around the high-income strata of the society.

As an urban product, MU-HR-C is basically a planned agglomeration of different uses in one project. Speaking the advertising industry's language, close physical integration of residential into a body of retail and business activities are projected to be a natural solution to the spatio-temporal problems of the city and self-validated within the framework of contemporary urban life. It might be claimed that real estate industry market two attributes of İstanbul: (1) natural resources which in this case either the forest peripheries in the north

or the coastline and (2) city center where the heart of the urban life beats. As a program element, business centers tend to spatially concentrate in CBDs. Therefore, the installation of MU-HR-[R]-Cs predominantly reform in central zones strongly engaging to CBDs which appears to be a significant investment strategy. There are multiple examples in İstanbul promoted to be genuine representatives of the new urban context and form. Thus, predictions highlight that mix of uses in functional schemes have much to offer for the architects and the city alike.

In the light of above mentioned discussion, this chapter will analyze six prominent cases designed and built in İstanbul in the recent decade by also acknowledging several others in order to investigate the physical and contextual formation proposed and practiced by the insertion of MU-HR-[R]-Cs as the new Urban Form into the urban space. The objective of this chapter is to conduct physical and contextual analysis of the projects focusing on the residential segments with following key themes: (1) spatial configuration of the project in both urban and building scale, (2) generation of new architectural components, vocabularies and contexts, and (3) new urban life that is planned to be provided. It must be mentioned that, the scope of this study also aims to understand the role of the architect on the overall spatial production. Although this objective will be the further step to be analyzed and discussed in the following chapter, as a reminder, the notion of mix of uses –mixed use for today- is applied to bring together a new ideology which is composed in align with the new architectural components produced by the architects. MU-HR-C, in the end, is a result of a grand scale collaborative work and a significant part of the metropolises of the future.

5.1 Case Sampling and Selection Criteria

It is crucial to select influential projects that represent the impact of MU-HR-[R]-Cs on the metropolis as a New Form. Therefore in this section, the

reasoning behind the emergence of MU-HR-[R]-Cs is briefly categorized and as the next step the criteria for the case selection are clarified.

The most consequential examples (in terms of the size of monetary investment and scale) which would be classified as a MU-HR-C appeared in the last decade and mostly launched after 2005-6. Their development plans oriented along the CBDs which have been already materializing on the junctions of major highways that are connected with two Bosphorus bridges (See Image 5.1). It must be understood that the development of CBDs in Levent (and also lesser formation in Maslak) aimed to share the burden of ascending density with Anatolian counterpart in Ataşehir. One problem appeared to be the daily traffic of white/blue collar employees who currently reside in the Anatolian side. Second is the rapid expansion of the west wing of the city towards the north falling far away from the center and threatening the natural boundaries. As a concurrent step, Ataşehir is designated as the second CBD and staged a multitude of mixed-use projects in a rapid pace. Similar examples are already under construction and the trend is strong.

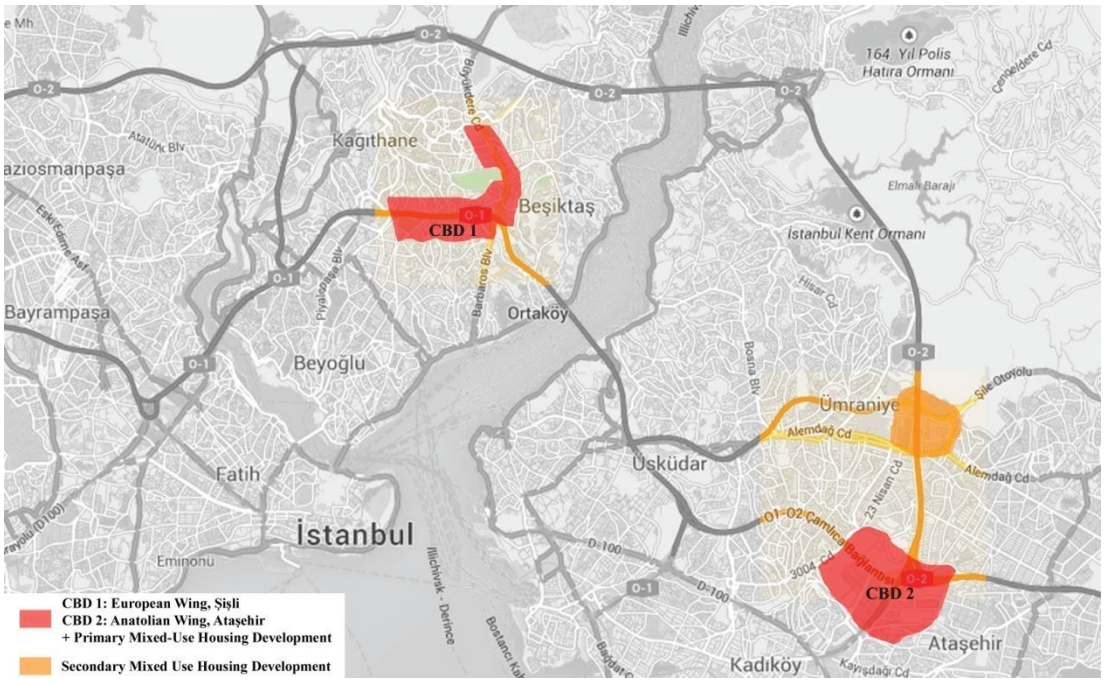


Figure 5.1. Major CBD developments and the Orientation of MU-HR-[R]-Cs.

Narrowing the research focus on the context of housing, first element of the program should be residential units thus in this case at least one residential tower is necessary. Although the notion of mixed use cover at least two other programs varying from the functional bodies of office blocks, hotel, retail and performance hall, there are significant projects covering only two functional elements yet still stand as an important member of the MU-HR-[R]-Cs as well as CBD development. The following chart demonstrates a selection of projects in İstanbul and the functions they house. First six projects are either constructed or under construction however pre-dominantly in operation (purchased/rented/occupied). Thus, they will be the primary selection of this study and critically analyzed. On the other hand second group (7-9) are the promising representatives of the same objective to be acknowledged, yet Quasar, for instance, is under construction and not functional yet.

Table 5.1. A selection of Mixed-Use High-Rise Residential Complexes in İstanbul.

	NAME of the Project	Location	Residence	Office	Mall	Hotel	Sports Facilities	Swimming Pool	Recreation Landscape	Performance Hall
European Side (E)										
1	SAPPHIRE Residence	Levent Kağıthane	+		+		+	+	*	
2	KANYON	Levent Şişli	+	+	+		+	+	+	
3	ZORLU Center	Zincirlikuyu Beşiktaş	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4	TRUMP Towers	Mecidiyeköy Şişli	+	+	+				*	
Anatolian Side (A)										
5	BUYAKA	Ümraniye	+	+	+		+	+	+	
6	VARYAP Meridian	Ataşehir	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
7	QUASAR Istanbul	Mecidiyeköy Şişli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*
8	42 Maslak	Maslak	+	+	+	+	+	+		
9	SKYLAND Istanbul	Maslak	+	+	+	+	+		+	

Monetary size of the investment is a default gain by reducing the financial restraints and providing the opportunity for the architect to practice in a more advantageous platform. Departing from this base point as a default, designation of six cases is acquired through three selection criteria. To begin with, these projects render contextual messages to the city and urban life both individually

and collaboratively. Therefore, first criterion (1) focuses on the variety and richness of "the program elements" in order to configure a bigger frame for the installation of MHCs. It is observed in the Table 5.1 that, first project is Sapphire Residence in Levent which is an exception. Despite the fact that there are only two program elements which are the mall and the residential tower, the quality and the contextual program of the project make it relevant for the study. Zorlu Center as the third example contains five functions which is claimed to be the "first precedent" in Turkey and significantly important for the exploration of a multitude of uses in one project under separate forms.[24] Therefore, this study ensures that these six projects perform the agenda of the notion of mixed-use in terms of program formation and provide a variety of information by fulfilling their genre.

Second criterion (2) would be briefly classified as the "choice of venue" which directly affects the contextual installation within the urban space. Major focus is enabling the research to examine the relationship between the project and the surrounding built environment. In order to achieve this objective, the examples should provide a critical stance as becoming a part of the city in order to reveal the contextual confrontations, alterations and –if exists- new propositions. In the case of Sapphire Residence, Kanyon, Zorlu Center and Trump Towers (also including Quasar İstanbul and Torun Center as an adjacent project which is not mentioned in Table 5.1), the projects are aligned within the CBD zone in strategic connection and inserting the impact of mixed-use arrangement into the spatial concentration.

[24] Retrieved from <http://v3.arkitera.com/h33443-zorlu-center-projesi-emre-arolat---murat-tabanlioglu-imzasini-tasiyacak.html> (Accessed on May 2014)

Figure 5.2 Project alignments in CBD 1, Mecidiyeköy-Zincirlikuyu.

Third Criterion (3) covers the building scale articulation which would be defined as "spatio-contextual production" which covers the architectural production in multiple dimensions. As mentioned, fiscal power of the client not only affects the scale of the project but also the architectural limits such as use of technology. The brand of the architect accumulates alike in this situation by highlighting experience on grand scale projects as a merit. Therefore, the advantageous position of the design office would be expected to generate more prominent options for the architectural medium that might provide a comprehensive framework. In this respect, use of technology and choices of construction materials will be less effective as limitations on the design phase compared to other examples.

To sum up, the selection is conducted through exploration of program elements, choice of venue and architectural configuration among a dozen of projects in order to configure the best representatives of the concept. Considering the criteria mentioned above, the selected projects are presented in the following section and illustrated in the maps Figure 5.9.

5.1.1 Identification of the Case Projects

This section provides the general information on the selected Mixed-use High-Rise Residential Complexes. It is important to grasp the basics from this stage such as name of the project, the architecture firm, the investor/client and location as well as area of the site and construction. There is a total of six projects and after their definitions are given, there will be ID cards for each presented in this section before moving on to the method of analysis. Each card presents (1) the full identity of the projects, (2) a map designating the location, (3) an aerial view, (4) local plan illustrating street network and (5) a selection of architectural plans. All the projects are numbered according to the regional location. In this case European side has the abbreviation of E (initial letter) and Anatolian side gets A (initial letter). In this form, there are four projects from European side: E1. Sapphire Residence, E2. Kanyon, E3. Zorlu Center and E4. Trump Towers. Similarly, there are two projects from Anatolian side: A1. Buyaka and A2. Varyap Meridian. As a reminder, the formal analysis and assessment of the cases are given after the brief identification of each project.

E1. Sapphire Residence (2006-2011):[25]

The 261 meter-high Sapphire Tower is a residential, leisure and shopping center project in the form of a tower-and-podium typology. The client of the project is Biskon Yapı A.Ş. and the architecture firm is Tabanlıoğlu Architects. The location of the project is in the business administration zone which is the northern periphery of the CBD-1, in Çeliktepe Neighborhood, Kağıthane. The building is in close connection with the 4. Levent subway station.

[25]Retrieved from (1) <http://www.tabanlioglu.com/SAPPHIRE.html>; (2) http://www.archdaily.com/141615/İstanbul-sapphire-tabanlioglu-architects/ and (3) http://www.arthitectural.com/tabanlioglu-architects-İstanbul-sapphire/ (Accessed on May 2014)

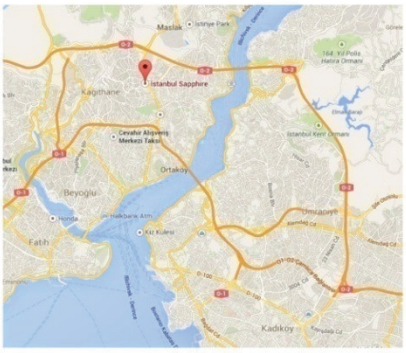
Program Configuration: There are 4 separate housing zones linked with 4 common areas between the sections and 187 residences of different sizes (claimed to be 22 different types) varying from 120 m2 to 447m2 –including 1100 m2 penthouses and duplexes- in different layers of the building. There are various social areas including a mini golf ground and indoor gardens. The mall area has five levels including ground floor and four basement floors. Underneath the mall, there is a 6-storey car park. The building has a total of 65 floors (10 below the ground) with an observation deck at the top which is open to public.[26]

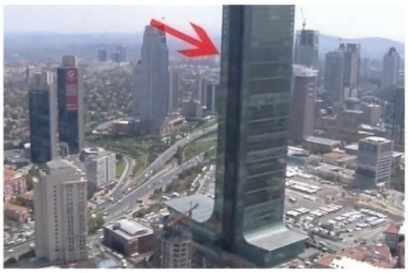
Construction technique is reinforced concrete and supported by steel elements for the double-layered façade. Residential tower is supported by two load bearing cores at both narrow ends of the building. Building façade consists of two independent shells acting as a buffer zone, creating insulation and providing garden and terrace opportunities in between.

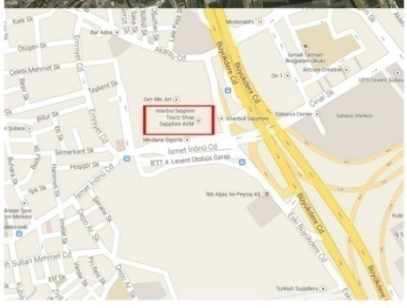
[26] Retrieved <from http://www.arthitectural.com/tabanlioglu-architects-İstanbul-sapphire/> (Accessed on May 2014).

E1. SAPPHIRE RESIDENCE, ISTANBUL (2006 - 2011)

Location: Kağıthane, Istanbul, Turkey
Architect: Tabanlioglu Architects
(Melkan Gürsel & Murat Tabanlioglu)
Client: Biskon Yapı A.Ş
Architectural Project Team: Murat Cengiz, Salih Yılgörür, Aydın Işık, Hakan Bağcı, Ozan Öztepe, Funda Tezel, Ali Çalışkan, Ahmet Çorapçıoğlu, Selen Ak, Ali Eray, Mehmet Vaizoğlu, Aybige Tek, Recep Semizoğlu, Merve Yücel, Necmettin Selimoğlu, Adnan Tarı (Site Coord.), Ayla Ecer (Site Coord.)
Interior Design: Tabanlıoğlu Architects. Hande Pusat, Derya Genç, Esra Demirtaş, Burcu Biçer, Aslı Aydın, Sinemis Yargıç, Suda Ayşe Karaduman, Ayşe Aydoğan
Main Contractor: Biskon Yapı A.Ş
Structural Engineering: Balkar Engineering
Mechanical Engineering: GN Engineering
Mechanic Consultant: Boz Project & Consultancy
Electrical Engieering: HB Teknik
Housing Consultant: Servotel
Shop Mix: Alkaş Consultancy
Facade Works: MF Metal Und Fassadenplanung
Architectural Lighting: Studio Dinnebier
Wind Tunnel Test: Ruscheweyh C. GmbH
Security: Tepe
Elevator: Barlas
Fire Consultant: Prof. Dr. Abdurrahman Kılıç
Site Area: 11.339 m²
Construction Area: 165.169 m²







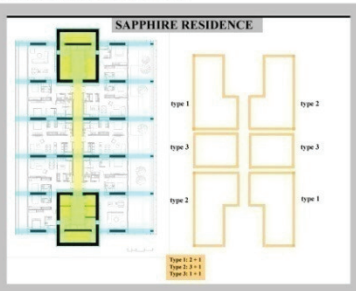


Figure 5.3 Sapphire Residence ID card.

E2. Kanyon (2001-2006):[27]

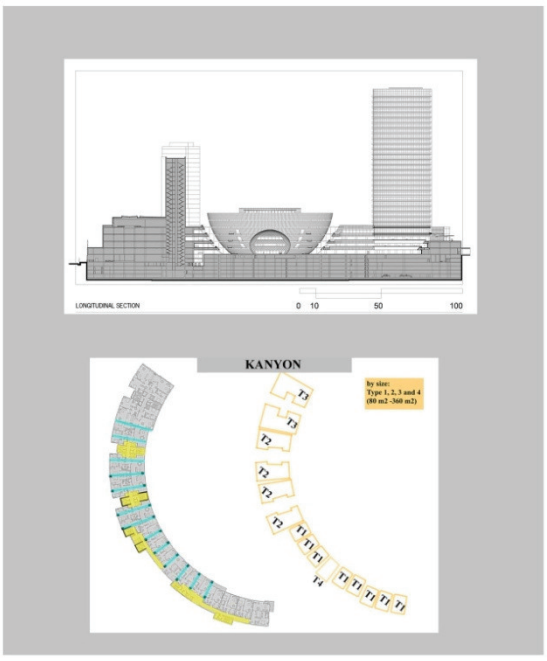
Kanyon is a mixed-use complex with residential, office, enterteinment and retail functions with the shape of a real life canyon as the base structure. Creating inner streets, the spatial bodies of the project stand around the central courtyard. The residential segment of the project is located on the above levels of the mall with a curvilinear form, and finally the office tower is located at the front with a close connection to the larger body. The client of the project is Eczacıbaşı and the architectural design as a joint project belongs to Tabanlıoğlu Architects and Jerde Partnership. The complex is located in the business administration zone of Levent/Şişli, facing both Büyükdere Boulevard and Ecza Street. The building has direct connection with the Levent subway station.

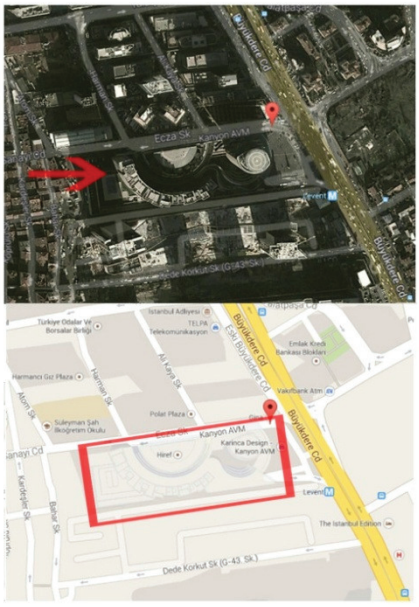
> Program Configuration: Office tower on the boulevard is 25-storey concrete structure sheathed in glass. 15-storey residential body of the project has with terraces containing 179 units with 20 different floor plans varying from 80m2 to 380 m2. 4-storey mall is located as the base of the project in a central formation which has 170 stores and 9 theatres in addition to other space for leisure activities. Canyon formation creates continuous successive plateaus with multiple entrances enveloping the internal space like an open street without exposing the visitors to the severe weather conditions.
>
> Construction technique: "Load bearing building system is reinforced concrete framework and steel, and the foundation system is foundation raft."[28]

[27] Retrieved from (1) http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/levent-kanyon/1771; (2) <http://www.tabanlioglu.com/KANYON.html> and (3) http://v3.arkitera.com/p97-kanyon-alisveris-merkezi.html?year=&aID=661 (Accessed on May 2014).

E2. KANYON, ISTANBUL (2001 - 2006)

Location: Levent, Istanbul, Turkey
Architect: Tabanlioglu Architects & Jerde Partnership
Client: Eczacıbaşı – İş GYO
Architectural Project Team: Fehmi Kobal, Murat Cengiz, Salih Yılgörür, Hakan Bağcı, Ali Akarsu, Hülya Sürücü, Nihal Şenkaya, Bilge Karataş, Arzu Meyvacı, Özgü Saraçoğlu, Jıbid Kürkçü, Simge Esin, Zehra Karahasan, Defne Sunguroğlu
Landscape Design: DS Mimarlık, Derek Lovejoy Partners
Main Contractor: Tepe İnşaat
Structural Engineering: Arup Engineering
Mechanical Engineering: Arup Engineering
Mechanic Consultant: Arup Engineering
Electrical Engieering: Arup Engineering
Acoustic Consultant: Arup Engineering
Housing Consultant:
Facade Works: Feniş Sistem
Architectural Lighting: DS Mimarlık, Derek Lovejoy Partners
Fire Consultant: DS Mimarlık, Derek Lovejoy Partners
Site Area: 30.000 m²
Construction Area: 250.000 m²





References: ID Record <http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/levent-kanyon/1771> and <http://v3.arkitera.com/p97-kanyon-alisveris-merkezi.html?year=&aID=661>

Figure 5.4 Kanyon ID card.

[28] Retrieved from http://www.tabanlioglu.com/KANYON.html (Accessed on May 2014).

E3. Zorlu Center (2008-201X):[29]

Zorlu Center is the first mixed-use residential complex that contains five different functional uses in one program with an expenditure of 2.5 billion dollars. Briefly, the project was a selected product of an international level architectural competition that was held in 2007. The land is the ex-site of 17th Regional Directorate of Highways in Zincirlikuyu. Similar to the old Liquor Factory and Ali Sami Yen Stadium, the land was targeted for privatization. In the end, Zorlu Holding purchased the land via tender offer in March 2007 for an estimation of 800 Million USD (Deneç 2012: 199). The client of the project is Zorlu Gayrımenkul and architecture office is a joint collaboration of Emre Arolat Architests (leader office) and Tabanlıoğlu Architecture. The project is located at the junction of the O-1 İstanbul Highyway (heading east to the Bosphorus Bridge) and Büyükdere Avenue connecting the two perpendicular wings of CBD 1. The project has a direct underground connection to Gayrettepe subway station.

> Program Configuration: The project is a composition of a C-shaped podium defining an elevated urban terrace and four semi-identical towers. The ground is reconstructed by a topographical interpretation to house leisure activities and retail functions while creating a public square (piazza) on the Boulevard level. There are four towers three of which are residential and the fourth is the hotel (Raffles İstanbul). Residential units come in two categories: terrace flats and tower residences varying from 1+1 to 5.5+1 residences in types and

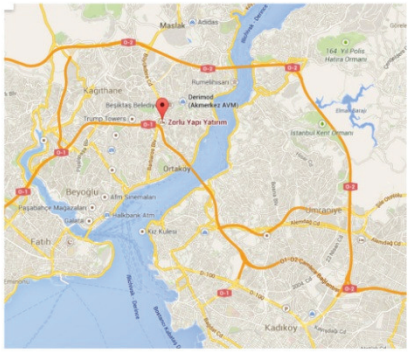
[29] Retrieved from (1) <http://www.emrearolat.com/2008/01/01/zorlu-center-İstanbul-turkey-2008/>, (2) <http://v3.arkitera.com/h33443-zorlu-center-projesi-emre-arolat---murat-tabanlioglu-imzasini-tasiyacak.html> and (3) http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/zorlu-center/2648 (Accessed on May 2014).

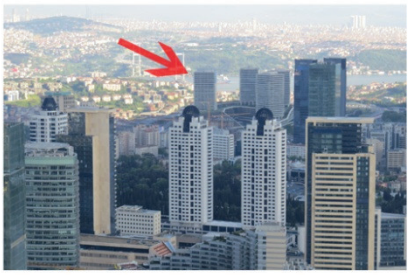
117 m2 to 735 m2 in size. Two arms of the terrace-form acts as a shell structure nveloping the public activities while separating the private sections concentrated above levels. Topography reaches 28 meters defining the “Urban Balcony” with the grand vista of Bosphorus. The fifth function, concert hall is located on the south still as a part of the bigger body of the complex with a capacity of 2500 people.

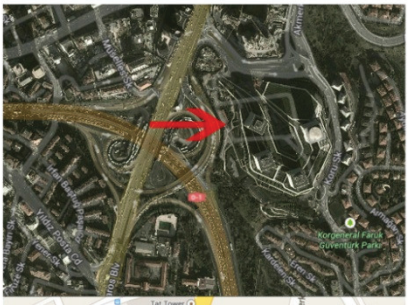
E3. ZORLU CENTER, ISTANBUL (2008 - 201X)

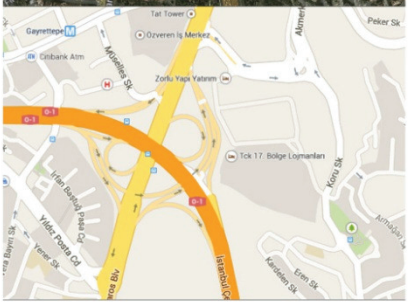
Location: Zincirlikuyu, Istanbul, Turkey
Architect: Emre Arolat Mimarlık (Leader Office)
Tabanlioglu Architects
Client: Zorlu Gayrımenkul Geliştirme ve Yatırım A.Ş.
Zorlu Yapı Yatırım A.Ş.
Architectural Project Team:

Interior Design:
Landscape Design: DS Mimarlık (Deniz Aslan)
Main Contractor: Aktürk Yapı Endüstrisi ve Ticaret A.Ş.
Structural Engineering: Sigal Mühendislik Tic. ve San. Ltd. Şti.
Mechanical Engineering: Okutan Mühendislik Yapı Teknolojisi Tasarım ve Müşavirlik Çözümleri, Beta Teknik T.San.ve Tic.Ltd.Şti.
Mechanic Consultant:
Electrical Engieering: HB Teknik Elektrik Müh. Proje ve Danışmanlık Hiz. San. Tic. Ltd. Şti.
Consultant: Buro Happold
Shop Mix:
Facade Works:
Architectural Lighting:
Wind Tunnel Test:
Security:
Elevator:
Fire Consultant:
Site Area: 102.000 m2
Construction Area: 615.885 m2
Greenspace: 72.000 m²









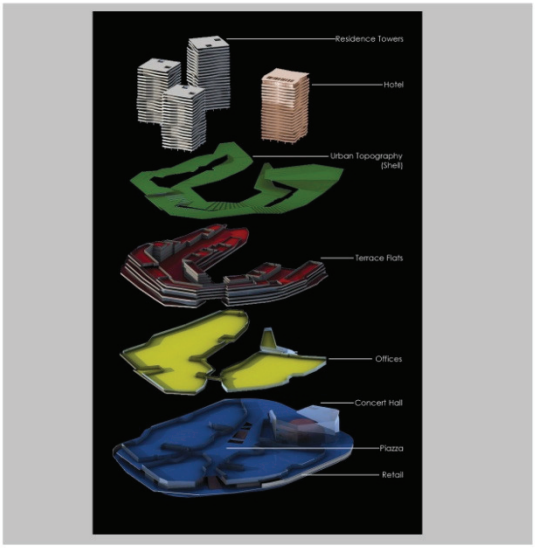


Figure 5.5 Zorlu Center ID card.

E4. Trump Towers (2006-2011):[30]

Trump Towers is a complex with mix of residential, office and retail/leisure uses. The client of the project is Ortadoğu Otomotiv ve Ticaret AŞ and the architecture firm is Brigitte Weber Architecture. The project is situated on the northern side of Mecidiyeköy Square adjacent to the O-1 İstanbul Highway with close connections to Şişli subway station and public transportation (metrobus and dolmuş). The building is situated perpendicularly to the highway with a grand podium and two towers.

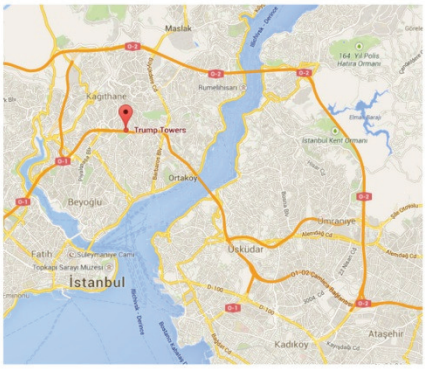
Program configuration: The topography ascends for 30 meters to the north. There is a 39-storey residential tower (south), a 37-storey office tower (north), and 12 basement levels dedicated to leisure and retail functions including the parking space. Residential tower is 34.300 m2 with 205 residential units with 88 different types varying from 70 m2 and 814 m2 including 550 m2 lounge on the fourth floor. The office tower is 37.150 m2 and 86 units varying from 147 m2 to 600 m2. 5-storey mall is a part of the podium which has 6.000 m2 terraces providing green space.

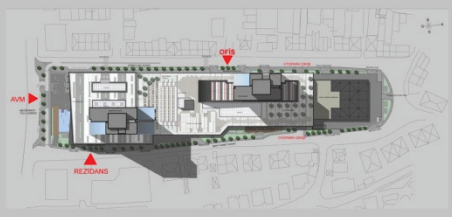
Construction system: 250.000 m2 concrete frame and 10.000 m2 steel frame. Construction system is entitled as "dual" use of load bearing walls and frames. There is also a central load bearing core for each tower supporting the structure. The bended forms of the towers acquired through 4 columns designed with angles.

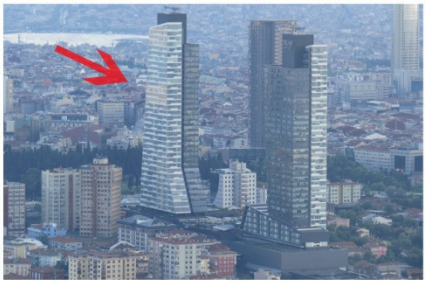
[30] Retrieved from (1) <http://www.trumpİstanbul.com.tr/konsept.aspx> and (2) http://v2.arkiv.com.tr/p10898-trump-towers.html (Accessed on May 2014).

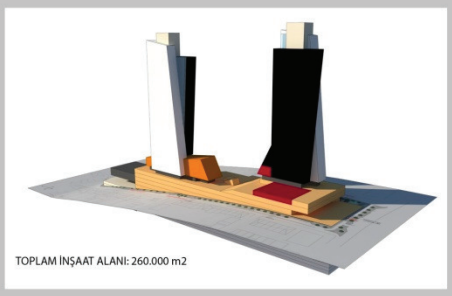
E4. TRUMP TOWERS, ISTANBUL (2006 - 2011)

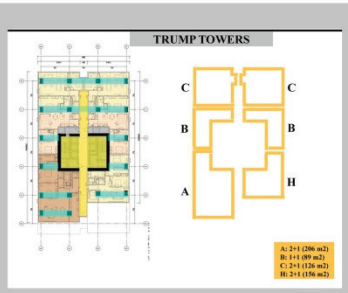
Location: Şişli, Istanbul, Turkey
Architect: Brigitte Weber Architecture
[Consultant: Servotel Corporation]
Client: Ortadoğu Otomotiv ve Ticaret AŞ
Architectural Project Team:
Interior Design: Brigitte Weber and AVM Chapman Taylor
Landscape Design: DS Mimarlık
Main Contractor: D Yapı
Structural Engineering: Altıneller Engineering
Mechanical Engineering: Birikim Engineering
Mechanic Consultant:
Electrical Engieering: Erde Elektirik Proje ve Müş. A.Ş.
Architectural Lighting: Erde Elektirik Proje ve Müş. A.Ş.
Fire Consultant:
Site Area: 23.370 m²
Construction Area: 260.000 m²

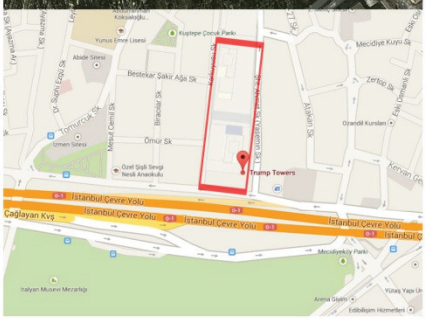












References:

Figure 5.6 Trump Towers ID card.

A1. Buyaka (2007/8-2012):[31]

Buyaka is a mixed use complex with the functions of residential, office and a large scale mall. The client of the project is Artell Koytür Turizm İnş. San. Tic. A.Ş. and the architecture office is UrasXDilekçi Architecture. Buyaka has a linear formation with three towers on the west, the mall in the center and a fourth tower on the east. It is adjacent to IKEA and Meydan AVM and located at the junction of Şile Highway and O-1 İstanbul Highway in Ümraniye.

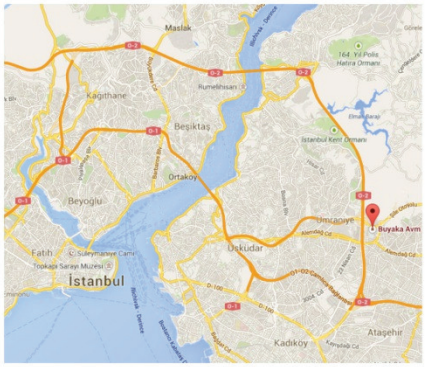
Program Configuration: The project is divided in two programs. East half of the project predominantly contains the commercial and business activities including the mall and 23 storey office tower (E block) with 23.214 m2 construction area. West half of the project contains two 21-storey office towers (A block and C block) with 23.214 m2 construction area each, a 22-storey residential tower (B block) with 23.124 m2 and sports facilities. The greater infrastructure holds the project as one. 4-storey mall has 150 stores.

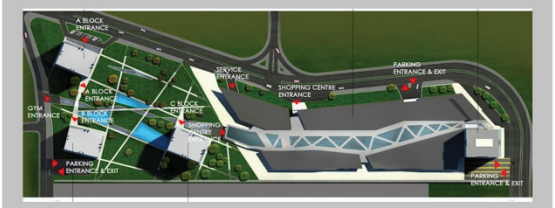
Construction system is reinforced concrete.

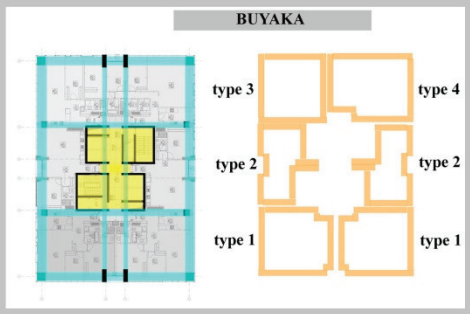
[31] Retrieved from (1) http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/buyaka-avm/1379, (2) http://v2.arkiv.com.tr/p7285-buyaka.html and (3) http://www.buyaka.com.tr/Kurumsal (Accessed on May 2014).

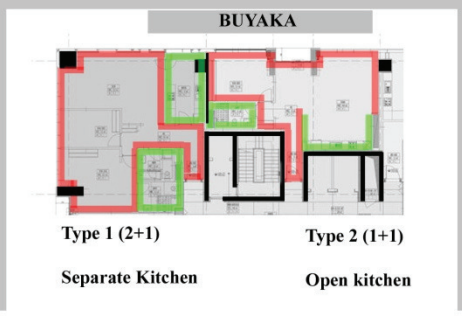
A1. BUYAKA, ISTANBUL (2007/8 - 2012)

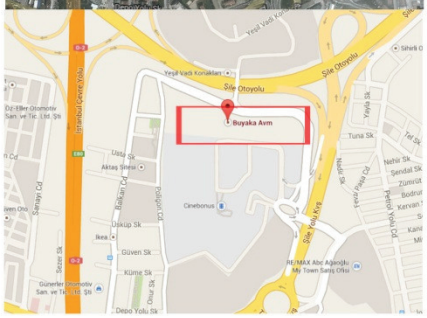
Location: Ümraniye Istanbul, Turkey
Architect: Durmuş Dilekçi and Emir Uras
Client: Artell Koytür Turizm İnş. San. Tic. A.Ş.
Architectural Project Team: Aylin Ayvaz, Handan Akbudak, Evren Alpay, Elvan Çakıt
Interior Design: Uras Dilekçi Mimarlık
Landscape Design: DS Mimarlık, Deniz Aslan
Main Contractor: Artell Koytür Turizm İnş. San. Tic. A.Ş.
Structural Engineering: Enmar Mühendislik, YBT Mühendislik
Mechanical Engineering: Dinamik Proje Mühendislik
Electrical Engieering: Enmar Mühendislik
Architectural Lighting:
Site Area: 43.700 m²
Construction Area: 248.000 m²











References:

Figure 5.7 Buyaka ID card.

A2. Varyap Meridian (2009/10-2013):

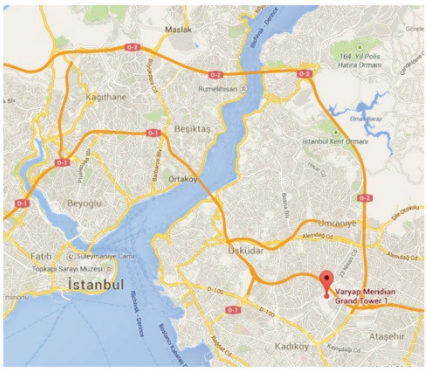
Varyap Meridian is a mixed-use complex containing residential, office, hotel and retail functions. In the form of 5 distinct towers with a variety of heights, the project has a linear orientation on north-south axis perpendicular to Çamlıca Connection of both highways. The client of the project is Varyap (investor: Emlak Konut GYO). Meridian is a joint project of RMJM Hillier Architecture New York Office and Dome Partners and located across the new financial center of İstanbul, on the western periphery of CBD-2 in Ataşehir.

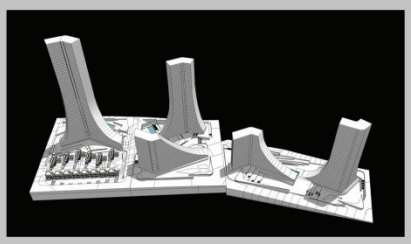
Spatial configuration: There are 5 Residential Towers with a varying height of 20 to 61-storeys and studio to 5+1 unit types. Meridian Hotel & Office Tower has 260 office units varying from 53 m2 to 930 m2 in addition to the body of a five star Hotel and a congress center. There is no compact mall formation, instead retail functions distributed to the ground floors of all blocks (from A to E).

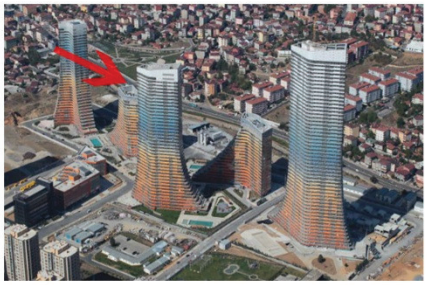
Construction system is reinforced concrete (C60).

A2. VARYAP MERIDIAN, ISTANBUL (2009/10 - 2013)

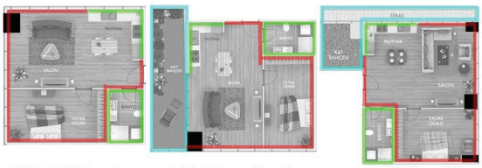
Location: Ataşehir, Istanbul, Turkey
Architect: RMJM Hillier Architecture Worldwide (NY) and Dome Partners (Local)
Client: Varyap and Emlak Konut GYO
Architectural Project Team:
Consultant: Buro Happold
Landscape Design: Trafo Mimarlar
Structural Engineering: Yapı Teknik Mühendislik
Mechanical Engineering: GN Mühendislik
Electrical Engieering: Esan Mühendislik
Architectural Lighting:
Site Area: 110.000 m²
Construction Area: 410.000 m²







VARYAP MERIDIAN

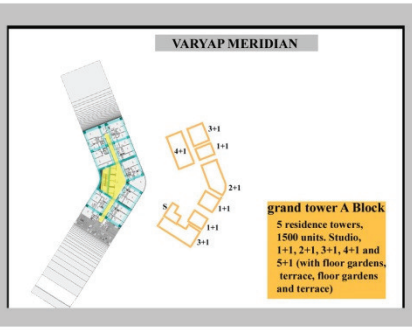


1+1: 78.67 m2

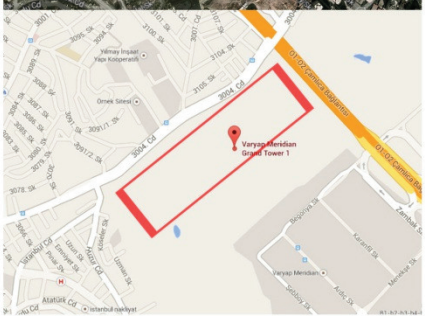
1+1 Floor Garden 93.51 m2

1+1 Floor Garden and Terrace 102.8 m2

VARYAP MERIDIAN



grand tower A Block
5 residence towers, 1500 units. Studio, 1+1, 2+1, 3+1, 4+1 and 5+1 (with floor gardens, terrace, floor gardens and terrace)



References:

Figure 5.8 Varyap Meridian ID card. (http://www.varyapmeridian.cm/tr/anasayfa & http://i.emlaktasondakika.com/Files/PhotoGalleryImages/2012/10/24/659x365/8005f122-1465-440d-bc5b-a838322051e4.jpg accessed on May 2014)

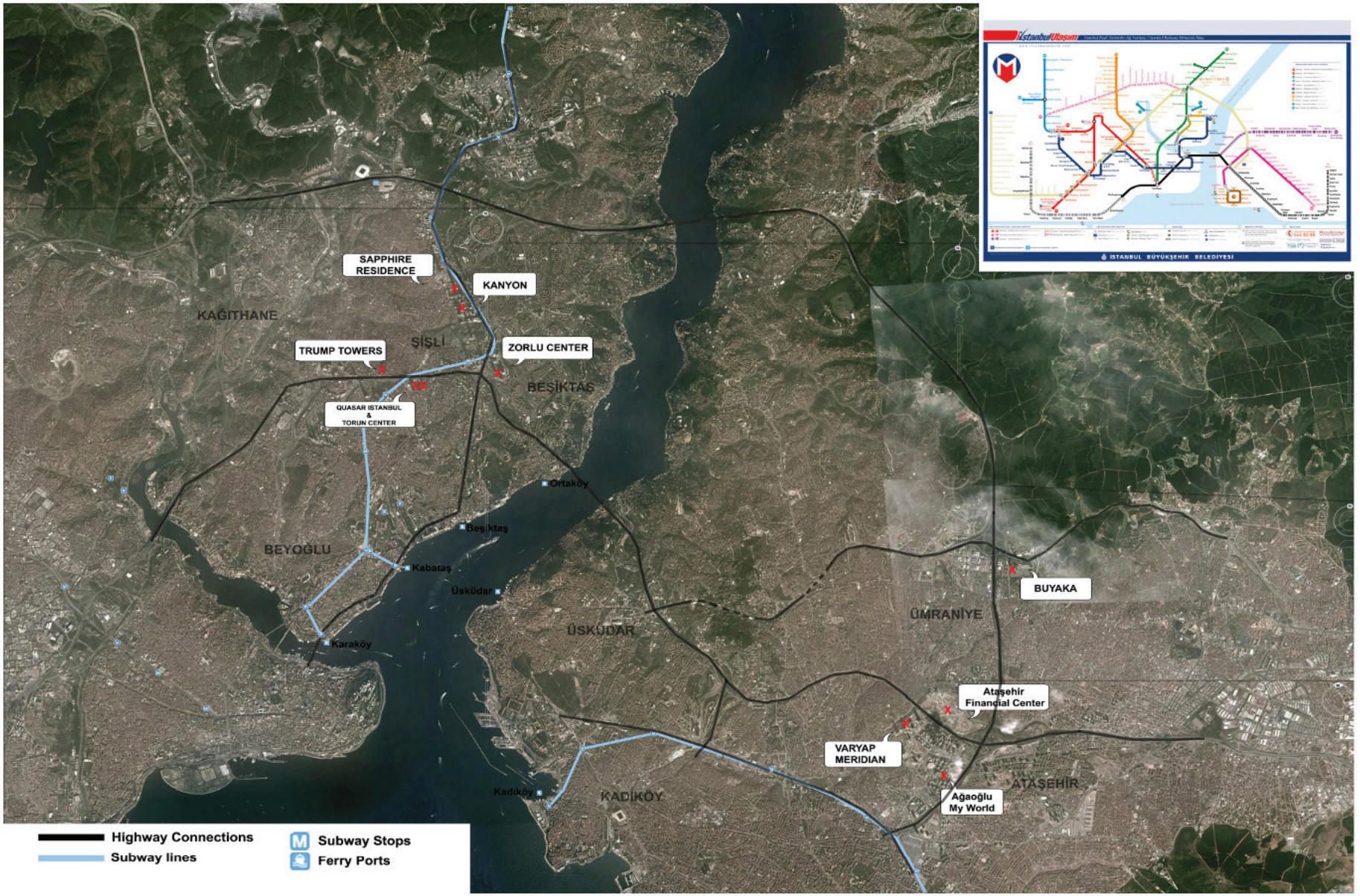


Figure 5.9 General Map, Locations of the Projects

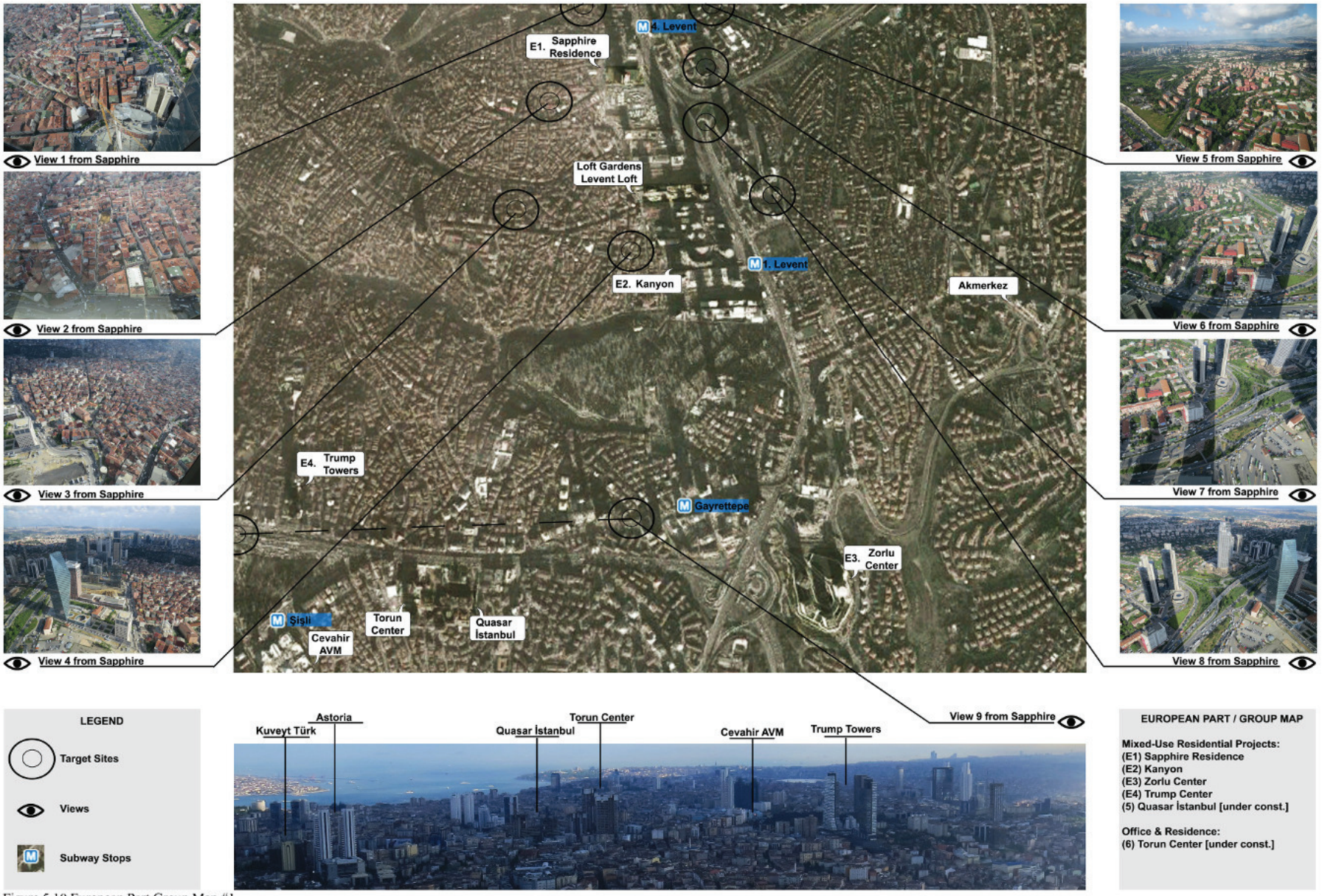


Figure 5.10 European Part Group Map #1

Figure 5.11 European Part Group Map #2

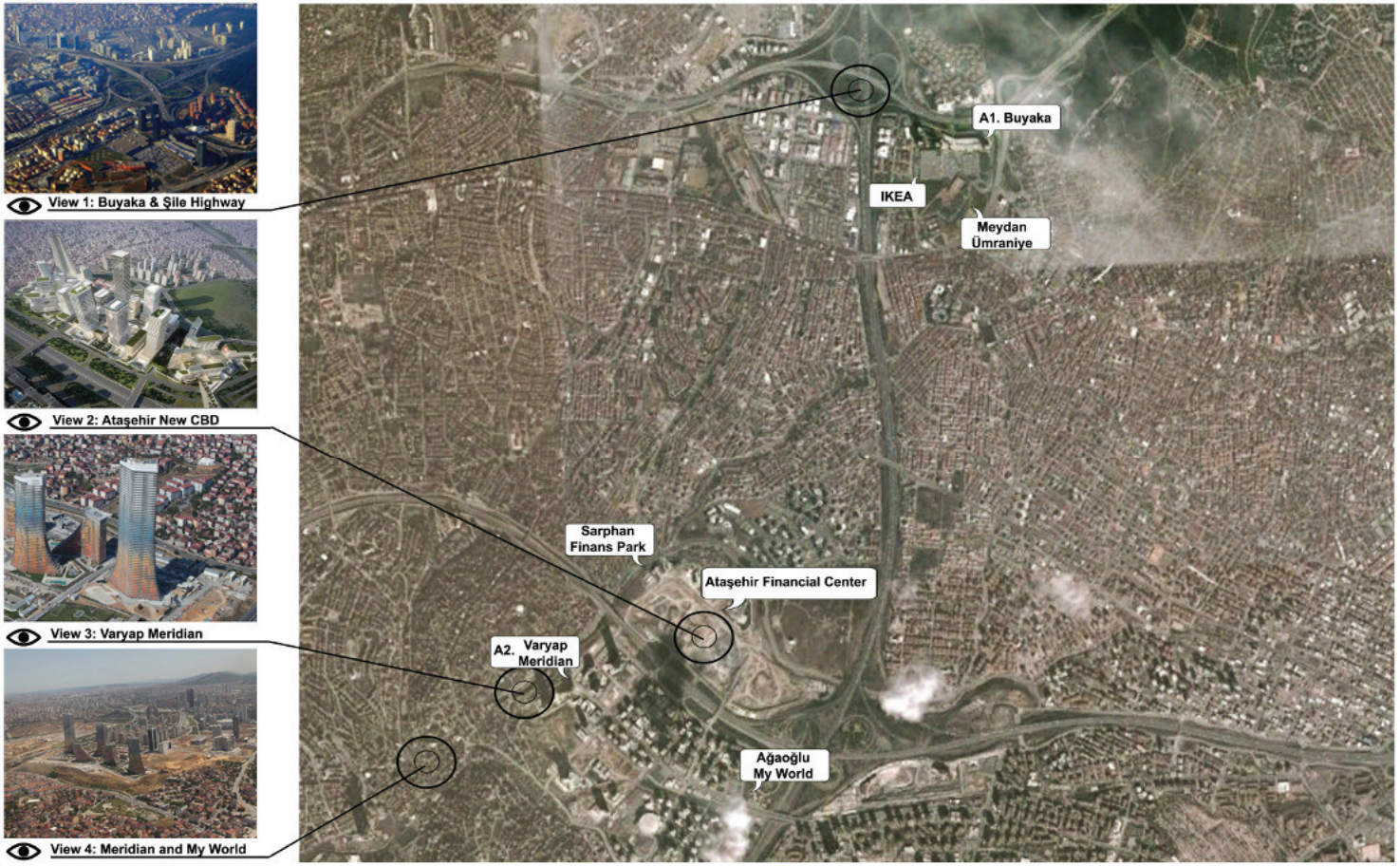


Figure 5.12 Anatolian Part, Group Map.

5.1.2 Method of Analysis

This study basically applies Case Study strategies as an intermediate medium of research methodology. However, the perspective and tactics are not limited to solely on site observations, maps and architectural drawings in addition to the clients' and architects' advertised views. This research promotes the "spatio-contextual dialog" as a core attribute to the critical analysis. "Dialog" as a key theme and socio-cultural formula defines a relationship between two subjects and even multiple parties. Once installed in the urban space, MU-HR-C as a New Form starts to communicate. The dialog between the project and the surrounding built environment as well as users provide insights on the new contextual production and urban life. In order to understand the dynamics of this creation, the moments of interaction and projections should be investigated and critically analyzed. The central pivot of this study is the implication of the notion of mixed-use and the limitations are assigned accordingly. Departing from the theme of dialog, the method of analysis follows three steps.

First step will be the formal analysis of the projects. The objective of this step is to examine the physical formation focusing on the material configuration of the projects which are separated and purified from the pre-assigned value, context and meaning. The concentration is classified under three spatial categories: (1) external dynamics, (2) intermediary dynamics and (3) internal dynamics.

> First category (1) examines the physical relationship with the urban space which basically covers the articulation of the venue with regard to the city. Transportation network, green spaces, residential layout, business districts and orientations of other functions of the city collaboratively determine the codes of the provision of the assigned land. Discussion on the materialization of CBDs will be relevant in this category. After locating the projects in the regional frame as a New Form; next step focuses on the locale.

Second category (2) investigates the relationship with the surrounding built environment. Zooming in, the scale decreases to the close surroundings of the lots of the projects including a couple of blocks to all directions. Intermediary space contains everything between the physical boundary of the complex and the surrounding built environment. In this case, how the project posits itself within the already existing physical network and become a new member of the material society is crucial. This time, land use, transportation and pedestrian connections, streetscape and three dimensional figures will be considered.

Last category (3) dwells on the internal dynamics which expands on the spatial organization of the complex in building scale with an equivalent sub-category of unit scale. It must be reminded that, all these categories are equally important and concurrently functioning once the project is constructed. They do operate in an intertwined character. Concentrating on the residential section of the project; floor plans, sections and articulation of the units are assessed. Scale of the research ends in the units to provide architectural components and the new vocabulary on both planning and life style.

The second step is the contextual analysis of above mentioned categories of MU-HR-[R]-Cs as a New Urban Form. The objective of this step is to analyze the new contextual formation on the city-housing-user triad in order to comprehend the new urban and domestic life cultivated within the concept of MU-HR-[R]-Cs. This section is classified under two concurrent themes: (1) spatio-contextual configuration and (2) design criteria.

First theme (1) discusses the installed context by studying the physical configuration in all three scales which is previously conducted. Thereby the relationships of city-user and user-housing structurally unfold. This research aims to penetrate the re-contextualization generated by MU-

HR-[R]-Cs to understand its impact on the production of a new urban life and architectural language.

Therefore the second theme (2) focuses on the architectural components of the residential segment of the complexes in relation to the design criteria that triggered the emergence of the New Form. The responsibility of this section rises on the spatio-contextual dialog.

5.2 Analysis of Physical Formation

This section of the study aims to analyze the physical configuration of the projects focusing on the spatial dialog with urban conditions acquired by land use, built forms and architectural components. The major point is exploring new material layers constructed by the installation of mixed-use schemes into the urban space. The critical assessment follows three hierarchical steps starting from the regional scale and magnifying to residential units in the end.

5.2.1 External Dynamics: Dialog with Urban Space

MU-HR-C is a New Urban Form in the metropolis by combining multiple functions in one project and settling on critical urban nodes with ascending monetary value. As discussed, appearance of MU-HR-[R]-Cs within the Central Business Districts is a strategic organization. The investor concerns three external criteria on the localization and development of MU-HR-[R]-Cs: proximity to either (1) CBD or (2) natural resources and (3) advance accessibility to transportation network. Determination of an exclusive place is top priority for multiple parties including the metropolitan municipality and the state as well since the spatial organization of a metropolis like İstanbul requires all actors to participate in decision making for capital cultivation. Architect –as a crucial actor- concerns the design phases the framework/limits of which is

controversial as an internal issue and discussed comprehensively in the next chapter.

Combining office and retail functions is not new as a marketing strategy and urban formation. However, inserting residential spaces into the CBD via mixed-use complexes is a trending development in the recent decade. The reasons on the emergence of such a new tradition mostly explicated as a response to human mobility returning from the suburbs and gated communities in discreet locals seeking a central location because of a variety of spatio-temporal difficulties in their daily life. Before questioning any reasoning, it is crucial decipher the relationship between the MU-HR-[R]-Cs and the CBDs as a preliminary step in order to understand the dialog the project generates.

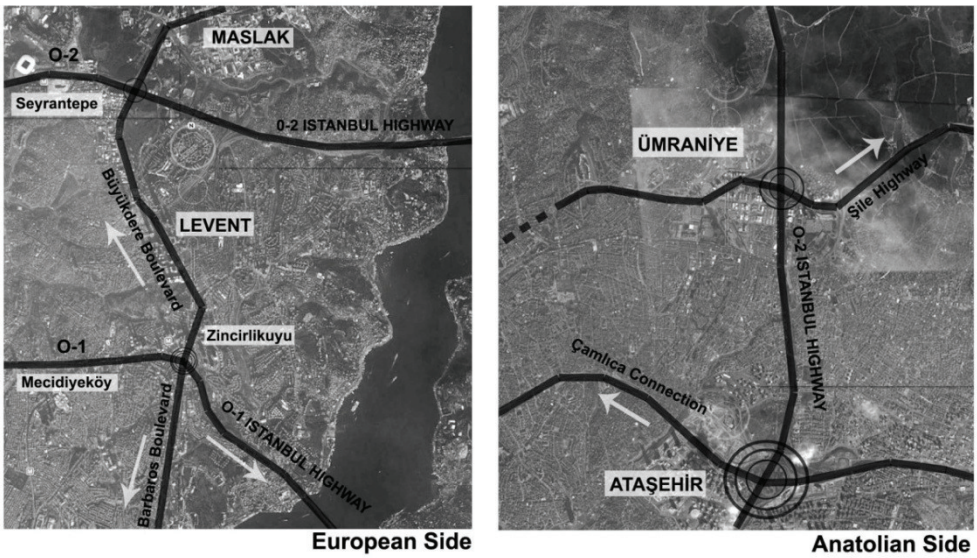
> On the city's new central business district, alongside the corporate skyscrapers, there are the escalating residential towers. The people who are moving back from gated communities in the outlying suburbs demanded a City life back in the core of the metropolis. For the last five years, Büyükdere region has started to regain its allure by alternative residential developments.[32]

First of all, CBD is the habitat of financial concentration and control with high building, pedestrian and vehicular density. The functional intensity is not "daily life based commercial issues" (Büyükcivelek, 2012, p.337). This district is composed of business enterprises and office towers which seek and prioritize to be central above all in comparison to other aspects. The organization of CBD is under direct control of capital regulations. Social space within this structure lives dominantly during the week-days. The user-traffic that exists in this space necessitates easy access and efficiency in use with regard to the original functioning of the zone. Therefore the core attribute for a CBD is creating a venue dwelling on the most critical nodes of transportation infrastructure (Büyükcivelek 337). Easy access to public transport including perfect subway connections and enabling personal use of vehicles is obligatory.

[32] Retrieved from http://www.arthitectural.com/tabanlioglu-architects-İstanbul-sapphire/ (accessed on May 2014.)

People who work in these towers are supposed to be able to reach their offices in the shortest amount of time. Highways that connect airports, Bosphorus bridges and every other destination would be under primary concern. Dining or shopping in these districts comes as minor necessities. Considering the city as a vast investment arena, these spatial agglomerations obtain and accumulate their own agenda of service.

For the case of European side of İstanbul, CBD-1 is developed in a linear formation on Levent-Maslak axis. The junction of Büyükdere Boulevard and İstanbul Highway in Şişli creates a central node in Zincirlikuyu/Şişli compassing four major directions. Barbaros Boulevard is oriented towards south ending in the coastline of Beşiktaş merging with Beşiktaş Main Street between Dolmabahçe Palace and Bahçeşehir University. On the west-east axis, O-1 (E-5) İstanbul Highway connects western districts to the Bosphorus Bridge. Finally towards north, Büyükdere Boulevard follows Zincirlikuyu, Levent until Maslak while intersecting with O-2 (TEM) İstanbul Highway around Seyrantepe. Same positioning applies for the case of Anatolian side. This time new CBD formation is forming in Ataşehir on the junction node of O-2 İstanbul Highway from North-south axis and O-1/O-2 Çamlıca Bağlantısı (merging to the O-1) from west-east axis.



European Side

Anatolian Side

Figure 5.13 Highway Connections and Central Nodes for CBD-1 and CBD-2.

By insertion of a mixed-use theme into a CBD, the project gains the already assigned privileges of the physical setting. Although Levent axis towards the north is the spine of CBD-1 for nearly two decades, since the early 2000s and onwards, a second axis is developing perpendicularly towards west following İstanbul highway and penetrating into Mecidiyeköy neighborhood. Sapphire Residence, Levent Loft, Loft Gardens and Kanyon are the dominant residential examples in Levent axis. Appearances of Trump Towers, Quasar İstanbul and Torun Center on the west are not surprising in this case (Figure 5.2).

According to the second criterion from the investor's point of view, MU-HR-[R]-Cs had better obtain a close physical connection and visual access to either forests or the Bosphorus in order to amplify the image and the privileged life they propose. Proximity to nature is more like a marketing tool rather than being influential on the life style inhabited in the project. However, MU-HR-[R]-Cs with office functions would not prefer to be located far from the city center and once entering the urban core, geographical limitations provoke density and building higher becomes obligatory. In addition to the competition in the real estate market to offer a better view of the city and natural beauty since they fall far apart, the towers evolve into super towers. Because living higher separates the life from everything associated to the ground, the architect aims to elevate the components of nature selectively to upper floors of towers by creating terraces and gardens as micro-imitations.

At this point, the discussion so far could be briefly summarized. MU-HR-[R]-Cs appeared to be individual bodies arriving into a new zone, deriving the socio-spatial advantages out of it by mutually integrating the user traffic into the system and also avoiding the regional context by aligning itself with CBD, growing higher and marketing the image of the city from the heights. A standard spatial dialog that a residential project can produce with the city is merged into the new composition and transformed -if not assimilated- according to the agenda of the MU-HR-[R]-Cs. As the next step, the scale of

analysis decreases to the local area to explore and discuss the relationship with the intermediary space and the dialog with the neighboring built environment.

5.2.2 Intermediary Dynamics: Dialog with Local Built Environment

MU-HR-[R]-Cs have individual spatial dialog with the surrounding built environment in both neighborhood and building scale. The scale might be illustrated as the transition zone between the larger urban setting and the internal configuration of each project. First, upon insertion, the mixed-use complex launches its composite functional program within the existing socio-functional flux. At this point, the complex, as a separate and internally self-regulating body starts to operate due to its own agenda. Considering the projects in the European side (E1, E2, E3 and E4) it would be observed that they create a physical boundary with high capacity surveillance towards one periphery and defines an exact opposite spatial attitude towards the other periphery. In the following image, CBD-1 would be seen as an L shaped urban setting facing Büyükdere Boulevard and O-1 İstanbul Highway (E-5). Due to the orientation of the selected projects, this spatio-functional construction is imitated.

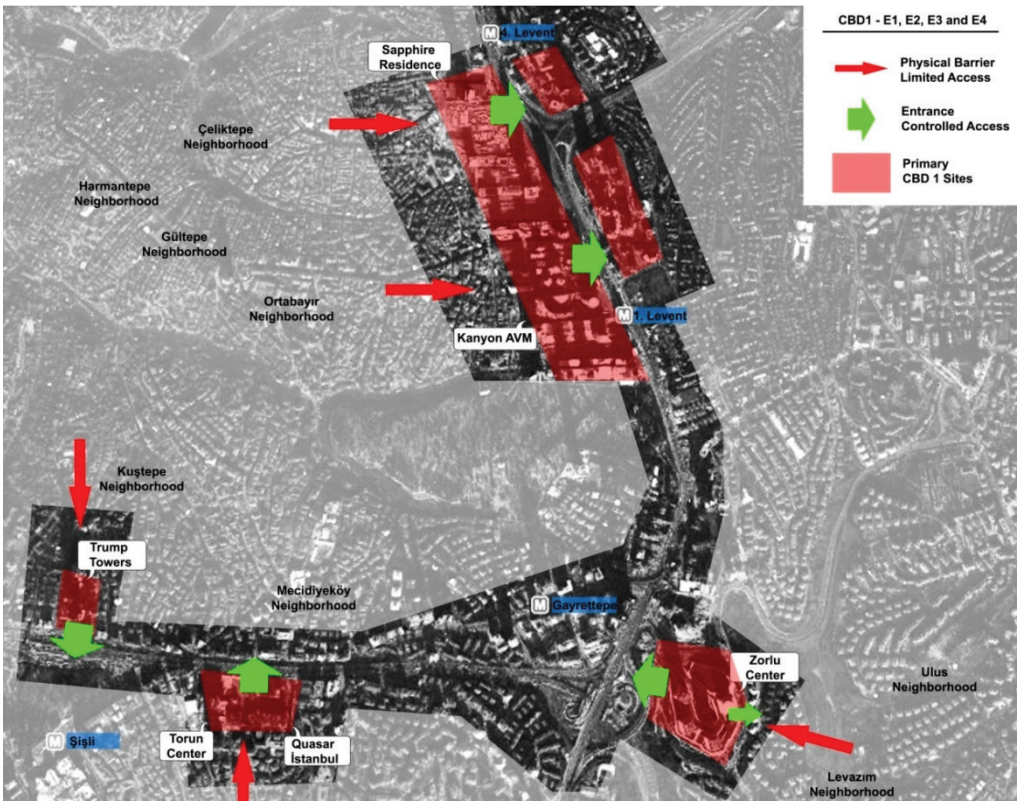


Figure 5.14 Spatial behavior of CBD 1 towards west and east boundaries.

Although MU-HR-[R]-Cs are not solely business enterprises, they are still private property and despite the claim of creating a public realm with retail and entertainment purposes, the intent is limited in the conceived level. Regarding this venue, the cases are examined in the west-center-north order (E4, E3, E2 and E1). Although each project has an individual story of interpretation, they also speak the same language in terms of local spatial organization.

Anatolian side has formal and contextual differences in comparison to the European examples by means of mixed-use orientations. First, the transportation network does not include the subway system. That is a crucial point in the formation of CBDs. The projects A1 and A2 are still located on the junction zones of major highways and have public transport access via buses in addition to the regular private vehicles. Buyaka (A1) is not majorly a member of any CBD and does not concentrate on a central zone however Varyap Meridian (A2) has the objective of settling in the venue of the CBD-2 which is

Ataşehir. Second, the topography does not ascend firmly within the neighborhoods and creates rather flat sites for the projects. Third, both projects have separate physical bodies for each program elements except for some cases in Meridian –such as retail functions. As a core aspect for both, they jointly collaborate with the surrounding mega-projects and strongly limit –even exclude- any socio-spatial relationship with the residential settlements around the sites.

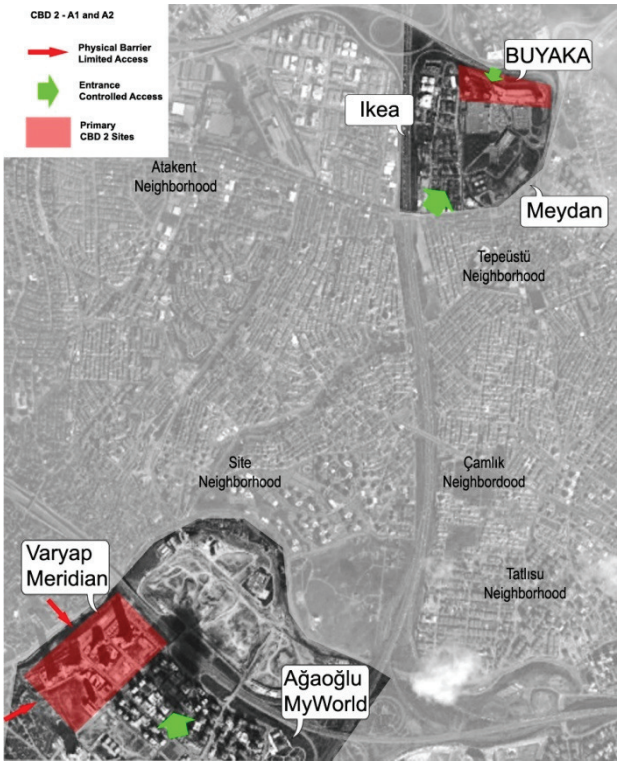


Figure 5.15 Spatial behavior of Buyaka and Varyap Meridian.

Trump Towers (E4)

Trump Towers as a complex of three different functions (residence tower, office tower and large-scale mall) is located on İstanbul Highway with direct connection to Mecidiyeköy Square. South façade of the project is the main entrance to the mall and also the whole complex. East façade of the project faces Şht. Ahmet Street with a visibly decent series of apartments. This section of the neighborhood is developing from middle to higher income residential pattern probably because the expansion of the western arm of CBD-1. On the

other hand, west façade of the project is facing Karkuyusu Street which is still preserving low to middle income status (Figure 5.16).

Figure 5.16 E4 - Trump Towers, views from adjacent neighborhoods.

The topography of the project site is also distinctive. The highest point of the site is on the edge of İstanbul Highway. Towards north, the site gradually descends to the lowest point (30 meters between the north and south ends of the project). This variety turns into an opportunity for the complex to define more than one entrance in different levels which occurs in the west façade with a secondary pedestrian entrance into the mall. Nevertheless, surrounding row

of houses creates a buffer zone between the project and neighborhoods each side. The perimeter is impenetrable after the defined rows of buildings (Figure 5.17).

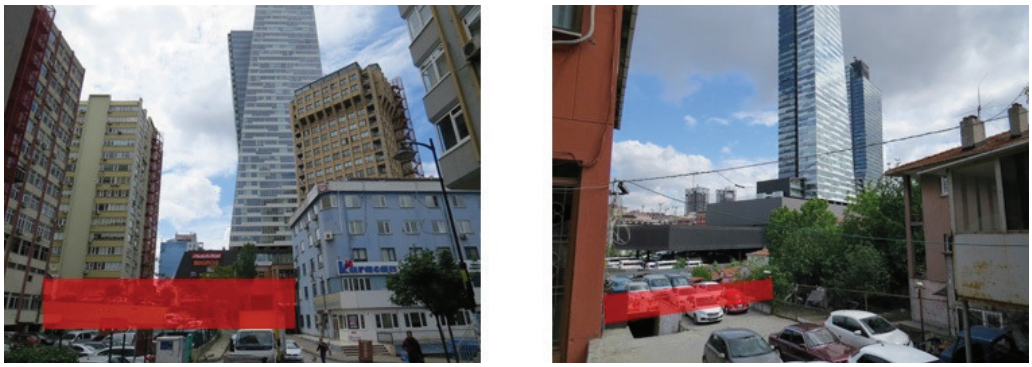


Figure 5.17 East periphery and West periphery preventing access with walls.

After the lowest point of the slope, the neighborhood begins to ascend towards north lining the edge of Şişli and Kağıthane. Considering the physical interpretation, the project plunges into the existing sets of neighborhoods by defining its own boundaries while taking advantage of the slope. The New Form does not seem to have an aim of becoming a part of the district with the residential function, instead it becomes a part of the CBD-1 and forces the massive body into the physical fabric creating a three dimensional niche. CBD-1 has its own dynamics and program, so has the Trump Towers. It might be claimed that, installation of the New Form is not affected from the existing spatio-functional fabric, but the fabric has begun to be influenced. This provision would be observed from the apartment rows in the east side. While they gained a mobility of a series of upgrades, the west remains preserved though while aging, experiencing the presence of a totally new reflection of capital as well as user traffic.

As a second physical feature in terms of land use, the project does not regulate multiple bodies in one site. Instead, there is a grand podium encapsulating shopping, dining and entertainment purposes which is defined by the design office as a base to the overall structure. The two towers of the project rise above this podium. Although the internal spatial dynamics will be

distinguished and analyzed further in the next section in closer scale, at this point it might be said that the formal presence of the project locates itself as a three dimensional extrusion of one composite mass.

Trump Towers is not the only physical niche on the western arm of CBD-1. Similarly, Torun Center and Quasar İstanbul –which are currently under construction on the ex-site of Ali Sami Yen Stadium that was raised- are located on the İstanbul Highway and defining the southern niches (Figure 5.18).

Figure 5.18 Quasar İstanbul and Torun Center North Façade, South Façade and site.

Southern Mecidiyeköy represents a wealthier segment of built environment on the periphery of Şişli-Beşiktaş while cornering the Barbaros Boulevard and several other business towers including a grand-scale mall, Cevahir. This district is the physical extension of Beyoğlu-Beşiktaş axis multiplying itself towards north in the second half of the twentieth century. Once the old industrial zones are targeted by the actors regulating private capital, CBD-1

gained a rapid resolution passing the border towards further north. This current occurrence is the reason behind the spatio-economic transition and preserves the continuum.

Zorlu Center (E3)

As an architectural product of an international competition, Zorlu Center has a different story of foundation and construction. Due to the massive size of the project and the scale of programs, it might be claimed that the mixed-use complex is unprecedented in Turkey yet for the current decade. Different from Trump Towers, this project is organized as a C-form facing Büyükdere Boulevard by creating an open atrium on the ground level in the center. Despite the fact that, the towers of Zorlu Center still rise above the two-winged shell similar to Trump, individual spatial constructions are different. In order to read spatial dialog created, three important attributes need to be discussed on the intermediary spatial arrangements of the project. First is the spatial connection with the surrounding built environment, second is accessibility feature and third is the formal presence.

Junction of İstanbul Highway (TEM) leading to Bosphorus Bridge and Büyükdere Boulevard is the central node of the L shaped CBD-1 compassing two major axes towards Mecidiyeköy and Maslak directions. In terms of topography, this very strategic yet complicated elbow situated on the highest point of Şişli-Beşiktaş border. Aligning with Barbaros Boulevard and Koru Street, the land descends starting with a sharp angle until Ortaköy. This feature is advantageous for the projects' context by providing the widest view point all around the site especially towards the Bosphorus. Considering the raised "urban balcony", the functions under the "shell" are also visually connected to the outdoors (Figure 5.19).

On the west façade, there is a "public" piazza as a part of the design to welcome visitors, residents and passersby alike. One of the contributions of

this project –as claimed- is creating a public space in the heart of a private property which has been a subject topic for countless debates since the early stages of the project. Considering the orientation of the "piazza", the spatial connection is acquired via Büyükdere Boulevard. The piazza is a two way passage -with a five to six meters elevation- through the project connecting east and west entrances, however, the grand entrance orientation focuses on the boulevard defining the corner of CBD-1. It must be mentioned that the dominant program of Zorlu Center by scale is configured on residential spaces which is followed by Hotel and Congress activities. This calculation might frame the project predominantly a real estate investment. The point is, office element covers 10 percent of the overall activities (Akpınar and Aysev, 2011) yet it becomes one of the members of the Business district by spatially joining the CBD organization.

Figure 5.19. Surrounding views and site of the Project.[33]

The second point to be discussed is "accessibility" as mentioned because despite the strategic advantage of the site location, both boulevards and the highway define a strong boundary of vehicular traffic. Although the major spatial connection is constructed towards the northwest, available options to reach the site are provided by underground passages. However, the current status of the passages observed to be deteriorated and under below-average use. Site observations conceded that people have a tendency to cross the Boulevard to reach the other side via neglecting the passages. Furthermore, the sharp

[33] Source for the general view: <http://www.zorlucenter.com/konsept/> and view from Bosphorus: <http://www.arkitera.com/haber/20600> accessed on May 2014.

angle of Koru Street with no side-walks makes it nearly impossible to reach the project site by walk from the eastern periphery. Third, underground subway connection from Gayrettepe Subway Station is a long distance yet still the most functional path to arrive the site.

Figure 5.20 Upper frame: Pedesterian passages to Zorlu Center. Lower frame is the direct underground link to Gayrettepe Subway Station.

As the last topic, the formal presence of the project is a subject of exploration. Similar to Trump Towers, the orientation of the project imitates the majority of business buildings by concerning the same purposes, namely aiming to become a part of the CBD-1. Creating a new three dimensional niche with a grand scale mass, the New Form cannot defy its stance as a rising barrier between the southern neighborhoods. The urban terrace, in fact, amplifies the impact. Although only neighbouring buildings are located in the south periphery - including the circulating roads around the project- the zone surges into Beşiktaş overshadowing all builtforms underneath. The physical accesibility and visiual transparency should not be confused in this respect. The eastern entrance does provide a gound level access to the site, however the elevated floors majorly concern to gain an open view by extending over with four towers.

Figure 5.21 Zorlu Center (E4), expected final image of the project and the construction.

Kanyon (E2)

Kanyon is a mixed-use complex including the functions of residence, retail/leisure and office. The core concept of the project is claimed to generate a new understanding in mall formation by opposing the wide spread idea of closed space. The concept creates a street-shopping experience for the visitors and reflects an urban image just like "Nişantaşı, Beyoğlu or Bağdat Street".[34] The technology applied to create an open central spine for the 40 thousand m2 mall stabilizes indoor climate while preserving the open roof. Upon this central idea, the project locates itself in alignment with neighboring buildings Metro City, Levent Mall, Özdilek on the south and APA Giz on the north (Figure 5.22).

[34]Retrieved from <http://v3.arkitera.com/p97-kanyon-alisveris-merkezi.html?year=&aID=661> (accessed on May 2014.)

Figure 5.22 Orientation of Kanyon and neighboring built forms.

Different from Trump Towers and Zorlu Center, the topography of the site is quite flat. Starting perpendicular to the Boulevard, the project extends towards west parallel to Ecza Street. The main entrance of the mall and the office towers are located on the front façade directly receiving the pedestrian traffic from the subway connection as well as the Boulevard. The closed-parking space is located at the west end of the project with a controlled access from Bahar Street which is also the eastern periphery of Ortabayır Neighborhood. Formally, Levent Mall, Kanyon and both Giz towers define a high-rise fabric of built forms that distinguish the extruded zone from the western neighborhood in terms of a variety of features including the functions. Human flow and streetscape drastically change after sudden decrease in height starting from the Ortabayır housing settlements. Therefore, the artificial wall created by the CBD segment is intact separating not only the neighborhood from the Boulevard but also the life cultivated in each (Figure 5.23). It might be claimed that, the preserved program within Kanyon and adjacent buildings are

enhanced through means of architecture and organizational planning. In this respect, despite the residential segments of the project, Kanyon becomes a member of the greater body of CBD rather than the urban fabric lies beyond.

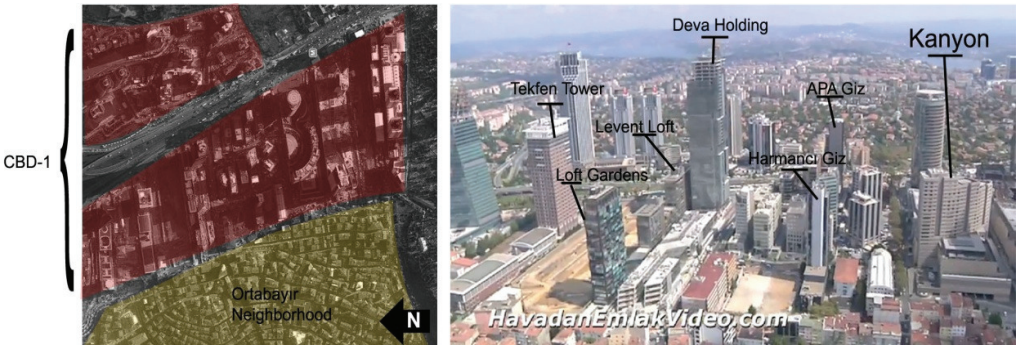


Figure 5.23 Spatio-functional separation between the CBD-1 and Ortabayır Neighborhood

This segment of the CBD-1 is separated from the central node (elbow) where Zorlu Center is located by the Zincirlikuyu Cemetery which is the only green space along the northern arm. Although the cemetery would be accepted as the real physical boundary that prevents further expansion and construction, Kanyon reorganizes the context of boundary by virtually eliminating the spatial integration with the settlements to the west.

Sapphire Residence (E1)

Sapphire Residence has two major program elements: residence tower and the mall. Compared to Kanyon, the program is more limited however; the priorities in planning are similar in many levels. First, the project is located at the northern border of CBD-1 which falls in Kağıthane district. The adjacent site on the southern façade belongs to Dubai Towers project. On the northern façade, OSYM building and another tower with private ownership –which is under construction- share the same lot facing opposite sides. This patch physically frames up the northern arm of the business zone.

The old Boulevard path is parallel to the main Boulevard and creates a separate road for the projects located in close lots. There is a bus stop and a subway

access to the building on the Boulevard as well. Returning back to the similarities to Kanyon, the residential tower is close to the west portion of the project and there is a pedestrian and vehicular entrance for only residents from this side. From south aligning the site of Dubai Towers, a new road is constructed parallel to Şair Çelebi Street (starting from Kanyon corner) and merges with İsmet İnönü street at the corner of Sapphire. This new street creates sub-vehicular circulation for the western accesses defined by all projects in between Sapphire and Kanyon.

Figure 5.24 Orientation of Sapphire Residence and the surroundings.

The presence of surveillance and the orientation of the project illustrate that Sapphire turns its back to Çeliktepe Neighborhood. The slender tower decreases the footprint however, the podium underneath –which is the mall- resides on the entire site and emphasizes and completes the wall-formation of the CBD-1. In this respect, the primary objective of the spatial articulation of the site could be claimed in orientation with the whole pattern. The program of

retail, leisure and shopping activities are encapsulated by the podium opened to the Boulevard which immediately engages the life on Boulevard-scape rather than a welcoming stance on the neighborhood. Furthermore, although three districts (Beşiktaş, Kağıthane and Şişli) merge in the point of Sapphire with a variety of uses, the project and other members of CBD brings forth the high-rise organization as the significant formation the region by supporting each other collaboratively.

Buyaka (A1)

Buyaka is a mixed-use complex containing office and grand scale retail functions as well as residential units. The site is the northern part of an urban island where also IKEA and Meydan AVM reside. This urban island is surrounded with (1) Saray Neighborhood which is an industrial estate to the west, (2) Yeşil Vadi Konakları which is a gated suburbia to the north defining the periphery of Ümraniye forest on the opposite site of İstanbul Highway (O-2) and (3) Tepeüstü Neighborhood to southeast which is a predominantly middle-income settlement with several high-income gated communities. It might be said that, Buyaka leans towards the natural resources of the city rather than prioritizing the urban core in Ataşehir. However, the strategic location is a balanced combination of nature accessibility and transportation network (Figure 5.25).

The primary objective of Buyaka was offering three residential towers and an office tower in addition to the mall. However, after the site observations it is understood that three of the towers are reorganized as offices and fourth tower is left for residential purposes. The intertwined relationship with IKEA and Meydan AVM is strongly visible by the internal circulation zones. First, these two projects were constructed earlier and organized the major entrances, open car parks and pedestrian access beforehand. Buyaka immediately joined the existing spatial hub after construction. That is why the bus stops are either on

the south end of the island or closer to IKEA on the east side (Figure 5.26). Nevertheless, a surrounding vehicular road is added on the northern periphery benefiting both Vadi Konakları and the complex itself.

Figure 5.25 Buyaka access and orientation paths.

It is claimed by the architects themselves that the project is longitudinally oriented on a rather thin but lengthy site to create a better visual impact on the surrounding space. However, the formal design is claimed to require more scrupulous decisions. Apart from the general formal presence, the venue is noticed to be "closer to European side" by the architects.[35] The towers of the project are apparently high and claimed to "have a clear view of Bosphorus in the direction of İstanbul Highway, Marmara Sea over Kozyatağı and Alemdağ over the forests."[36] While the project produces a close visual and physical relationship with the green space that lies ahead and underlines the importance of the vista, the highways and the organization of the greater island generate a

[35] Retrieved from <http://v2.arkiv.com.tr/p7285-buyaka.html> (Accessed on May 2014).

[36] Ibid.

spatial barrier between the project and the surrounding neighborhoods. This principle is replicated in the previous examples in European side. Although Buyaka is not a member of a CBD area, the project and the other retail complexes create their own concentration of urban life and capital production.

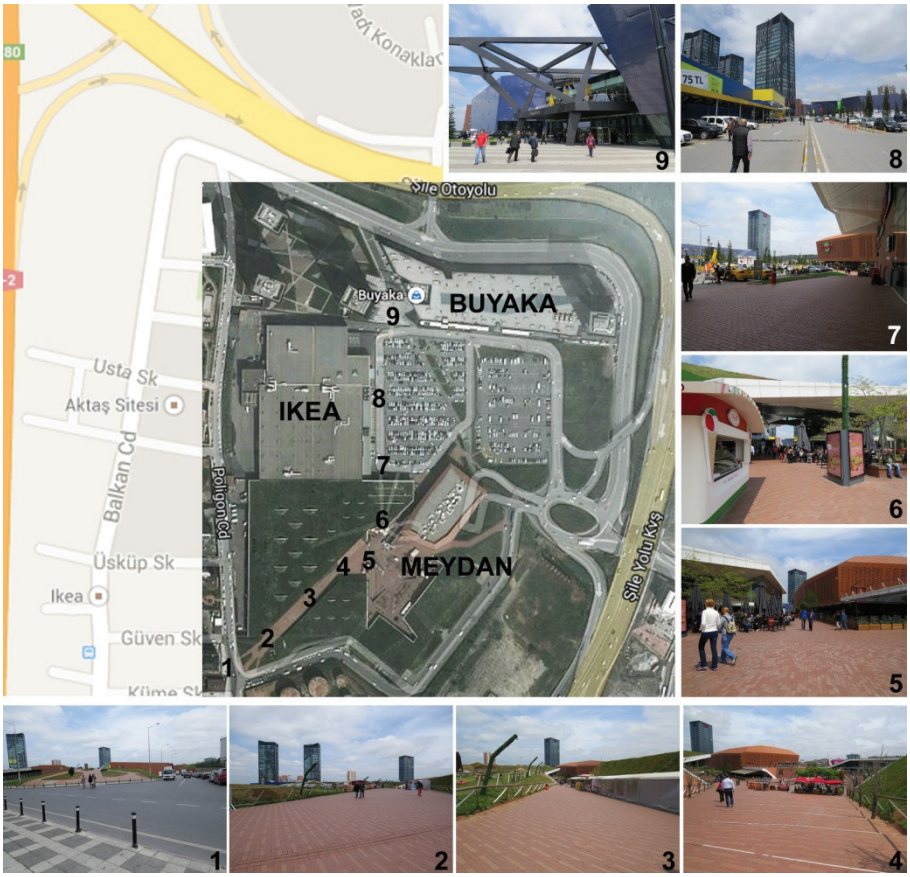


Figure 5.26 Buyaka, IKEA and Meydan AVM creates an urban island with a connected pedestrian path.

Towards south, İstanbul Highway connects both the island of Buyaka and Ataşehir CBD-2 where one might observe several residence type gated communities such as Ağaoğlu My City and Soyak Ümraniye. Despite the fact that the future of the close surroundings of İstanbul Highway is unpredictable, spatial orientation and developmental tendency might refer a possible expansion of a more regional upgrade concerning the residential segments. Since the mixed-use complexes create an alternative realm of urban life and project the programs inward, Buyaka could be counted as another example of the same objectives that are derived from the case list of this study.

Varyap Meridian (A2)

Meridian is a mixed-use high-rise complex of residential, office and retail/leisure functions. By scale, A-2 has the largest site -110.000 m2- among the case selection of this study and followed by Zorlu center with 102.000 m2. The venue is very much significant because of the assignment of new CBD in Ataşehir. Northern portion of the district is under construction with a leading member, Sarphan Financial Center. CBD-2 can also be identified as an urban archipelago with a multitude of business centers and residential towers most of which belongs to Ağaoğlu Company.

Figure 5.27 Varyap Meridian site organization in relation with the surrounding neighborhoods.

Meridian is the only other project which contains separate bodies in comparison to podium-and-tower typology which is observed in the four cases on the European side. Apart from the impact of architecture on internal dynamics and organization of the project, Meridian stands as a dominating public figure both from distance and close surroundings. The site is longitudinal in north-south direction and aligned perpendicularly to İstanbul

Highway. Aşık Veysel Neighborhood is located on the west side and separated from the project's zone by a major street circulating around the greater body of CBD-2 defining the western and northern peripheries. The construction density is lesser than the settlements around for now, however, the multi-dimensional space is already impenetrable by means of physical barriers such as fences and the buffer zone –as an abstract wall- defined between the neighborhood and the periphery of the project. It must be underlined that "excessive surveillance" is a tool of socio-cultural separation as well as demonstration of power. The objectives are clear: internally constructing a new social sphere and providing the grand vista of the city for sale. Second, since the site will be a part of CBD-2 in near future -which is still in the early phases- the concern is similar with the CBD-1 and the projects belonged there. Generating a new spatio-functional hub through limited relationship with the surrounding built environment, Meridian emphasizes the spatial zone of CBD-2 automatically rather than becoming a part of the regional built pattern.

5.2.3 Internal Dynamics: Residential Units

This section of the study aims to investigate the internal spatial organization of the cases in order to reveal the components of spatial dialog created by each project within their own spatio-contextual environment. As the concurrent next step, the residential segments of the cases are examined under the themes of structural system, circulation zones and unit plans in relation to the overall objective of mixed-use concept.

5.2.3.1 Site Organization

The analysis of site organization follows four major criteria: orientation, circulation program and form. Spatio-functional organization is highly effective on the configuration of a new life within and beyond the project. That

is why, before descending in scale towards the residential functions, the articulation of the sites should be examined and recognized.

Regarding the spatial organization of each site, the projects maintain their regional contextual behavior via land use. The cases in the European side are all oriented perpendicularly to CBD-1 path. On the other hand, the projects on the Anatolian side create their own objective of site use. The first group follows the basic podium-and-tower typology where there is a box-like form in mostly regular shapes that expands through the entire site and the towers rise above it. That is relevant for the case of E1, E2 and E4 as they have a rectangular podium containing the leisure activities and retail functions as well as parking areas below the ground level. Differing slightly in form, Zorlu Center (E3) has an irregular shaped podium which still houses the shopping, dining and other entertaining facilities including the performance hall. Four towers of Zorlu Center are located above this cluster which is called “the urban balcony” by the architect. It must be mentioned that, E3 has the second largest site area after Meridian and the largest construction area among all.

Resuming the analysis, in the case of A1 and A2, the programs of the projects are organized in separate physical bodies. Buyaka has four towers three of which are grouped together on the western end of the site while the fourth is located on the east end. The mall, on the other hand gains a central location in geometrically articulated 3D mass which can be accepted as an individual podium as well. Meridian has five towers, three low rise buildings and six villas. All the buildings share the same architectural language in terms of form, color and texture however stand individually.

The circulation for each project is acquired through two different configurations and the cases would be identified under two groups again. First group (E1, E2 and E4) has direct access from the Boulevard and Highway they face and receive the primary pedestrian circulation from these locations. The vehicular access is acquired by more than one option which would be either

side access (as in Trump) or rear access as in Sapphire and Kanyon. This option is highly dependent on the availability of side streets and gaps between adjacent buildings. Since all the projects put a physical distance between the neighboring buildings, the options are clear. Though might be acknowledged together, Zorlu Center has a different attitude in comparison to the first three projects on the European side. The project prioritizes to create a public square - a piazza- at the front which is located on the north-west area of the site. The spatial formation of the podium is C-shaped and two massive wings with several storeys aim to define the open square. The problems of access to the site from both west and east directions are explained in the previous sections. Only after reaching inside, the volumetric size of the piazza would be experienced. The side wings rise strongly on both sides which are overshadowed and even suppressed by the towers on all sides. However the thickness of each layer adds on each other and elevated urban terrace becomes overly dominating. Secondly, the less-than expected size of the garden –which is the public square-, is discovered to be an open yard decorated with colorful vegetation. The retail functions all gathered around this open space facing to visitors and clustered under the wings.

The second group covers Buyaka and Meridian in terms of circulation, yet still Zorlu Center would be in between both groups and might be creating a third category for itself. Nevertheless, the real “open spaces” are valid in the case of A1 and A2. However, due to the fact that first project shares the circulation routes of other adjacent projects and merely define a public space in its own territory; Meridian would be claimed to be the one with an open area in the center which is the most close-to-public space depending on the definition of “public”. Returning to Buyaka, the three towers that are located on the west end of the site defined their own courtyard in between. Since two of them are office towers, there is a high capacity of surveillance and a mobile officer that warns people about the prohibition of use of camera. Although the central site where people cannot take photos is visually accessible from the location of the

mall (especially the front balcony), controlled access and limited mobility do separate the zone of three towers from the public realm of the mall. The fourth tower, similarly, is a private property and has a private parking lot as well as a separate entrance. Therefore the major pedestrian traffic arrives from IKEA and Meydan direction to Buyaka AVM by gathering in a central node in front of the mall (Figure 5.26). The space is quite limited so not many people can gather and wait.

Meridian is currently inhabited but several levels of the towers are still under construction. The land is not planted yet however the cafes at the center are open and quite active. Main circulation framed by the project is both around and through the site; however there are control zones and the west side is surrounded with a high metal fence. Outdoor circulation is articulated on a regular grid and connected to both Ağaoğlu My World and İstanbul Highway.

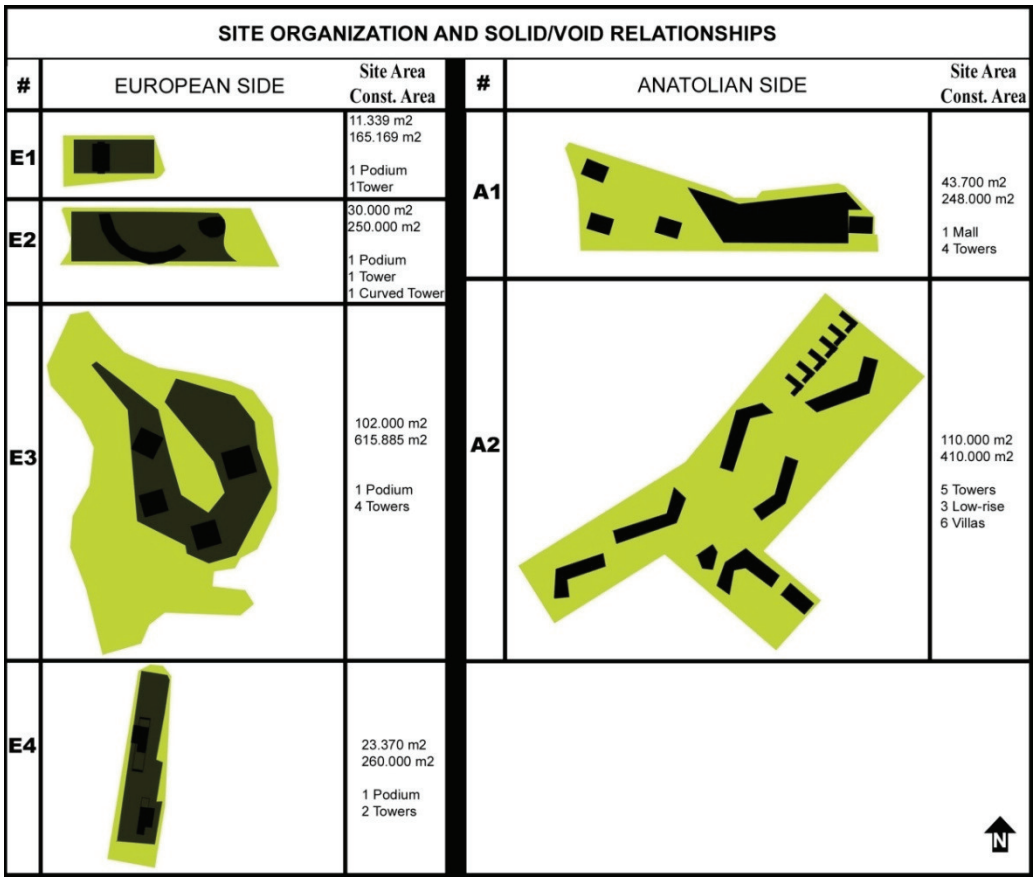


Figure 5.28 Site organization of the projects and spatial articulations, scale: ~1/10000.

In terms of program elements, Sapphire Residence has the least amount of different functions. The podium area is similar to other cases in function, however the only tower of the project is the highest among all and pure residential with a few social activity rooms, a mini golf site and a pool. Kanyon and Trump Towers are very similar in organization since the office and residential towers are separate but still located above the main podium. Though Kanyon has an internal street like articulation with an open roof for the mall, Trump Towers has a rectangular and closed body.

Zorlu Center is again slightly different from the European examples and enhances the idea of variety among the case selection. First, Zorlu has the most number of program elements with its fifth element: performance hall. With a separate entrance to the lounge, performance hall is close to the southern façade. As mentioned before, three towers are residential and one tower is the office block. They all have separate entrances and connected to the c-shaped elevated cluster. The central square connects southern entrance to the north without spatially interrupting any of the program elements. Underneath, the below levels are defined for retail and entertainment purposes, as well as one level above the open yard.

Buyaka has a clear and simple program formation which has three elements. Towers are already assigned for separate functions and the mall houses a great variety of stores and restaurants. Three office towers with 68.986 m2 construction area and 21 floors for the tower A and B, 22 floors for the tower E on the east end. Residential tower has 23.124 m2 construction and 21 floors. The color and two dimensional geometric patterns of the built forms are distinctive, yet the mall is claimed to be the center of the impact. It is observed from the roof terrace of Sapphire that, the towers of Buyaka is visible from the European side and actually with the rhythm they created, the extrusions effect and quantity is more dominant than the existence of the mall.

5.2.3.2 Residential Spaces – Floor and unit plans

In this section, a selection of floor plans and articulation of residential units are examined and analyzed through structural elements, circulation patterns and unit-wise spatial arrangement in order to identify the spatial formulation and comprehend the architectural components under the light of mixed-use theme. In this respect, all six cases are presented individually and then compared together for further critique.

Sapphire Residence (E1)

The building has a concrete structural skeleton with columns and beams and load bearing cores in two ends which is further supported by steel elements. "The building façade consists of two independent shells" preserving the indoor climate stable and providing extra open spaces for the residents in the form of small gardens and terraces.[37] In fact, Tabanlıoğlu underlines that "all apartments either have balconies or large decks and gardens" which are the architectural components introduced by the design office as a part of the material and thematic vocabulary of "vertical gardens" or "garden floors".[38] These gardens are three-floors-high spaces with geometrically organized small size landscape elements such as grass plantation or scrub in earth vases and located in every three floors "while two other floors overlooking the gardens"(Figure 5.29).[39] Spatially, this formation compartmentalizes the excessive height into more perceptible dimensions and reduces the experience of inordinate scale while preserving the grand vista of the city. Furthermore, such division in space actually provides a row house relationship by allowing the users who reside next to each other to share the same terrace and develop a sincere relationship which otherwise would be acquired on street level

[37] Retrieved from http://www.tabanlioglu.com/SAPPHIRE.html (Accessed on May 2014).

[38] Retrieved from http://www.arthitectural.com/tabanlioglu-architects-İstanbul-sapphire/ (Accessed on May 2014).

[39] Ibid.

neighborhoods. It is claimed to be a grand opportunity to practice while living in high-rises especially a super-tower like Sapphire Residence.

> Although there is a restriction for balconies above the 11th storey, due to the double façade application, the interior gardens protected by the outer shell provide a unique experiment of being in your private garden in a skyscraper. Living in a tower, yet the feeling is sharing a 3-floor house with close neighbors like in country side or in a traditional İstanbul house.[40]

The upper level indoor gardens are also a part of the environmental friendly solutions that are emphasized by the architects for low energy consumption and better indoor climate. "Besides the inner gardens, every ninth floor recreation areas, such as a mini golf course at 187 meters with a great Bosphorus view or a swimming pool at 60 meters overlooking the woods of İstanbul, are programmed."[41] The super-tower form required multiple vertical circulation elements which are provided by 14 elevators two of which have direct access to the roof top where the observation deck is located.

One of the critiques made by the architect is that the density and smaller site area limit the design to end up with smaller unit spaces. However, in Sapphire residence, sliding doors are provided between the interior of each unit and the terraces/balconies which can be opened to expand the space when needed. Flexibility is mentioned to be a crucial attribute to each unit. Additionally the ceiling heights are kept in 2.70 meters to enhance the claim of providing a life style. While the inner spatial layers are organized in hierarchy, the built form is perceived as a one united complex with its slender tower.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

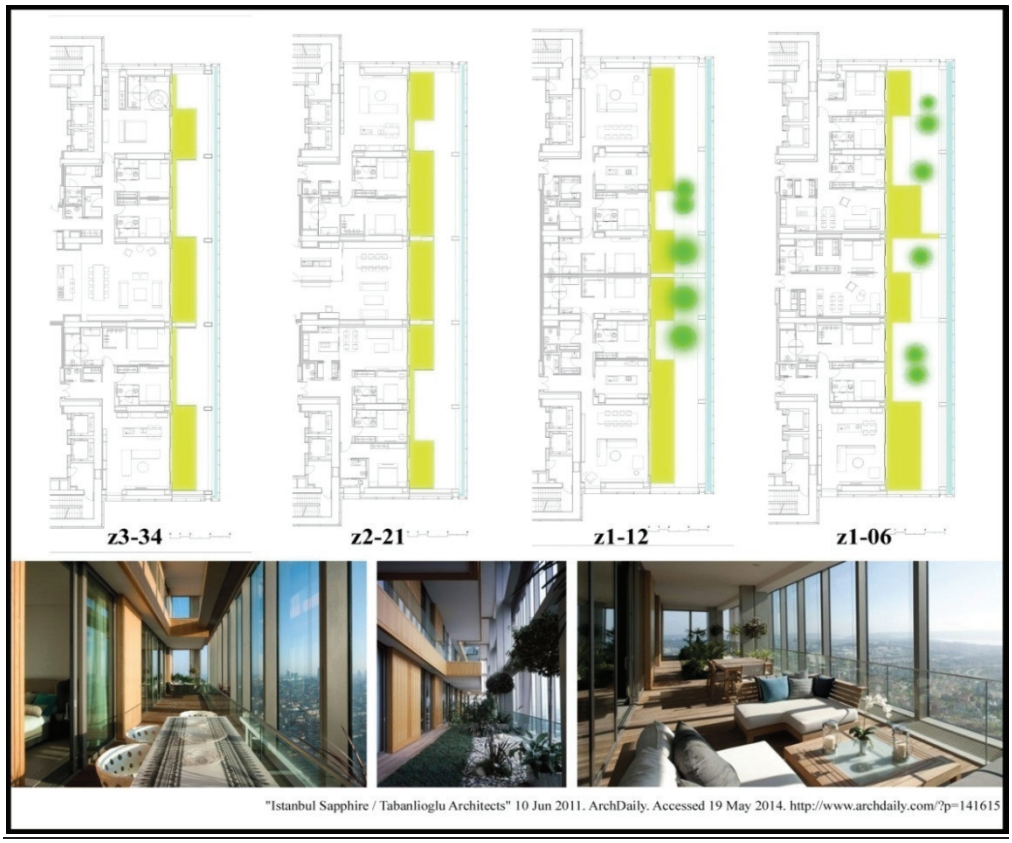


Figure 5.29 A selection of floor gardens and terraces from Sapphire Residence.

Kanyon (E2)

The residential units of Kanyon vary from 80 m2 to 360 m2 and a total of 179 pieces. The residential block is not in point form but rather a rectangular extrusion softly curving towards west east axis and creating a vista for all units. The northern façade which faces the central point of the curve surrounds the green space which is actually located at the top of the mall as a green roof.

According to the advertisement, the project actually challenges the traditional idea of gated community life which is located in remote locations far from the city center. The concept is claimed to be engaged in the city life by spatially articulated into the urban space and providing an alternative life style by merging with the public sphere.[42] The residential area defined as a decent

[42] Retrieved from http://v3.arkitera.com/h9334-tasarimini-tabanlioglu---jerde--arup-ortakliginin-gerceklestirdigi-kanyon-alisveris-merkezi-aciliyor.html (accessed on May 2014).

living environment because the organization of housing units are not interfering each other's privacy while maintain the good vista of the city. The major privilege is claimed to be the easy access to the transportation hub as well as the shopping facilities which lie beneath the residential block. The organic curves practiced in the design of the mall are another level that relates the architectural language to the residential segment. However the priority is still given to the mall.

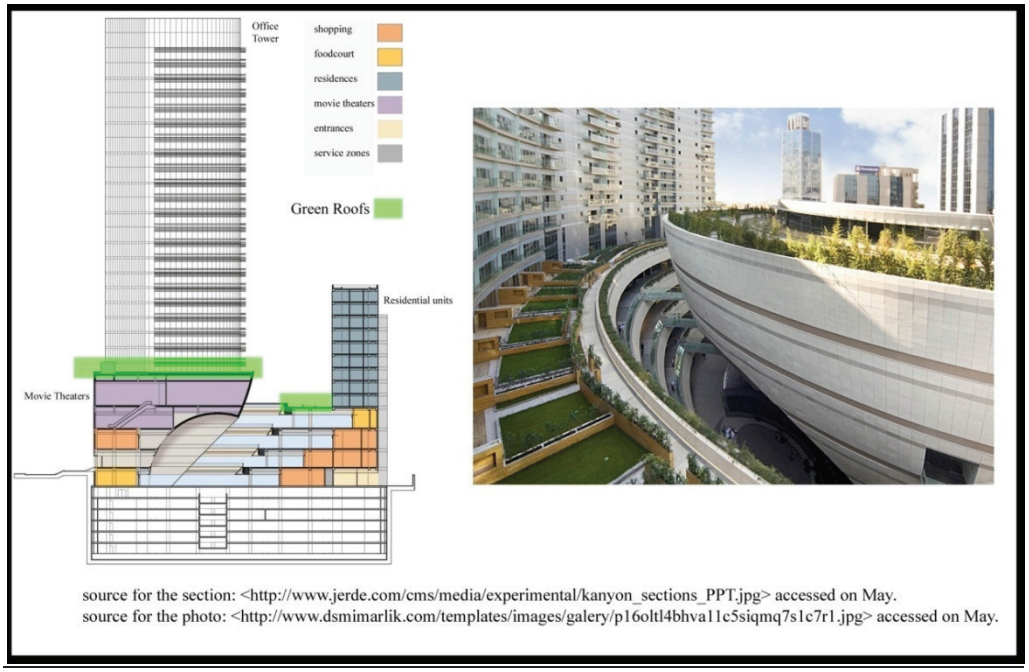
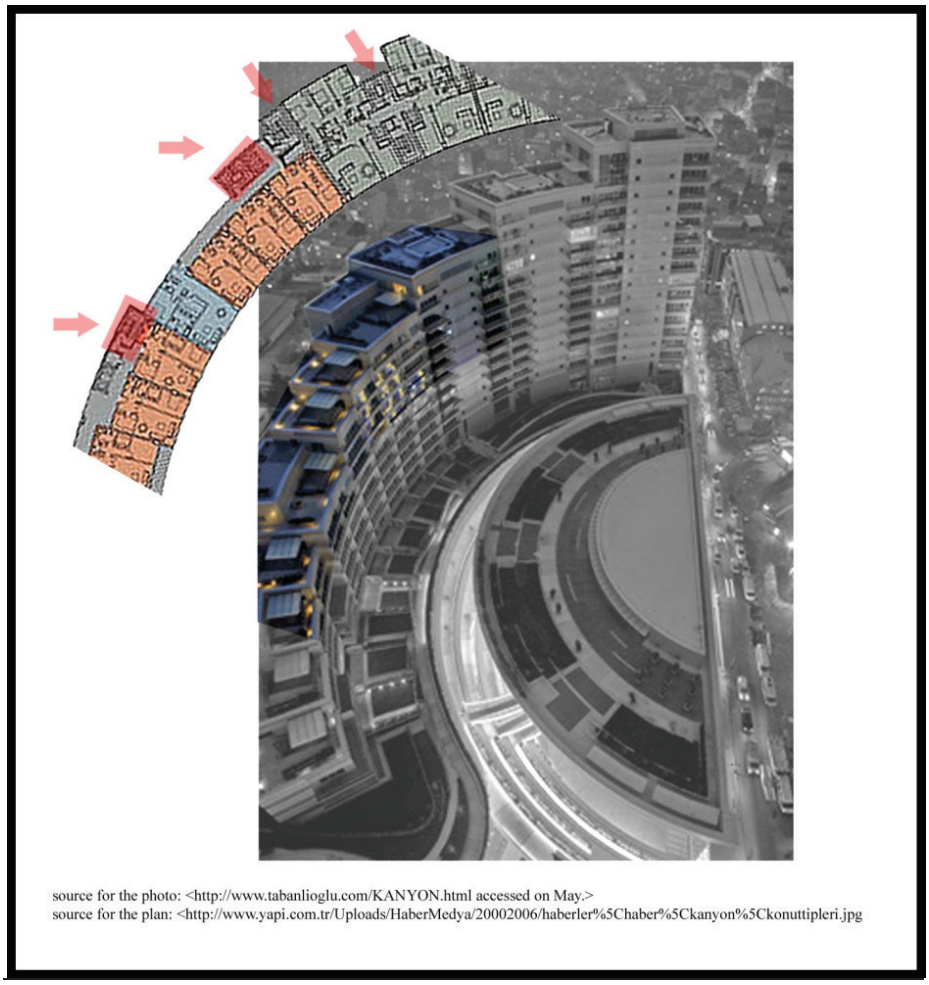


Figure 5.30 Arrangement of green spaces, illustrated on section CAD drawing and photo.

Despite the fact that this residential block is a high-rise structure, the units have large windows that can be opened as well as balconies and gardens on the level of green roofs. The structure is clearly columns on a curvilinear grid which creates spatial partitions within the floors. The floor plans varies according to the levels however as an example, it is observed that smaller units such as 1+1 samples are formed in rows creating a service corridor at the back façade. One end of the corridor meets with the vertical circulation shafts while the other end gives access to a unit (Figure 5.27). Expanding towards west, the unit size increases and the service corridor disappears. Instead, the entrances of each unit are directly from the elevators/stairs.



source for the photo: <http://www.tabanlioglu.com/KANYON.html accessed on May.>
source for the plan: <http://www.yapi.com.tr/Uploads/HaberMedya/20002006/haberler%5Chaber%5Ckanyon%5Ckonuttipleri.jpg

Figure 5.31 Vertical circulation elements for the selected floor.

Interior spatial articulation of the units simply follows the structural system, meaning the curvilinear grid. All the partition walls are arranged accordingly. For the cases of 1+1 units, both rooms look towards north, however for others, bedrooms are located on the southern façade since there is no service zone and living quarters have a vista of the north and engaged with visually the dynamic life of the mall below.

Zorlu Center

The main objective of Zorlu Center is mentioned to be a grand scale real estate project with three residential towers and units varying in size from 117 m2 to

735 m2 and types from 1+1 to 5.5+1 penthouses.[43] The most critical attribute to these units is the extensive vista which is available for the residents from the heights. Second, the open courtyard in the form of a public piazza, the hotel, the stores and other entertainment facilities, especially the performance hall bring more fame and prestige elements to the overall project which directly affects the promised life style and value of the residential units.

The structural formation is acquired by a strong concrete skeleton with a rectangular core in the center and columns at the peripheries of each tower. The towers rise on the urban balcony which is already elevated and claimed to obtain a simple façade formation for the sake of the silhouette of the city which becomes more complex by each new business tower with different architectural languages.[44] Main circulation is a central vertical concentration and each floor has a service corridor that circulates around the core and provides access to the entrances of each unit. The units are organized on the periphery facing towards all four sides. The construction system and the location of the units allow the designer to merge two units or a number of layers between each column to create larger volumes for bigger units such as the ones on the corners with little balconies. However, because of the square shape and the location of the service core in the shape of an internal square, the periphery has a limited thickness which in return creates narrow spaces (vertical to the façade) once divided into more rooms. In this respect, even further adding more walls into the rooms to define functions such as dressing rooms or private bathrooms for the master bedroom, the narrow and rectangular rooms diminish accordingly. However, it seems, the loss of space is prevented by enlarging the scale of the tower itself which in return transforms into an extreme scale which is debatable for many.

[43] Retrieved from http://www.zorlucenter.com/konsept/ (Accessed on May 2014).

[44] Retrieved from http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/zorlu-center/2648 (Accessed on May 2014).

Figure 5.32 Unit plan configurations and their location in the floor plan.

Trump Towers (E2)

The project has two towers which consist of the vertical yet angular blocks connected by a third vertical slightly transparent element. The tower at the front façade is the residential block with 39 floors. The rhythm created by the asymmetrical formal shift from bottom to top is a design strategy to break monotony as well as providing more natural light. This dynamic formation and contrast are enhanced by the application of color, in this case black, grey and white. The construction system is designed as reinforced concrete skeleton and steel frame in combination with load-bearing walls. The transparent core is the vertical circulation element as well as the structural load-bearing trunk.

The finishing materials of housing units which vary in size from 70 m2 to 814 m2 are designed according to the preferences of the residents who is enabled to choose from three different materials.[45] There is a 300 m2 lounge area in fourth floor that consists of a library, bar, living room with a fireplace and kids garden as well as meeting rooms providing many functions that one can find in the housing unit itself. The central and vertical service core has a longitudional corridor on each floor which connects the units. The two angular blocks are

[45] Ibid.

spatially connected on the upper levels and act as while defining the floor plans. Since there are two rows of columns on each side in the form of a regular gird, the internal spatial organization is highly dependent to the structure.

Buyaka (A1)

Buyaka is a product of a boutique design office as claimed by the architects themselves. The architect Durmuş Dilekçi explained the objective of the project as a real estate investment when they first had the contact with the investor. The internally focus nature of closed mall formation is criticized by the architect Emir Uras which in his words should be enriched by architectural visions rather than entertainment purposes; and that is why the external form of the projects have a sculptural value as well. In this respect, the architects started the design process by volumetrically breaking down the rectangular formation of box structure into smaller components and re-organized to create a new form.[46]

The residential tower and the office blocks share the same architectural language in terms of façade design and colors. The black skin is torn as a design objective leaving gaps for larger openings functioning as windows to get advantage of more natural light. The high-rise formation of the residential tower claimed to provide flexible spaces for the interior and surrounded by green spaces providing an open area around the building. Although the focus is given to the residential segments, it would be mentioned that Buyaka gives a huge architectural attention to the mall structure. The physical form is articulated in order to provide the same spatial language inside on service zones, stores and three dimensionality of the closed atrium which is claimed to be a part of the consistency and continuity in the overall design.[47] This

[46] Retrieved from http://www.mimarizm.com/catkapi/Makale.aspx?id=645&sid=18 (Accessed on May 2014).

[47] Retrieved from http://www.buyaka.com.tr/Kurumsal and http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/buyaka-avm/1379 (Accessed on May 2014).

consistency and flexibility would be observed better once the floor plans and the interior of the residential tower is examined.

Despite the launching objective of providing a real estate investment with three towers of residential spaces, the only residential element in the end remained in Block B. The construction system of the building is conventional reinforced concrete with a strong core and peripheral concrete columns. This structure allows the interior to be arranged more flexible in terms of the organization of unit spaces since no column creates any partition or obstacle. The primary vertical circulation is arranged through two load-bearing shafts of elevators and two staircases located crosswise with a meter wide gap between adjacent elements at the core. The service zone is framed by them and limited in between. This plan configuration allows the floor to have six units at most with a variety of 3 to 5 different indoor arrangement. For instance two entrances to identical units would be located on the left end and two non-identical on the right as well as two on front and back side the entrances of which are located between the vertical circulation elements (Figure 5.33). The option would vary from 1+1, 2+1 and 3+1 by rearranging the internal divisions which would lead to four units if wanted by combining two with adjacent in each ends.

Varyap Meridian (A2)

Meridian's physical formation is claimed to be inspired from the silhouette of Bosphorus and the colors of earth and sky.[48] There are 5 major residential towers in different heights (varying from 20 to 61 floors). The curved elevations (only one façade) starting with a larger surface area on the ground level and getting narrower towards top creating balconies for most of the units on shorter blocks and nearly half on the taller towers. Wind/sun orientation and vista are taken as serious design inputs. Additionally, green energy technologies applied to the entire site to lower the energy consumption to serious degrees (40%) and it is claimed that only 13% of the site is reserved for

[48] <http://www.varyapmeridian.com/en/concept/change-a-to-z> (Accessed on May 2014).

the construction, and the rest is distinguished as green space including parks, open sports areas and recreation facilities.[49] Since the project is still semi-partially under construction, the promises on land use and greenery will be observed better in the near future.

The higher floors and units are designed as "executive lounges" for high-income users who are called "residence users".[50] Actually, the investor defines the future of the housing as green, democratic, technological, humane and cosmopolitan and that is why most of the attention is given to the features of sustainability.[51]

The construction of towers is reinforced concrete and v shapes are oriented as wings of a central and vertical load bearing shaft. The columns are oriented according to the angle parallel to each other forming four lines to each direction and in between defining the service zone and on the periphery outlining the units. Each end and sides have more than one unit an ability to merge or subtract spaces to create new units yet still because of the structural system the flexibility is limited. The units in each ends can have either gardens or terraces and even both in the lower levels. However volumetrically, they cover very small areas. Nevertheless, they provide open spaces on the upper levels.

Considering the scale of the project, the verticality dominates the site while horizontal alignment of the site plan is also replicated in the internal formation of the floor plans. The angular setting enhances the three dimensional character while providing different vista for the units.

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[49] Retrieved from <http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/varyap-meridian1/2453> (Accessed on May 2014).

[50] Retrieved from <http://v3.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=63738> (Accessed on May 2014).

[51] Ibid.

Brief comparison on the architectural formation of the cases

In terms of construction techniques, all the projects predominantly have reinforced concrete skeleton and either enhanced or supported by steel frames in the case of Trump Towers and Sapphire Residence. The load-bearing cores are either centrally located defining the unit locations at the peripheries of towers or as in the case of Sapphire Residence, each end of the tower has a vertical core and share the load while defining the unit spaces in between. Only Kanyon is different in this respect by irregularly arranging the units on a softly curved linear tower. All the projects follow a grid pattern and create a variety in the formation of units concerning sizes and shape however limited because of the locations of the columns. The least limited examples would be claimed as Buyaka and Zorlu Center however, the former experiences a disadvantage in the core formation by limiting the entrance spaces and the latter enlarges the scale in order to expand the sizes of the units which is another type of disadvantage.

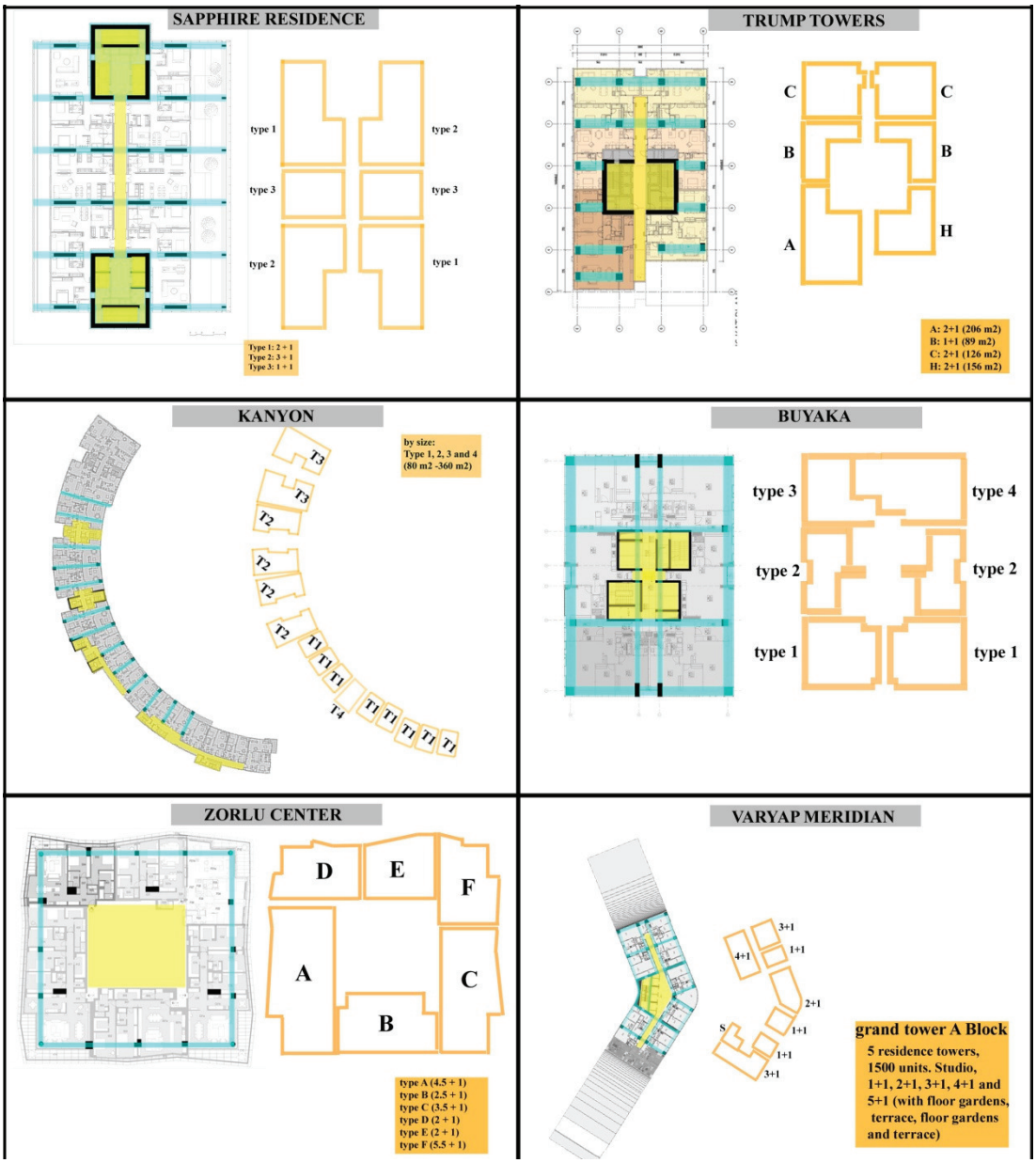

Figure 5.33 Structural organizations and selection of plan types

Considering the unit plans, Sapphire Residence has more open spaces for each unit by concerning the organization of gardens and terraces to be carried on to the upper floors of the tower. Meridian and Zorlu Center would come next in terms of such formation. Kanyon only take the advantage of roof gardens that are located on the mall. However, Buyaka and Trump towers are straight point blocks with no opportunities for gardens and terraces.

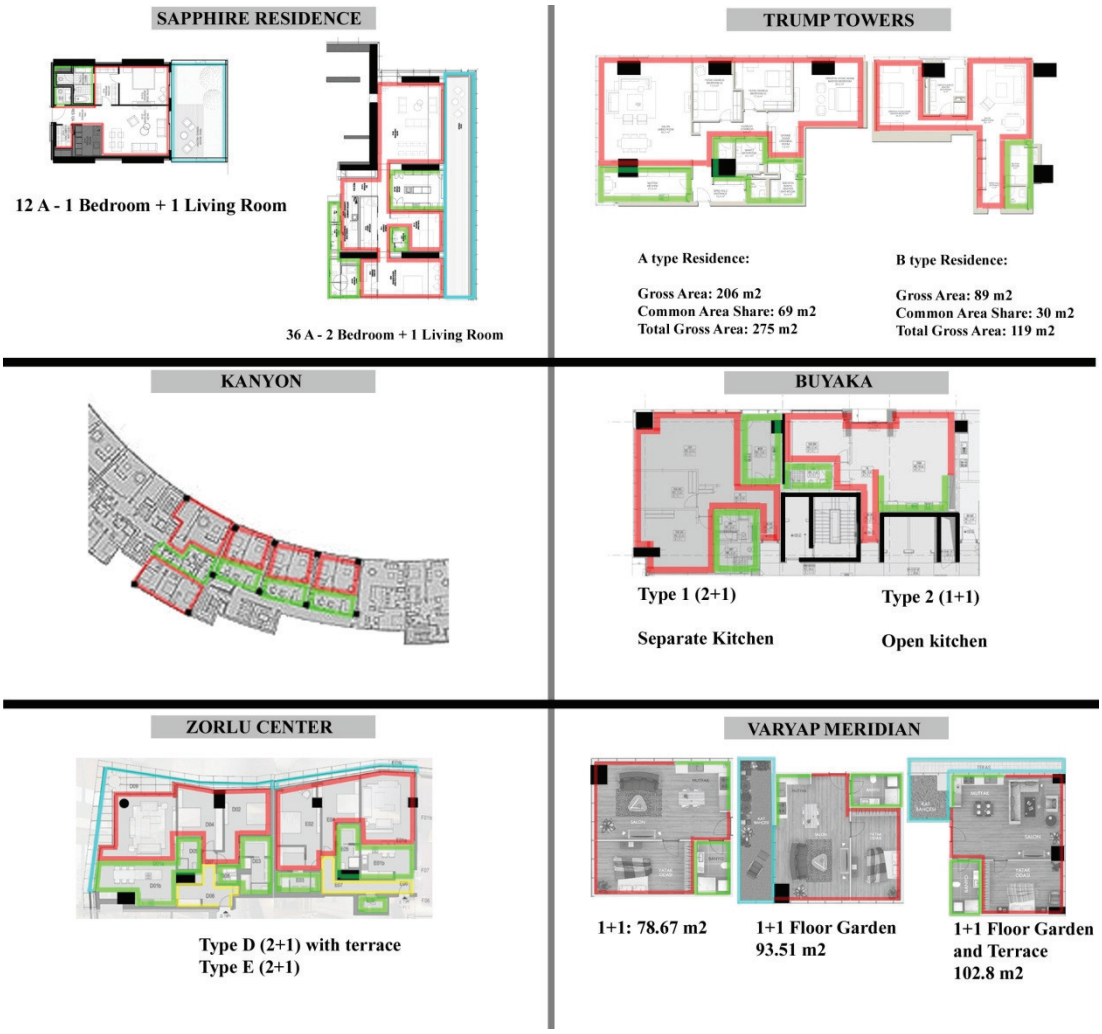

Figure 5.34 Unit plans and spatial organizations.

On the other hand, internal dynamism is claimed to be flexible in each cases via their advertisement. However, despite the curves or triangular shapes, all the spatio-functional organizations are similar to each other once considered in a more abstract medium. Because, basically eliminating the little articulations illustrated in the CAD drawings, and perceiving the spaces from a pure architectural point of view, the volumetric organizations match in all cases. They either group the wet floors on one side or formulate them as spatial divisions between the rooms. Second, the balconies, gardens or terraces are extensions of the indoor spaces in a two dimensional attitude because of the nature of tower structures. Only Sapphire residence aims to change the

perception of scale internally by dividing the floors in every three levels with social and spatial intentions which is a clear merit in this respect. However, inserting a residential project into a CBD zone and highlighting the lack of green space as well as the relationship with the ground as a complaint is a paradox. As a response, providing a mini-garden or a space that imitates a green floor on the upper levels is more like creating a problem first because of a different agenda and priority and then altering it with a solution which is titled later as a privilege. The major point is, these residential elements of MU-HR-[R]-Cs are as they are named, only one element of the project and the spatio-functional composition. The program and intentions of the larger project confronts challenges and transforms the nature spatial dialog a residential project can cultivate. In the end, the relationship between the house and the user changes concurrently with the city-user relationship. Therefore, the next section is the spatio-contextual analysis and architectural critique of the physical formation that is investigated so far.

5.3 Analysis of Contextual Formation

This section will critically analyze the above set formal investigation of the case studies in order to understand the new urban language, installed context, reformulation of urban space and architectural components both urban and building scale. Dwelling on the mixed-use concept, articulation of the above mentioned criteria follows two steps. First a comprehensive architectural critique is made on the physical configuration in all scales. This section will define the spatio-contextual creations, transformations, implants and replacements from an architectural perspective. Second, the design criteria in the configuration of the New Form will be discussed.

5.3.1 Spatio-Contextual Configuration

Mixed-use projects are aimed to be articulated primarily within the spatial organizations of Central Business Districts to bring new circulation of capital into the existing financial hub. In order to achieve this objective, most of the projects bring forth the program element of office spaces to create demand for business initiatives. However, differing from grand scale private corporations functioning solely as centers of control and coordination, the internal dynamics of mixed-use projects gather a more complex process of capital summoning and cultivation. Combining retail and leisure activities in one place would invoke a continuous and regular visitor traffic as a part of the consumption incentives, however, including the residential segment in the program starts to share the responsibility of capital circulation by not only maintaining the activity of construction sector, but also creating demand by advertising and mobility by inviting customers whom already reside in discreet locations in the metropolis. In this respect, mixed-use context increases the opportunity of participation and use by extending the operation periods in diverse activities which in return generate more capital.

It is already acknowledged that neo-liberal formulation of urban space concerns residential segments of a metropolis as one of the key investment target. That is why inclusion of housing in re-organization of MU-HR-[R]-Cs is a new investment arena as well as the evolution in the notion of mixed-use strategy. Residential function of the complex is the core figure here. How the project engages the urban space is highly related with the housing component of the New Form. As observed, the individuality of the projects is so strong, the strategy dwells on the character of the venue and accepting the spatial attributes assigned it. Returning to the point of dialog with the urban space, MU-HR-[R]-Cs imitates the members of CBDs by entering the stage like any one of them yet bringing a new feature into the formula. Mirroring the structural relationship of business spaces with the city, the complexes do not regulate a dialog with the rest of the city as a regular housing development.

The concerns of a mixed-use complex are different than a single-use built form. Therefore, a re-contextualization is emerging which should be discussed further.

Towers and big scale residential blocks would be an intact response to the rapid population growth cities however, despite the proposition to suspend the density; new organization re-formulates the density in a mutual yet paradoxical status. In the case of CBD-1 for instance, the ability to stretch the boundaries require both municipality and state intervention. To illustrate the example, Büyükdere Boulevard is an artificial border line between Şişli and Beşiktaş, as well as Kağıthane and Beşiktaş. CBD-1 is limited to the north with Sapphire Residence and Sabancı Towers however the real periphery starts with Konaklar Neighborhood and İstanbul Golf Club which is vast green space within the periphery of Beşiktaş. Eastern zone is a clear cut territory disabling further high-rise expansions at least on the east side of Büyükdere Boulevard. Form Çeliktepe to Seyrantepe, the picture is open for future interpretation.

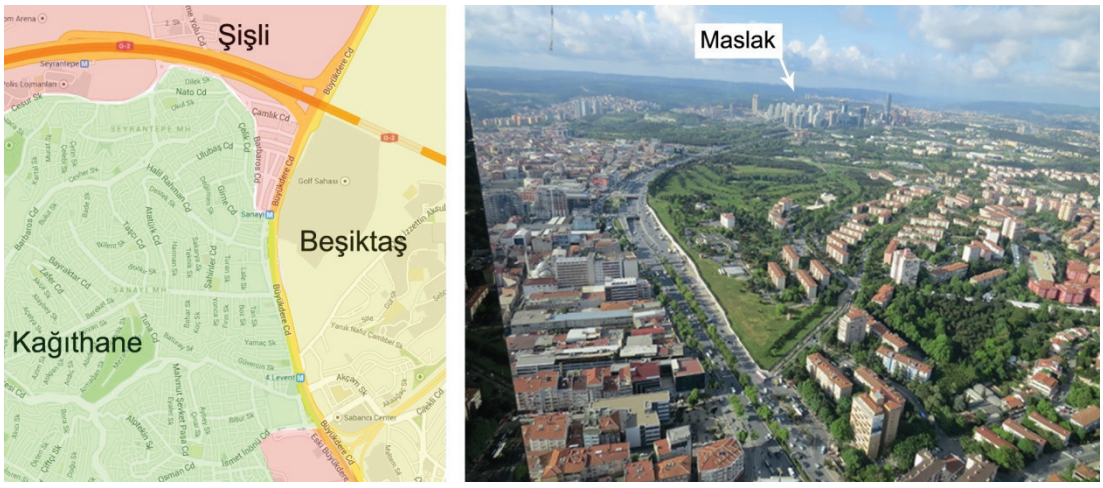

Figure 5.35 Büyükdere Boulevard aligning on the borderline of three districts: Şişli (red), Kağıthane (green) and Beşiktaş (yellow).

As a second controversial point on the venue selection, the projects are subject to criticism whether the sites are privatized by the state from an ex-site of a public building or an open urban space reserved for gathering and temporary

residing setting under the title of post-disaster measures. According to Prime Ministry Disaster & Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) "for effective response to disasters, communication infrastructure will be strengthened and facilities such as evacuation corridors, gathering site, temporary shelter, disaster assistance support centers and emergency facilities will be ensured."[52]

According to Özgen Nama (CHP Parliament member) these public zones secured for emergency purposes are already privatized and several constructions are going on each one of them.[53] The list includes the following projects from Şişli: Trump Towers, Ali Sami Yen and Anthill project. It is observed that two of above mentioned projects also included within the case selection of this study. As mentioned, Quasar İstanbul and Torun Center projects are under construction on the ex-site of Ali Sami Yeni Stadium. More importantly, Trump Towers is one of the other examples.

Micro-city: Contextual transformation in the triad

Mixed-use complexes are micro scale containers of life styles. "In order to spend the time more efficiently in an urban environment, they are natural products generated out of necessity. According to Uras and Dilekçi, different aspects of urban life would be experienced in a variety of places in the city and those aspects gather under one roof in the case of mixed-use complexes.[54] However, if the architectural context is weak in a project, they aim to suspend

[52] KENTGES 2023, Strategic plan 2013-2017, p105.

"The need to redefine the disaster-related powers and responsibilities of the institution with which coordination should be ensured made it necessary to have competency and coordination combined under a single roof for disasters and emergencies. Retrieved from https://www.afad.gov.tr/EN/IcerikDetay.aspx?ID=1(Accessed on May 2014.)

[53] By Ayfer Çalıkıran, Taraf. Retrieved from http://www.taraf.com.tr/haber-depremde-iste-burada-kalacagiz-131920/ and http://www.taraf.com.tr/haber-deprem-degil-belediye-oldurur-131829/ (Accessed on May 2014.)

[54] Retrieved from http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/buyaka-avm/1379 (Accessed on May 2014).

this weakness with alternative yet alien and artificial themes to be able to market the product. As they underline, today, architecture is consumed by the post-modern consumption societies without claiming anything influential on the city, people and life.

An important part of the urban life proposed in these projects is the view of the city from the heights. If the bird's eye views of the city as an important feature of the design, especially the residential segment, how it is incorporated to the framework would be questioned. Because, the view is not changing however the floor and unit plans do change. Regarding the descriptions on advertisements and design office web pages, it is observed that all these projects are unique in many terms one of which is the grand vista of İstanbul, Bosphorus, the islands or northern forests are a part of the life of future residents. One can question the design without this attribute mostly because removing the input of scenery; the projects will set on equal grounds for comparison. After that, the units might be architecturally analyzed focusing on the internal organizations including the materials, plans, sections or other components that might add a new interpretation to the life promised with this housing. What kind of spatial production is happening in these cases? For instance, Norman Foster's 50 million dollar condo in West Chelsea 551 West and 21st Street is a penthouse with private pool and all other privileged attributes yet still selling the grand view of Manhattan. How much of this price covers Manhattan? Similar to this case, acknowledging the vista and the title of the architect might be two default steps in acquiring the market value of the project. All the cases in this study belong to brand architecture firms and although the title "brand architect" has negative connotations, still this is the reality for the urban production of İstanbul. These firms have the opportunity to produce grand scale projects. Therefore, it might be said that the genuine design or novelty in residential units would be sought within the spatio-contextual performances of each complex. The container, or the shelter, is the product of the architect. Thus, this container has the keywords, clues and new

architectural components which are both physical and contextual roles. The architectural language aimed to be acquired here would give feedbacks to the architect through the user.

The vocabulary mentioned here does include garden floors and terraces as well which refer common spatial practices and their material bodies yet still applied in high-rises. As mentioned several times before, MU-HR-[R]-Cs either value/market proximity to natural resources like forests and shores, or being a part of the urban core especially the CBD zones. For instance the projects in Northern Maslak, or any suburbia advertise the life with the nature beyond the location of the residential units and back up a proud stance for their contributions. Since the projects in central nodes cannot have access to green spaces as happens in İstanbul (where the urban greenery or parks are diminishing in a very rapid pace), the architects started to develop new spatial interpretations to the projects of current decade. Sustainability in this case is the source to be consulted yet the true objectives are debatable. The disadvantages of a venue would be a good source of inspiration to develop new solutions of the future yet the installation of residential projects via MU-HR-[R]-Cs into the CBDs already comes with its own luggage of problems, and then claiming this new components like vertical gardens becomes rather like tools to convince people that the new urban life provided in these projects are the best privilege.

Descending in scale to enter the units, architectural decision making is observed to be coherent in creation of private life as well. People spend time for multiple activities in their houses by which they develop a sense of belonging to the place. Home is the private space under the protection of legal ownership where we can find the absolute refuge. These facilities seem to offer an alternative environment for the residents to carry on the activities practices associated to “home” without leaving the physical boundaries of the complex such as dining with friends and family, reading a book in the café-libraries, playing games in game rooms, watching movies in small-theaters. The lobbies

are a part of each housing unit and every unit has a private concierge. It might first seem that indoor private activities expand to the complex. Therefore, one can enjoy a good book with a drink and listen to music either at home or in a café. The proposal suggests that if one can read in a café why stuck at home? In order to reinforce the new urban life, the projects aim to alter the functional context of home by subconsciously creating kitchens where no meal is prepared, rooms with no one dining, watching TV or reading. Briefly, people will spend less time in their house since there is a better alternative without leaving the grounds. What was private back then becomes a public experience. The house become less like a home but a more like a hotel room -"already furnished" as marketed in the advertisements- since we only keep the bedroom activities intact. The concept of home might change through time and merits/flaws are not the underlined point here. The objective of transforming the user-housing relationship is a part of the greater agenda of creating a consumer typology that is more dependent to the complex than needed to be. These micro-cities contain urban functions to invite people without aiming to be part of the urbanity they imitated and introduce a life which lacks the spatial practices of urban space. Moreover, this life is enhanced by articulation of residential spaces as well. This formulation however, leaves poorly designed unit plans and weakened spatio-contextual dialog with the surrounding built environment by reorganizing the grounds of human activities. In short, the perpetuity of the complex becomes more substantial than the production of city or architectural formation of residential space.

5.3.2 Design Criteria

As a part of the objective of analyzing the changing urban conditions via installation of MU_HR-Cs and the spatial production of a new architectural language, this section seeks to identify the architectural components that are prominently effective on the new spatio-contextual formation. Therefore,

podium-and-tower typology, vertical gardens, garden-floors, terraces and numerical identification of units (studio, 1+1 etc.) are discussed in relation to each other.

Podium-and-Tower Typology

"Podium" formation is a spatial attribute to the overall design allowing the project to provide public spaces on the ground and +/- 1 levels for mostly shopping, retail and leisure activities enabling the designer to maintain the transition between private and public spaces. Therefore, as a spatio-functional artifact, the podium is both a container of diverse activities and space of transition between the practices of visitors and residents (including workers for the case of office tower). Towers generally rise above the podiums with separate load-bearing cores and even entrances.

Tower-podium typology is widely criticized to be a standardized production of mixed-use high-rises in very central location where the land is scarce and density is at peak. For the case of E1, E2 and E4, the podium covers most of the site and the entrances to the projects are located on the podium itself. E3, which is Zorlu Center, has a C-shaped podium however it does not cover the site entirely, in fact more than half of the site is preserved as green space. In addition to that, the wings of the podium surround an open area which is defined as "an urban public square" with capital letters. The stress is on the titles of both "urban" and "public" because this site is private property and the project is predominantly a real estate investment despite the existence of the mall and even the hotel. Therefore, at the corner of CBD-1, creating a public piazza is claimed to be a privilege. In this respect, the podium is re-articulated to define a public space instead of covering the open area and blocking the entire site just like the previous examples. However, this open are is smaller than a regular urban square with its vegetation, and the mall has three floors 2 of which are underground. Therefore, the function of podium to carry the towers and separate the life inhabited from the ground level is still the same.

On the Anatolian side, Buyaka has a physically individual mall which shares the formal language of the towers in terms of cladding, color and patterns. The mall could still be classified as a podium, however is not separating private and public spaces in the complex. Varyap Meridian has no podium-and-tower composition. Since all the case are concerned about public access and circulation on the ground level especially because of consumption related functions, a closed composite podium acts as a container of multiple activities yet divides the neighborhoods by blocking pedestrian flows and individually orienting them according to its material volume. Therefore, while imitating a selection of urban activities and providing them available for a certain period of day time, the indifferent spatial relationship with the surrounding built environment prevents the projects to be a part of the urban life itself. The question would be whether such organization is actually a part of the objective of the installed context.

Terrace Floor/Garden Floor and + (Plus) Sequences

The indoor gardens, or built-in gardens, terraces and any kind of decks in high-rises are architectural components acquired to substitute a spatio-social need which is originally a part of the ground level life-styles. Sapphire Residence and Meridian would be relevant representatives in this case by sharing similar objectives yet different applications. Once these components are used in the units of upper floors, they start to define a new spatio-contextual materialization which actually re-defines the terminologies in conventional architectural vocabulary. One of which is floor-gardens or terrace-floor. This option refers residential units where each or several of the units have terrace spaces or garden-like balconies on the same floor. These spaces might be either unit exclusive or shared by at least two units. The idea originates from the lack of green spaces or outdoor spaces on the upper levels of towers which is designated as a necessity in relation to the life offered in high-rises.

This inquiry is very much understandable since in usual housing examples – depending on the climate or geography- it might be observed that, the exterior façade of the towers are actually the exterior limits of the indoor spaces, namely the units. For instance in İzmir, since the climate is comfortable most of the time, even the high rises obtain large balconies which are open in all seasons yet still could be closed by transparent window fenestrations upon need. In İstanbul, especially in super-towers like Sapphire Residence and Meridian, it is quire impossible to have windows that can be opened on the higher floors because of excessive wind and safety precautions. Therefore, balconies will be problematic as well. In this case, they aim to provide indoor spaces in the forms of terraces which are actually micro-imitations of low-rise life styles. However, the spatial organizations of these terraces or gardens, which are two dimensional most of the time, are actually a part of the unit floor plans. In this case, the evolution of floor-gardens or terraces would be distinguished by exploring the conventional examples of balconies.

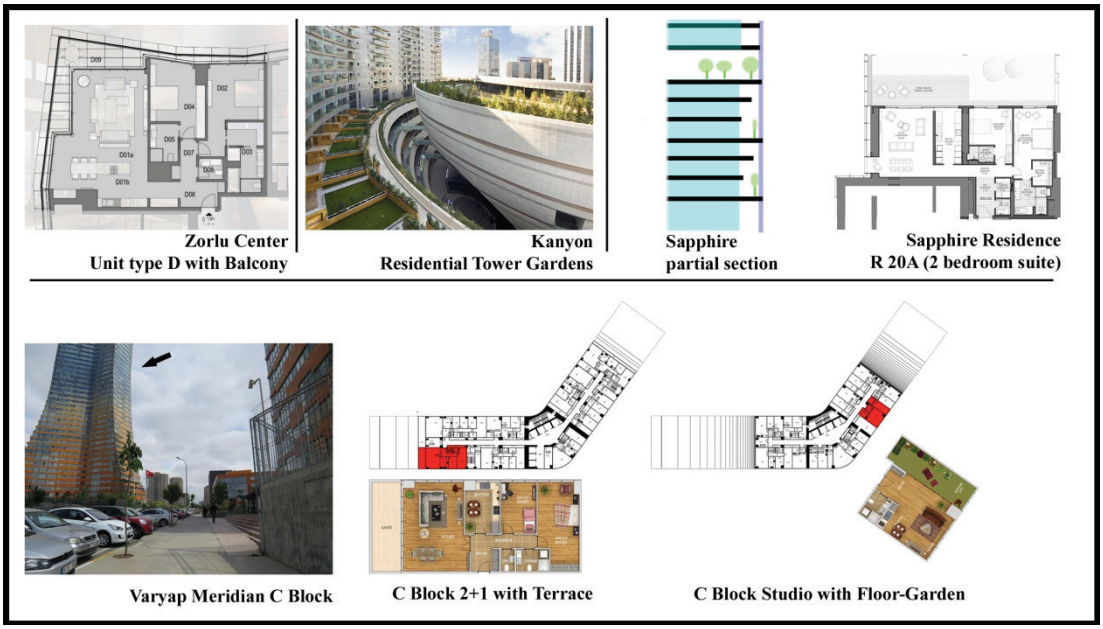

Figure 5.36 Terraces, Floor-Gardens and Balconies introduced in the projects (E3, E2, E1 and A2).

In most of the apartments varying from low-rises to high-rises, people have a tendency to close the balconies with glass fenestration laid linearly following

the periphery of the balconies. Flexible as can be, these windows allow the user to manually operate the system to control ventilation, noise and day light. Therefore, that space becomes a part of the interior while not measured and included in the blue prints. This way, people can use this newly articulated space in every season without being affected by the changing weather conditions. They might organize the space as a storage place or furnish it with plants and flowers with regard to their need and preferences. In this case, closed-balconies would be an already established tradition for people as a practice in their everyday lives. Returning back to the examples in Sapphire Residence for instance, the floor-gardens on very high storeys are happened to be an advanced form of closing-the-balcony tradition with higher ceilings and providing floor available for small size plantation (Figure 5.36). Two individual shells of Sapphire cover the entire east and west facades and define the gardens for all floors. However, thinking in segments, namely separations of every three floors, the motivation of design progress in similar patterns.

Observing from a distance, the opportunity of having micro gardens or terraces in a tower instead of stretching the exterior walls of units to the outer shell would work as an alternative space which will be a second spatial layer around the unit peripheries. The traditional sense of closing a balcony does not only underline the urge to enlarge the unit space, but also privatize and take advantage of a free space individually. That is why the open balcony -though still private- becomes "more" private once closed. In this respect, apartment life differs from a ground level villa-type life. Likewise, super towers like Sapphire Residence aims to compensate the lack of nature in their proposed life style by providing this new spatial vocabulary with a provision of life, or as the architects put it "proposal of a life style". Similarly Zorlu Center claims that the units in residence towers have "large balconies". Moreover, examining the units with terraces or gardens in Meridian, the spaces are located either between the units as exemplified in "studio unit" or open to one end as 2+1 example (Figure 5.36).

5.4 Interim Conclusion

In this chapter of the study, mixed-use high-rise residential complexes are examined as the New Urban Form in İstanbul through a selection of cases chosen among the best representatives in terms of variety in programs, architectural production, context generation and urban life.

The relationship between the applications of mixed-use themes in the urban space varied in different eras. However, current stage of urban development cultivated today's MU-HR-[R]-Cs and in order to introduce the New Form, the spatio-contextual transformations forged in the urban life of the citizens. This new architectural product changed the relationship between city, house and user. The installation process works in two folds. One is regarding the venue selection in order to compensate the advantages of the existing socio-spatial hub. Second is the internal program of the projects that will instantly be connected to the host urban system.

For the case of the venue, regional organization of the projects is crucial. The investors targeted two attributes of the city to enhance the market value as a core source to the project. One is the natural resources of İstanbul, which in this case either northern forests where the suburban lives take place which might be referred as a luxurious type of life style, or the Bosphorus peripheries to benefit from the sea. Although these projects include office spaces and shopping facilities, the new program element included within the context is residential spaces. Therefore, the real estate investment becomes a crucial attribute to the overall agenda of the projects. Mixed-use themes or better put, context is in this case, evolved to be used in the New Formation.

Considering the objective of location-finding for the projects, central business districts as a part of the urban core seem to become center of attention. The cases are selected from these nodes (as 4 cases in European CBD and 1 case from Anatolia CBD in addition to 1 case for the alternative central development). One of the major questions is why CBDs are preferred for a

residential project. Apart from the fact that a MU-HR-[R]-Cs is not solely a residential project, new formation is emerging under the control and coordination of capital and capital has the power to reformulate the spatial organizations and demographics of cities. Therefore, MU-HR-[R]-Cs cannot be understood outside the context of capital regulations.

Second, the projects cultivate new dynamics and introduce a new public to the spaces they are installed. The spatio-contextual implant is affective on both neighborhood and building scales. First, the project imitates and re-creates the urban life in micro-scale and presented it within the body of the complex. Acting as a container, the project spatially differentiated and separated itself from the neighboring built environment instead of becoming a part of it. Second, the housing opportunities presented in the residential towers reduced the context of home and reorganized the user-house dynamics by expanding the functions and life to the overall body of the project while diminishing the meaning, value and sense of belonging to the units. This double contextual reduction and spatial articulation also produced its own architectural components and vocabulary such as terrace and garden floors as well as function-excluded identification of units (which are tagged by either m2 or room numbers).

Formal analysis highlighted that, the cases on the European side are organized in aligned with the CBD route which is an L-shaped spatial formation between Mecidiyeköy, Zincirlikuyu and Levent (E4, E3, E2 and E1). However, these projects benefit from an established neighborhood while the Anatolian counterpart is still under construction. Ataşehir, as the second CBD location for İstanbul houses Varyap Meridian on the western end. The project is also becomes a part of the larger body of the district rather than constructing a social or formal relationship with the western neighborhoods. Other projects on the north and east (Ağaoğlu My World) actually speak the same language with Meridian. Buyaka is the only case which is not directly located on any of the Business districts however, still with the collaboration of the adjacent projects

IKEA and Meydan AVM, they form an archipelago of mixed-use habitat in Ümraniye which defines the space in accordance with each other rather than with the neighboring built environment. Additionally, all the projects are settling on the transportation network where the major highways and even the subways are conjoint. Therefore, all six cases install their formal bodies and also the socio-economic sphere into the assigned territories. Construction and real estate sectors are benefiting the most in this case.

In building scale, the projects on the European side follow the common notion of podium-and-tower typology which spreads the building on the site and towers rise above the podium where all the entertainment, shopping and retail activities are encapsulated. This formation, in standard terms, aims to keep the continuity of public access into the building under surveillance and also separate the private program elements above this flux. Spatially, podium is a box-like container which visually and physically blocks the surrounding human traffic and reorients it. Meanwhile, triggers a social-class-wise upgrade in the adjacent built environment. In the Anatolian case, both Buyaka and Meridian follow different design solutions. Buyaka does have a separate mall in a geometrically articulated body which might be accepted as a podium, however, the towers of Meridian share the shopping facilities on the ground levels by not creating a separate form to concentrate. By this way, after the construction on a pre-assigned venue with a strategic agenda, the articulation of the site and the spatio-contextual dialog with the surrounding neighborhoods are compatible as observed.

Third, the residential programs of each project follow same principles by aiming to provide the best city vista from the heights by providing tower residences (with optional villas in Meridian). They all share the disadvantage of diminished access to green spaces, however, only Sapphire and Meridian aimed to strengthen the life proposed within the facility with small spaces titled as floor gardens and terraces. Zorlu Center has balconies however the major contribution of the project is claimed to be the green zones preserved on the

site. Although similar to Sapphire in formal articulation and location, Trump Towers did not produce a space as “outdoors” on the higher levels.

Considering the whole argument and spatial development in relation to the context, the production of each project individually benefits from the urban space yet not returning back an intertwined relationship. The architectural components and vocabularies in this respect serve for the materialization of the new urban life proposed under these themes. In the end, by strategically locating the projects into urban core, mixed-use formulations and residences as program elements posit themselves under the reorganization of urban space. Architects as the form givers and context makers become one of the progressive and influential actors in this respect accompanying the investor. Therefore, next chapter is the discussion and conclusion part of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Today, İstanbul is the biggest metropolis of Turkey with no clear physical boundaries of settlement, where over 14 million inhabitants live. In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was geographically diminishing and losing social stability while multidimensional societal changes were spreading across Europe. In return, the Empire launched a series of political and economic reforms in order to adapt to the rising mind set of the West as well as acquiring the technological innovations on multiple aspects varying from transportation to construction sectors. İstanbul, as the capital of the Empire, started to be subjected to spatial transformations learning from the precedents such as Paris and Vienna. Socio-political and economic framework would only be complete once the built environment accompanies the new structure. Thereby, in İstanbul, the primary objective was organizing new transportation networks via ring roads, larger street patterns and bridges as well as open spaces like public squares with an aim to create the first urban core of the capital (Çelik, 1986).[55] As highlighted in Chapter 2, the planning strategies and proposals concerned by the central authority clarified that there was no spatial concentration as a central business zone since the historical core was functioning as an administrative center for centuries. However after the First World War, the priorities on İstanbul were interrupted by the official collapse of the Empire.

[55] The plans and projections proposed by Moltke, Arnodin and Bouvard all focus on the very same idea of creating a functional urban center and acquiring connectivity between the center and the periphery (Çelik, 1986).

As a spatial entity, İstanbul seems to have experienced three major macro-scale eras of socio-economic and political transformations since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923: (1) Urbanization of the Nation-State (1923-50); (2) Urbanization of the Labor Power (1950-80) and (3) Urbanization of the Capital, from 1980 to present day (Tekeli, 1998, 2004, 2014; Şengül, 2013). Within every new era, a new layer of urban growth and settlement is formed depending on the dominant political discourse, geographical orientation and historical factors. Each new layer conveys individual based and blended physical components as well as contextual instruments that construct the foundation of the new era, which eventually challenge the previous urban character and formation of the city. In the early period, İstanbul experienced a low-rate population growth and slow physical expansion on west-east axis due to the Modernization project and the development of the new political capital of the Republic, Ankara. In 1933, the authorities decided to acquire professional help from European planners for the metropolitan planning of İstanbul and Henry Prost from France was chosen out of three participants (Bilsel, 2010). The objective of Prost's plan was similar to the previous proposals in terms of developing strategies on transportation network, green spaces, public squares and spatial reorganization of the infrastructure under the umbrella of modernization but also criticized for demolishing certain historical urban fabric in the old peninsula to glorify the monumental imperial past and historic cityscape (Bilsel, 2007, p.112).[56] The idea of defining an urban core continued through the urban circulation network designed by Prost which was on north-south axis defining two major zones: (1) the central business district where the commercial activities supposed to be centralized and (2) University of İstanbul (Bilsel, 2007, p.104).

[56] "Fifteen years of planning activity of Prost in İstanbul covers a wide range of studies, including the Master Plan for the European side of the city (1937), Master Plan of the Asian side (1939), the planning of the two coasts of the Bosphorus (1936-1948) and numerous detailed urban projects for plazas, squares, construction new avenues, parks and promenades" (Bilsel, 2007, p.99).

In the second period starting from the mid-century, İstanbul re-subjected to the major investments due to the changes in the political and economic sphere in Turkey in relation to the global post-war upgrades. Additionally, because of the industrialization and agricultural mechanization, ascending rates of population flows began to mobilize towards the big cities.[57] The settlement patterns of İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir began to differentiate with an inner body and surrounding poverty ring of uncontrolled squatter settlements. As emphasized in the second chapter, urbanization in İstanbul leaped forward rapidly and two major themes developed: "centralization" for the business enterprises and "connectivity" via upgrades in the transportation network. Although urban centers were considered to be essential in the capital cities of Europe due to the massive population growth and uncontrolled physical expansions (Hall, 1997); for the case of İstanbul, the old central business district was an outcome of weak planning as Beyoğlu-Taksim in late Ottoman and early Republican eras (Osmay, 1980; Çelik, 1984). While the historic center remained, the urban business and commercial corridor on the European side began to stretch and spread like an ink mark towards north on Taksim-Mecidiyeköy orientation; and after 1980s the development plans for the new financial center were oriented on Levent-Maslak axis concentrating between Zincirlikuyu-Levent districts (also Mecidiyeköy direction as a supporting sub-center) (Kurtuluş, 2005).

Since 1980, globalization and liberal-economy policies have been influencing the primary decisions on the organization of urban built fabric regardless of the ruling parties in the government and municipalities (Kurtuluş, 2005; Öktem, 2005; Kahraman, 2008; Enlil, 2011). Highways, bridges, office towers, malls, gated communities and luxury residences are a part of the contemporary re-structuration. Engaging this scope, the impact of capital on the reorganization of cities critically studied by many scholars (Yırtıcı, 2005; Ünsal and Kuyucu,

[57] The population of İstanbul hit 6.5 million in 1990, passed 9 million in 2000 and reached over 14 million in 2013. See TÜİK fort he rate of migrations on < http://www.tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist> accessed on August 2014.

2010; Tekeli, 2014) with regard to the discourse of Global Cities or World Cities (Friedmann, 1986; Sassen, 2006). While the world was shifting from production based urban systems to consumption base structuration, new spatial formations appeared in the built environment. Central Business Districts in London, New York or Paris are examples of spatio-contextually planned centralization. However as shown in Chapter 3, there is no spatial formation that might be accepted as a CBD in the traditional sense in İstanbul with respect to several past attempts previously mentioned.

> The global city discourse [...] has rationalized the notion that the construction of an international business district will make a city modern and attract essential foreign direct investment. İstanbul must have a modern international business district in order to become a world city. Local political and economic actors have used this discourse to legitimize the use of public authority and resources in their own interest, via the creation of an international business district in the Buyukdere–Maslak axis (Öktem, 2011, p. 39).

The main themes of urban planning in the old capital focused on creating an urban core and spatial connectivity by providing boulevards, ring-roads, bridges and tunnels (Çelik, 1984).[58] After a century, the same objective was witnessed and enhanced by a multiple political parties summoning around the idea of locating a CBD zone for the metropolis, and even an equivalent copy to the Anatolian side of İstanbul. As a part of this framework, following the global developments with a fifty years gap, office spaces (Dökmeci et al., 1993) and shopping/entertainment functions (Osmay, 1998; Boyacı, 2002) adapted to the spatial changes under the new urban formation in İstanbul.

On this historical context and foundational basis, a new urban form was triggered by the socio-economic organization of functions in the city space,

[58]The traditional Ottoman system was decentralized [...] The Tanzimat Reformers put an end to this system by introducing an agenda of codification, systematization, and centralized control. [...] Following the declaration of the Tanzimat Charter, the capital became an arena of experimentation with the installation of Western planning principles" (Çelik, 1980, p.33).

starting early 1990s. This new urban form is acquired through amalgamation of different functional bodies together under the same roof, on the same very location, under one or more joint private ownership, named as “mixed-use” buildings by developers, architecture offices and urban development administration. These forms mostly -and in the least- include housing and office spaces with retail and entertainment facilities, offered in the form of a mall. This study claims that, while the capital was seeking a new formation as a progressive answer to its need of flow and continuity, traditional contexts of city planning started to be challenged in İstanbul. This dissertation strongly states that the notions of “mixed-use”, “high-rise” and even “home” are contextually dissociated from the traditional historical trajectory and re-defined by the investors which not only reduced the actual contexts but also altered the foundational principles.

Dwelling on the production of the CBD in İstanbul, these projects started to be scholarly acknowledged as part of the urban structure especially within the last decade. Several studies addressing different issues concerning CBDs, referring to the mixed-use complexes via questioning the role of high-rises (Şengezer et al., 2009), production of residential spaces (Görgülü and Koca, 2007; Aras, 2010), correlating marketing strategies and design phases (Koca, 2012); and even the role of the architect on the overall process of a variety of housing production (Deneç, 2013) are present. However, there is few or no research solely studying the foundation and production of this new urban form in İstanbul, how and why it is created and how it influences the urban spatial production and urban life in return.

This study departed from the inquiry of whether the mixed-use high-rise residential complexes (MU-HR-[R]-Cs) are new urban forms as a part of the re-organization of urban space in İstanbul in the current century. Considering the key notions of “mixed-use”, “high-rise” and “urban space”, foundational basis of these urban developments and objects, as well as how they contribute to and re-shape the city are questioned. It is a highly multidimensional task

which requires further exploration and critique on these spatial concepts by locating İstanbul in the traditional/conventional historical contexts. It is also a critical comparison between what is planned and what is produced.

In this study, first of all, the journey of the notion of mixed-use is investigated in the historical urban context. This framework provides the conventional evolution of mix of uses in the planning strategies from the pre-industrial era to present day. Through investigation on cases, this study reveals that the notion of mixed-use is the first spatio-context that is re-contextualized. The conventional understanding of mixed-use is mix of different uses in settlements with a variety of scales including villages, towns and cities. Residential, retail, working, religious, administrative, education and entertainment facilities and functions are a part of core scheme of mix of different functions in planning. In the pre-industrial era, all settlements were mixed-use in nature. During industrial era, as shown in Chapter 2, cities became overpopulated, polluted and deteriorated because of the rapid growth rates and industrial enterprises inside the urban core. Therefore, mix of uses in urban space became problematic. On the other hand, during the era of modernity, decentralization and spatial segregation were widely discussed aiming to escape from the city and accusing the city as the source of all problems. Starting from the Jacobsian traditions and later on New Urbanism movements, faces turned towards the cities once again seeking the answer with the urban space. According to Jacobs, diversity is a city's greatest virtue and busy streets with a good combination of activities at all times of the day would make it appealing and vivid (Jacobs, 1961; Hill, 1988). Jacobs even opposed the idea of tall buildings that can isolate the sociological functions of street, sidewalk, and street-corner pedestrian life (Hill, 1988, p.305). Although in Turkish cities, the networks of neighborhoods have a tradition of a combination of different but small scale uses, the intention emphasized in this study is grand scale context-wise alterations in relation to what makes a city similar to the thinkers of the era of Modernity.

Secondly, the notion of high-rise as a construction terminology is the second attribute and concept among the selected cases that discovered to be contradicting with the traditional principles considering the materialization in İstanbul. MU-HR-[R]-Cs referred as high-rise structures by the architecture offices because of the obvious involvement of office or residential tower(s). As stated in Chapter 3 on the conjectural rationale behind the search for a new form, the insertion of a tower in conventional sense provides three primary benefits: densification, smaller foot print and low energy consumption. Basically, towers bring more people together on to the same point; leave more space for open air uses such as green spaces and car parks; and slim forms gain more advantage from the natural light and energy use for heating and cooling in contrast to living separately. However, investigation on the physical structures of the selected cases indicates that, these projects as applied in İstanbul, dominantly construct a podium structure as a base to house multiple functions (even furthering underground) and locate the tower(s) on the top rising above. These podiums not only cover the whole site, in-situ observation demonstrated that they also define a strong physical boundary, visual blockage, spatial segregation and strictly controlled access. In this respect, providing green roofs or underground car parks are contradictory. Considering the advertisements on both the projects' and the architecture offices' web-sites which are presented in chapter 4 and 5, polishing only the sustainability attributes as a part of the design process and city-vista as a luxurious benefit becomes an act of deception on what is already given to any high-rise. Furthermore, regarding the proportional composition as illustrated while discussing the internal dynamics and site organization of the cases, the limits of height are appeared to be only concerned to increase the area of construction which immensely challenges the core notion of densification in one area without fully considering the competence of infrastructure. It is not surprising to see harsh debates (and law suits) between the chamber of architects/planners and the real estate developers/investors.

Understanding the Turkish city is unfolded with acknowledging its diversity and immense multi-dimensionality (Wright, 1988; Soja, 2000; Tekeli, 2014). Due to the fact that cities are developed and spatially organized by transactions of capital in a mutual manner, MU-HR-[R]-Cs emerged as an urban object and a real estate development in İstanbul. This study claims that MU-HR-[R]-Cs are not inevitable products of the urbanization of capital. The results of this study points out that these projects do not constructively reorganize the city space; instead they are conceptualized and produced intentionally as city-objects to become a part of reorganization of the metropolis experiencing a much bigger political-economic agenda in the hands of national/international investors, the state and capital.

These projects are spatio-contextual installations with regional, local and building scale compositions. The new urban life bring forth by the projects as a part of today's metropolis is discussed by examining the new definition of a micro-city conception and analyzed through the selected cases to reveal the contextual changes in the relationships between the city and user as well as the user and dwelling. As a result of the investigation on both spatio-contextual formation of the projects and how they are conceived in design offices, this dissertation presents multiple thresholds and bends between the conventional notions and the products; which proves the fact that while capital monopolizes the land, these mechanisms and concepts are re-produced by the developers in İstanbul and applied as pseudo frameworks to influence the urban formation. Dissociation from the conventional contexts in "İstanbul" is understood through three major grounds: (1) what "makes" the city, (2) what is, if there is, the CBD in planning; and (3) what is the notion of "mixed-use" in application. Engaging the terminology in relation to the global setting and addressing metropolis as the core of comparison reveals the spatio-contextual rupture in the formation of city that consecutively collapsing.

The City: Conventional vs İstanbul

In the previous century, during the scenarios of escape from the city, important critics and theoreticians were summoned around the advancing problem on urban space with different approaches yet similar intent. As emphasized in the second chapter, due to the objectives of these gatherings including CIAM, valuable objectives and proposals were produced. Garden City or City Beautiful movements with pioneers such as Howard and Wright defined the city with its existing form as the source of the problem and suggested rural life, near radical individualism and exurbs with heavily decentralized planning strategies. From a different perspective, Le Corbusier proposed to re-construct the cities by looking for a solution within the city itself while equally opposing the idea of suburbs and at the same time functionally mixed and organic yet uncontrolled city. However, his identical towers, villas, green spaces, roads and other structures were fully organized, homogenously separated, spatially classified and constructed from scratch by projecting high density and central control.

This study finds one of the thresholds here, in between the natural evolution of cities and the utopian ones. In other words, historical context followed a heavy centralization towards the creation of an urban core and next step followed population boosts in the suburbia however urban populations kept increasing. While the utopian ideas generated a parallel city planning, they did not match with the ongoing autonomous nature of urbanization which was actually observed by Jane Jacobs. Jacobs opposed the decentralists and anti-city groups as a whole by re-introducing city as the source of salvation by building them bigger and better. Jacobs claims that both Wright and Le Corbusier sort the city with their own land use strategies which actually destroy the social character of the street life and the living segments that can cultivate a vivid urban life (Hill, 1988). According to Jacob's stance, cities are not places to escape from but rather a planned built environment, with right amount of density and sufficient mix of urban uses. The key theme in Jacob's proposals is a healthy "diversity".

All these discussions on what make the city or how cities are organized is a very up-to-date topic in the academia. According to the historical timeline of urban development presented so far, the variety in approaches might be summed as (1) abandonment of city, (2) raising and rebuilding the city and (3) heterogeneously re-planned city with sufficient mix of uses. Renewal projects might be accepted as a category-two approach since the execution process aim for a total removal of the old built fabric and re-building an entire neighborhood with new planning policies and technologies; however, in İstanbul, there is fragmental renewal and regeneration is going on focusing on removal of the current residents as well as the residential space. This act is not only a social replacement but also a spatial articulation with little or no association to the city space in general. Fully controlled single-function zoning is not applied in this case. On the other hand, as mentioned through the discussion on installation processes, mixed-use complexes built in both CBDs and at the peripheries of forest areas might aim to distinguish themselves as the category-three applications, however they never prioritized to cultivate a vivid street life or mutual integration in any form with the city as well as the close surrounding built environment.

Regardless to the scale of the settlements, varying from the regional to local, neighborhood to building, very same problem engages İstanbul today. Dwelling on the problematic of contextual disengagement defined by this study on the creation of a new form, diversity appears to be the key ingredient in the conventional mixed-use planning schemes. Jacobs (1961) claims that "[...] cities for a most intricate and close-grained diversity of uses that give each other constant mutual support, both economically and socially" (p. 14).

Diversity and mutual support works concurrently. However, the context of mixed-use is reduced into the major functions with their own internal mechanisms on the same site in one project which even controversially congregate in İstanbul. Combining them together requires intertwined social relationships and spatial integration, not solely bringing them in separate

formal bodies with disparate contextual programs and spatial installations as observed in the cases. How office space and residential space come together would be an architectural problem with numerous planning solutions. However, two adjacent physical towers on a podium like in Trump Towers or Zorlu Center only brings two different functional bodies geographically close to a node. As demonstrated in the internal spatial arrangements and dynamics of cases, the intricacy and organic relationships between the conventional mix of several uses and how people experience them via spatial practices is not only spatially blocked, but strikingly under developed and disassociated from the place itself. The mutual interaction between the user and the institution whether it is a retail store, a restaurant or an office block cannot work with the right feedback in return. Mutual interaction in Jacobsian understanding foresees a strong relationship between the urban core and the peripheries as well. Connectivity as discussed in the 3rd CIAM meeting is combined with diversity in that respect. However, the investigations on the selected cases demonstrate that, while the projects such as Sapphire Residence and Varyap Meridian have already issues with defining a contextual unity in their own physical bodies as well as a unified socio-spatial relationship with the surrounding built environment in the urban context; it is impossible for them to associate themselves with the rest of the urban space.

This study asserts that being physically adjacent, holding the junctions of major highways, rising on the best locations with grand vistas or taking advantage of the cutting-edge technologies do not make them a defined center, a unified whole, a collaborative part of the urban space or an urban subject with the ability of mutually influencing the production of the metropolis. Dwelling on this claim, this dissertation reveals that contextually reducing the triad of city-house-user relationship in order to validate themselves disassociates the whole object from the city by: (1) socio-functionally breaking human experience; (2) unintentionally rupturing the need and pursuit of an urban core –ironically that is highly prioritized by the investors-; (3) accumulating human and vehicular

traffic on underdeveloped infrastructure –which is again opposing the vitality of capital- and (4) finally interrupting the transportation hub which is the least desired formation that any metropolis can ever tolerate. In İstanbul, these urban formation and city-objects cannot provide the foundational purpose to be achieved in the current state. They not only socially polarize the society which is a part of the capitalist structuration, these complexes frustrates the urban spatial practices and spatially compartmentalize the urban space.

The results of this study also highlights that, these complexes have a potential to become active subjects of urban organization that can influence or even alter the spatial structure in time if they keep mushrooming all around the region. Mostly because of the unpredicted, or unevenly considered and deficiently bended contextual priorities, which are namely the notions like "mixed-use" and "home", the triad of city-house-user relationship appeared to be deformed as observed during the critique on installation processes and the examination of products. In return, both urban space and urban life will concurrently descent in negative extremes. Regarding that argument, finding the entrance of Levent Subway station in front of the Sapphire Residence cannot validate its presence and suppression on the three low rise neighborhoods located on the west by ignoring and excluding them with its residents. Similarly creating its own physical island like in Buyaka's case does not integrate the installation to the wider regional context but instead strongly constructs a boundary.

CBD/Center: Conventional vs İstanbul

This dissertation extends the critique on the components and formulation of city space by scaling down to the organization of central business district, if there is a pattern in İstanbul. First of all, in-situ investigations expect individual contexts to require a common ground and intertwined mutual interaction in order to facilitate urban life proportionately which is defined in Chapter 4. Additionally, even if they are physically located together in space, that does not

guarantee a collaborative continuum in spatial practices. In the conventional sense, the need for an urban core and especially a well-defined business district acquired through sensible planning through the ages by bringing together major business enterprises such as banks, insurance companies and trade centers. Since the colonial era, US cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, New York or European precedents London and Amsterdam highlighted the "meeting" grounds of capital in the spatial medium. In addition to the capitol building (the administrative unit), high-rise blocks of banks, stock exchange and coffee houses on "market" streets were early agglomerations (King, 1990).

Centralization as mentioned several times in this study is a core aspect of urban formation and a central business district is a vital component of the metropolis both in the industrial city and now in the contemporary city-regions. The network created in and with a CBD was developed through the last century by changing both office functions and spaces mostly because of the change in time-and-space continuum in the information age. Moreover, centers necessitate taking advantage of easy access by all means such as subways, trams, wide streets and highways. Figures X and Y highlight the development pattern behind the selection of Mecidiyeköy-Levent axis (M-L) along the Büyükdere Aveneu as a "supposed-to-be CBD" zone. Major bank headquarters, İstanbul based company headquarters, malls, hotels, and residential towers/gate communities are spatially concentrated on M-L axis (Figure 6.1). One of the many reasons is the transportation network and office business conglomerations (Figure 6.1). Similarly, the height of built environment –though individually- increases in this region (Figure 6.2).

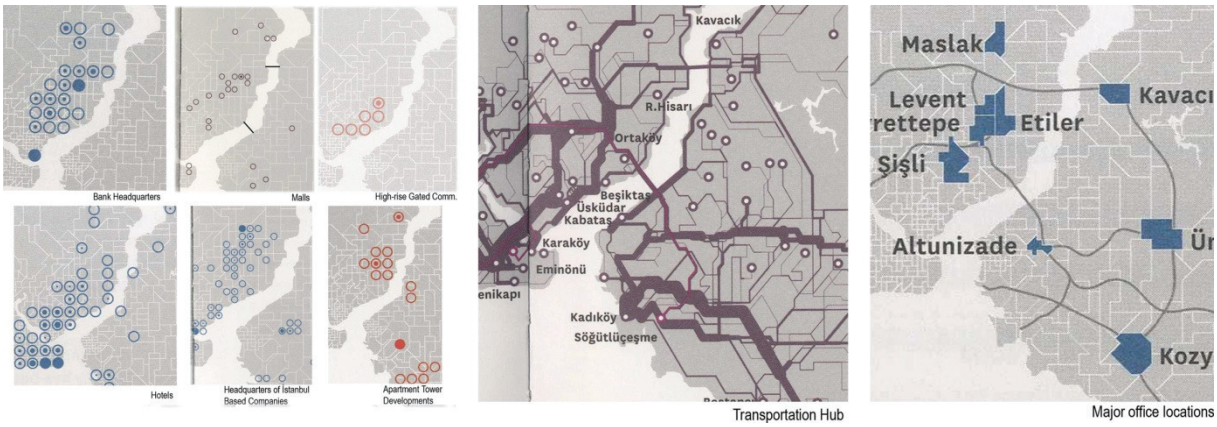

Figure 6.1 Density and agglomeration of major urban uses; transportation hub and office districts. (Lewis et al., 2009)

Şekil 1. İstanbul'da gökdelen sayılarının mahallelere dağılımı (1990-2009).

Şekil 2. İnşaat alan büyüklüklerine göre İstanbul'da gökdelenlerin mahallelere dağılımı (1990-2009).

Figure 6.2 Density of Tower forms. (Şengezer et al., 2009)

Depending on this contemporary spatial mapping of last two decades in relation to the site observations, office towers such as Sabancı Towers, İŞ Tower or Tekfen on Levent-Mecidiyeköy axis would be understandable since they solely bring together business spaces and small size dining facilities for their own workers and users. On the other hand, installing a mall within this framework, let alone constructing closer, targets new pedestrian traffic for a different purpose –which becomes an alternative and dominant objective itself- into this hub. Thus compartmentalization starts even from the core of CBD which is supposed to be a unified ground.

Regarding the expectations on mutual interaction within the CBD formation, the contrast between spatial agglomerations of complexes and the conventional organization of CBD is discovered to be existent. In the case of Buyaka for instance, the mall of the project benefits from the other two malls IKEA and Meydan. They all constitute an archipelago of consumption institutions in addition to Buyaka's three office tower and the residence tower. However, European cases (E1-4) as their assigned "mixed-use" title not only bring in the mall, but also residential space into the business center. The threshold claimed by the findings of the case study is twofold. First, the "diversity" and mixing uses in common sense is bended; and second the necessity of creating a central ground for capital changed form by the interference of multiple MU-HR-[R]-Cs. Their orientation, intent and spatial attributes actually one and the same. The only difference is the ownership.

In Chapter 5, the intermediary dynamics resolving around the spatial formation and material bodies clearly demonstrate that, even though physically together, none of the projects develop a mutually integrated spatial connection with its surrounding built environment. The key factor of this rupture would be claimed as "land speculation." Capital does require new ideas and alteration on land use only if the benefit does not clash with an already gained benefit. Considering the early 90s more conventional financial concentration in comparison to the new residential segments included via mixed-use projects, the lands of the cases E1-4 might have been used only for the office towers and solely dwelling on the functional formation. Then the spatio-contextual dialog would be clear between the CBD and the surrounding neighborhoods as well as the rest of the city. However, individually locating residential towers and malls on the same plots, the composite unity of a conventional CBD is broken in spatial practices as applied in all cases. This dissertation claims that, once this wider relationship fails, gaining more capital in the short run from the same site contradicts the vitality of the urban space both of which supposed to coexist together.

Mixed-Use: Conventional vs İstanbul

Previous critiques of this study on both the city space and CBD formation confirm that the discussions evolve concurrently with the definition and application of mixed-use strategies. The cases selected for this study prove that reconceptualization of this notion actually provided the instruments to reduce the city-house-user triad. It is necessary to comprehend the notion and wrap up the overall conversation.

Mixed-use context in its historical conventional definition has been subject to various scholarly research (Rowley, 1996; Coupland, 1997; Louw & Hoppenbrouw, 2005; Niemira, 2007; Hirt, 2007; Grant, 2002, 2008; Hoek, 2008; Rabianski et al., 2009). As Jill Grant (2002) underlines "mixing uses thus forms part of a strategy for sustainable development as well as a theory of good urban form, with the objectives of economic vitality, social equity, and environmental quality" (p.73). The results of this study prove that, densification in the urban core is supposed to revitalize the social and spatial depression however the majority of the problems emerge from the examples in İstanbul because the mixed-use principles are converted into new dimensions where they work in the investors' advantage. This title of being "mixed-use" applies to the design tool property as well as acting like validation ticket of existence in the city space. The deficiencies in the creation of mutual and collaborative socio-spatial integration with the urban space as well as an urban center are already discussed. However, this dissertation strongly affirms that dwelling on the individual contextual formation, the reformulation of mixed-use deconstructs the city-house-user triad by targeting the spatial practices and human experience. Therefore, two shifts should be understood: (1) perception of urban activities and (2) sense of belonging to a place. The former concerns the larger scale city-user relationships and the latter concerns both regional and domestic scale with a slightly dominant focus on house-user relationship.

> Successful cities are in part shaped by the relationship of built form to space, and the range, variety and characteristics of the spaces made available: outdoor rooms, civic spaces, promenading routes, night-strips, quiet gardens, little corners to rest awhile, favorite meeting places. This is not simply a question of quantity or setting space standards (so many acres to population bands), but a rather more complex understanding of the attributes of spaces, their delineations, psychology and symbolism (Montgomery, 1998, p. 110).

The analysis of contextual formation and internal dynamics of case selection reveals that, MU-HR-[R]-Cs aim to create a micro-scale urban life, a micro-cosmos of its own by imitating strictly selected urban activities within its physical boundary while spatially extruding its body as a niche on land and three dimensional object to the neighborhood it is installed. Moreover, this new microcosm is a contextual implant, and installation of consumption based spatial network with little or no intention to communicate with the built environment in the region; since one other purpose is to distinguish itself by height, form or presence of "special" activities.

As shown in Chapter 5, the exclamation mark in the advertisements revolves around the "uniqueness", "novelty" and "luxury" brought by these projects. For instance, the mall, as described in Chapter 3 as a new urban form to accommodate entertainment, retail and leisure activities, is a separate body of functions for at least half a century around the world. It appears to be neither a novelty nor a luxury. While the city already suffers from density and lowly managed transportation network, gaining an advantage over this problem by imitating certain activities in the old urban core like Beyoğlu-Karaköy to one spot –even increasing the density further- on Zincirlikuyu is another point to highlight the lack of concerns on the creation of a better city space. The current state of case selection demonstrates that, with respect to the architectural formation, the clear ability of this functional agglomeration is not executing a mixed-use planning scheme, but instead altering perception of the city by replacing "the city space as the destination of activities" with "the activities as the core objective and destination". Removal of user participation as a layer on

urban systems is a very vulnerable act towards the metropolis itself especially when these projects spatial compartmentalizing the space. Secondly, the initiative behind the creation of a CBD falls back in the list of priorities even if mixed of uses as a theme supposed to claim the otherwise.

Second shift mentioned by this dissertation occurs possibly in the material experiences, which guide the sense of belonging to a place and construction of spatial identity which might be disturbed, and hindered. On the regional scale, the cases are conventionally expected to influence the existing built environment and urban context. It is comprehended through the case studies that, the flexibility of adaptation anticipated from the projects turns into individualism which demonstrates a focus of attention on solely its own functional program while processing a new context under heavy surveillance within a physical rampart. As observed in all cases, mending spatial practices with temporary activities in a physically segregated space would diminish the internalization of the spatial setting for the user as well as the city by opposing the core ideals of mixed-use schemes. Raised as a problem by this study, these applications would lead to indifference to the overall context of cities by losing the qualitative aspects of urban form. That is relevant for the residential units as well. The themed life styles proposed by the market do not only standardize the life of significant locales but with false references loses the genuine instruments of novelty.

In the domestic level, plan configurations and spatial organization of the residential units are critically analyzed in Chapter 5 revealing the controversial reduction of the notion of home as predicted. The residential units configured according to the indoor functions by extending the functions to the overall complex without expanding the contexts of uses but subtracting the traditional associated behavior. Providing multiple alternatives for indoor activities such as dining, watching a movie and reading, is an invitation for the residents to participate in the use of the lower segments of the complex more than the residential units. In several examples, the entrance lobby is defined as a lounge

to the housing units with concierge service for each unit. Due to this functional turn, the residential tower becomes to act more like a hotel which is a temporary residence for people. This new frame, as observed through the investigation of advertisements of the cases, is highlighted and market as a novelty and luxury to the potential customers however, even if the concept sounds an additional value, what happens in the architectural formation of the unit plans is just the opposite.

Tightening the critique around the architectural formation, this study demonstrates that superimposed agenda of the mixed-use complex over the residential spaces results in poorly developed interior plans with very basic and common schemes of corridors and room divisions entitled as numerical IDs such as 1+1 or 2+1 with no direct functional definition. The proposed residential space becomes too abstract to locate in one's experiences and as a result the space itself loses the identity of belonging to a context (Yırtıcı, 2005, p. 94). In fact, this deficiency is discovered to be enhanced further by the obliged interpretation of green spaces that are lost on the ground level in the cases. Although being a high-rise structure supposed to bring in advantages, because of the large podiums, these semi open spaces carried on the upper floors in the forms of small size balconies and gardens. In this respect, this dissertation elucidates a new urban terminology created within the new social context of the city such as: *katbahçesi* [Upper-floor balcony-garden], *terasev* [terrace house], *rezidans* [residences for middle-upper class families] etc. Either imported or invented, these new items/subjects emerge from architectural offices. However, in cases E2, E3 and especially A2, what is meant yet what is done becomes an irony. Actually, one of the supportive arguments of this dissertation is that the architects aim to validate their propositions with these spatial components in order to compensate the inadequacy of domestic life they offer which is a result of contextual reduction in the relationship of city-house-user triad.

In Conclusion:

This dissertation examines the new urban formation and city-forms entitled as the mixed-use high-rise residential complexes in İstanbul; and questions the foundational basis in their emergence, how and why they are created, how they impact the organization of urban space and urban life in return, and finally what kind of an architectural language they produce.

Starting the investigation with the generic title of Mixed-Use High-Rise, second chapter of this dissertation focuses on the notion of mixed-use in the conventional historical context with a global spectrum. This spatio-contextual template provides the extensive definition of functional mix of uses as planning strategies in history, how this concept changed or adapted to new socio-political circumstances in time, as well as the evolutionary development through global conjecture starting from the pre-industrial era. The core terminology, concerns and strategies obtained from this investigation are evaluated in relation to the experience and responses of İstanbul starting from the late Ottoman era to present day. This section of the study reveals that the critical priorities of the last two centuries on urban planning are shaped around developing strategies for the creation of an urban core and wide transportation network in İstanbul.

Third chapter aims to identify the foundational basis for the emergence of MU-HR-[R]-Cs with a focus on political and economic spheres in İstanbul. Impact of Global City discourse and the conjectural rationale behind the cultivation of a new form are discussed with theoretical lenses provided by İlhan Tekeli, Saskia Sassen and Hakkı Yırtıcı. After defining the influence of capital in reorganization of urban space, artificial and conjectural rationale behind the generation of this new city-object are compared. By locating the constructed built pattern into the previously defined contemporary discursive framework imposed on İstanbul, this study affirms the problematic in the formation.

Fourth chapter dwells on above mentioned problematic with a focus on urban space and life predicted and proposed with the MU-HR-[R]-Cs by the investors, developers and design offices. This study claims that these projects not only imitates the civic life in the urban core with a selective concentration of functions, but also reduce the actual contexts of each component that are spatially brought together. After examining installation process, identifying the micro-city conception that is articulated from larger scale of urban space to domestic; reformulation of both city-user and house-user relationships are defined and highlighted in order to investigate them through the selected cases.

The fifth chapter presents the case study of this dissertation with the selection criteria and objectives. First, the physical analysis is conducted through urban, intermediary and domestic level spatial dialogs with a focus of identifying the spatial components that enables these projects to reformulate the contextual articulations. As the next step, contextual analysis is conducted by questioning the formal structures and the dynamics of interactions between the components of the projects and the surrounding built environment. Engaging the selected cases with an architectural point of view provides the organizational principles within the foundation of each project and their final product by revealing the controversial disassociation from the conventional contexts of planning.

In the conclusion chapter, following a brief summary of the development of three important contexts that makes the MU-HR-[R]-Cs, the reasons behind the cultivation of this new settlement formation and city-object has been discussed, resting on the findings of the qualitative research. The contribution of this study is to decipher the foundation, articulation and components of this New Urban Form as a part of the organization of urban space and life in İstanbul. The significance of this dissertation is in the focus on how the spatio-contextual notions of planning dissociated from the conventional historical trajectory in order to create these new urban forms. Upon an architectural and contextual critique made on what happens to the urban space and urban life in return with the reduction in the city-house-user triad, this study revealed that

the nature of MU-HR-[R]-Cs are individually processing their program and compartmentalizing the urban fabric.

This dissertation also reveals the gap in literature from a variety of disciplines on the basis of the notion of mixed-use, CBD formations, political conjecture or economic impact in not only İstanbul domains but the planning discourse in Turkey. For instance, these sites were once industrial zones of İstanbul and public domains. They run through privatization processes and new complexes appear on these spots. How these economic gains canalized and re-interpreted for the benefit of public would be a subject topic for another study.[59] Second, there is little academic work with a central focus on the central business districts, how they are defined and created in İstanbul. Similarly, still dwelling on the mixed-use, demographics studies on how demand on these projects are created as well as the socio-cultural influences on the formation of residential segments of complexes would be other subject topics. Likewise, investigating the influence of marketing and advertising industry on the cultivation of new urban forms; or specifically questioning the role of design offices by increasing the number of cases might be subjects for researchers. New questions might be raised, yet to sum up; this dissertation provides collaborative sources of different yet related contemporary subjects under one umbrella for future studies.

As a final word, MU-HR-[R]-Cs are evolving members of urban space and rapidly growing in significant multitude spreading on a variety of strategic locations in İstanbul. It might have begun in central business districts and then at the edge of natural peripheries of the city. They would very well sprout in every crucial node where the transportation hub merges and enhances capital

[59]Global City discourse is an ideological framework (as mentioned before) for urban formation in the information age however this definition is highly dependent on the local-global dichotomy which is again defined by the urban actors. Öktem (2005, p. 38) underlines that there is no valid global city created by technological innovations and capitalist economy as claimed by the discourse itself. Instead urban transformations that are experienced in the recent decades are a result of re-formulation of the capitalist economy and the interrelations between the political, cultural and economic means which are in returned validated by the discourse.

cultivation. However urbanization of capital prepared this new form to emerge as a sub-story, another object of commodity, a new investment arena, a new spatial instrument to organize urban space.

> It is crucial to understand the individual architectural object by its character and future in order to further comprehend the built environment that surrounds us including the neighborhood, street life, town, city, region and country (Cengizkan, 2009, p.18).

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AREA OF INTEREST

Architectural Space, Social and Cultural Processes in Architecture, Housing and Urban Design, Urbanism in Historical Context, Politics and Space

EXPERIENCE

Year	Institution	Enrollment
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2012-2013	Penn State University Department of Architecture	Visiting Scholar
2011-2012	Penn State University Department of Architecture	Fulbright Doctorate Res.
2008-2011	Izmir University of Economics Department of Architecture	Teaching Assistant
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SELECTION OF ACADEMIC WORK

Articles

(1) "Migration and the Built Environment: A Spatial Analysis of Resettlement in Çeşme, Turkey." Journal of Social and Cultural Geography. (Submitted on December 2013, passed first review, currently under Revision)

Conference Papers

Aslankan, A. (2013). "Housing Responses to Changing Urban Language: A New Cultural Taste in Izmir." Paper presented at Graduate Student Conference entitled Nature of Spatial Practices, Pennsylvania State University, State College/PA, USA, February 1st, 2013.

Aslankan, A. (2012). "Spatializing Cultural Capital: The Impact of Migrations on the Works of Architecture." Paper presented at Sixth International Conference on Design Principles and Practices, University of California, Los Angeles/USA, 20-22 January 2012.

Aslankan, A. (2011). "Purchasing a Better Life: Branding Architecture in Turkey." Paper presented at 4T Conference: Design, Technology & Experience, Izmir University of Economics, Izmir/Turkey, 12-13May 2011.

Aslankan, A. (2010). "Exploring Socio-Spatial Transformations in Housing: Finding a New Home in Asia Minor." Paper presented at NHR 2010_The New Housing Researchers' Colloquium, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul/Turkey, July 2-3 2010.

AWARDS/SCHOLARSHIPS during PhD Program

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