AN ALTERNATIVE HOUSING EXPERIMENT BY THE HOUSING ADMINISTRATION OF TURKEY: ANKARA, ERYAMAN STAGE III

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES OF MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY
GÜLNUR GÜLER KAVAS

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

SEPTEMBER 2016
AN ALTERNATIVE HOUSING EXPERIMENT BY THE HOUSING ADMINISTRATION OF TURKEY: ANKARA, ERYAMAN STAGE III

submitted by GÜLNUR GÜLER KAVAS in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture in Architecture Department, Middle East Technical University by,

Prof. Dr. Gülbin Dural Ünver
Dean, Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences

Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan
Head of Department, Architecture

Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Supervisor, Architecture Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan
Co-Supervisor, Architecture Dept., TEDU

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Cânâ Bilsel
Architecture Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Architecture Dept., METU

Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan
Architecture Dept., TEDU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Esin Boyacioglu
Architecture Dept., Gazi University

Assist. Prof. Dr. Yücel Can Severcan
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Date: 09.09.2016
I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

**Name, Last Name:** Gülnur Güler Kavas

**Signature:**
ABSTRACT

AN ALTERNATIVE HOUSING EXPERIMENT BY THE HOUSING ADMINISTRATION OF TURKEY: ANKARA, ERYAMAN STAGE III
Güler Kavas, Gülnur
M.Arch. Department of Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Co-advisor: Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan

September 2016, 156 pages

This thesis aims to analyze the alternative position of Eryaman III at the urban and neighborhood scales in terms of its production process and design quality. First, it discusses the ways Eryaman Stages III and IV represent an alternative in terms of design and production among the first four stages led by TOKİ since the 1980s in Eryaman. To this end, it reviews TOKİ’s publications that are representative of its institutional characteristics in the early 1990s, the influential actors and the critical urban planning decisions in the establishment of the Eryaman neighborhood. In addition, it examines the mass housing and urban design theories in post-1960 Europe, considering the theoretical approaches on issues such as typomorphology, urban block and street as patterns of associations adopted by the architects of Eryaman III, Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar. Through a selection of Gülgönen’s and Çavdar’s design practices prior to Eryaman III, it compares their respective design approaches in terms of continuity and discontinuity between selected projects. Finally, it examines how the physical environments created by these two groups of housing located opposite to each other constitute alternatives to each other in their effort to establish social associations. The study uses a multilayered methodology, including documentation, observation, semi-structured interviews and diagrammatic analysis demonstrate the formal relationships of the urban fabric. The conclusion section asserts that Eryaman III with its production and design characteristics still stands out as a reference for current mass housing production.
Keywords: Eryaman III, housing, urban design, typomorphology, urban block, street
ÖZ

TOPLU KONUT İDARESİ, ALTERNATİF BİR TOPLU KONUT DENEYİMİ:
ANKARA, ERYAMAN III. ETAP

Güler Kavas, Gülnur
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Aydan Balamir
Yardımcı Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan

Eylül 2016, 156 sayfa

Anahtar Sözcükler: Eryaman III, toplu konut, kentsel tasarım, tipomorfoloji, kent adası, sokak
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to thank my advisor Aydan Balamir for her contributions to the writing of this thesis. Balamir, by encouraging me to work on the Eryaman Stage III and IV, which she presents to her undergraduate students within the scope of the housing project in the 3rd year studio every year, introduced me to the topic that I have connected with pleasure as I could have never imagined before. During the research and writing processes of this thesis, which had to be completed in a relatively short time, she constantly provided me her field knowledge, the resources she recommended and her notion of academic writing while supporting my choices, heartening and motivating me. My co-advisor Ali Cengizkan, an indisputable expert in Eryaman and housing issues, always nurtured and drove up the quality of my study with the ideas he shared with me on how to improve my approach to the issue at hand and his constructive critiques he provided at breaking points. It was a golden opportunity for me to have been able to work closely with Balamir and Cengizkan, whose ways of perceiving the world I sincerely respect, as well as their academic studies and methods. I also candidly thank Cânâ Birsel whom for resources she recommended and provided, names she advised me to talk to and her effort in order for me to make an interview with Ahmet Gülgonen played a very important role in the making of this thesis. In addition, I thank Esin Boyacıoğlu and Yücel Can Severcan very much for their critiques and contributions at the jury session.

I am vastly grateful to Ahmet Gülgonen and Tuncay Çavdar, who opened their offices to me by accepting my interview requests and made this thesis possible by sharing their professional approaches and projects with me; for to Ömer Kıral, who substituted for the lost archives, for his witnessing to the history, and for the resources he provided with me; to Kemal Aran for kindly sharing his original documents and drawings which are very valuable for me; to Semra Teber Yener, who opened up my horizon about Ankara and Erymaman of the era and shared project information and images with me; and to Ragıp Buluç for our enjoyable conversation. Besides, I would like to extend my thanks to Çağatay Keskinok and Tanju Gültekin, who shared their personal archives with me; and to TOKİ experts
Suat Orgun and Nehare Nalbant for making my access to resources easier and Kadri Atabaş his valuable contributions.

I do not know how to thank Merve Neslihan Gürbüzel, Melis Ezgi Yaman, Özlem Altun and Görkem Demirok; without them I would have not been able to achieve this. They were always next to me during this tough process, never hesitated to give their friendship to me whenever I needed it and supported me at the most critical times by mobilizing all kinds of resources they had. I thank Duygu Toprak very much for her companionship and endless support in the writing process of this thesis. I also thank Kadir Akar and Helin Köröğlu for their technical support they gave me.

I thank Nihan Bölükbaş, Erman Çete, Bulut Topuz, Ezgi Balkanay, Feyyaz Kıyat and Mert Ünal, who stood by me with their warm concern during this intense and lonely period of time. Merih Füsun Kavas, Ayşegül Kavas and Ali Kavas have always been next to me with all their constructive attention and love; I am so glad to have them.

Volkan Kavas had to shoulder this burden with me during the very difficult summer of 2016. I thank him so much for his love, patience and infinite support he provided; without him I would not have been able to overcome this.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT..................................................................................................................v
ÖZ.....................................................................................................................................vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.................................................................................................ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS...............................................................................................xi
LIST OF FIGURES........................................................................................................xiii
LIST OF TABLES............................................................................................................xvi

## CHAPTERS

1. INTRODUCTION........................................................................................................1
   1.1. Problem Definition............................................................................................1
   1.2. Literature Review: Studies on Eryaman III and IV........................................4
   1.3. Background and Theoretical Framework .......................................................7
   1.4. Aim & Scope.....................................................................................................9
   1.5. Material............................................................................................................11
   1.6. Organization.....................................................................................................12

2. ALTERNATIVE IN TERMS OF HISTORICAL PROCESSES..............................13
   2.1. Alternative Housing Production.................................................................13
       2.1.1. Institution................................................................................................13
       2.1.2. Site..........................................................................................................17
       2.1.3. First Four Stages of Eryaman.................................................................27
   2.2. Alternative Search for Housing Settlement....................................................35
       2.2.1. Urban Vision............................................................................................35
       2.2.2. The Center and Social Benefits...............................................................38
   2.3. Evaluation........................................................................................................40
       2.3.1. Eryaman III and IV as an alternative experience in the practice of TOKI..........................40
       2.3.2. Eryaman III as a unique entity in forming a part of the whole..................41

3. ALTERNATIVE DESIGN QUALITY IN THE PROJECTS OF STAGE III............43
   3.1. Trace: Relevant European Theoretical Atmosphere around 60s...............43
3.1.1. The Italian Tradition: Typomorphological approach...44
3.1.2. French School.........................................................47
3.1.3. The Northern Approach: Habraken and the Smithsons.54

3.2. Architects.............................................................57
  3.2.1. Ahmet Gülgönen, an academician architect........57
  3.2.2. Examples from Gülgönen’s professional practice: Gallipoli to Tourcoing Social Housing...............60
  3.2.3. Tuncay Çavdar, a professional architect.............65
  3.2.4. Realized and unrealized examples from Çavdar’s professional practice: İzmit experiment to resort architecture..................................................67

3.3. Analysis of Eryaman III...........................................73
  3.3.1. Trace: Urban design characteristics of Eryaman III....73
  3.3.2. Characteristics of structures of Eryaman III by Ahmet Gülgönen.................................................77
    3.3.2.1. Typomorphological relationships..............77
    3.3.2.2. Patterns of association: *ilot, passageways, loggias*..............................................................80
  3.3.3. “Owning a home, not a hole in an apartment”: Eryaman III by Tuncay Çavdar.........................................85
    3.3.3.1. Typomorphological references.................85
    3.3.3.2 Pattern of association: *street, cluster*........85

3.4. Evaluation............................................................91
  3.4.1. Eryaman III as an alternative in Gülgönen’s and Çavdar’s oeuvres.................................................91
  3.4.2. Gülgönen and Çavdar as Alternatives to Each Other...95

4. CONCLUSION.......................................................................................................99
REFERENCES.........................................................................................................105
APPENDIX............................................................................................................111
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. A compilation of housing environments of the recent TOKİ production.........................................................................................................................................................1
Figure 1.2. A compilation of housing environments of Eryaman III by Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar.................................................................3
Figure 2.1. The landscape of Eryaman with Susuz Lake, photograph by Kemal Aran.................................................................................................................................18
Figure 2.2. Western Corridor, New Development Areas and Distribution of Industrial Zones.........................................................................................................................21
Figure 2.3. Eryaman New Settlement Area Project, Sincan-Ankara 1/5000, n.d.....23
Figure 2.4. Revision master plan of Eryaman by Bülent Berksan, 1994...........24
Figure 2.5. A sample schema for the apartment house neighborhood. ..........26
Figure 2.6. Site Plan of the first four stages of Eryaman..................................29
Figure 2.7. Stage II blocks and center designed by Oral Vural.........................30
Figure 2.8. Panoramic view of Eryaman IV from its unrealized park area..........33
Figure 2.9. Site Plan of Eryaman IV................................................................33
Figure 2.10. 13 October Urban Gate Competition, Overall Drawing, 1:25.000…..36
Figure 2.11. Relationship with Environs, 1:5000 (left) General Settlement Plan, 1:2.000 (right)..........................................................................................................................37
Figure 2.12. Time Tower, Bridge and Square..................................................38
Figure 2.13. Centre for Eryaman, in Eryaman New Settlement Area Project, Sincan-Ankara 1/5000, n.d............................................................39
Figure 3.1. The cover of Morphologie urbaie et typologie architecturale.................................................................................................................................50
Figure 3.2. Diagram of child association pattern by the Smithsons.................55
Figure 3.3. Photomontage of street-in-the-air by Peter Smithson, 1953...........55
Figure 3.4. Relationship with the topography in the Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial project.................................................................................................61
Figure 3.5. Site sections of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial

Figure 3.6. Site plan of the Gülgünens’s housing blocks in the old suburbs of industrial Tourcoing

Figure 3.7. Axonometric drawing of the Tourcoing rowhouse by Gülgünens

Figure 3.8. Exterior staircases

Figure 3.9. Covered passageway

Figure 3.10. During the interviews with the future inhabitants

Figure 3.11. Partial model photography of İzmit Experiment showing independent entrances with separate stairways

Figure 3.12. Partial elevation of the blocks of İzmit Experiment

Figure 3.13. The cluster of structures of Robinson Holiday Village from above

Figure 3.14. The elevated block in the Excelsior Corinthia Hotel, Side Titreyengöl

Figure 3.15. Sea-Garden Hapimag, Bodrum

Figure 3.16. Site plan of Eryaman III

Figure 3.17. Eryaman landscape: “view of the free landscape from the immediate surroundings of Eryaman” - Caption and drawing by Kemal Aran

Figure 3.18. “Clusters of courtyard apartments takes great care to follow the features of the landscape and utilize its values”- Caption and drawing by Kemal Aran

Figure 3.19. Pattern of association in Gülgünens plots

Figure 3.20. Section of the selected plot designed by Gülgünens showing the cluster’s relationship with the public spaces

Figure 3.21. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood

Figure 3.22. Section of the selected plot designed by Çavdar demonstrates streets and the elevated street

Figure 3.23. Cluster of row houses, 5-storey monoblock and semi-detached blocks in a plot in the Tuncay Çavdar’s section
Figure 4.1. Göksu shopping mall and Göksu Park, two of the recently built structures in Eryaman

Figure A.1. Portrait of Ahmet Gülgönen, in his office APRAH, Paris, 2016

Figure A.2. Portrait of Tuncay Çavdar, in his office Atölye T, İstanbul, 2016
LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. The design themes of Lake Nemi...............................................59
Table 3.2. Examples from combination of I-types, L-types and T-types creating courtyards..........................................................79
Table 3.3. Types of patterns of association.................................................83
Table 3.4. Types of open spaces.................................................................84
Table 3.5. Components of clusters.............................................................89
Table 3.6. Examples from the combination of monoblock, semi-detached blocks and row houses creating the clusters..........................................................90
Table 3.7. Continuity and breakdown between Eryaman and Ahmet Gülgönen’s other projects.................................................................92
Table 3.8. Continuity and breakdown between Eryaman and Tuncay Çavdar’s other projects.................................................................94
Table 3.9. Comparison of plots by Gülgönen and Çavdar..........................95
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Problem Definition

Figure 1.1. A compilation of housing environments of the recent TOKİ production.
Source: All images were taken from the website http://www.toki.gov.tr/uygulama-gorselleri/illere-gore-uygulamalar/ and put together by the author.
When we look at the current urban environment in Turkey, one of the first actors that comes to mind is the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ). TOKİ is currently active in 81 provinces, with a total housing production of 726,375 units since 1984, which correspond to a significant percentage of the recent housing production. Notwithstanding this widespread coverage and level of production, the prevalent quantity-oriented approach of TOKİ is identified with a lack of design quality at the urban and neighborhood scales. Thus, it results in an understanding of housing production limited to the production of large amounts of standardized units. However, in the early 1990s, the institution had produced remarkable housing examples in Ankara, namely Eryaman Stages III and IV, both of which proved to be in accordance with the expectations in the fields of urban design and architecture. Cengizkan asserts that the former quality-oriented approach of the institution, which aimed at “increasing the quality of the surrounding environment” and “making housing surroundings a distinctive fragment of the urban area, as a physical environment”, as well as the progress made in improving the quality, has been left behind.

While the buildings in Eryaman Stage IV reflect strong architectural concerns, Eryaman Stage III presents also an overall search for quality through urban design. In this regard, the relation between the designs of Eryaman Stages III and IV at the larger scale will be examined with a holistic approach. The analysis at the smaller scale will focus on TOKİ experiments in Eryaman Stage III designed by Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar, which stand opposite to one another in the area.

---

Against this backdrop, this study argues that Eryaman Stages III and IV, and Ahmet Gülgönen’s and Tuncay Çavdar’s housing designs represent an alternative position vis-à-vis the recent mass housing projects produced by TOKİ. This physical environment not only stands as a precursor of alternative solutions and concerns belonging to a particular period but also makes it possible to understand and discuss the historical and theoretical context in which it was developed. For this reason, the influential theoretical approach of the era, the specific conditions of TOKİ and the architects as actors who produce space, the Eryaman district before the above-mentioned projects and the theoretical background of the works of the architects should be scrutinized in order to set the stage for discussing the context. The following questions seek to understand the ways these housing projects represent an alternative:

1. In what ways do the designs of Eryaman Stage III and IV represent alternative schemes in the Eryaman district?

---

4 In this thesis, the adjective ‘alternative’ is used as a synonym of unconventional, non-standard, unusual, uncommon and when used as noun as a synonym of option and choice.
2. In what ways do these designs situate themselves as alternatives in the institutional history of TOKİ?

3. How did the architectural understanding of the era affect the design of these buildings and with which discourses are they associated?

4. How could these buildings be positioned among other works of Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar?

The first two questions regard the urban scale and are expected to illustrate the historical background of the research area namely Eryaman III and IV. The third and fourth questions, in addition to it, establish the pillars of the discussion about how these areas create an alternative.

1.2. Literature Review: Studies on Eryaman III and IV

The body of research that focuses on Eryaman III and IV, generally dating back to 2000, provides information on the planning process, urban and architectural design of these two areas, and examines them as a whole at the urban scale and the context of their production processes at the building scale. The literature review presents first the studies that tackle Eryaman III and IV together, then those that examine Eryaman III as a whole and lastly the studies that focus on the buildings designed by Gülgönen in Eryaman III.

The studies by Bilsel and Cengizkan which discuss Eryaman Stages III and IV at various scales are very informative. Establishing the link between urban design and planning scales, Bilsel analyses Bilkent and Batıkent in the Western Corridor along with Eryaman. In this study, Bilsel starts with the general characteristics of Eryaman, which was designed at the urban scale, and its relations with the city, then focuses on Eryaman Stages III and IV. According to Bilsel, “[w]hile the development of mass construction technologies prevailed in the first and second phases, a search for alternative urban design approaches and architectural variety is observed particularly in the third and fourth phases.”

5 Cânâ Bilsel. “Three Recent Settlements in Ankara: Batıkent, Eryaman and Bilkent, Questions on Quality and Sustainability of the Built Environment” in G. Moser, et. al. (ed.), IAPS 16, Metropolis
Starting from the neighborhood scale, Cengizkan supports this claim by analyzing the relation between housing production, the trends of the era and the field in question. Cengizkan highlights that the third and fourth stages present alternative design and implementation processes as they are examples which go beyond the anonymous scheme of apartment blocks and demonstrate variety in the hands of master architects who put together different forms. Moreover, Cengizkan asserts that the positive characteristics of the “neighborhood unit”, which promote collective life at both the larger and smaller scales, were successfully implemented in Eryaman Stage III. Additionally, in an article presenting the examples of postmodern approaches in the post-1980 era, Balamir refers to Eryaman Stages III and IV as “housing clusters with traditional or modern associations”, which display experimental features.

Two master theses on Eryaman Stages III and IV look at the area through two perspectives. The Study of the Housing of Eryaman III and IV Stages from the Viewpoint of Semiology, which considers architecture as a work of art of communication, analyzes mass housing in Eryaman Stages III and IV in terms of semiotics and interprets them as designs involving semantic and syntactic qualifications. On the other hand, in The Agency of the Architect In The Production Process of Mass Housing the Example of Eryaman Mass Housing Application, Alpan defines place as a “social product” and analyzes the actors involved in mass housing processes and procedures, rules and regulations that set the stage for it, by looking at the first four stages in Eryaman through “the trails of the architect”. Although Alpan states that the bureaucratic mechanisms between the public agencies and private

---


companies restrict the domain of the designer, his analysis presents innovative results in terms of the qualitative aspects of architectural and urban design.

The study by Hilal Özcan, *Holistic Approach to Evaluate the Neighborhood Concept*, examines Eryaman III by employing the concepts “sense of place” and “sense of community”. Highlighting the relationship of its design with the neighborhood concept, Özcan examines the architectural characteristics of Eryaman Stage III, such as block entrance, height, roof structure and color, and urban design characteristics like size, street character, and walkability.\(^{10}\) Despite its valuable contribution, an important shortcoming of Özcan’s study is her altogether analysis of the apartment blocks designed by Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar, which results in elusiveness, especially for those unfamiliar with the area. Albostan, on the other hand, analyzes the planning scale by considering the blocks by Gülgönen and Çavdar in Eryaman Stage III as case studies within a conceptual framework shaped around flexibility and other related concepts such as adaptability and typological variety.\(^{11}\)

From a different standpoint and focusing on the apartment blocks by Ahmet Gülgönen in Eryaman Stage III, *The Legacy of Humanistic Tradition in a Contemporary Urban Form* by Rânâ Nergis Öğüt and Kemal Aran utilizes philosophical references that help them shape their findings.\(^{12}\) According to the article, Gülgönen took the landscape of Eryaman as the primary criteria and the public-private tension in the area are important gains in terms of the production of urban space. In addition, the tectonic forms of Gülgönen create a good architectural environment, which stands as an important means of expression between the traditional and the international.\(^{13}\) The article “*La dignità dell’abitare imperativo di uno sviluppo urbano sostenibile*”\(^{14}\) by Torricelli examines the relationship of

---

\(^{10}\) Hilal Özcan. *Holistic Approach to Evaluate the Neighborhood Concept. Department of City and Regional Planning, METU. M.Sc.*, 1999.

\(^{11}\) Albostan, Duygu. “Flexibility in Multi-Residential Housing Projects: Three Innovative Cases from Turkey”, *METU. Department of Architecture, M.Sc.*, 2009.


\(^{13}\) ibid.

\(^{14}\) The quoted passages were translated by Inst. Melike Deniz Orhan from Italian for this thesis.
Eryaman Stage III with the surrounding environment and the identity of the community living in the area. Basing her analysis on three pillars of urban development, namely locality, socio-economic situation and culture, Torricelli asserts that the blocks by Gülgün in Eryaman Stage III seek to establish the relationship between traditional and up-to-date materials, understand the characteristics of the land, and contribute to sustaining traditions and historical awareness.\textsuperscript{15}

Gültekin’s study based on \textit{Quality Assessment and Research Project on Building Components in Eryaman IV Mass Housing} instead focuses on Eryaman IV. By using survey methodology, he reports that the main weaknesses of the area are the use of low-quality material, lack of insulation and design flaws.\textsuperscript{16}

The review of these studies show that Eryaman III has drawn more scholarly attention and Ahmet Gülgün’s design philosophy was examined, while Tuncay Çavdar’s design approach has been neglected. Overall, regardless of the framework of analysis, Eryaman III and IV are generally considered good, expressive or ideal examples of mass housing.

1.3. Background and Theoretical Framework

According to Ockman, the architectural discourse after the 1960s was shaped by “humanistic values” with the rise of social, psychological and anthropological aspects. She explains that the “premodernist and antimodernist themes” and “anti-rationalistic tendencies” like monumentality, regional traditions, ornament and popular culture as well as contextualism, historicism, and search for urbanity, regionalism found a path in the discourse which rejected the modernist hegemony.\textsuperscript{17}

Since then, modernist prescriptions for public housing schemes as well as designing cities at a larger scale, especially as being crystallized in the Athens Charter, were criticized widely by different design and planning schools for their lack of success of

\textsuperscript{15} Maria Chiara Torricelli. \textit{La dignita dell’abitare imperativo di uno sviluppo urbano sostenibile}, in Costruire Sostenibile il Mediterraneo. (Firenze: ALINEA, 2001)


creating environments that support social life and undefined ground relations provided by towers and linear apartments. Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter in Collage City criticize totalizing urban design with diagrammatic abstraction which resulted in the decline of the public realm of the city. They argue that smaller scales should be used in designing the city instead of large urban schemes.\textsuperscript{18}

Jane Jacobs in her seminal book The Death and Life of American Cities similarly complained about the decline of the public space, emphasizing the need for functions of the “street” with all its social and symbolic references. She also claimed that “multifunctional neighborhoods”, “short blocks” and “connected street systems” are among the essential physical conditions for a fulfilling urban life.\textsuperscript{19} Alison and Peter Smithson also challenged the formalistic attitude of modern urbanism, by “seeking a ‘socioplasic’ basis for design” and advocating for “patterns of association” against “mechanical” approaches.\textsuperscript{20} To the Smithsons, “the problem of human relations fell through the net of Four Functions” framed by CIAM, which are living, working, recreation and circulation.\textsuperscript{21} They introduce instead new concepts such as association, identity, patterns of growth, cluster and mobility, signalling a paradigmatic shift.

The fields of urban design and architectural theory have also focused on “perceiving and recognizing elements within the existing places and seeking a basis for future design action”. In his works, Kevin Lynch sought to establish a bond between the social science methods and urban design, emphasized public participation, and focused on the relationship between human perception and physical structure of the cities.\textsuperscript{22} In similar vein, Aldo Rossi described “the city as a locus of collective memory and emphasized the consequent importance of monuments and a sense of place.”\textsuperscript{23} For him, “the study of the city and its formal problems should be approached from the

\textsuperscript{23} op. cit. 12.
perspective of a discipline which is best equipped to grasp their meaning.”

Although the cultural climate described above based on a more pluralist, identity-based and regionalist attitude emerged in the 1960s, these pursuits, deviated from their aims in Turkey, failed to go beyond schemes until the 1980s. According to Tanyeli, Turkey experienced a drastic change in terms of architectural discourse in the mid-1980s. The 1980s are characterized by the “economically liberal and culturally conservative” influence of global capitalism in Turkey. While state-driven development was losing favor, the organic relationship between architecture and politics discontinued. As in most of the intellectual fields, an attitude developed that rejected grand theories creating discursive fragmentation. The criticism of modernism, the meaning of and discussions about modernity, and tendencies like late modernism or postmodernism took place in the field after 1980.

1.4. Aim & Scope

The reason why there is a need to revisit the topic 16 years after the first set of studies is mainly the potential contribution of an analysis of the conditions that shaped these examples that have completely different aspects compared to the current built environment produced by TOKİ, as delineated in the subsection Problem Definition, to the existing body of work in the fields of design, architecture and planning, which would help examine the current situation better.

In the light of the framework described in the Background and Theoretical Framework subchapter, this thesis also tries to investigate social association

---

potentials and responsibility of designing the city in the design processes of Eryaman Stages III and IV that tended to break from the modernist hegemony in housing production that emerged in Turkey after 1980. Eryaman III and IV are strictly bounded by the overall economic and political conditions of the period in which they were designed. On the other hand, their relatively stand-alone position within the fields of urban design and architecture should be taken into account.

This study focuses on the works of the two architects of Eryaman Stage III, Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar, and excludes the examples designed by other architects in Stage IV. Grasping the theoretical background, the intellectual pursuit and the respective positions of Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay is an important aim of this thesis as the relationship of the previous projects of these architects and the theoretical precursors they follow and Eryaman III has not been examined in the studies overviews in the Literature Review subchapter. Analyzing Eryaman III through the concepts and themes that emerge from such an analysis would help understand how the spaces designed by Gülgönen and Çavdar are alternative to each other, and thus, define, as a researcher, the dimension of the richness of design that stood out for the observer in the field. It seeks to do so by examining Eryaman Stage III at two different scales: The social and historical context positions it at the larger scale with Stage IV and the intellectual framework which informed it at the neighborhood scale.

Moreover, the loss of the original project documents, as explained in the Material subsection, and the lack of documentation in the previous studies pointed to the need to collect documents about the area and reproduce some of the drawings. Bearing this need in mind, the thesis uses the richness of the existing research about the topic, while distinguishes itself from them by combining historical background and design approach research and deciphering the base on which it is constructed through several comparisons.
1.5. Material

*Archive research and documentation*

First the original drawings, photographs and the official correspondences from institutional and personal archives were gathered. Concept drawings by Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar were especially searched in TOKİ archives, however it was discovered that the designs had been disposed of as they were “old projects”. These drawings could not be found in the personal archives of the architects, either. The only existing construction drawings, derived from the archive of Etimesgut Municipality, were reproduced as 2D drawings and used as a base for the digital modelling of the selected sites. The diagrammatic and comparative analysis of the concept of alternative was thus possible through the use of these drawings.

*Interviews and observation*

To explore the significant aspects of the period, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the architects and officials. The interviews were designed as a direct means to have first-hand information on the design processes and objectives. Personal archives and experiences became more important, as neither the correspondences during the design and implementation process nor the drawings were found in the TOKİ archive. The semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar, the architects of Eryaman Stage III; Ragıp Buluç, the designer of the unrealized center for Eryaman Stage IV; Ömer Kiral, who worked for TOKİ during that period; and lastly, Semra Teber Yener, who prepared the construction drawings for Eryaman Stage III. The interviewees and the dates and location of the interviews are as follows: Ahmet Gülgönen, 13 July 2016 in Paris; Tuncay Çavdar, 16 May 2016 in İstanbul; Semra Teber, 13 August 2016 in İstanbul; Ömer Kiral, 6 June 2016 in Ankara; and Ragıp Buluç, 22 June 2016 in Ankara.

Between 1 June 2016 and 30 July 2016, the author experienced living in a flat in a block designed by Ahmet Gülgönen in Eryaman III. Despite the time limitation and not being a permanent inhabitant of the neighborhood, the experience helped strengthening the connection with the subject, especially through the scrutiny of the
daily life proposed by Gülgören, and the quality of informal observations about Eryaman.

1.6. Organization

The study is organized in the following manner. The first chapter introduces the problem definition, research questions, brief literature review, theoretical framework, significance of the study, materials used in the study and its organization.

The second chapter documents Eryaman III and IV as urban scale cases that provide the background of these experiments, with an overview of TOKİ and the Eryaman district. To grasp the “discourse” of the period, it refers to publications, institutions involved in the processes, planning approaches and contests for Eryaman. It further discusses the diverse positions of Eryaman Stages III and IV relative to the institutional history of TOKİ and mass housing produced in Eryaman, through comparisons, experiences of those who witnessed the processes and presents diagrammatic analyses.

The third chapter demonstrates the relations with the theoretical framework. The organizational schemes of Eryaman Stage III is read with reference to the personal approaches and design strategies of Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar, enriched by personal interpretations of the architects and their drawings. It then discusses post-60s European urban design by three main trends through the architects’ statements and the theoretical framework. In addition, Eryaman Stages III is compared to other projects by the two architects; hence, a base is established for the discussion on how these cases represent a continuity with or a break from their overall professional experiences. Ahmet Gülgönen’s and Tuncay Çavdar’s buildings are mainly discussed through “typo-morphology” and the popular French concept “ilot” and Smithsons’ concepts of “patterns of association”, “street” and “cluster”. The diagrammatic analyses, which allow for a comparison between the two housing clusters and support the previous discussions, are critical components of this thesis.

The final chapter asserts that Eryaman III with its production and design characteristics stands out as a reference for current mass housing production.
CHAPTER 2

ALTERNATIVE IN TERMS OF HISTORICAL PROCESSES

2.1. Alternative Housing Production

2.1.1. Institution
İlhan Tekeli groups the qualitative and quantitative solutions proposed to the housing problem throughout the Republican history into three: gecekondu production process, build and sell, and mass housing production, including cooperative housing.30 A lack of norms in these processes, which “occurred in the course of development” rather than established by a central planning organization, was due to the gap between the pressure arising from the specific conditions of the era and the lack of mediums to meet these pressures.31 Regarding mass housing production’s “impact on development of the housing financing and housing technology in Turkey, and effect on urban forms and fragmented urban development”32, the claim that mass housing production has a far-reaching influence and a significant role in urban processes is defensible.

The institutionalization of mass housing production, that is, in the hands of central planning, was realized within the framework of the Mass Housing Law No.2985, which came into force in 1984. The Mass Housing Fund was established under the Housing Development and Public Participation Administration. The Mass Housing Fund was designed to overcome housing problems, such as insufficient housing production to meet the needs of an increasing population and internal migration, and the inefficiency the housing produced by the state. There were three basic objectives behind the establishment of the Housing Development and Public Participation

31 ibid.
32 ibid, 8.
Administration: “Developing solutions to housing and urbanization in Turkey at the national level, bridging the housing deficit in a planned and organized way through public resources, and promoting housing ownership for people who cannot afford”\textsuperscript{33}. Regulating the procedures and principles for housing contractors and developing proper construction methods and related tools and materials were the secondary objectives.\textsuperscript{34} Despite these goals and expectations, usually middle and upper-middle classes instead of low-middle classes benefited from the Mass Housing Fund.\textsuperscript{35}

\textit{Search for Quality: 1991-1996}

The publication summarizing TOKİ’s activities, \textit{Türkiye’de Konut Sektörü ve T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi’nin Konut Üretimindeki Yeri}, outline the general approaches of the governments to housing production. It states that during the short-lived coalition governments of the 1990s involving the social democrats, between 1991 and 1993, the state promoted housing ownership of low-income groups by taxes and subsidies. Furthermore, addressing mass housing problem as a whole, including recreational facilities and public services around it, was a concern specific to this era. It is also stressed that the necessity of considering the land, infrastructure and housing within the framework of urbanization was an approach specific to the period 1993-1995.\textsuperscript{36}

The period 1992-1996 builds the scene for developing such approaches, when Yiğit Gülöksüz, a former member of METU City and Regional Planning Department, built his team after becoming the president of TOKİ. In order to get a grasp of TOKİ’s approach and objectives regarding mass housing in this era, this study uses the following two publications as main resources: \textit{Yerel Yönetimin Geliştirilmesi El Kitapları Dizisi} (\textit{Handbook Series for Developing Local Government}), published in 1993 in collaboration with the International Union of Local Administrations East Mediterranean and Middle East Regional Organization (IULA-EMME) to guide especially local administrators; \textit{Konut Araştırmaları Dizisi} (\textit{Housing Research}

\textsuperscript{33} Türkiye’de Konut Sektörü ve T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi’nin Konut Üretimindeki Yeri, unpublished version, np.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{ibid.}
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{ibid.}
Series), published in 1996, presents the outputs of symposiums and academic research financed by the R&D projects of TOKİ. These projects and publications invited academia, a range of fields from social sciences to engineering, to discuss design and implementation processes. In the Foreword of the abovementioned series, Gülöksüz describes the expectations from the research conducted as:

By funding research projects, the Mass Housing Administration aims at, on the one hand, contributing to knowledge, on the other hand, assessing the outcomes of the housing policies implemented through scientific methods. The research conducted in a wide spectrum including planning, financing and engineering dimensions of the mass housing problem of the country is expected to provide scientific data to determine the prospective housing policies of the Administration.

This approach, which aims at integrating academia and scientific knowledge with design and analysis processes, defines the environmental quality of the designed urban areas as a problem to be discussed. Through research and publications, TOKİ tried to employ the lessons learned from the international as well as national practices in designing for mass housing.

In this regard, a closer look at the three publications of the series, which were mentioned in the first chapter of this study, would provide an understanding of the quality and variety of the publications. The research by Ayata et al. analyzes the new housing environment relations such as neighborhood and urban culture that arose from the creation of new housing in areas out of the city center of Ankara, in comparison to apartment buildings areas close to the city center and the gecekondu areas. In Toplu Konut Alanlarında Örgütlenme ve İşletme (Management and
Organization in Mass Housing Areas), Özcan Altaban discusses the management and modelling ways to promote physical and social environment, examining the cooperatives, companies, banks, and mass housing areas, scales of public spaces and facilities in the new residential areas created by TOKİ. 41 İnsan, Evi ve Çevresi: Ankara’da Bir Toplu Konut Araştırması (Human, Home and Environment: A Mass Housing Research in Ankara) presents data on residents’ perception of housing and environment in the mass housing areas in Ankara, from the perspective of social psychology and architecture. 42

Apart from the publications mentioned above, two other publications from Halka Yönelik Yerel Yönetim (Local Administration for People) and Yerel Yönetim ve Ahlak (Local Administration and Ethic) represent the position of TOKİ in the period 1991-1996 and its main pillars. These publications also create the base for comparison for the concerns of the era, and prompts to think about today’s values on this basis. The first one prescribes how to serve people with optimal efficiency given the means at hand and the ways to communicate with people, and in doing so clearly demonstrates the main tendency of the era. 43 The latter employs specific terminology and addresses complex questions on how the local administration ethics can be tested by ethical problems and choices such as, “arranging transactions promptly”, “potential conflict of interests and the problems arising from these”, “corrupting effects of populism and patronage” and “potential problems created by centralization of the authority, centralist and closed administrative structures”. 44 In this context, the corruption in public administration could be avoided by principles such as “achieving high standards in behaviors and decisions by clearly stressing the institutional values, and preserve these standards”, “elaborating an “ethical condition” and actualizing this, “making ethical problems and conflicts a public matter, by including the comments of the institution” 45.

user group than that of Eryaman, it is not possible to establish a connection; however, the general descriptions in the study and comments on Ankara are used in this study.
44 Adalet, Bayramoğlu-Alada. Yerel Yönetim ve Ahlak (İstanbul: Kent Basmevi, 1993), 32.
From this brief overview, it could be inferred that qualitative concerns were prioritized in that period. Although the production rate was still an indicator, the main matters of the debate were how mass housing relates especially with social relations, urbanization and the environmental quality of the spaces created. Moreover, participation was emphasized, by looking for means of participation in design processes through scientific knowledge (the outcome is analyzed to construct the basis for discussion in the Evaluation subchapter). Furthermore, the value-based prescriptions describing how participation could be promoted by public services and how to contact with people provide an insight on the prevailing discourse of the era.

2.1.2. Site

Construction of the mass housing located between Ayaş Road and İstanbul Road started in the end of the 1980s. The workers who came to pitch the site tent watched in admiration the extensive land waving through small hills, the fields with harvested crops. One of them told the crop was tall, by looking at the stubble, so the others agreed. The land was fertile, the crop was tall. By the time they moved towards the reeds around İstanbul Road, they saw a small, rainwater-fed lake. One of them told the water was a blessing, so the others agreed. They were in the middle of the steppe, there was nothing around that could be considered water, other than the poor Ankara Stream flowing from a few kilometers south of where they were standing to the east, and flowing to death as it had been poisoned.

Barış Biçakçı, Sinek Isırtıklarının Müellifi\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{46} This excerpt is translated into English for this thesis by Merve Neslihan Gürbüzel.
It is a rather long journey from Eryaman’s natural landscape to the current built environment. A long journey full of missed opportunities that could have resulted in a well-structured environment, economic, political, bureaucratic and design processes considered altogether. This subchapter aims to provide an insight into the objectives in Eryaman’s design, implemented and unimplemented decisions, projects and revisions since the 1970s until 1995, a period in which the Ministry of Development and Housing, Ankara Master Plan Bureau and the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara stand out as actors.

*The New Settlement Areas Project*

The New Settlement Areas Project (Yeni Yerleşim Alanları Projesi) was guided by the principle of “cheap, quality, healthy housing” and marked the foundation of TOKİ. The project was led by the Ministry of Development and Housing and was foreseen to be implemented between 1979 and 1983. The objective was the production of urban land and housing in Ankara-Eryaman, in addition to İzmir-Çiğli.

---

and Gaziemir, and the project was the biggest urban production move of the Republican history, right after Ankara-Yenimahalle Project implemented between 1948 and 1952.\textsuperscript{48}

The project report states that in the abovementioned three areas more than 50% of the housing stock was composed of gecekondu, licensed housing was produced to benefit from land rent and with demolish-and-build understanding, which increased the public infrastructure costs.\textsuperscript{49} In this regard, the project was designed “with the purpose of increasing public’s role in the housing sector through urban land production using public resources, preventing land speculation and defining housing production as a public service, to provide planned and healthy urbanization”.\textsuperscript{50} The objectives prioritized in this project, such as “designing in accordance with the socio-economic characteristics of lower income groups”, “technological organization for numerous housing in a short time” and “becoming cooperatives”\textsuperscript{51} signaled the public-oriented and fast production, aimed at ensuring effective transportation opportunities, infrastructure facilities, and quality social environment in the new settlement areas.\textsuperscript{52}

\textit{The Role of the Ankara Master Plan Bureau}

The objectives of the abovementioned project display similarities with those of the Ankara Master Plan Bureau (AMPB), which was founded in 1969. It adopted the understanding of “developing a plan by not only considering the physical environment components of the city but also analyzing economic and social structure and variables of the city”\textsuperscript{53}. Moreover, the discussion platform that the institution paved the way for and its encouragement for participation are in harmony with the TOKİ atmosphere between 1991 and 1996.\textsuperscript{54} The team led by Haluk Alatan and Özcan Altaban produced proposals with many alternatives employing new methods, and in a participatory way that was open to contribution from both professional and

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Op. cit.}, 4-5.
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{ibid}, 1.
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{ibid}, 3.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{ibid}, 4.
\textsuperscript{53} Altaban, 34-5.
\textsuperscript{54} Indeed, during those years, the two teams had members in common.
academic circles for the development of a master plan for the west-east axis of Ankara, aiming for 1990.55 Baykan Günay states that this team had an approach which “considers planning as a sustainable process” and opening the way for a “macroform for the city, its ability to grow, new transportation systems”.56 Alatan highlights that the Bureau emphasized “theoretical work to turn into practice”. While the connection with universities was established through meetings and conferences, the Bureau and Middle East Technical University were always “communed with each other”.57

The Ankara Master Plan Bureau also caused the Ministry to take steps for new settlements in 1979. Eryaman was designed by the Bureau as a satellite city located 18 kilometers away from the city, which was “one of the three biggest development areas on the Western Corridor, the most important development area determined by the New Master Plan with Sincan Gecekondu Prevention Area in the west and Batikent in the east”58.

58 Yeni Kentsel Yerleşme Alanları Projesi, 10, op. cit.
The density of the plot subdivisions of The New Settlement Areas Project was firstly determined by The Ankara Master Plan Bureau. The new 1200-hectare residential area, which would host 250,000 residents in Sincan-Eryaman section, was chosen in accordance with the Ankara Master Plan. The initial 1:5000 scale plans were designed by the Bureau.\(^{59}\) (see Figure 2.3)

They were the premier for the revisions and preparation of 1:5000 scale plans in 1994 by Bülent Berksan. As the need for a peripheral highway\(^{60}\) crossing the settlement arose and the blocks that the Bureau designed with the neighborhood concept needed to be expanded, TOKİ invited Berksan. Berksan revised the Master Plan by expanding the blocks by combining them and rendered them more

\(^{59}\) Altaban, 36, \textit{op. cit.}

\(^{60}\) Bilsel, \textit{op. cit.}
responsive to the needs of the targeted population.\textsuperscript{61} Hence, according to Berksan’s 1994 revision master plan, the area was downsized to 954 hectares and rearranged for a population of 170,000 people.\textsuperscript{62}

Moreover, the subway line had a critical importance in the development of macroform in Eryaman, which was originally planned as a 10-stage development as of 1994. With a ring form, the subway constitutes the general backbone of the entire area and creates the neighborhood unit at the larger scale.\textsuperscript{63} In the south of the area, there is Ayaş Highway, in the east Ankara-İstanbul Highway and “the peripheral highway crosses the area from North to South, dividing the settlement into two districts”.\textsuperscript{64} Figure 2.3 reveals these features of Eryaman, except Ankara Highway. The other general principles of Eryaman will be discussed briefly within the framework of neighborhood unit and relations with the center.

\textsuperscript{61} Ömer Kiral. interview by author, in 6 June 2016, voice recording.
\textsuperscript{62} Bilsel, \textit{op. cit.}
\textsuperscript{63} Kiral, \textit{op. cit.}
\textsuperscript{64} Bilsel, \textit{op. cit.}
Figure 2.3. Eryaman New Settlement Area Project, Sincan-Ankara 1/5000, n.d.
Source: Personal Archive of Çağatay Keskinok.
Figure 2.4. Revision master plan of Eryaman by Bülent Berksan, 1994
The Neighborhood Unit and the General Principles

Altaban defines mass housing areas as physical environments that are described by spatial qualities and quantities at varying scales. According to Altaban:

The pattern of the built and open spaces that constitute the physical environment of mass housing areas, the size, height and density of the buildings, the relationship between pedestrian and vehicle traffic in the area, the accessibility of social infrastructure and facilities, the level of municipal infrastructure and services such as public transport, waste collection, firefighting, water, electricity and sewerage, the distance to workplaces, availability of telecommunication define the qualitative and quantitative aspects of such environment.\(^{65}\)

Neighborhood unit is the main organization that provides qualitative and quantitative aspects that can be framed as the general principles of Eryaman.\(^{66}\) Therefore, this subchapter examines neighborhood unit as a key precedent of urban design to explore the origins of Eryaman.\(^{67}\)

The neighborhood unit is based on a family-oriented life, so the following functions and characteristics are essential in a well-designed housing area: the elementary school, small parks and playgrounds, local shops, and residential environment”\(^{68}\)

“The scheme is put forward as the framework of a model community and not as a detailed plan.”\(^{69}\) It is accepted that its realization and use will be shaped around this spatial organization. These local parts that work in a similar fashion not only function as a unit but also become an organic part of a larger system and a whole. Thus, public spaces are expected to emerge which would enable interaction within the common areas in the center of the units and the common areas at a smaller scale. The diagram below illustrates the layout that might be used for an apartment house unit, as suggested by Clarence Perry. (Figure 2.5)

\(^{65}\) Altaban, 38, op. cit.
\(^{66}\) Kiral, op. cit.
\(^{67}\) For a historical overview of the neighborhood unit, see: Özcan, H. Holistic Approach to Evaluate the Neighborhood Concept.
\(^{69}\) ibid.
Figure 2.5: A sample schema for the apartment house neighborhood.


In the overall design principle of Eryaman, the metro line has an important function in defining the macro-form. The ring-shaped line constitutes the backbone of the whole area and the neighborhood unit at a larger scale. Within this macro-form, neighborhood units with a population of approximately 5.000 are designed by considering the distance to the metro station, walking distances and continuity of pedestrian paths and walkability. The secondary roads are connected to the main roads that surround these neighborhoods. These roads form a ring road around the center and are connected to the parking areas available in all clusters. In the center, there are always a school and local commercial areas, and occasionally parks, health and sport facilities. With these units being repeated, the site becomes larger if the area is labelled as low-density, or smaller if the area is high-density.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{70} Kiral, op. cit.
2.1.3. The First Four Stages of Eryaman

Apartment buildings’ doors were installed, door numbers and name plates were hang. Transformer buildings, trade centers, schools, post offices and police stations, stalls were constructed. Marketplace, parks, playgrounds were built. Workers called their homes from the phone booths in front of the post office, after asking after their families, they told that the prime minister opened the first stage, and that the construction of the other stages had started, that their employment was guaranteed at least for another two-three years.

Barış Buçakçı, Sinek Isıklarının Müellifi

Kaya Alpan’s master’s thesis "The Agency of the Architect in the Production Process of Mass Housing the Example of Eryaman Mass Housing Application" presents quantitative information on the development of the first four stages of Eryaman and "the interactions taking place among the related agents in the institutional context". Alpan’s study and the interview conducted with Ömer Kiral provide important data for this subchapter. Eryaman Stage I, the largest of the first four stages covering an area of 111 hectares, 4,740 housing units and an estimated population of 18,960, was not included in this study as it was realized and completed in the period July 1987-January 1990,\(^{71}\) and thus, is outside the historical scope of this study.\(^{72}\) There are 3 neighborhoods and a district heating system in the area with compact functions in the center. Standard tunnel form was used in the construction of the area, which was designed by the contractor firm. It is seen that the neighborhood unit concept remains

---

\(^{71}\) Alpan, 118, op. cit.

intact.\textsuperscript{73} The main areas of investigation in this section are Stage II, Stage III and Stage IV, completed during the presidency of Gülöksüz at TOKİ (1992-1996).

After his appointment as president of TOKİ, Gülöksüz and his team were in need of a rapid implementation of the project, and Stage II was designed and realized in June 1992-September 1993. Lying on a 34-hectare area, with 3,180 housing units and an estimated population of 12,720, Stage II does not distinguish from Stage I, except for the design of the buildings in the center, with standard tunnel form used in the construction of the housing blocks.\textsuperscript{74} The major design characteristics of the project prepared by the contractor firms are as follows: “minimum space loss in housing units, limited variations in housing unit typologies, cheap but adequate material use and a plan schema suitable for rapid construction.”\textsuperscript{75} However, Ömer Kiral states that the design of the center in Stage II was where the new administration’s will was concretized. A well-known architect, Oral Vural, was appointed for the design of the center, where a trade center, a community center, a kindergarten and a primary school are located. As the building stands in the midst of high-rise housing blocks, the roof surface was conceived as “a second façade” and the urban design project was prepared accordingly.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{73} Kiral, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{74} Kiral, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{75} Alpan, 121, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{76} Kiral, op. cit.
Figure 2.6: Site Plan of the first four stages of Eryaman
Source: Redrawn and colored by the author on the base map taken from TOKİ.
Stage II, while still under construction, became a laboratory for Stage III for the administration. The lessons learnt from Stage II led to the idea of organizing an invited competition for designing Stage III. Ahmet Gülgören, Tuncay Çavdar and Cengiz Bekaş were the invitees of the competition with jurors being Raci Bademli, Doruk Pamir, Oral Vural, Yiğit Gülöksüz and Ömer Kıral.77 Both Kıral and Gülgören report that it was Bademli’s idea to invite Gülgören, who, in that period, was a lecturer experimenting with mass housing in France.78 Whereas the choice of Çavdar, then known as “tourism architect” (as will be detailed in Chapter 3.3.3), was somehow controversial, his part in an unimplemented housing project in İzmit justified the reason why he was invited.79

Among the three concept projects, Ahmet Gülgören’s won the first place, however, the jury decided to assign the design of a smaller, morphologically-defined area between the road and landscape in the eastern side of the land allocated to Stage III to Tuncay Çavdar.80 Another decision was taken to appoint Ahmet Gülgören as the

---

77 Kıral, op. cit.
78 Kıral, op. cit.
79 Tuncay Çavdar. interview by author, in 16 May 2016, voice recording.
80 Kıral, op. cit.
designer of the public services of Stage III, namely, a trade center, a community center, a kindergarten, a primary school, a marketplace and a health center.

Following the competition, works started for the 56-hectare area with 3195 housing units and an estimated population of 12,780. For the construction of the center and apartment blocks, 6 firms experienced in housing (Eston, Tepe, Yardımcı, Sutek, Alarko and Tekser) were awarded separate contracts. As a result of the competitive environment, the proposals were lower than the Public Works Unit Prices. The implementation started in September 1993 and the project was completed in March 1995. The landscape projects for both areas were prepared by Belemir Dalokay, while the construction drawings of Ahmet Gül gönen were prepared by Semra Teber's firm. (see Figure 3.17)

Ali Türel, then Associate Chairman at TOKİ, states that (as quoted in Alpan):

[T]he Eryaman Settlement project came out to be a model for developing urban environment quality only after the second stage with respect to new forms and organization. In the third stage, the variations in housing unit typologies and plan schemes were highlighted due to the demand of buyers in the first applications. The tunnel formwork system was considered to be inadequate for developing alternatives in design. The primary principle determined by HDA was thus to realize social housing by modernized traditional construction methods. Another consideration was to improve the projects by means of urban design.

As Alpan reports, the typological variation, the quest to go beyond the monotony of the tunnel formwork and urban design endeavors are the characteristic traits of Stage III, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Eryaman IV is a peculiar example with its both fortunate and less fortunate aspects. For the first time TOKİ directly commissioned famous architects for an area covering 86 hectares, almost as large as Stage I, with 4,038 units and an estimated population of 16,148. The area was designed by the architectural firms of Oral Vural, Ragip Buluç, Doruk Pamir, Ziya Tanalı and Erkut Şahinbaş and is home to quality architecture, however, its characteristics at the architectural scale are unfortunately out of the scope of this thesis. TOKİ allocated the land to these 5 well-known architects and the project was implemented during the period February 1994 -

---

81 ibid.
82 Alpan, 122, op. cit.
83 See: Cengizkan, Bilsel, Gültekin, op. cit.
August 1995. The project for the center of Stage IV was quitted before the
construction started as Gülöksüz and his team left the project, already located in a
difficult area in terms of topography and size. The buildings in the center, a sports
center, a kindergarten, a commercial center, a cultural center, a school and a health
center, all designed by Ragıp Buluç close to his residential cluster and the inner
streets integrated with the apartment blocks and the urban park are missed
opportunities for Eryaman. The area is still vacant today (see Figure 2.8).
Figure 2.8. Panoramic view of Eryaman IV from its unrealized park area. Source: Personal archive of the author’s.

Figure 2.9. Site Plan of Eryaman IV
Source: Taken from Tanju Gültekin’s personal archive and colored by the author
While the development plans for Eryaman IV specified the heights, boundaries, building lot and floor area ratios, it did not set out the materials and construction methods.84 TOKİ aimed at reducing the costs of this project targeting the low-income group without compromising quality. During the meetings organized with the five architectural firms, in order to reduce costs, construction standards were developed which allowed the use of conventional construction techniques. As in Stage III, the cost of the apartment blocks designed by well-known architects were not higher than the cost of the ones assigned to the contractor firms by TOKİ.85 Another important aspect of this project, especially for this thesis, was the expectation of TOKİ to ensure “harmony and synthesis for the housing blocks and open spaces in the overall site plan”86 which was eventually not accomplished as each architect worked separately focusing on the scale of their respective buildings.87

2.2. Alternative Search for Housing Settlement

2.2.1. Urban Vision
The 13 October Urban Gate Competition organized in 1990 by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara was finalized while the construction of Stage II was ongoing. Although not realized, the winning project at the urban scale still provides insight into urban planning, development and projections of the period, as well as the significance of Eryaman as the northwestern gate of Ankara, and entry to the city from the direction of Istanbul. The jury composed of Vedat Dalokay, Ahmet Uzel, Ziya Tanali, Ergun Unaran, Haluk Tezoran and Yüksel Öztan awarded the first prize to the team of Semra Teber, Ferhan Teber and Sedvan Teber.88

Designing Susuz Lake and its environs as a center and recreational area called “Beautiful Ankara Istanbul Entry Recreation Park”, the project includes “a ‘monument’: a landmark on the highway and, at the same time, an urban museum”. Going from the city center to Eryaman, along the way there is an “urban space

84 Alpan, 126, op. cit.
85 Kiran, op. cit.
86 Ibid.
87 Ragıp Buluç, interview by author, in 22 June 2016, voice recording.
poem” which results from a sequence of landscape, landmark and urban space.\textsuperscript{89} As seen in the competition drawing, the mega landscape elements constitute the sequence from the city center to Susuz Lake: Akköprü - bridge, Ankara Creek - waterpark/greenspace, military zone - green cubes, airport signal tower - landmark, Atatürk Forest Farm - focal point - gate.\textsuperscript{90} (see Figure 2.10)

Figure 2.10. 13 October Urban Gate Competition, Overall Drawing, 1:25.000
Source: Semra Teber Yener, Personal Archive.

The competition report states that “the accessibility of the area to the city and the environment is at the highest level with strong transport arteries, and thus, it can compete with the city center.” According to the report, this area was expected to form the West Recreational Focal Point, connecting with the Susuz Recreation Area in the north, Atatürk Forest Farm in the west and the Ankara River in the south.\textsuperscript{91} In addition, the “Time Tower”, the “Bridge-Square”, rent facilities including, commercial centers, social-cultural, sports, recreation, leisure facilities would be

\textsuperscript{89} Semra Teber Yener, interview by the author, 13 August 2016.
\textsuperscript{90} ibid.
\textsuperscript{91} Varolmayan Ankara, \textit{op. cit.}
constructed in a 13,000 m² area. The mass transit rail system line Batikent- Eryaman passes through the core of the project (see Figure 2.11).

![Figure 2.11. Relationship with Environments, 1:5000 (left) General Settlement Plan, 1:2,000 (right)
Source: Semra Teber Yener, Personal Archive](image)

The main idea of the project for the area surrounding Susuz Lake, where the lake and its environs dominate the landscape with only Stage I rising in Eryaman, was to make the morphology of the hills a part of the project and “to use the landscape as landmark.” The hill next to Susuz Lake which used to be “buried in the ground like a giant sphere” before it was carved and deformed became an important element of the project, named as the “Green Hill”. The “Structure-Hill” located both in tension and in tandem with the hill embodies technological references. Susuz Lake and its surroundings were designed as a natural area to be protected and the restoration of the creek feeding into Susuz Lake became an important part of the project. (Figure 2.11).

The “Time Tower” and the “Bridge-Square” are important elements combining the road with Eryaman landscape and forming the city gate, which was the purpose of the competition. The design of these two elements aimed to reflect the level of

---

92 Teber Yener, *op. cit.*
construction technology and modern architecture. Thus, “the citizens would have diversity and high-standard services”. Design with these motives, the 65-meter, glass and steel triangular “Time Tower” was also expected to function as an urban museum. The structure that allowed to see the city lights and to perceive the environment was supposed to be a structure that gathered the urban memory (see Figure 2.12).

![Image](image-url)

Figure 2.12. Time Tower, Bridge and Square  
Source: Semra Teber Yener Personal Archive

2.2.2. Center and the Social Benefits

In the New Settlement Areas project report and the plan prepared by the Master Plan Department, the design of the center comes discursively and physically to the fore as the producer and carrier of social life. Starting from the presumption that the systems that make it possible to produce and operate a new settlement area as a whole with its social facilities and infrastructure lack in mass housing tradition, one of the main goals of the new settlement was “to create an urban environment which fulfills with its social and technical infrastructure the minimum requirements the citizens.” This physical organization should be at the regional scale, and based on the data obtained through inter-institutional relations, paying attention to environmental health. Thus, “opportunities for culture, education and social cohesion will be improved.” To this

---

93 Varolmayan Ankara, *op. cit.*  
94 Teber Yener, *op. cit.*  
95 Yeni Kentler Yerleşme Alanları Projesi, 24  
96 *ibid*, 9
end, the design of central activities such as a market, library, restaurant, club, and nursery was foreseen.

Figure 2.13. Centre for Eryaman, in Eryaman New Settlement Area Project, Sincan-Ankara 1/5000, n.d.
Source: Çağatay Keskinok, Personel Archive

This approach constitutes one of the main points of the neighborhood unit concept described above. This concept requires that the center of the whole, to which the local parts with common aspects are connected, creates public spaces that allow for social interaction. In the Eryaman development plan scale 1:5000 described in detail above, the two centers located around the metro line and carrying these characteristics are designed as centers at the larger scale that support collective use and their spines as public space (see Figure 2.3). The one located to the west of Eryaman where the current metro station is described by Keskinok as:

The center is formed on the spine composed of the rail transit and the main pedestrian path. The roadways surrounds the center. The plan foresaw overall zoning, as expected from a development scheme at this scale, as well as a spine that defines the relationship between open spaces and buildings and the vehicle-pedestrian circulation system. The schematic building/mass illustrations give information about the spine of the center on the main pedestrian street. The uses in the center steer the neighborhoods and districts. 97

---

97 Keskinok, 143, op. cit.
2.3 Evaluation

2.3.1 Eryaman III and IV as alternative experiences in the practice of TOKI

This sub-chapter discusses how and why Eryaman III and IV have an alternative place in TOKI’s institutional history from its foundation until 1996. Although the data at hand are inadequate to draw an assertive framework such as an “institutional history”, it is still possible to study it through Eryaman in the above-mentioned period. For this purpose, the atmosphere of the period and the institution are summarized briefly on the basis of inferences presented, and its relation with the basic motives underlying the foundation of Eryaman residential district, institutional actors of the time and their quests outlined are discussed. Afterwards, some relevant features of Eryaman II, III and IV referred are demonstrated via a table and what Eryaman III and IV correspond to within this context is examined.

Firstly, it can be stated that the transparent institutional ambience, which was prioritizing scientific knowledge and promoting some certain moral and universal values as a starting point, set the base for the period tackled. The general layout of Eryaman was delineated with the New Settlement project in 1979 and the planning scheme prepared by the Master Plan Bureau, both of which ground on principles like overcoming land speculation, embracing low-income groups by keeping expenditures low and promoting planned urbanization.

Within this framework, the value and the quality of TOKİ housing in Eryaman, which was planned for lower-middle and middle class people who were to acquire housing for the first time in their lives by “saving their labor”, should be assessed by the architectural and environmental design criteria rather than costs. Accordingly, TOKİ’s effort to liaise with recognized architects was intrinsic to that period during which creating a valuable physical environment was evaluated not by costs and numbers, but by intangible criteria like design and scientific data. This effort is visible in Stage II only in the centrum designed by Oral Vural. In Stage III, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, the effort is seen in the invited urban design competition, and in Stage IV the direct invitations to the recognized architects. Although the focus in terms of environmental quality is only on Eryaman III in this thesis, the positive features of other Stages of Eryaman are considered noteworthy.
Contrary to the usual social housing projects based on tunnel form construction and by the “invisible” architect of the contractor, conventional construction techniques were employed and collaboration with recognized architects was carried out. This procedure is entirely different from the usual tendering process in which the administration does not prepare architectural projects and instead waits for the contractors to come up with the projects and awards a contract to the one proposing the knockdown price. These steps, which seem to contradict with the search for economical design and construction, were carried out in a competitive fashion at prices no higher than the costs of any other TOKİ housing project and even under the Unit Prices of the Ministry of Public Works.\(^2\)

In the light of these data, the tendering procedures of Eryaman III and IV could be defined as the outcome of a special period of TOKİ during which the concern for quality was the dominant tendency and architects were employed as actors. Searching for ways to relate to recognized architects and using these ways to construct economically an environment of high quality were the defining characteristics of this special period.

2.3.2. Eryaman III as a unique entity forming a part of the whole

In order to assess Eryaman III and Eryaman IV, in addition to the 10 stages foreseen by TOKİ since 1995, housing produced by cooperatives and the current status of Eryaman that currently hosts luxury housing should be considered. Moreover, as Eryaman still has the characteristic of a mass housing site, the question that should be posed is whether the concept of ‘neighborhood unit’, which aims at the creation of public spaces emphasizing collective life, is still preserved. Then, the center at this scale and the subway line, which was planned to be the backbone of the whole neighborhood unit, should be documented. However, the abovementioned analysis steps are beyond the context of this thesis.

According to Teber, the 13 October Urban Gate, which was designed as a “semi-monumental, semi-cultural public space” to serve as an urban center and a recreation area, had the potential to become an important project which would become the “center of attention” of Ankara.\(^98\) The project was not realized eventually, which is a

\(^98\) Teber, *op. cit.*
loss for both Eryaman and Ankara, given its characteristics such as the use of the hill and green spaces as landscape elements, the respect for the natural elements including the restoration of the creek that would feed Susuz Lake and its modern and technological proposals. However, the center that would enrich urban life was not designed according to the above-mentioned social benefits and collectivity but with commercial concerns. The current state of Eryaman is a result of the partial loss of the holistic view presented in the first two sections.

To evaluate the state of Eryaman III and IV and to create a basis for comparison, Eryaman III and IV will be briefly evaluated in terms of their production and use of the center at the subscale. Eryaman III, which was designed by Gülgönen, has a well-functioning center with apartment buildings tied to each other by parking lots, pedestrian alleys and inner ring roads.

On the other hand, even if Eryaman IV diagrammatically keeps the principles of the neighborhood unit, considering the lack of an integral urban design and its unrealized center, it does not present a successful example of public space creation. Thus, the characteristics of Eryaman IV are the undefined common spaces and the lack of a center. The topographical data spatially distinguish the plots designed by different architects. One part of the area differs from the rest, as the park suggested by Ragıp Buluç was not constructed. The pedestrian alleys are not visible, and public characteristics of streets and roads are not improvable.

Therefore, the comparison between the centers at the subscale shows that Eryaman III differs from Eryaman IV with its well-functioning centers, courtyards, apartment buildings forming a continuous fabric and its defined and accessible spaces. Due to the dissolution of the neighborhood concept at the larger scale, Eryaman III failed to become a part of the whole.
CHAPTER 3

ALTERNATIVE DESIGN APPROACHES IN THE PROJECTS OF STAGE III

3.1. Trace: Relevant European Theoretical Atmosphere around 60s
In this chapter, the theoretical background of urban design circles is examined in three subsections to grasp the intellectual pursuit and the respective positions of Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar while they were designing Eryaman III. The theoretical discussion is informed by the answers given by the interviewed architects. While paying regard to the role of the circulation and transmission of ideas through direct contacts, journals, books, meetings, observations, exhibitions and educational media and to the interaction between North American and European counterparts, the discussions in this chapters have a geographical focus on the European Continent. The general framework of the period is characterized by the shift of attention from the rationalist, industry-oriented urban policy declared in the Athens Charter in 1941 by CIAM to a more human-oriented urban planning approach. While the modern movement propagates mega-structures, towers or parallel slab blocks in housing, this approach tries to comprehend the actual scale of the city through a concern with human interaction, especially in housing areas.99

Both Gülgönen and Çavdar state that they have been nourished by Aldo Rossi’s concepts and discussions.100 Gülgönen is recognized as one of the supporters and interpreters of his theory in French academia.101 Hence, this chapter first aims to lay the foundation for analyzing the qualities and features that influenced the architects

100 Interviews with the architects. Çavdar, op. cit. Ahmet Gülgönen, interview conducted by the author on 13 July 2016, voice recording.
in Eryaman III, in the light of Italian urban design theory crystallized in the seminal book *Architecture of the City* by Rossi. The second theoretical approach is the French school with which Gülgönen was affiliated and had an influence. This approach overlaps with the tendencies of French architects, sociologists and urban designers influenced by Italian urban design. These tendencies are synthesized with the concern of “preserving pre-industrial urban fabrics and retaining the merits of modernity”\(^{102}\) rising in France at that time. They are examined in terms of their intersections with the Italian urban design theory, historical development, initiatives they brought to various fields and their interpretation by two different architecture schools on the elements of *typomorphology* and *urban block*. This subtopic serves as a base which reveals Gülgönen’s design approach through providing a background. The third subchapter briefly introduces the two theoretical tendencies, which are effective particularly in Tuncay Çavdar’s approach to social housing and visible as design elements in both the theoretical infrastructure and outcome of Eryaman III. The housing theory by Alison and Peter Smithson which was outlined in Introduction will be further detailed particularly within the context of *patterns of association*, *street/elevated street* and *cluster*. The second of these two approaches viewing social housing from the point of intermediate scale was proposed by Habraken against the detached relationship between the user and the architect, suggesting an *intermediate scale* to overcome it.

3.1.1. The Italian Tradition: Typomorphological Approach

In the 1960s, some architects and theoreticians in Italy and Spain tried to understand and create the city through the terminology of typology and morphology and read the cities and buildings as collective memory.\(^ {103}\) These methods and concepts associated with Aldo Rossi and Carlo Aymonino in Western academia actually follow the traces of earlier studies by Murotari based on his analyses of Italian villages.\(^ {104}\) Their approach is revisiting the architectural object that contributes to the urban scale “neither by the highly abused organic metaphors, nor by the most current model

\(^{102}\) *op. cit*, 27.

\(^{103}\) *ibid*, 10.

theory”⁹⁵ and it refers to the design of the buildings, the city and the society in which it is found. Quoting Delevoy, Ellin states that they basically endeavored to reach

the fundamental types of habitat: the street, the arcade, the square, the yard, the quarter, the colonnade, the avenue, the boulevard; the centre, the nucleus, the crown, the radius, the knot…

So that the city can be walked through. So that it becomes a text again. Clear. Legible.¹⁰⁶

Aymonino coined the term typomorphological studies which “use building types to describe and explain urban form and the process of shaping the fabric of cities.”¹⁰⁷

Moudon describes typomorphology as the study of urban form to discover “the physical and spatial structure of the cities” through “the studies of typical spaces and structures.” This approach depends upon typology, an elaborated type analysis of buildings and open spaces which reveal morphology, that is, the urban form.¹⁰⁸

Moneo’s interpretation of the theory credits morphology more than that of Moudon:

Understanding the city and its morphology (which is the same as saying its birth or its evolution), requires a knowledge of the principles of architecture which govern the form of the city and typology ‘of buildings in relation to the city’.¹⁰⁹

Moudon clarifies some of the main characteristics of this approach as follows:

[It] combines the volumetric characteristics of built structures with their related open spaces to define a built landscape type. The element links built spaces to open spaces is the lot or parcel, the basic cell of urban fabric. (…) The inclusion of land and its subdivisions as a constituent element of type makes land the link between the building scale and the city scale. (…) The built landscape type is a morphogenetic, not a morphological, unit because it is defined by time – time of its conception, production, use and mutation.¹¹⁰

Moudon’s analysis summarizes well the three pillars on which this theory stands. In regard to the architectural approach that investigates architecture at all scales, the city shall be an artifact that avails the wealth of historical resources and also represents unity. The fundamental tool to achieve this ideal is creating a ‘type.’

Rossi’s theory is the major contributor of this tendency. According to Rossi, even if formal qualities are borrowed from past, it should be known that the cities are entities

---

¹⁰⁶ cited in Ellin, 10, *op. cit.*
¹⁰⁹ Moneo, 109.
shaped by economical forces and stresses of the period, thus the meanings of its forms are subject to change in time and the circumstances brought by. Eisenman stated that “this new idea of process Rossi reintroduces the elements of history becomes analogous to a ‘skeleton’ whose condition serves as a measure of time, in turn, is measured by time.”

In this respect, typomorphology studies attempt to understand and explain both processes and outcomes of the city. As the urban form is a dynamic formation prevailed by the dialectical relationship between producers, production and users, it is perpetually subject to change with time. Architecture is a physical evidence allowing for tracing the results of the interaction between economic constraints, as a major determinant, and the abovementioned actors in the city. Thus, an important part of the discussion regarding Rossi’s theory is the study of meaning and memory. In the changing, transforming and decaying city, “[m]onuments, signs of the collective will (...) offer themselves as primary elements, fixed points in the urban dynamic.” The city is understood only through collective life. Monuments have much more meaning to them than the words “anecdote” and “picturesque” possibly attain, as they give life to the city by sustaining memory with their physical presence grounded in time passing by. In the antique cities, residential districts were differentiated by not only their centers, monuments and unique lifestyles produced within but also their architecture. Similarly, today, houses are a part of city’s nature and evolution with strong bonds with the image of the city, for that “these residential districts are not so much subordinated to one another as relatively autonomous parts; their relationships cannot be explained as a simple function of dependence but seemingly respond to the entire urban structure.”

3.1.2. French School

Until then, modern French town planning was seen by any external observer as associated to the crude sketches of master plans, general layouts and growth corridors, always succeeding in deviating the treatment of all spatial projects towards an abstract and imprecise dimension, was often translated in a simplistic way with felt tips and great gestures, rendered more with the arm than with the hand, carried out more on the boards of municipal meetings than on the drawing tables of professional designers.

Soza- Preface of Urban Forms, Spanish version

*Italian Influence on French School*

In his article *Italophiles at Work*, Cohen refers to two critical influences in the development of French urban architectural approach: the decisiveness of Italian tradition and the acquaintance of some architectural schools in France with social sciences in the 1970s. Cohen initiated the process of convergence in the field of architectural culture with the project “Renovation of the City Center of Bologna”. The convergence began with establishing conversation between the limited architecture circles of Rome and Venetia and some figures in Paris, and continued with the dialogue between *Architecture Mouvement Continuité* and *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* magazines, and proliferated to an asymmetrical relationship between the Italian intellectual field and the French one, former dominating the latter.\(^{117}\)

Bernard Huet would be impressed from this experience in which Bologna residents had a say in the restoration of the historical city, as expressed below:

> In Bologna, the problem of urban growth has been linked to the territorial dimension of the region, just as the preservation of the historical center is no more than a structural aspect of the overall city plan. Here, interventions based on centralized, technocratic planning are demystified, and actual results calmly demonstrate how to invent and employ new tools and methods for effective operations benefiting the inhabitants alone. In Bologna, even architects have become modest.\(^ {118}\)

Huet finely expresses that the Bologna experience advanced the French architectural scene and enriched the field with adding the urban aspect of architecture to theory.

\(^ {117}\) In reality, the Italian discourse was impressed by French sources during the time it was being founded. While Rossi comprehend the city as an architectural formation, he slotted the historical and theoretical concepts he sought into place with the help of French tradition of urban geography and French social sciences (For further information, see Cohen, 508-9). In addition to that, a predominant tradition in France was about establishing the connection between typological studies and architectural design. However, “the relationship between building types and urban form was not established in France until the early 1970s” Maudon, p:301.

\(^ {118}\) cited in Cohen, 511.
and practice. Thereby, in addition to the other means of dialogue, the trips to Bologna became important for the architecture schools which were introduced in this way to Tafuri’s discourse and Rossi’s architecture. In a multidisciplinary intellectual framework where humanities and social sciences were important components, the concepts of modesty, intermediate scale, urban tissue and community participation became prominent. Moreover, in 1977, with the new Parisian Urban Regulations (POS), these concepts were reflected in the built environment with the introduction of the new “plot by plot” method for building the city, namely, the urban block, ilot, among other projects with historical approaches. Due to the new state regulations and the problems associated with this change, the French urban architecture culture obtained its vitality instilled with Italian urban architectural theory, which was “a key resource for the reconstruction of architecture as a discipline.”

Approach of two schools

The French urban morphologies and architectural typologies that emerged under Italian influence were different from those of Aymonino and Rossi, yet still had their roots in the Italian tradition. This approach to typomorphology not only has Italian roots presenting design and geography as its constraints but also attempts to integrate social sciences into the approach, expanding thus its ground. This perspective to integrate social aspects deeply contributed to the interdisciplinary pursuit that comprehends architecture as social responsibility at Versailles School of Architecture. Besides, Ahmet Gülgönen, who was a member of the conveying

119 ibid.
120 Cohen, 515.
121 “The block (in French, ilot, which etymologically means small island) is a part of the urban area ‘isolated’ from the neighbouring parts of the territory by streets. Thus, the block is not an architectural form, but a group of interdependent building plots. It has a proper meaning only when it is in a dialectical relationship with the road network.” Philippe Panerai, Jean Castex, Jean Charles Depaule, Ivor Samuels. Urban Forms The Death and Life of the Urban Block (Oxford: Elsevier Ltd., 2004), 162.
122 In this subchapter, the intellectual and educational theory composing the urban design discourse will be explored, and thus, realized projects will be left aside.
123 Ellin, 27.
124 Cohen, 508.
125 ibid, 511.
intellectual atmosphere of that period, *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*\(^{127}\), details the approach of the circle he was in as follows:

Architecture [while being impressed by that current, it cannot be an expression of a single thought. What enables the autonomy of architecture is the knowledge of history, the history of architecture and urban planning. [Within the environment in France] we had a chance to look at the events objectively, which reflect their characteristics on the history of social housing, from a social perspective within a historical continuity. Knowing and expressing the city … values in history and [city’s] links with landscape were of primary concerns.\(^{128}\)

Thus, it can be said that these two schools fall into line with Rossi’s *Architecture of the City* in an interdisciplinary framework that encompasses and emphasizes social sciences and humanities, such as philosophy, sociology, economy, and psychology. Cohen regards the following as the “initial echo chamber for the Italian discourse”: the architectural research texts *De l’ilot à la barre, contribution à une definition de l’architecture urbaine* (1975) by Jean Castex, Phillippe Panerai, and Jean Charles Depule from Versailles School of Architecture, *Morphologie urbaine et typologie architecturale* (1977) by Ahmet Gülgönen, François Laisney, and the project team from *Ecole des Beaux-Arts, unite pedagogique* 8.\(^{129}\) Here, for the purposes of this thesis, it is believed that an examination of these two studies representing two different schools would suffice to have an overview of the period between 1974 and 1977.

*Typomorphological relationships by Ecole des Beaux-Arts, unite pedagogique 8*

Gülgönen criticizes the studies by Panerai and his friends, which will be elaborated later in this thesis, for being overly analytical and analysis-oriented, recalling Kahn’s words “one that only analyzes cannot understand the work”. One of the two above-mentioned works, *Morphologie urbanie et typologie architecturale* is the project report that was prepared by Gülgönen with Laisney within *Comité de la recherche et de développememnt en architecture* (IERAU-CORDA). In 1982 in the *Journal of*

---

\(^{127}\) “After the 1968 student uprising at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* the school was subdivided into semi-autonomous pedagogical units. (…) The architectural education provided by each unit varies with the ideological positions undertaken by the instructors.” Ahmet Gülgönen & François Laisney. *Contextual Approaches to Typology at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Journal of Architectural Education*, (XXXV, 2) 1982, p:26.

\(^{128}\) Gülgönen, interview, *op. cit.*

\(^{129}\) Cohen, 511.
Architectural Education Gülgönen and Laisney express their ideas and pedagogic approach as:

We are particularly sensitive to historical and theoretical discontinuities, such as the widespread lack of typological (and morphological) relationships and a similar lack of solid theoretical positions involved with the formation of urban structure, especially in suburban and new-town developments.  

According to Gülgönen, the way typomorphology theory in *Morphologie urbane et typologie architecturale* influences projects is “not as a classification product but dynamically” which propose approaches that are more spatial and human-centered than the Versailles school.

![Figure 3.1. The cover of Morphologie urbane et typologie architecturale](image)

Investigating the relationships of typology, morphology and the city, this research presents three cases to seek out the dominant factor. According to Gülgönen, the effect of typology on urban morphology is examined with the assent that typology is the dominant element for the repeated existence of ‘type’ in social housing built after

---


131 Gülgönen, *op. cit.* *Morphologie urbane et typologie architecturale* cannot be examined in detail as it was written in French language. A review was made upon Gülgönen’s description.
1915 at the periphery of Paris, the HBM and the ceinture de Paris. The emphasis on type is critical because typology means beyond abstract objects and making classifications for Gülgönen and Laisney:

The idea of type has a particular meaning in architecture. It refers (by implication) to the material and cultural production of architects and society. Because architecture is the activity of environmental classifications, architectural objects are not only used for purposes of analysis but also for purposes of the act of building itself. The various theoretical works involving architectural typology have become not only means for classifying buildings in order to create architectural inventories, but they also stand as intellectual instruments which permit the introduction of “memory” into the explication, conception and production of buildings.  

The second case is a Saint-Denis suburb, a large suburban area, where numerous factories constitute a morphologically primary element. In this case, where morphology is a precedent, the effect of the buildings designed later upon typology is examined. Lastly, Nancy is presented as a balanced case of typology and morphology as both were reciprocally developed, in interaction with each other.  

The second work entitled in English Urban Forms: The Death and Life of the Urban Block by Panerai, Castex and Depoule represents another school’s approach to urban design. It discusses modern housing production and the associated environments through historical cases in a comparative and critical way. The work includes a careful examination of Haussman’s Paris, English garden cities, the expansion of Amsterdam, Siedlungen in Frankfurt and Le Corbusier's Cité Radiuse to show how the city block has gradually dissolved, taking into account the context and conditions of the time these cases were built. According to Mangin, the ultimate success of the book is its attempt to explain the “relationship of buildings to the ground, to the public space and private yards.”

The authors suggest readers to think about the old cities and the everyday life of them that we cannot witness in the modern city:

- notice that the entrance of a building opens onto a pavement, and notice how easy it is to park a car, to walk on the pavement and to ring a bell (…)
- appreciate how the everyday types of shop occupy the ground floors of busy streets (…)  

---

133 Gülgönen, op. cit.  
134 cited in Ellin, 27.
-go to see again *Rear Window* (Hitchcock film)
-sit on the terrace of a café looking at passers-by.\(^{135}\)

According to Panerai, Castex, Depaule and Samuels, the old cities had capable tools composing the urban tissue:

The street does not exist without the buildings that define it, and the buildings are built on plots that form the framework of their evolution. Spaces have a status, which determines legal responsibilities as well as possible uses. Systems of reference, orientation are generally legible; activities are mixed and modifications are easy.\(^{136}\)

The traditional urban tissue has qualities such as open air access from façade to dwelling, ground floor use for retail functions, residential open space’s intimacy provided by courtyards and patios, and streets always defining what is outside.\(^{137}\)

From Haussmann’s Paris to Ernst May’s Siedlung, the organization of the urban tissue in a series of street, edge, courtyard, end of the plot had declined, and in Cité Radieuse “resolutely suppressed” as “the extreme point reached in the process of disintegration of the urban tissue.”\(^{138}\) They further ask:

Where is the street, the city, the urban space? Where do we start from? Do places exist for the inhabitants, where, at least symbolically, they could be guaranteed a gradual transition between different spatial scales?\(^{139}\)

---

_Urban Block by Versailles School of Architecture_

The urban block studied in the work of Panerai, Castex and Depaule and Samuel in detail. According to them, the proposed vertical block is responsible for the urban crisis, however, it is useful for rediscovering the “elementary logic of urban tissue”\(^{140}\) as a powerful concept. While this ground denying approach reduces outdoor spaces to undefined areas, the urban courtyard housing creates socializing spaces as in a “theatre of a collective appropriation” where inhabitants can interact.\(^{141}\) Also, it defines the “front” that relates with the street and a “central” zone that usually functions as an area for children’s play or a collective green space. These differentiations and continuations created by the urban tissue positions itself as a

\(^{135}\) Philippe Panerai, Jean Castex, Jean Charles Depaule, Ivor Samuels. _Urban Forms The Death and Life of the Urban Block_ (Oxford: Elsevier Ltd., 2004), 159.

\(^{136}\) _ibid_, 158-159.

\(^{137}\) _ibid_, 118.

\(^{138}\) _ibid_.

\(^{139}\) _ibid_.

\(^{140}\) _ibid_, 166.

\(^{141}\) _ibid_, 130.
transitional area between the residential and private areas and the urban space. Thereby, it brings forward a spatial layout that creates a social strata for social relations and performs “as a place for the location of activities with a clear and hierarchical articulation between interior and exterior space”.\textsuperscript{142} As the authors state, it is important to look for potentials by understanding the differences in hierarchy and variety of functions and their reflections in the city:

No longer should we ask ourselves if the block was the place for a specific spatial experience, which mediated between the dwelling and the city, but instead to try to observe how the block allows connection between external and internal spaces, between private and public life to understand how it supports a spatial practice derived from differences in hierarchy and control and the extent to which it was impoverished by a process of decline and the reduction in the range of functions.\textsuperscript{143}

The rediscovery of “urban block” will not be considered as a return to the “closed block”. If “urban block” is to be embraced with its old historical references in order to create a new physical environment, it is inevitable to fall into the superficial perspective of postmodernist architecture which hopelessly attempted to find a cure to the urban crisis with historical references and symbols. Panerai, Castex, Depaule and Samuels indicate the risks by drawing the readers’ attention to the issues of internal subdivisions and the like to emphasize the importance of preparing the regulatory conditions for the creation and integrity of urban tissue.\textsuperscript{144} Otherwise, the urban tissue would become a failed example composed of an “urban block”, an example of unsupported wishful thinking as it had been in the physical environment of neoclassical Europe.\textsuperscript{145} At this point, Panerai, Castex, Depaule and Samuel’s quote from Aymonino would be explanatory:

Block does not escape the logic of our society, and not only because it seems to be a projection of the productive forces and a reflection of the technical conditions of its realization, also raises issues of social function and the instruments of design.\textsuperscript{146}

“Urban block” should function as a base allowing an innovative and contextual urban tissue while it is utilized to create basic morphologic rules about ground relations in urban design.\textsuperscript{147} In this case, an urban design tradition that is critical, contextual and

\textsuperscript{142} ibid, 131.
\textsuperscript{143} ibid, 129.
\textsuperscript{144} ibid, 164.
\textsuperscript{145} ibid, 164.
\textsuperscript{146} ibid, 133.
\textsuperscript{147} ibid, 162.
supportive of long-term plans could establish this approach using the perspectives of modernism:

Urban planning can no more be reduced to the production of stereotyped solutions, but will have to involve the design of new buildings in an overall concern for the territory and its future transformations. This also means to take on board the inheritance of the Modern Movement, even if it means to have to correct its effects in urban terms.

3.1.3. The Northern Approach: Habraken and the Smithsons

Smithsons

According to Ockman, Alison and Peter Smithson challenged CIAM’s formalistic approach to urbanism, while “seeking a ‘socioplastic’ basis for design” and “patterns of association”.

For the Smithsons ‘the problem of human relations fell through the net of Four Functions’ framed by CIAM: living, working, recreation and circulation.

On the contrary they state “evolv[ing] an architecture from the fabric of life itself, an equivalent of the complexity of our way of thought, of our passion for the natural world and our belief in the ability of man”.

The paradigmatic shift at the level of concerns of housing and urban planning finds its voice by the changing terminology introduced by the Smithsons: patterns of associations, identity, patterns of growth, cluster and mobility.

According to the Smithsons, identity is vital for an individual for his/her “sense of well-being” and can be achieved by “active and creative grouping of houses.” As a tool of this achievement, they suggest clusters defined as “[t]he search for groupings answering patterns of association, patterns of movement; able to give identity, responsive to place, to topography, to local climate”.

-Street and street-in-the-air

Street as the carrier of “pedestrian circulation networks” is not merely a transition area. It is the simplest form of an arena which provides social communication and an activity ground for children as well as adults where they feel safe. These properties were damaged by the infusion of motor vehicle to these networks.

---

148 Ockman, 19.
150 ibid.
151 ibid.
Figure 3.2. Diagram of child association pattern by the Smithsons. 

For a pattern of association which is not occupied by motorized vehicles and where adults and children can feel safe, Smithson’s solution was “street-in-the-air”. While designing the Garden Lane Project, Peter Smithson noted:

Our aim is to create a true street-in-the-air, each ‘street’ having a large number of people dependent on it for access, and in addition some streets are to be thoroughfares - that is, leading to places - so that they will each acquire special characteristics - be identified in fact. Each part of each street-in-the-air will have sufficient people accessed from it to become a social entity and be within reach of a much larger number at the same level. \(^{152}\)

Figure 3.3. Photomontage of street-in-the-air by Peter Smithson, 1953. 

According to these design notes, streets must be “places”, instead of corridors and balconies. If the street is used completely for residential function, “the individual house and garden will provide the same lively pattern as a true street or square—nothing is lost and elevation is gained.”¹⁵³ According to Diana Agrest in the projects of Smithsons, “the corridor is transformed through substitution into a street, carrying with it the urban codes which, when transferred to the building, give it ‘life’”.¹⁵⁴

**Habraken**

According to Habraken, monotonousness of dwelling and its environment produced in mass cannot satisfy the diversity of individual expectations. As a result, “the natural relationship” that should exist between the individual and his/her dwelling, which is actually “doing something, the sum of human actions within a certain framework within the protective environment created by man”, is replaced by irrelation.¹⁵⁵ This irrelation appears as “uniformity” in city.¹⁵⁶ This is led by such tendencies that consider dwelling as a “machine for living”, turning its back on the complicated burden shouldered by the concept, and reducing it to a technical schema. According to Habraken, inasmuch as dwelling consists of individual sphere, it is a part of community sphere. In mass housing production, however, occupants are replaced by an abstract image, and individual initiative in dwelling that bridges individual sphere and community sphere almost vanishes. On the other hand, “dwelling activity” that will be completed with contributions of occupants will break the monotonousness in question, and will prevent “experience [their] existence.”¹⁵⁷ This problem observed in mass housing arises not from industrial production but from the existing incorrect organization. Dwelling, an individual “act”, is produced within an industrial system that is inappropriate to this quality. Habraken argues that these relations can be corrected only with a new organization. Industrialization and occupant’s active role from the very beginning are prerequisite for this new organization. In this organization, the architect designs not dwellings but supports,

---

¹⁵³ *ibid.*
¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 21.
¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 13.
on which the former will be located. Supports and detachable units designed with regard to the requirements of occupants will gather individual sphere and community sphere together. Occupants are provided with the opportunity of participation while these parts are produced, and the society should undertake the production of the support system. Therefore, supports as a system at an urban scale will form the basis for flexibility and new social relations that will occur in the course of time.

3.2. Architects

3.2.1. Ahmet Gülgönen, an academician architect

In nearly all my projects, there is a kind of minimal complexity in what is stated, only the simple raison d’être of things. This is a philosophical attitude. When one considers the precise context in which one constructs, the same solution could not be built anywhere else. On the other hand, there is an architectural language, geometry, which can be relevant in other circumstances.

Ahmet Gülgönen, *Profile*

Born in 1940, Ahmet Gülgönen graduated from the Middle East Technical University and University of Pennsylvania where he was as a master’s student of Louis Kahn. After a period of working and teaching in Turkey, he moved to Paris in 1972 where he has since then pursued a successful professional practice, especially in housing projects, and as well an academic one. According to Taylor, “if one then analyses Gülgönen’s work over time, whether in Turkey or in France, from the points of space, form or treatment of materials, one senses a pervasive coherence and consistency in his architectural language.”

Therefore, in order to understand the architectural approach of Gülgönen, how he defines his architecture and what concepts he emphasizes in architectural education are analyzed. In terms of the characteristics mentioned in this thesis, the design concepts that he advocates for as an educator would uncover his relationship with the typomorphology theory, principles in mass housing building and his own designing criteria are presented.

---

Gülgönen defines himself as a practitioner more than a theoretician. However, theoretical background is the sine qua non for architecture. According to Gülgönen, an architectural object that belongs to a place is contextual. Context is not an obligation but an inspiration data, as can be observed in his Gallipoli and Eryaman projects. The conception that every structure belongs to a place and time and that architecture is not only a work of art but also a discipline involving social dimensions distinguishes the authentic as “a symbol and a source of joy” in society. The conceptual one is born of a layered system involving typological family and theoretical references. According to Gülgönen, every structure type and every urban area has specific characteristics and conceptual tools are born out of these.

Instead of treating buildings as isolated objects, they should see them as part of the urban fabric. Such an approach will create new conceptual tools for design and vocabulary for architecture. They are necessary for the design of new buildings as well as the rehabilitation of the old fabric.

Gülgönen’s approach towards architectural design education is reflected in his review on the design workshop carried out in Lake Nemi. Identifying his design approach as “experimental and critical”, Gülgönen uses “experimental” as in the sense that “each design problem has its own force, which decides the methodology of teaching and its priorities” Methodology and design phases are not absolute; instead, they include data that can adapt to the project. For example, located in a historical area, the design data of Lake Nemi are presented in the below table.

---

159 Gülgönen, interview, *op. cit.*
160 *op. cit.*
Table 3.1. The design themes of Lake Nemi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>physical context, cultural context, spiritual context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
<td>limits, sides, centrality, interiority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topography</td>
<td>the limits and extensions of the site, the visual limits, physical limits, symmetries, asymmetries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Route, road, path</td>
<td>Path as object, surface, limits, intersections, spatiality of path, direction, orientation, sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>continuity, discontinuity, permanency, duration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memory</td>
<td>history, individual memory, collective memory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Gülgönen, architecture and commerce, “two things killing each other”, must be separated and it must be exerted as an ethical problem. Therefore, Gülgönen chose to build social and urban projects, such as mass housing buildings. The opinions of such an architect who has designed many housing projects before about housing are critical for this study. The architect lays down having a “calm” design process as a precondition to understand the context of designing housing zones.

“Architecture requires a period of maturing during the design phase. To design and build housing very fast is regrettable, since the architect must understand the social, climatic, and physical context of the project: economic context as well.”

In addition to this, Gülgönen especially points out the “scale problem” for housing. A habitable scale should constitute housing groups that are not “boxy”, and qualified outdoor spaces, where outdoor and indoor areas are in continuity. Like Tourcoing social housing project, which will be analyzed in 3.3, he seeks to be in direct contact with people who will use the structure and to emphasize “community participation” while designing. Thus, “[s]tudying housing typologies, provided a methodological approach, the data of which become enriched by direct discussion with future

---

164 Şentürk, 18.
165 Taylor.
166 Gülgönen, interview.
users.” besides, gülgönen argues that mass housing is a concept honoring people and structures:

Mass housing must be honored. Look at Karl Marx-Hof in Vienna. Mass housing must be a thing to honor housing. Mass housing is not cheap housing or diminished housing. The people living in mass housing buildings must be honored. … The Eryaman project is a reflection of this idea. It cannot be compared with speculative housing works in Turkey. That’s how architecture must be! It must honor people.

These expressions define Ahmet gülgönen’s architectural works that he tries to make “humanistically rich and economically inexpensive”. This is a context-based concept and an experimental and critical architectural approach. While he carries a modest architectural approach which favors individuals, allows for social communication and observes social context in a closer way in dealing with mass housing projects, he handles the city as a larger scale area with its historical and cultural dynamics.

3.2.2. Examples from gülgönen’s professional practice: Gallipoli to Tourcoing Social Housing

Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial
In 1970, Ahmet Gülgönen won the Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial Project Competition, the jury of which the members were Turgut Cansever, Levent Aksüt, Doğan Erginbaş and Ercüment Kalmık. It is located in Conkbayırı, near the British, French and New Zealander memorial parks. As the first project Gülgönen undertook after his return from Kahn’s office, it was a starting point in his personal history because he tried to create his own formal vocabulary. In a quest “to glean a sense of the site”, he maintains the multilayered history of Gallipoli and evaluates the physical characteristics of the land. The curvature forms that he formed without building walking platforms or damaging the land or the bulwarks result in a defined place. “The geometry of scriptures is out of visual order.” Gülgönen defines his

167 Taylor.
168 Şentürk, 22.
169 Brian Brace Taylor. Profile Ahmet Gülgönen in Mimar (5) 63.
170 ibid, 64.
171 See Figure 2.4.
approach as “anti-monumental”. In fact, “there is only the wind that speaks as it passes around these objects erected in the space”.\textsuperscript{172}

Figure 3.4. Relationship with the topography in the Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial project.
Source: Brian Brace Taylor. Profile Ahmet Gülgonen in Mimar, 77.

The members of the jury expressed their opinions about the project in the magazine “Mimarlık”. Cansever views the project as a new example of global historical monuments. Enginbaş congratulates the project because it is easy to build, economical and maintenance-friendly. The inscriptions were to be prefabricated and to be created in a worksite near the water.\textsuperscript{173} However, the most prominent feature in the report is the fact that the “topographical structure of the land was not damaged”. According to the jury, the most important features of the project were the conservation of the natural fabric of the land, the appropriate location of the inscriptions and the nature- and human-friendly dimensions.\textsuperscript{174}

\textsuperscript{172} op. cit.
\textsuperscript{173} ibid.
In this regard, the inscription constitutes its morphological references, in other words, its context with its relation with the landscape. This relationship starts in the planning stage and finds its substantial meaning in its respectable wording that does not interfere with the landscape. Gülgören defines it as a project where the context was used as an inspiration, which arises from the landscape and belongs to the land with its historical, cultural and physical layers.¹⁷⁵ Also, as Cansever points out, it is an example of a new type of typology in the obelisk and inscription culture.

¹⁷⁵ Gülgören, interview.
Tourcoing Social Housing

Figure 3.6. Site plan of the Gülönen’s housing blocks in the old suburbs of industrial Tourcoing.

In the northern part of Tourcoing, the low-income townhouse development provided by the Public Housing Office is an important example of respecting the existing urban fabric and traditional typology.176 The local authority in this French industrial suburb preferred complexes composed of few apartment units, rather than hundreds of large units. This section looks at one of the three pilot projects carried out by Gülönen and his team, consisting of 23 low-rise units.

176 Ellin, 10, op.cit.
Gülgönen worked with “future inhabitants” whilst designing this housing cluster. Paying attention to the demands and needs of these people since the first phases of the design, Gülgönen tried to fulfill these needs alongside the requirements of the program.177

On the building constructed on a long plot within the urban fabric, the covered passageway connects two blocks, one short, the other long, and opens up to a small park. The blocks are constructed out of local bricks. They are 3-storey walk-ups with an exterior stairway to the second floor unit and a private entrance to reach the three-floor unit in accordance with traditional row-houses in Northern France.178 The contribution of working with local inhabitants was beyond these typological contributions. Their demands, such as adding storages to the kitchen and using the

177 Ahmet Gülgönen. Low-cost Housing, Tourcoing, France, Mimar, 1982, 27.
178 ibid.
first floors as storage or workshop, were taken into account in a way that contributed to the design program as well.\footnote{ibid.}

A low-budget social housing project financed by public budget, with a contextual manner that sought to examine and understand the history of the area and the base on which it was constructed and to produce a typology in this context, Tourcoing social housing reveals Gülgönen’s above-mentioned architectural approach.

![Figure 3.8. Exterior staircases](image)

![Figure 3.9. Covered passageway](image)


3.2.3. Tuncay Çavdar, a professional architect

[My architecture] is related to carrying out works that will provide people with indoor and outdoor safety and joy of life.  

Tuncay Çavdar – Interview

According to Bozdoğan, Tuncay Çavdar “has attracted both praise and criticism” for his tendency of “combining the international language with playful postmodern vacation architecture”.\footnote{Sibel Bozdoğan. Art and Architecture in Modern Turkey: the Republican Period in Ed. Reşat Kasaba *Turkey in the Modern World*, (2008) 450-4.} Other reflections on his architecture would be worthy to
note here. Balamir claims that Çavdar’s architecture has some features that can be described by the key postmodernist concepts, such as “memory, sign, reference, irony, metaphor, mysticism, drama”\(^{181}\). While she criticizes Çavdar’s architecture for mostly producing exotic places to be consumed by tourists, namely kitsch-men, Tanyeli claims that the discursive inanition behind his works weakens the capacity of his talent in creating “formal extravaganza”\(^ {182}\). In the architectural magazine *Mimarlık*, Kandil describes Çavdar’s architecture by using the terms “humor and witticism of anarchy”\(^ {183}\).

These criticisms aside, it would be useful to include here what fostered Çavdar’s architecture. During his education at Politecnico di Milano, Çavdar developed close relations with theatre and performing arts in line with the school’s tradition. It became a place where Çavdar was influenced by the Marxist-oriented ideas of Rossi, mentioned in 3.1.1. Therefore, while his works for the tourism sector, which reached their peak in the 1990s, are criticized for pursuing commercial interests, Çavdar also argues that “the responsibility of an architect is to shape the city ideologically, and to transform the society”\(^ {184}\). He maintains his ties with theatre as a spectator after having worked as architect and decorator at the LCC Theatre\(^ {185}\).

“The oriental style of vision” arguing that an occidental doctrine would not be applicable to Eastern societies is the main thought underlying Çavdar’s buildings. This thought developed in the circles of the journal *Toplum ve Bilim*, of which Çavdar is an editor, with reference to the “Asiatic mode of production”: “He researches the political realm, the psychological and anthropological developments of the [E]astern society and the relations of them with space, and this style of thinking is also parallel with space”\(^ {186}\). Thus, Çavdar seeks a sort of compartmental architecture in his buildings, which rejects hierarchy and strict rules by means of

---

\(^{181}\) Balamir, 314.

\(^{182}\) Tanyeli, 247.


\(^{186}\) ibid, 57
colors, fragmentizing and proportional disobedience; in other words, an architecture in which “the function’s determining role in creating the impression or the symbolism of the building is distorted”. 187

An understanding that finds its impression on his buildings is that Çavdar identifies monotonousness and eclecticism as two great deficiencies. 188 In architectural work, he aims at contributing to the image of the city, changing the daily lives of those who are in contact with his buildings, and “providing a joy of living”. 189 Kandil says Çavdar “wants to transfer this wit to sulky halls and into the image of city other than tourist places”. 190 In Çavdar’s own words, “carrying out works reaching extreme points in other spaces, in serious public buildings, which are considered far from the joyous atmosphere of tourism, is one of my basic aims.” 191

3.2.4. Realized and unrealized examples from Çavdar’s professional practice: Izmit experiment to resort architecture

_Izmit experiment_

The Izmit experiment was exerted by the Municipality of Izmit between 1972 and 1980, as a model of participatory design and organization. Although its implementation was limited, it would later be mentioned both as a value and one of the first examples of social housing in Turkey. On a personal level, it also holds a special place in Tuncay Çavdar’s career, as an experiment revealing his relation with social housing. After his return to Turkey, Çavdar became the leader of the architectural design team of the project, to which İlhan Tekeli, Aydan Buca, Mücella Yapıçı and Ruşen Keleş as well contributed. 192 Çavdar recalls the project which aimed at the production of 30.000 houses on the expropriated field as part of the Izmit Project of New Settlements:

187 Akcan, 75, op. cit.
188 Çavdar, interview by the author, op. cit.
189 op. cit.
190 Kandil, 12.
191 Çavdar, Arredemento, 59.
We started this work in İzmit, probably the first and last example in every sense in Turkey, which aimed at trying to change the effect of the new architect on society, to enable the transformation of the society by means of participative planning. I spent 3-4 years, day and night with the inhabitants. We obtained results that I today consider very contemporary, the plans that we accomplished through a participatory way are far from our architectural discipline in housing. We obtained such flexible results that approached the use of space not through its functionality but as a whole.¹⁹³

Figure. 3.10. During the interviews with the future inhabitants.

According to Çavdar, this work carried out for the industrial workers who had been previously residing in slums was not only an effort to tackle lack of housing but also to organize a certain political view and technologic production of housing.¹⁹⁴ The approach made it possible to plan each house in a different manner through direct participation, instead of a representative one, in accordance with the demands and requirements of the “future inhabitants”. Besides, the relationships in the neighborhood were also taken into consideration.¹⁹⁵ Among the “pattern decisions” taken during these neighborhood meetings, the following are significant for this study:

- Spatial solutions providing special entrances to houses in multi storey-blocks with separate stairways,

¹⁹³ Çavdar, interview by the author.
¹⁹⁴ Çavdar, Arredamento, 59.
¹⁹⁵ Bulca et. al., 54, op. cit.
- Special balconies and yards directly connected to houses as extensions of indoor spaces if required, providing spaciousness of use.\textsuperscript{196}

Figure 3.11. Partial model photography of İzmit Experiment showing independent entrances with separate stairways.

Figure 3.12. Partial elevation of the blocks of İzmit Experiment.

The prefabrication system is the backbone of this building, which was inspired by Habraken’s supports. The prefabrication system is preferred not for its economical use of time and labor, but for achieving “flexibility” that will enable an economy of material and, more importantly, improvement and change.\textsuperscript{197} According to Çavdar,

\textsuperscript{196} Çavdar, Mimarlık, 58.
\textsuperscript{197} Çavdar, interview.
this experiment bears the trace of various movements and indicates “the need of resolution, reexamination, and reestablishment of the patterns brought along with architecture”.\textsuperscript{198} According to Çavdar, this project interconnecting social, economic and technologic issues within the frame of participation “fell into oblivion, at the static dead-end of bureaucracy, because of the deadlock arising from the control mechanisms”.\textsuperscript{199}

\textit{Resort Architecture}

The holiday villages built between 1980 and 1990, mostly located in the Mediterranean region of Turkey, are a distinctive sign of Tuncay Çavdar’s architecture. According to Akcan, Kemer Valtur (1970), Robinson Club (1982), Pamfilya (1984), Side Palas (1985), Excelsior Corinthia (1985) and Megasaray (1992) express a stylistic assertion, and the architect’s use of irony increases in time, although the way of thinking and structure remain unchanged.\textsuperscript{200} Çavdar says that they looked for various instruments in this work to transfer the collective memory to the project.\textsuperscript{201}

![Image](image-url)

Figure 3.13. The cluster of structures of Robinson Holiday Village from above, 1984. Source: \textit{Arredamento} 1995 (7-8), 65.

\textsuperscript{198} Bulca et. al., 55.

\textsuperscript{199} Tuncay Çavdar. Toplum bilinçlenmesinde araç olarak kalıtsal tasarım: “İzmit Yenilikçi Yerleşimler Projesi”. \textit{Mimarlık}, (78/1), 55.

\textsuperscript{200} Akcan, 74.

\textsuperscript{201} Çavdar, Arredamento, 62.
Therefore, the traditional and Western-oriented styles are reinterpreted, and “shocking, entertaining and not experienced spaces” are tried to be created.  

Miniatures are intensively influential in creating spaces with proportional qualities and color scheme. “[A]n array of bright colors consisting of colors specific to the oriental style of vision, a break with reality, impact of alienation, disproportional colons specific to the West, and interventions carried out to make the perception of depth difficult” are general characteristics of these buildings. Besides, it becomes possible to catch the usual scale with spatial arrangements such as traditional yards, streets and stony grounds, and the Turkish house sights appear sometimes with their traditional references. These historical images, however, are created with the use of modern construction materials echoing the traditional Turkish house.  

These buildings are the reason of sharp criticisms that Çavdar faces about his architecture. Balamir mentions the portrayals of scenes by the miniatures of these buildings, and whether the “impact of nightmare” formed by the play with depth is a priority in creating architectural space. Her essential criticism, however, goes much deeper. According to her, these spaces are the expression of the current architecture environment that pushes back the principal problems of architecture by carrying out exercises of identity allegedly reflecting cultural differences. Akcan, on the other hand, says that the effort to entertain and surprise through the images on the buildings serves the commercial concern of “selling” the oriental, mystic and exotic, rather than the philosophical frame asserted by Çavdar. Çavdar also accepts that his every building cannot achieve the same success, and finds some of them “within the boundaries of pastiche”. However, he adds that his trials through which he wants to give the feeling of “being lost in the streets of a beautiful city”, which he cannot accomplish in small-scaled projects, can be carried out by means of these projects and will make the users happy.  

---

202 Akcan, 74.  
203 Çavdar, Arredamento.  
205 Akcan, 75.  
206 Çavdar, interview with the author.
Figure 3.14. The elevated block in the Excelsior Corinthia Hotel, Side Titreyengöl, 1985-89
Source: Arredamento 1995 (7-8), 62.

Figure 3.15. Sea-Garden Hapimag, Bodrum, 1985-89.
Source: Arredamento 1995 (7-8), 67.
3.3. Analysis of Eryaman III

3.3.1. Trace: Urban design characteristics of Eryaman III

Chapter 2 presented information about the design competition of Eryaman III, the land it sits on and historical background of the project. On the land divided into two by Tınaztepe Street, 34 clusters of housing blocks designed by Gülgönen and 8 by Çavdar are opposite to each other (see Figure 3.16). The land in Gülgönen’s section elevates in the south whereas the blocks designed by Çavdar are on the topographical borders of a natural hill.

The outer ring-road defines the borders of the land in Gülgönen’s design based on the neighborhood unit principles. The inner ring-road connected to the parking areas and to the outer ring road passes on the borders of the public areas like the marketplace, park and of 9 clusters of housing blocks, whereas the other central functions are found in the inner-ring road. Between the two ring roads, there are 25 clusters, and the traces of the “green road” reaching both Sakarya Street and TBMM Street.

As Öğüt ve Aran finely describe, the structures of the public services designed by Gülgönen are located “along the one side of a winding portico which begins with the food market, then touches the entrance podium of kindergarten, and embracing the shops at the community center around the public square, finally ends at the gymnasium yard forming a boundary to the public park on its eastern side”. The frequently used central functions composed of “linear rows of sheds with concrete stands” on the 500 square meter land assigned to Gülgönen are permanent structures such as the food market, supermarket, office buildings, artisan studios and the L-shaped community center that opens into the square connected to the front of the restaurants with a deck and portico.

---

207 ibid.
208 ibid, 114.
In line with theoretical discussions mentioned in 3.1., the questions posed in this subchapter are as follows: How and at which scales do these two housing schemes designed by Ahmet Gülgönen and Tuncay Çavdar in Eryaman III embody the theory pioneered by Rossi, French school, the Smithsons and Habraken? This subchapter will try to discover the typomorphological references and characteristics of open spaces of Eryaman III structures. Proposed cluster, desired patterns of association and open spaces that relate with the street, central zone and collective or individual open spaces related to it will be analysed in order to highlight the relationship between the physical structure of Eryaman III and the above-mentioned theories.

In order to be able to make a meaningful comparison, two plots designed by Gülgönen ve Tuncay, which are approximately at the same dimensions and positioned facing one another on Tinaztepe Street, were chosen. For the analysis of these plots, they were documented by digital modelling and photography as well as their properties supporting the theoretical themes above were highlighted.
Figure 3.16. Site plan of Eryaman III. Redrew and colored by the author.
3.3.2. Characteristics of structures of Eryaman III by Ahmet Gülgönen

3.3.2.1. Typomorphological relationships

For Gülgönen who designed Eryaman III on a site established in a satellite town and surrounded by free landscape instead of urban tissue in the course of its construction, the landscape of Eryaman was not only a source of inspiration but also a significant element on which the buildings must be respectfully seated. Gülgönen was looking for “free land comes to appear as a part of buildings and building appear as though they are an extension of the ground” viewing the land with the approach of the landscape, the ground and the buildings form a whole. According to Öğüt and Aran, this element providing urban properties to the area was affecting on Eryaman III as below:

(…) Gülgönen conceives urban form in relation to the ground which creates a topographical continuum throughout the district. In order words, emptiness, the void, is what the masses of buildings hold as a continuous form of space. Outdoor spaces of the town are read as an urban medium which has a recognizable character. This means that, from start to finish, Gülgönen’s Eryaman-3 endeavor seems to take hold of the intangible void over the free landscape and brings it forth as a container in the form of an urban character.

---

210 Öğüt & Aran
211
In addition, Öğüt and Aran state that the “modular-morphological approach” in the project is based on the relationship between the courtyard apartments. Gülgören’s each “courtyard unit is bound to the next by defining either a parking lot or a pedestrian alley in between, as a continuous fabric”.\textsuperscript{212} Continuity of common spaces is provided by connecting plots to each other, which are designed as a courtyard unit. Addition to this, blocks placed onto the plots both as a courtyard facilitating common uses and an element that defines the street. High buildings are placed on the edge plots to strengthen image of the city.\textsuperscript{213}

**Ground Floor Typologies**

The main approach of Gülgören in designing Eryaman III is “generating types”. This approach implies itself as repetitions and combinations on subjects ranging from fitting of blocks onto the land to housing plans. Gülgören defines the process of creation as “First you create an abc, then this gives way to creating sentences and

\textsuperscript{212} Öğüt & Aran, 107.
then finally the novel comes out”\textsuperscript{1}. But within the scope of this thesis, form of blocks will only be referred at level of ground plan. T-shaped, L-shaped, and I-shaped blocks of Gülgönen come together in a way that both fit the slope of the land they are sitting on and plot form thus creating courtyards with different qualities.

Table 3.2. Examples from combination of I-types, L-types and T-types creating courtyards
3.3.2.2. Patterns of Association: *îlot, passageways, loggias*

Gülgönen’s blocks as the urban courtyard housing (*îlot*) creates socializing spaces where inhabitants can interact. Also, it defines a face that relates with and also defines the street and a central area that functions as an area for children’s play. Gülgönen considers roads and streets places of social content.

Besides, he asserts that elements of patterns of association in Eryaman III are the entrance loggias that are important especially for children’s gathering and usage. Gülgönen’s recognition of the residents’ need to relate themselves with the ground, to establish neighborly relations with each other and to experience a peaceful and protected outdoor atmosphere led him to create the “two-storey, narrow monumental portico entrances”, which line the outside of the apartment blocks with, “tiny loggias” overlooking the courtyards. This entrance transition finds its analogue in the two-storey high openings that function as gates marking the transition from the courtyard to the street at the corner of the clusters. While passageways set the relationship between the street and the courtyard, they also present an intermediate scale.

---

214 Interview with the author.
215 Öğüt&Aran, 109.
Figure 3.19. Pattern of association in Gülören plots. Source: Derived from the model produced by the author.
Table 3.3: Types of patterns of association

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrance to the plot - <em>Passageways</em></th>
<th>Entrance to the building - <em>Loggias</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entrance to plot through the L-shaped structures</td>
<td>Entrance to plot through the T-shaped structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L-shaped blocks</td>
<td>T-shaped blocks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3.20. Section of the selected plot designed by Gülören showing the cluster’s relationship with the public spaces
Source: Drawn by the author.

Table 3.4. Types of open spaces
Source: Derived from the model produced by the author.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terraces</th>
<th>Balconies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terraces on the ground</td>
<td>Elevated terraces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terraces on the top floor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gülören supports that balconies should be “livable rooms”. In addition, balconies are used as elements that break the monotony and enable connection and continuity on the façade.
3.3.3. “Owning a home, not a hole in an apartment”. Eryaman III by Tuncay Çavdar

3.3.3.1. Typomorphological References
Saraçoğlu Neighborhood became a reference for Çavdar while designing Eryaman III. However, Çavdar’s reference to local Ankara with modernist associations was supported with an intention to evoke the vision of “home” for the inhabitants. Rather than the contemporary home, he preferred the image of home that seems closer and familiar to the people, reinterpreted traditional styles, and thus, endeavored to create housing respectful of the human scale which will provide the inhabitant with joy of life, through his/her establishing a relation with the building.

217

Figure 3.21. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood.

3.3.3.2. Pattern of Association: street
Çavdar’s vision of everyday life in Eryaman III is against “type house, type material, type life”. He observed during the experiment of Izmit that getting into houses thorough the landings disturbed the inhabitants. With this in mind, Çavdar tried to employ an approach against “lining up people rather than making them happy”, which was based on a new apartment system that would enable people to enter their houses with stairways, opening up their own door through the “flying

216 Interview by the author.
217 ibid.
218 ibid.
street” that he designed with reference to Alison and Peter Smithson, to enjoy the hall of the internal street, and to have the opportunity of meeting and talking with their acquaintances.219

Figure: 3.22. Section of the selected plot designed by Çavdar demonstrates streets and the elevated street.

**Clusters**

Çavdar prefers to design “buildings consisted of parts getting together rather than a fabric consisted of standard houses” in order to escape from monotonousness which is identified with the concept of social housing that he considers as a misconduct.220 The cluster formed in this way includes historical or modern references.221 On the whole that consists of 8 plots, three groups of buildings exist as low-rise row houses with 2 or 3 storeys shaped in compliance with the form of block, relatively high-rise monoblock with 5 storeys and semi-detached blocks. Relation with the environment is maximized on the whole block. While the houses with low square meters are constructed on single high-rise blocks, 100 sq m houses are linked with open spaces such as gardens and courtyards considering particularly the children and the elderly who are supposed to spend most of the day at home.222

---

219 Interview by the author.
220 Çavdar, Arredemanto Mimarlık, 60.
221 Historical references and the debate on identity will not be tackled in this thesis. However, the relation of Eryaman III with resort architecture at a formal level can be seen in 3.4.1.
Figure. 3.23. Cluster of row houses, 5-storey monoblock and semi-detached blocks in a plot in the Tuncay Çavdar’s section.
Table 3.5. Components of clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monoblock</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Monoblock Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-detached blocks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Semi-detached Blocks Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Row Houses Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.6. Examples from the combination of monoblock, semi-detached blocks and row houses creating the clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>monoblock</th>
<th>semi-detached blocks</th>
<th>row houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Diagram of clusters created by monoblock, semi-detached blocks, and row houses]
3.4. Evaluation

3.4.1. Eryaman III as an alternative in Gülgönen’s and Çavdar’s oeuvres

There are similarities between Ahmet Gülgönen’s Tourcoing Social Housing experience and Eryaman Stage III, such as the exterior staircases at the second floor, covered passageways, the material choice and the concern for quality housing at low costs. The two types of exterior staircases (depending on the density) seen in Eryaman do not provide private access to the second floor, just like in Tourcoing, but define a new public space with loggias. Gülgönen states that the loggias have a social function in that they allow seeing the common space from above. However, there were no participatory processes in Eryaman Stage III, which resulted in the lack of reflecting users’ wishes or life styles in the project. Moreover, in terms of the number of units, Eryaman Stage III and Tourcoing Social Housing (23 units) are not comparable.

Covering a 40-plot area and with social centers designed by Gülgönen, Eryaman Stage III is distinctive in his professional practice as it allows permeability between the plots and an effective relationship with the center. The social housing projects designed by Gülgönen in Paris were realized on one single plot with courtyards functioning as private spaces reserved for the use of the inhabitants, whereas in Eryaman Stage III, the courtyards do not have physical boundaries as a result of acquisition, and despite the warnings, the boundaries are nonfunctional. This results in the whole area composed of flowing yards having a characteristic in between public and semi-private space.

Gülgönen had worked on another tabula rasa project in Gallipoli, where the reference was the landscape. Similarly, in Eryaman Stage III, the blocks are grounded mildly showing respect to the terrain, in perfect harmony with the previously planned neighborhood scheme, although they are not built in urban tissue like Gülgönen’s other social housing projects. The creation of a new typology out of the context is only through its relationship with the ground. In addition, some typological elements to break the monotony and to create public spaces can be observed in Gülgönen’s other social housing projects.

Furthermore, Eryaman Stage III is a manifestation of Gülgönen’s “humanistically rich and economically cheap” and modest architectural understanding. Here,
Gülgönen applies once again principles such as working on a social housing project assigned by public institutions and looking out for establishing social relationships.

Some points of continuity and breakdown in Gülgönen’s professional practice in comparison with Eryaman Stage III are shown in the table below.

Table 3.7. Continuity and breakdown between Eryaman and Ahmet Gülgönen’s other projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuity</th>
<th>Theoretical Contributions to Eryaman III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Typological Contributions to Eryaman III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony with architectural understanding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breakdown</td>
<td>Scale of the project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not implemented in the urban tissue, but working with the neighborhood concept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationship with the center and permeability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among Çavdar’s work, Eryaman Stage III could be considered an interesting synthesis of the Izmit experiment, on which he worked for a long time, and several summer resorts he designed before the Eryaman project was implemented. Eryaman Stage III evokes the image of traditional houses both with its outlook with overhangs, eaves, the use of wood, and half arches and spatial elements that sustain traditional scales, such as yards, hayats, and narrow streets. Indeed, the buildings are known as “Safranbolu Houses” in the vicinity.²²³

However, Çavdar organized these traditional forms around the modern scheme of the “elevated street”. This is related to the lessons learnt from his Izmit Experiment, such as acquisition in social housing and the lessening of the relationship established with the house from the landings to the entrances. Through the variety of spaces he created, Çavdar presents an alternative to the understanding of mass housing, which, in his words, aims at “lining up inhabitants rather than making them content”. Thus, he highlights his own architectural understanding that overall seeks to contribute to the city’s image and to bring joy of life. His work in Eryaman Stage III might be read in the light of this “wish”.

²²³ Eryaman Stage III by Tuncay Çavdar is also claimed to be a discrete example with the quality of using vernacular forms and elements in a social housing instead of upper classes houses. Moreover, this experience an example of social housing within that particular time instead of the commercial development or global tourism project.
Table 3.8. Continuity and breakdown between Eryaman and Tuncay Çavdar’s other projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>continuity</th>
<th>Theoretical Contributions to Eryaman III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /> <img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Everybody should open their door and enter.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Typological Contributions to Eryaman III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>breakdown</th>
<th>Social housing with concerns for architectural environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
3.4.2. Gülgönen and Çavdar as Alternatives to Each Other

Table 3.9. Comparison of plots by Gülgönen and Çavdar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typomorphological Relationships</th>
<th>Ahmet Gülgönen</th>
<th>Tuncay Çavdar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eryaman Landscape</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saraçoğlu Neighborhood</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generating Typologies</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clusters formed by plots</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thanks to the playgrounds, seating arrangements and the relationship they establish with parking areas, Gülgünen's courtyards allow association with the center and other blocks. Çavdar's "street-in-the-air", on the other hand, functions as a wide platform which enables less association as it scans a relatively shorter distance, begins and ends on the same plot, and cannot connect other streets.

- **Extroverted**: Uses modern schemes associated with the public space.
- **Introverted**: Uses typologies of traditional societies (hayat, courtyard)

---

**Intermediate Scale**
Loggias, passageways and balconies | Arches, color
---|---

They are positioned opposite to each other, rising likewise in Tınaztepe street. Çavdar uses traditional elements on the facades, whereas Gülgönen prefers interconnected balconies which have more modern connotations. While in Gülgönen's work, the connection with the main street is more direct through corner entrances, Çavdar's streets can only be entered primarily via by-streets.
CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In the beginning, there were the first phase, the second phase and frogs. Too many frogs. Walking at night, frogs were jumping from here and there. Then there happened too many dead frogs. They were run over by cars, and understood what the paper frogs were like. The number of cars over increased, parking lots were full, frogs disappeared completely. Awhile hedgehogs wandered around at nights. They wandered on roads, in parks at nights. They were wandering around silently, lost in thought, dreamy. When they came across a human, they jumped a little bit on their tiny foot, saying ’’hih!’’. They were so slow, introvert; they were also run over by cars.

What happened after? Once frogs, hedgehogs, doves, smelly workers and transvestites had left, the construction of more luxurious housings, trade centers and shopping malls speeded up in the mass housing area.

Barış Baçakçı, Sinek Isırmalarının Müellifi

This thesis tried to offer an insight into the way TOKİ operated during the period 1991-1996, a critical era for the institution, by analyzing its prevalent discourse through the research it funded and related publications, namely, Handbook Series for Developing Local Government and Housing Research Series. Eryaman II, III and Eryaman IV (except its central functions) were designed and implemented during this period, when Yığit Gülöksüz was the President of TOKİ. It thus examined two outputs of the period sharing similar concerns for urban development, Eryaman III and IV, in terms of their production processes.

The study found out that the transparent institutional ambience of TOKİ, which was prioritizing scientific knowledge and promoting some certain moral and universal values as a starting point, underlaid the period. As such, the prominent topics were participation of both academia and inhabitants of the city in the production processes, tackling housing as a design problem which can be measured and developed by scientific methods, and taking moral values as a base. The search for
an appropriate physical environment through design to promote social life was another crucial topic discussed throughout this study.

The governing theme of that period promoting qualitative, qualified and academic values was also consistent with the planning of Eryaman at the urban scale, which took place before TOKI’s establishment. This was fully coherent with the municipal work undertaken in Ankara during that period. The social democratic political inclinations in different institutions provided, with the help of administrative configurations or individual agents, a consistent vision on urban space, urban planning, growth and projections in Ankara. The Ankara Master Plan Bureau managed by Haluk Altaban prepared the base plan on which Eryaman was built, and this plan was later revised by Bülent Berksan. This plan reflects the main points of the neighborhood unit concept that is based on a center, to which the local parts with common aspects are connected, and that creates public spaces that allow for social interaction. Another important project that reflected the urban vision of the period was the 13 October Urban Gate competition organized in 1990. The unrealized gate was expected to become the city’s “center of attention”, but was not designed considering social benefits or collectivity. Designed disparately by different architects, Eryaman IV fails to bear the positive characteristics it demonstrates at the architectural scale at the neighborhood scale. On the other hand, Eryaman III was designed as a whole during a period in which alternative concerns were on the forefront at TOKI and the related institutions. However, as this approach lost its strength in time, it resulted in an oasis that operates well inside but fails to relate to the whole.

In order to analyze the characteristics of Eryaman III that were believed to reflect its alternative position at the neighborhood scale, the theoretical approaches and earlier professional practices of Ahmet Gülgoğen and Tuncay Çavdar were examined. Since both Gülgoğen and Çavdar were influenced by Aldo Rossi’s concepts and thought, this study firstly took a brief look at the Italian tradition and Rossi’s approach, and secondly the French school with which Gülgoğen was affiliated. The latter was influenced by Italian urban design and French architects, sociologists and urban designers of the period were concerned with “preserving pre-industrial urban fabrics and retaining the merits of modernity”, an approach rising in France at that time. Its
concepts were examined in terms of their intersections with the Italian urban design theory, historical development, initiatives brought to various fields and their interpretation by two different architecture schools on typomorphology and urban block, which reveal Gülşonen’s design approach. The theoretical background involved two further theoretical tendencies that affected particularly Tuncay Çavdar’s approach to social housing, and as a consequence, were visible as design elements in both the theoretical infrastructure and outcome of Eryaman III: the housing theory by Alison and Peter Smithson based on patterns of association, street/elevated street and cluster and Habraken’s view based on the human scale, which advocated an intermediate scale against the detached relationship between the user and the architect in social housing.

Some of the projects of Gülşonen and Çavdar were chosen to trace the design of Eryaman III and to expose their design concerns in their professional lives. Among Gülşonen’s work, the memorial park in Gallipoli emphasizing the relationship between the terrain and design, and the social housing project in Tourcoing, France were chosen. Çavdar’s selected projects were the Izmit experiment, an example illustrative of his pursuit in the field of social housing, and various summer resorts, which carry the traces of his architectural language in Eryaman III.

It was further determined how Eryaman III relates to and differs from their other works and define their alternative positions. There were similarities in Gülşonen’s and Çavdar’s work in terms of theoretical background and typological references. Gülşonen’s Eryaman III differs from his other projects with its scale — not implemented in the urban tissue, but working with the neighborhood concept — and its relationship with the center and permeability. Among Çavdar’s work, Eryaman Stage III could be considered an interesting synthesis of the Izmit experiment and summer resorts he designed. In this respect, Eryaman III is in line with his architectural concerns, and at the same time, an alternative as a social housing project with concerns for traditional elements.

Lastly, this thesis tried to show how the built environments that are created by these two mass housing groups located opposite to each other in the site and believed to support social relationships constitute alternatives to each other. The structures in Eryaman III were diagrammatically analyzed in terms of their typomorphological
references, proposed clusters, patterns of association and characteristics of open spaces, using the theoretical background and interviews with the architects. The comparison based on this analysis revealed that the urban references of Gülgönen’s structures have a close relationship with the landscape of Eryaman, while Çavdar’s are related with Ankara Saraçoğlu Neighborhood, which has the connotations of the Turkish house and belongs to the modern era. In terms of their relationship with the terrain, Gülgönen worked with generative types composed of several elements, while Çavdar’s cluster components took their form in relationship with the shape of the plot. The patterns of association are reflected in Gülgönen’s urban block/courtyard and in Çavdar’s street/elevated street. Gölgönen’s courtyard apartments not only create a world of their own in smaller units but also establish a fluid relationship with the whole. They are moreover extroverted, related to the public uses with the locational advantage it bears in the site. Çavdar’s work, on the other hand, is introverted, due to the traditional scales, references to open space and the disconnected elevated streets and the lack of a more direct relationship with the public space and the street. In both cases, the intermediate scale is an important concern, reflected in Gülgönen’s loggias, passageways and balconies, and Çavdar’s arches, use of color and horizontal elements.

Reflections on the present mass housing production

The post-2004 period is another critical era for TOKİ as the administration has regained its importance. It is worth reflecting on as it allows for a better understanding of the value of Eryaman III. With the decreasing resources allocated to TOKİ after 1994, the institution’s share in housing production started to decline. The turning point was 2004 when TOKİ became a critical instrument with the amendments made in the Mass Housing Law that authorized the institution with “expropriation, development of gecekondu transformation projects, construction and financial arrangements”. Since then, TOKİ has become the major authority in the housing sector with almost all the competencies in housing production in Turkey. This brought about an expansion of TOKİ’s responsibility in today’s cities.

In contrast, the concerns for quality prevalent in the 1990s declined in time with the change in management, and later substituted with quantitative concerns. In Eryaman, the current luxury housing projects are striking, which create a stark contrast with the mass housing produced by cooperatives or TOKİ which identified the settlement. Although an upper scale analysis is beyond the context of this thesis, it could be easily observed that the subway line completed in 2014 is far from being a backbone, as originally designed, and the structures of the public realm display characteristics that are identical to those of the current stereotypical built environment. In conclusion, when looking at current Turkish cities composed of stereotypical built environments, where Eryaman is among the many, the production and design practices at play in Eryaman III are valuable in that they resulted in a neighborhood which has an alternative position compared to these built environments and offered alternative options and still stands out as a reference for current mass housing production.

---

225 There are examples that prove the opposite. For instance, the Housing Design Competition for Istanbul-Kayabaşı organized by TOKİ. However, these projects create housing areas for the middle-upper classes and do not reflect the general tendency of TOKİ.
REFERENCES


Bıçakçı, Barış. Sinek İşırıklarının Müellifî (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013).


105


APPENDIX

INTERVIEWS

Interview with Ahmet Gülgönen, Paris

Figure A.1. Portrait of Ahmet Gülgönen, in his office APRAH, Paris, June 2016. Source: Personal archive of the author.


Ahmet Gülgönen: Ben bütün bunlarla neden ilgilendiğini anlatarak başlayacam. Toplu konut aslında Türkiye’deki mimarlık ve kentsel çalışmalar için bir ana sorun ve büyük bir eksiklik. Çünkü toplu konut denilince belli bir tip yapılmıyor. Üç tane,
beş tane… O tekrar ediyor, ediyor… Gayet monoton bir yaşam çevresi sunuyor. Tamamiyle spekülatif, politik bir olay. Mimarlarıyla toplu konut denilen şeylerin bir ilişkisi yok.

İkincisi de Türkiye’de geçmişte de çok zengin bir mimarlık ananesi var. Fakat kentsel tasarım yani “urban design” denen şeyin büyük bir eksikliği var. Şehirciler ve mimarlar ikiye bölünmüş durumda. Birisi plan kağıdı üzerine zoning yapıyor, öbürü de bina yapıyor; bunlar belli yerlere konduruluyor. Bu bence verimli, olumlu sonuc verecek bir tutum değil. Bürokratik sebeplerle, politik sebeplerle, bir de eğitim boşluğundan bir şekilde işin kolayına kaçıyor.


Sonra Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi dönemi başladı. Orada mezuniyete kadar Behruz Çinici’nin binalarında okumadım. Ancak inşaatı başlamıştı ben mezun

G: Fransız kentsel mimari yaklaşımanın, 70’lerde Fransa’daki mimarlık okullarının sosyal bilimlerle tanışmasının ardından oluşan ve İtalyan ekolünün üzerindeki belirleyiciğini hakkında tespit katılıyor musunuz? Bunu size soruyorum, çünkü bunun eğitim alanındaki ilk taşıycılarından biri sayılıyorsunuz. 1975 sonrası Fransız kentsel mimari ekolü hakkında ve dönemin ve eğitim verdiği kurumun atmosferi hakkında ne söylersiniz?


G: Bu noktada François Laisney ile birlikte yürütüğünüz araştırmanın adı geçiyor. “Morphologie Urbanie et Typologie Architecture”dan bahsetmek ister misiniz?

AG.: Bak niye katıldım öyle bir çalışmaya onun da şöyle bir sebebi var. Amerika’da Kahn’in atölyesi bitince ben urban design kısmına kaydoldum. Kimse bana git, mühimdir dediği için değil, merakı. Ama bir çok imkan vardı urban


Bu çalışma beni çok etkiledi ve ben İstanbul’da bir ana sorunun tipoloji-morfoloji olduğunu bildigim için Fatih Külliyesi’ni çalışmaya Bakanlık’a teklif ettim. Hem morfolojik bir olay, hem de külliye tipolojisi nedir ve onun yanında cami tipolojisiyle ilişkileri nedir bulunun araştırın istedim. İstanbul’da bir konu olmasına rağmen Bakanlık bana güvenerek onu çalışmaya finanse etti.

G: Eryaman III. Etap tasarım sürecine nasıl dâhil oldunuz? Kentsel tasarım projesi süreci ve ilişkiye geçtiğiniz kişiler hakkında aklimda kalanları benimle paylaşır mısınız?


117

G: Çizimleri orada mı bıraktınız?


G: Eryaman 3. Etapla ilgili değerlendirme...


G: Laisney ile birlikte yaptığınız yayınınızın İngilizce çevirişi var mı?


ve insancıl potansiyelini göster az. Ama örneğin İtalya’da da bir sergi olmuştur sustainable architecture hakkında, Türkiye’den ve Akdeniz ülkelerinden tek misal buydu. Aslında bu konutların bir de ekolojik yönü var. İç – dış mekan ilişkileri, gölge – güneş... Bence bu bir ana sorun, sustainable architecture, devamlılık, binaların bakım aşaması... Ayrıca yeşillik olması... Çünkü insan gölgeyi seviyor, ağaç gölge verdiği için onunla bir ilişki kuruyorsun.

G: Siz projeye başladığınızda Eryaman neredeyse boş bir araži... Şimdiki hâlini görmelisiniz.


G: [168-170 Boulvard Charonne projelerine bakılıyor] Cana Bilsel bu ortak avluları kent nişler diye tarif ediyor...

AG.: Bak şurada küçük bir şiir var gördün mü?

G: Evet, o da sizin el yazımızı. Bu ağaçlar çok büyüümüş, o yüzden mekânın algılanması daha kor.


G.: Paris’teki konutlarınızı hep kent dokusu içinde yaptınız. Eryaman’ın baglamsal ilişkisiniz nedir?

AG.: Orası bir landscape idi. Eryaman’ın güzel tarafları ortada bir problem var. Mimarlar serbestti. Yarışma iyi hazırlanmıştı ve jüri çok iyiyi diyor. [Fotoğraflara

G.: Üst ölçükte *neighbourhood unit* olarak planlanmasının yapılmış bir yer, siz kentsel projesini yaparken özellikle 3. etabı bununla nasıl ilişkilendirdiniz?


AG.: En azından çocuklara saygımız var biliyor musun? O son derece mühim. O güzel bir şey.

G.: Cephelerde değişik bir diliniz var: bütün balkonlar birbirine bağlanıyor, yatayda ve düşeyde.

AG.: Bir monotonlukta kurtulmanın yolu aslında, görsel monotonluk da baş ağırlıktır bir şey. Aynı pencerenin 7, 8 kat tekrarı, insan bakamıyor. O daha çok yine bir ölçek sorunu. Balkonların birbirine nasıl bağlanacağını *intermediate scale*
belirliyor. Çünkü tek balkon, tek pencere bir konut. Bütünüyle bina bir tür ünite, ama ikisi arasında intermediate scale.


G: Çok teşekkürler.

Interview with Tuncay Çavdar, İstanbul

Figure A.2. Portrait of Tuncay Çavdar, in his office Atölye T, May 2016, İstanbul. Source: Personal archive of the author.


Bu konuştular ve anketlerin neticesinde bu projede kullanmak üzere çeşitli patternlar geliştirildik. Cristopher Alexander’in geliştirdiği patternlerden çok farklı patternler çıktı. Çok benzer patternler çıktı.


125


Ama iyi bir sosyojik araştırma ve ondan bir mimari dil çıkararak insanların mutlu etme imkânı var, burada oturanlar bana kalırsa memnun olurlar evlerinden. Burada önemli şey özel girişimlerde, inşaatta biraz daha yapmak istenen yaklaştık lüzım. Özel inşaatı konutun, benim konutum havasını getiren esprileri de yakalamak lüzım.


G: 90’lardaki mimarlığınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

TÇ: Çok içinde bulunduğu bir devir bu ama düşüncelerimizin gerçekleştiğinden çok şüphe duyдум. Yapabildiğim, varabildiğim nokta, İzmit’tir, onda da büyük güçlükler yaşadık. Yönetimdeki müteahhit, yaratmaya taahhüt edilen, kaidelere uygun yapmayı taahhüt etmemizi istiyor.

defa yaptırılmakta güçlük çekiyor bir kere başına ben geldiğim için. Buna rağmen getirisi diğer otellerdende çok daha fazla. İki misli getirisi oluyor. İki misli getiri, daha fazla otel yapma imkânı sağlıyor.


Eczacıbaşı'nda kaldı proje, kötü bir hikayesi var. Ama Pamfilya Tatil Köyü, onun resimlerini görebilirsiniz. Onun üzerine KTÜ'de yapılan iki tez var.

G: Eryaman’da yarışmayla ilgili hatırladığınız isimler var mı?


G: Referanslarınızı Saraçoğlu Mahallesi’nden mi almışınız?


**Interview with Ömer Kıral, Ankara**


İki cephe ve çatı cephesi vardır; çevresinde yüksek katlı binalar olduğu için çatıyı da bir cephe gibi algılayıp bir kentsel tasarım projesi yaptı. Bu, yöneltime gelir gelmez idarenin hemen bir şeyleri yapma isteğiyle doğan bir proje, oradaki tek mubahalemiz merkez.


Daha önce belirttiğim gibi, 4. etapta yönetim değişti ve merkezi yapılarak. Projesini Ragıp Buluç’a hazırlattık ama o tamamlanamadan biz yönetimden ayrılmıştedik. 1996 yılında Habitat toplantısının ardından ben Toplu Konut’tan ayrıldım.


Ahmet Gülönen’in bir fikri şudur: urban design açısından insanlar yürüürken giriş kat ve onun üstündeki katı algılarlar. Dolayısıyla binalar cephelerde ve kurguda ilk giriş ve onun üstündeki katların tasarmıyla farklılaşır. Biteviye, bugünkü konutlar gibi, başlıyor sıfırdan kaporta mimarisi, yukarıya kadar aynı kaportayı düşünüyor, öyle olmamalı. Bunun için yapılarda design brief’i görürsun.

Yangın merdiveninin bir kat yukarıdan aşağıya inmesi, iç avlulara geçişler... Her bir mimar diğerinin projesine bakarak kendisininkini geliştiriyor. 4. Etap’ın avantajı şu: önlerinde 3. Etap’tan iki mimar gördüler ve onlardan daha iyi yapmaya çalışlardır. Ahmet Gülönen’i herkes kışkırdı, çünkü Ahmet Gülönen’e bir neighborhood


Herkesi çağırdık, ama endişemiz ortak bir tasarım dili oluşturmak değildi, dış görünüm ve mekân olguçunda herhangi bir ortaklaşma olmadı.


tasarlayabilirsin, kreşleri koyabilirsin, ortak alanları içine yerleştirebilirsin. 200-300-400 konutluk yapı adalarıdır bunlar. Kendi içinde bir pérdündür; okul, sağlık merkezi, çarşı. Bülent Berksan böyle bir mantıka 5000’i yeniden revize etti.

Yapı adaları merkez etrafında birleşirken, hepsinin kendi merkezi oldu. Mahalle kurgusu net okunmuyor, o da altyapı rasyonelden çıkıyor.

**Interview with Semra Teber Yener, İstanbul**


Gülnur Güler Kavas: Güzelkent konusuna girdiğiniz orada siz isminizi andı, belki oradan siz devam etmek istersiniz?

STY: Güzelkent büyüklük olarak, TOKİ’nin 3. Etabının, yani her iki mimarın yaptığı etabin toplamının neredeyse iki katı büyüklükte bir alan; metre kare yani konut birimi, yaklaşık altı bin konuttur. O bizim kentsel tasarım maceramızın
başlangıcı sayılabilir. Heyecan verici bir şey. Yalnız oradaki tek kısıtımız, imar planının yapılmış olmasıydı. O plan da galiba 75-76’larda yapılmış. O zamanın, hani merkezi ortaya aldığını, cluster ettiğin tasarmlar var ya, bildiğimiz bir imar planı...

etmedim ama imar planı daha önce yapıldığı için o yaptığımız çalışmada ona sadık kaldık.

G: Pekiyi hocam, künyesini söyleyebilir misiniz? Hangi tarihte başladı, şu tarihe bitti, yüklenici firma ya da sizi davet eden kurum ya da organizasyon gibi?


G: Eryaman’ın da aslında kentsel dokusunu oluşturan şeylerden biri. Çünkü ben bunun için tipomorfoloji kurumundan beslediği için o kuramı seçtim. Aynı zamanda Eryaman’a hemen öncesinde karakterini veren bir şey olarak da önemsiyorum. Eryaman’ın yapılmı çevresini oluşturan o basmakalıp tipolojide de bir anomali aslında, o yüzden önemsiyorum.


G: O 5 yıllık imar planındaki sosyal donatılar hiç yapılmadı. Ortak donatılar yok ama sonra binliklerdeki etapların merkezleri öne çıkınca, oradaki küçük merkezlerde STY: O donatı değil, o ticaret tabi.

STY: Tabi, buraya bizim dahil olma meselemiz, Susuz Gölet'e, 13 Ekim Ankara kent girişisi yarışmasını kazanmamızla oldu aslında. Benim Türkiye'ye geliş sebebim o yarışmadır.

G: Onu da anlatır mısınız?


G: O tamamen kenara itildi değil mi? Bir tek parçasının bile uygulanması fırsatı olmadı?

STY: Yok, tabi, onun bir parçası olmazdı zaten. O tek parça bir şeydi ve projenin ana fikri landscape ama aynı zamanda landmark olarak landscape’i de

G: Peki hocam, hiç bir çizim, belge vs. var mı?

STY: Var elbette. 13 Ekim kent girişyle, orası, Susuz Parkı var ya, onun yerine... Ben sana buluşturduğum görselleri bulayım. Bak görüyorum, buraya hem giriş projesi yapıyorsunuz, hem de İstanbul’dan kente yaklaşırken, nasıl bir sekanslar dizininden geçiyoruz, bu yol boyunca bu peyza, landscape ya da kentsel mekâna, şu lineer kentsel mekân, araç hızına göre nasıl bir sekanslar manzumesi olusturuyor... Bak, Akköprü, köprü, Ankara Çayı, su parkı, yeşil alan, orada şöyle bir doku, Askeri alan, yeşil büklüyor. Bunlar hep böyle mega landscape elemanları düşünülünmüştü... Sanayi, varyant yol, sanayi dışarı atılıyor, havaalanı sinyal kuleleri landmark olarak düşünülmüştü... Atatürk Orman Çiftliği odak noktasız, nasıl meydandan geçmiş... Şu genel yerleşim, bizim zaman kule ve köprü meydan, şu karşıdaki tepe de yeşil tepe, bu tepeler şimdi deforme olmuş, kazılmış olan. Bun tepe, yere gömülmüş dev bir kare gibi bir şey, yeşil güzel bir tepeydi, korunacak bir yer. Bu tepe de metal tepeydi, şuralar da korunacak yeşil alanda, çünkü Susuz’u besleyen çayı da açığa çıkartıp... Vaziyet planı da şu, metro hattı da şöyle geçiyor... Şu da sanırım sosyal kültür mekânın, İstanbul vụyla paftaları. Şu da hani kulenin landmark olarak gece nasıl aydınlatılacak olan. Bu tabii 1991, şimdi bunların yerine ne var? Bol bol konut ve mangal var... Bu da zaman kulesinin uygulama projesi olarak, bir kent müzesi olarak, hani her tarafı da cam, uzaktan şehrin ışıkları görünüyor, çevre algılanıyor. Ankara ile ilgili olarak, kent hafızasıyla ilgi, gece ve gündüz aydınlatması...

Bir de bunun 1991’lerde olduğunu düşünün. Boyle bir şey, kazara olabilseydi, bir kentsel rekreasyon alanı, yeşil alan, Susuz’u besleyen çay, müze olduğu takdirde, yarı anıtsal yarı donatı, kültürel diveyim, müze olduğu takdirde, meydana falan, gerçekten kent ölçeğinde bir şey oluyordu, ne diveyim, point of interest mi, ilgi alanı oluyordu.

142
Ankara'nın İstanbul yönündeki kent girişi, Zaman Kulesini görmemene imkân yok zaten, böylece Ankara'nın etki alanıına girmiş oluyordun. Tabi tüm bunlar yapılrken Eryaman bomboştu.

(Güzelkent ten fotoğraflar gösteriyor...)

Tamamının kentsel tasarım vaziyet planı mevcut...

Bunları galiba o zaman Metropol'den verdiler, oradan çekmişler...

isterlerse kendi paralarıyla yerinde bir plan kote alınsınlar, ben yeniden tüm iyi
niyetimle yeniden vaziyet plan çalışması yaparım. Gül düle, dediler ki, bu
hali hazırdı resmi doküman, bu ne derse odur, bundan başka şey yok, hiç boşuna
uğrama deductiler. Benim bunu kabul edip anlamam bir ay filan aldı, çok uğrastım
hani ikna ederim filan diye. Çünkü göz göre göre, adam yapmayacak o da belli, alta
bir kat daha çıkıyor besbelli, yan cebime koy, onu kafadan yapacak, ondan sonra,
belediye yapacağımı da biliyorum, kimse kılını kırpırdımadı, kimse hiç bir şey yapmadı,
ben uğrastım ama, işte böyle oldu. Hani, yerinde yapılan katkıları diyorum ya, işte
böyle...

Interview with Ragıp Buluç, Ankara

Gülınur: (Tez konusu anlatıldı.)

Etabı dikkate almyor. Hakikaten berbat, 1, 2 de berbat, 5, 6, ondan rackiler de
berbat. Nedenini anlatacağım döndüğü kadar sana.

Her şey kaybolup gidiyor. Merkez nasıl yapılmış mesela, 4. Etapta sizin
tasarladığınız merkez var, yapılmamış. Mesela bu belgelenmiş değil.

RB.: Benim bir komputerim var. Ona sen gireceksin. Bütün planları bir diske
kaydedebilirsin. 1. Ve 2. Etap galiba ANAP dönemiydi. Onlar söyle bir politika
yaptılar. Projeyi, yaptığı bütünüňü ihaleye çıkartılar. Kazanan müteahhite projeyi
yaptırdılar. Bu özellikle bu işi bilmeyen insanların, yani müteahhit yanısı idarelerin
çok kullandığı bir şey. Onlar da gidip, doğru düzgün bir mimar değil, en işlerine
gelen, en ucu, lâlettayn insanlara çizirdiler. Böyle ilaç kutusu gibi, sadece kâr
düşünen şeyler. 3. Ve 4. etap CHP döneminde. Yiğit Gülöksüz, yanında Ömer Kıräl
dan vardı. Bunlar çok aydın insanlardı. Önce mimara verdiler, ihale ettiler, projeleri
yaptı. Ondan sonra müteahhite verildi. 4. Etaptan sonra yine bunlar iktidardan
düştüler, Ecevit düşünceleri, galiba Doğruyol Partisi mi geldi… Yani ben çok onları
bilmiyorum. Yani sağ parti geldi. Ve tekrar eski sisteme döndüler. Yani bu iyi
örnekte 3. Ve 4. etap, her şeye rağmen çok iyi örneklerdi. Rağmenleri de anlaticam
sana çünkü. Hiçbir ders bile olmadı. Bir sürüş insan nolmuş yani o da bina bu da bina


G.: Yöneticilerin özenli davranması…


G.: Nasıl davet aldınız?


G.: (planı çıkarıyor.)


G.: şuradaki merkezle ilgili tasarımız?


G: 4 mimarla çalışiyoruz. Hiçbir araya geldiniz mi?


G.: Orada yaşayanları mutlu ediyor.


G.: 5 iyi mimar, yakın çevrede iş yapıyorlar. Bu rekabet ortamı doğurmuş mudur?


G: Ömer Kiral’la görüşme, teknik personelin ortak toplantılardan düzenlenmesi.


G: Asansör meselesi...


G: Sokakların devam edememesi gibi engellerle nasıl aşıyorsunuz?


almaya bak. İnsana değer vermeyen bir toplumda insanın yaptığı işe de önem verilmmez.

G: Tarihsel süreçte bir araya geliş ortak çalışma yok mu?


G: 4. Etapın merkezi de kıyıda olması ilginç.


G: İlham kaynaklarınız?

oturuyoruz. Bir bay izlife bakmaya çalışsam doğru bir yorum olur mu?

G: Sokak üzerinde bir teoriyle bakmaya çalışsam doğru bir yorum olur mu?


G: Herkesin kendi kapısını açabiliyor olması bile iyi hissettiriyor muydun?