INVESTIGATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT IN THE WESTERN
FRINGE OF ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

INVESTIGATION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT IN THE WESTERN FRINGE OF ANKARA

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The concept of a neighborhood -which is organized on the basis of ethical, communal, cultural, moral and religious values- is an elemental spatial environment. The spatial pattern of the neighborhood has been transformed by various factors such as; population, social, cultural, demographical and psychological processes from the beginning of urbanization tendencies in the 20th century both in Turkey and in the Western hemisphere. Accordingly, the housing question and the formation of different dwelling types such as -workers' housing, community housing, squatter settlements and slums- have been widely discussed in the milieu of mass media, academic publications and via concrete examples; in the three decades between 1950 and 1980 these concentrations have been basically patterned by the political power, regulation, economic and idealization issues. Within this conjuncture of factors, the neighborhood has become a paradigm that could be identified and observed, not merely through the built environment itself, but also through the dynamics of the formation period by means of analyzing the transformation of neighborhoods in Turkey from the traditional to the emergence of the planned neighborhood unit. This research focuses on the reasons and relationships behind the formation of the neighborhood as the 'nucleus' of cities, and critically examines the transition period of neighborhoods in Turkey through the history of urbanization reforms in Turkey and their effects on the

built environment. The aim of this research is to analyze the paradigm of the neighborhood as a significant conceptual and concrete unit of the urban environment through the development strategies and dynamics present in Turkey; especially in Ankara's Western fringe, within the framework of sociological and environmental behavior, which has, in the course of time, been developed into a theoretical core in the architectural field of the 1970s.

Keywords: Neighborhood, neighborhood unit, Ankara, Western fringe (corridor), urbanization.

ÖZ

KOMŞULUK BİRİMİNİN ANKARA'NIN BATI KORİDORUNDA İNCELENMESİ

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Etnik, toplumsal, kültürel, ahlaki ve dini değerler aracılığıyla örgütlenen mahalle, temel bir mekânsal ortamdır. Mahallenin mekânsal örüntüsü; 20. Yüzyılın başından beri Batı ülkeleri ve Türkiye'deki kentleşme girişimleri, nüfus, sosyal, kültürel, demografik ve psikolojik bağlamlarla ilişkili olmuştur. Buna bağlı olarak, konut meselesi; işçi evleri, toplu konutlar, gecekondular ve gecekondu mahalleleri gibi konut türlerinin oluşumu açısından kitle iletişim araçları, akademik yayınlar ve yapılı çevre çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır. 1950-1980 arası yıllarda temel olarak iktidar, düzenleme, ekonomi ve idealleşme sorunları dönemin mimarisini düzenleyen etkenler olmuş ve bu tartışmalara yoğunlaşılmıştır. Bu gelişmelerle mahalle, sadece yapılı çevre olarak değil, aynı zamanda Türkiye'de gelenekselden planlı bir komşuluk birimine (mahalle ünitesi) dönüşüm süreci ve sürecin dinamikleri aracılığıyla gözlemlenebilecek ve tanımlanabilecek bir paradigmaya dönüşmüştür. Bu araştırma, kentlerin 'çekirdeği' olarak tanımlanan mahallenin oluşum nedenleri ve ilişkileri üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Türkiye'de mahallenin dönüşümünü kentleşme reformları tarihi ve bunların yapılı çevreye etkileri ile eleştirel olarak inceler. Bu araştırmanın amacı, mahalle paradigmasını kentsel çevrenin önemli bir kavramsal ve somut bir birimi olarak, sosyolojik ve çevresel davranışlar çerçevesinde, Türkiye'nin; özellikle

Ankara ve Batı koridoru gelişim stratejileri ve dinamikleri ile incelemek ve 1970'lerde ortaya çıkan kuramsal tartışmalarla temellendirmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mahalle, komşuluk birimi (mahalle ünitesi), Ankara, Batı koridoru, kentleşme.

To my family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The housing question has always been an issue in Turkey as evidenced by discussions in numerous urban studies. These discussions indicate that the housing issue is seen as an ongoing problem with various, and complex, aspects and components. A valid question then becomes evident; what are the facts that mark housing as a problematic? The changes that have occurred due to industrialization have inevitably affected the texture of cities. These changes have transformed public and private urban spaces, the relationship between people and environment, daily life, the structure of the city and even the boundaries of the city. In particular, population, migration, working conditions and production changes have affected the nature of living spaces; as in many industrialized cities, the housing problem (housing inadequacy) has transformed the social, political and architectural agendas; something easily perceptible in Turkey. In these circumstances, different neighborhood productions have, unsurprisingly, emerged according to the needs of immigrants and the low-income strata of society. Housing projects have tended towards pluralistic approaches able to both reflect the ideal lifestyle aspired to for newly developed cities and be affordable for low-income groups. The search for new types of housing which could solve the emerging housing shortage and simultaneously give importance to people's sense of belonging to the place and the formation of social bonds in urban space began. The changes in the city led to the appearance of consciously designed residential areas together with neighborhoods caused by migration, rearranged neighborhoods divided by newly built highways and the increasing mobility of the population. These changes initiated a

process that produced a wide spectrum of variations in housing and urban planning. The type of planning that is focused on in this study is the concept of "the neighborhood unit" which is intended to create new living spaces and urban structures that maintain the relevance of traditional neighborhood values such as sense of belonging and social bonds. It should be noted that although this thesis does not begin by questioning the differentiation between the concept of the planned neighborhood unit and the traditional neighborhood in urban texture, it recognizes the possibility of a wide-ranging discussion and critique on the subject of this distinction. In addition, the discussion on the housing issue that has emerged through the effects manifest in cities enables one to correlate the traditional neighborhood lifestyle and the production of new housing concepts that address the creation of an urban community in planned neighborhood units. To examine these relationships, Clarence Perry's "Neighborhood Unit Concept" is taken as a reference standpoint, since Perry's suggestion has been seen as a fundamental tool in urban design concerning habitation. The main objective of the present study is to investigate the direct or indirect effects of Perry's groundbreaking and acclaimed "neighborhood unit" concept in the evolution of Turkey's cities. The main purpose here is to raise some questions by reflecting the existing pattern of cities and the creative process of developing an ideal habitation unit. One of the motivations for this research is the quest to comprehend how the neighborhood and neighborhood unit shape the mutual living conditions of people and habitat selection that we witness in the current era. An additional standpoint is the researcher's eagerness to understand how people have started to reconfigure older existing neighborhoods as new living places for their own urban identities.[1] Is it a temporary trend or is it a long-standing paradigm whose roots we should trace back to create the desired living conditions? This research then intends to proceed to decipher the layers of habitat in regard to the issues of the neighborhood unit.

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[1] Some examples of the desired profile that can be mentioned here, are Ayrancı, Kavaklıdere and 100. Yıl in Ankara. Young population prefers to settle in the places that have a butcher, grocery store, small marketplaces on streets. They prefer to have a daily life in the streets as performance, social meeting in old neighborhoods. Similarly, Balat district in Istanbul can be given as an example.

The neighborhood unit concept has been discussed by planners, historians and academics in the attempts to create a well-balanced "community" in a natural and sustainable interaction with the physical and social environment. The criticisms of the various proposals made have mainly concerned the creation of a physical environment, which does not have a genuine content aimed at engendering social bonds. These planned neighborhoods were tailored to meet the environmental needs of specific groups of people rather than to create a socially inclusive unity. In addition, there was a very ill-defined relationship between these small-scale neighborhoods and the city center and other parts of the city. So, this led to the appearance of another level of a sense of belonging via people's mobility that included going to the city center for various reasons including work or for social communication or cultural activities. Actually, the sense of belonging to a particular place had already been eroded by the mobility issues implicit in the new age. In fact, however, people still relate to their basic living environment, namely on the neighborhood scale.[2] Thus, the organization of the city continued with various efforts to create neighborhoods by managing suburban sprawl and attempting to incorporate designed elements into it.[3] Thus, including neighborhood unit principles; walkability, reducing car use and relationships between inhabitants and public spaces maintained their status as ideals to be nurtured in the urban fringe areas. The main point of the neighborhood unit webs can be functional when there is a sufficient infrastructure to support services and adequate public transport to connect them with the ongoing urban developments. The transformation has started with the attempts to overcome various negative societal consequences such as ruptured social relationships in need of rebuilding, the alienating individualization of society and the need for social integration, the need to recreate communities and cluster focal points to re-invigorate the neighborhood unit concept and meet the needs of displaced individuals.

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[2] Madanipour, Ali. Public and Private Spaces of the City, London; New York: Routledge, 2003. pp.124-125.

[3] Ibid. p.128.

As a consequence, some of these attempts were reified in the form of offering some units in cities which fostered a local living management and local living style. The interesting question here is, what lessons can the qualities of the communities of the past can help us in the process of planning cities and in housing issues? For instance, is the realization of the importance of a sense of belonging that is promised by a neighborhood unit a key in endeavoring to encourage unity on an urban scale? This is the main concern of this study, and I believe that evidence can be gathered by using interrogation by spatial criticism, as we try to trace back and reuse the existing traditional codes for the betterment of contemporary urban living environments. As a result, it is intended to critically analyze the related spatial organizations in cities and their dynamics in line with the developments in Turkey both in terms of their sociological and urban planning aspects.

1.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

The theoretical framework of this study encompasses three branches. The first is the analysis of the architectural and urban dynamics of the modernization period in Turkey in the 20th century. The second one is the analysis of archives in order to provide an overview of the discussions involved in urban planning and to decode the emerging discourses in the context of the Turkish architectural agenda. The last one is analyzing the built environment of the specific case of Konutkent II in the Western fringe of Ankara.

To begin with, the differentiation between neighborhood and the neighborhood unit in Turkey is briefly explained. This is followed by a description of the focal point of cities in Turkey regarding the traditional urban form. From the beginning of the Ottoman Era, the neighborhood has been seen as an elemental urban structure. Seen from this perspective, it should be noted that the city in general terms started with the basic life of a particular community and its dependency on the need for habitation and

its patterns of sustaining various societal relationships. Within this overarching concept, the study covers the total understanding of the structure of the neighborhood as a planned unit and a discussion of its problems and benefits.

First, the difference between "the neighborhood" and "the neighborhood unit" as spatial environment is shaped under the guidance of the theoretical view of Henri Lefebvre, which is exemplified by his statement of "(Social) space is a (social) product".[4] This Lefebvrian view helps us to understand the transformation period of neighborhood from traditional value to the concept of a unit in Turkey, especially in the case of Ankara. Henri Lefebvre's mainstream book "Production of Space (La Production de l'espace, 1974) conceptualizes space in three contexts to set the "space" in "social" context and the process of "production". According to Lefebvre, space is an outcome consisting of three concepts; "lived space" (l'espace vécu), "perceived space" (l'espace perçu) and "conceived space" (l'espace conçu). This trilogy is melded together a unitary entity. "Perceived space" is a "spatial praxis" that includes the production and reproduction that illustrate daily routine and urban reality. "Conceived space" is "representations of space" based on the productions of architects, planners, geographers. "Lived space" is a much more complex concept that includes "spaces of representation". Lived space is a product arising from symbols and meanings with the reuse of ongoing codes and praxis like illegal housing or occupied areas.[5] Within this trilogy –perceived, conceived and lived– space is not only an outcome but also the precondition of the process of social production. And Lefebvre's aforementioned statement "(Social) space is a (social) product" illustrates the dynamics and actors that have played a role in every culture and every natural setting in an ongoing process. Thus, the basic understanding here is that space cannot exist without any disturbance or intervention. Space embodies a history, a discourse and a language to be illustrated in various relationships as follows:

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[4] Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of Space, Oxford: Blackwell, 2001 [1974]. p.26.

[5] Ibid. pp.38-39.

> What we are concerned with, then, is the long *history of space,* even though space is neither a 'subject' nor an 'object' but rather a social reality - that is to say, a set "of relations and forms. This history is to be distinguished from an inventory of things *in space* (or what has recently been caused material culture or civilization), as also from ideas and discourse *about space.* It must account for both representational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their inter-relationship and their links with social practice.[6]

The neighborhoods that exist in every culture, with their different characters, can be an example of a social product in the framework of Lefebvre's space theory. Thus, this research tries to investigate "the codes" and "complex relationships" behind its production framework in the case of Ankara and consider if these are also representative of other manifestations in Turkey. For the further basis, when Lefebvre's triad dialectic is employed for reading the diversity of the neighborhood concept, the complex relationships of spatial practice, representations of space and representational space create a meaningful approach in the form of the process of transformation in urban modernity. Spatial practice represents perceived relationships and actions in daily routines, the ways of connecting private life and urban life in the city, the networks and the urban reality. On the neighborhood scale, and indeed in relation to the city, spatial practice represents the network and organization at the neighborhood interfaces. It also encompasses the self-evolving process of the "community", which is key to the neighborhood phenomenon. Representations of space refer to definitions that have been proposed of the basis of their professions by planners, urban planners, architects, technocrats and social engineers, as experienced and perceived in the space. The main focal point here is a suggestion of what is a so-called "ideal". Regarding the study about the concept of neighborhood, this phenomenon can be discussed through "planned neighborhoods". Planned neighborhoods can be assessed through the medium of network and scheme, demographic and sociological research methods and re-proposals of conclusions and problems in urban reality. Representational space is the space where residents and other users envision. These spaces contain complex codes and unregulated social life.

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[6] Ibid. p.116.

This creates a discourse on spaces involving ghettos, and squatted areas as part of the neighborhood issue within the urban context. Undoubtedly, all three of these terms meld together to constitute total space, with some outcomes and preconditions. It should be noted that criticizing or deciphering a space is only feasible through an integral concept of these aspects instead of differentiating the transformation process with the triad. In Lefebvre's words:

> The perceived-conceived-lived triad (in spatial terms: spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces) loses all force if it is treated as an abstract 'model'. If it cannot grasp the concrete (as distinct from the 'immediate'), then its import is severely limited, amounting to no more than that of one ideological mediation among others.

> That the lived, conceived and perceived realms should be interconnected, so that the 'subject', the individual member of a given social group, may move from one to another without confusion - so much is a logical necessity. Whether they constitute a coherent whole is another matter. They probably do so only in favorable circumstances, when a common language, a consensus and a code can be established.[7]

To conclude the distinction, the neighborhood will be explained by the terms "conceived, perceived and lived spaces". Perceived space represents the spatial praxis that exists in cities naturally such as *traditional neighborhoods*. Lived space represents the *squatters* in urban areas. Conceived space represents the planned urban elements such as the *neighborhood unit*.

Secondly, to decode the complex relationship of conceived, perceived and lived spaces, Amos Rapoport's approach, "to review data", "to synthesize the data" and "to test the relevance of the data to analyze and design of the urban form"[8], which is to understand the physical and social environment, is applied to the Turkish urbanization process and the importance of neighborhood/neighborhood unit in it as an attempt to create a better understanding. While encoding the data, a form of a Foucauldian

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[7] Ibid. p.40.

[8] Rapoport, Amos. Human Aspects of Urban Form, Oxford; New York: Pergamon Press, 1977. p.5.

understanding of "discourse" and "archive" analysis are adopted to illustrate the stressed discussions in the architectural agenda in the process of modernization period in 20th century in Turkey.

Such an understanding of the formation of housing discourse provides some clues about the prevailing trends of thought and the value of the archive as a source of historical information.[9] The analysis on the "archive" serves in assisting understanding and interpreting the relationships and context in which the neighborhood unit concept first appeared and was formed; its discursive mechanisms, effects and status will be identified through the observation and examination of the "said things". Foucault examines the disciplines and areas that are untouchable and charming such as biology, linguistic and the evolution of social behavior towards madness.[10] He focuses on the knowledge and the formation of science through the conception of French "savoir". Foucault's main purpose is writing the history of the present via analyzing past and the knowledge based on his particular approach to "archaeology". His focus on the concepts of "archive", "discourse", "knowledge" and "power" is quite significant to understand his ideas about the transformation of thoughts in history. Foucault focuses on why these events are significant or insignificant. He chooses "archaeology" as a tool to define his theories, as archaeology makes entire areas of linguistic, archival meaning and discourse visible. He defines archive not as texts or written, drawn materials, which were protected for years, but as some ideas and statements which occurred in history via important or insignificant events and gaps between events. In Foucault's own words:

> …a discursive formation is defined (as far as its objects are concerned, at least) if one can establish such a group; if one can show how any particular object of discourse finds in it its place and law of emergence; if one can show

[9] Foucault, Michel. The Archaeology of Knowledge, London and New York: Routledge, 1969-1995. p.10.

[10] Ibid. p.10.

that it may give birth simultaneously or successively to mutually exclusive objects, without having to modify itself.[11]

Within this understanding, the neighborhood as a "discursive formation"[12] within the architectural and political milieu of the mentioned three decades between 1950 and 1980 in Turkey is amenable to being analyzed through the scholarly documents, academic and professional journals and popular sources, as well as the decades' built environment. The analysis of neighborhood as a "discourse" (housing, neighborhood unit, resident, environment and city as the "discursive objects") can be specified in three parts for a clear structuring:[13]

1. Production of different domestic settlements for classes of differing social status and their dependent exchange within a certain group of people.
2. The transformation in cities and the sociological aspects of urban dynamics.
3. The social realization within democratic and market changes.

The analysis of this part mainly reveals the published materials in the influential media of the time concentrating on architecture from various perspectives. The chosen medial materials are "Arkitekt" and "Mimarlık" Journals in order to understand and illustrate the professional perspectives of the period in Turkey.[14]

Lastly, the analysis is applied to uncover the relevant, as well as some irrelevant, effects of Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit" principles within the case study of Konutkent II, Çayyolu in Ankara, Turkey. The neighborhood unit's key point is face-to-face relationships and sense of belonging that aspired from traditional neighborhood's essence. As Perry's concept, deep-rooted and widely acknowledged, stand out the other approaches of neighborhood unit, the principles such as size and boundaries, elementary school, shopping center, community center, street system,

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[11] Ibid. p.49.

[12] Ibid. pp.40-55.

[13] The structuring of the neighborhood unit discussion will be explained in the third chapter.

[14] The related table of the archive analysis can be seen in the appendix A in the page 147.

parks and recreation areas of the concept will be applied to analyze the built environment.

1.2.1. Relative Terms of *Neighborhood*

Throughout the study, the terms "neighborhood" and "neighborhood unit" will be frequently mentioned. The term "neighborhood" has parallels in very similar terms related to other usages in different geographies; among them, one can find district, commune, borough, suburb, parish, quarter, ghetto etc.

In his book "The Urban Prospect", Lewis Mumford explains the differentiation of these terms before getting into the "neighborhood unit concept".[15] The neighborhood is defined as "A district or community within a town or city." in the first place. In the second phase, it is defined as "The area surrounding a particular place, person, or object".[16]

However, the district is defined as "an area of a country or city, especially one characterized by a particular feature or activity."[17] Borough is another term defined as "a town (as distinct from a city) with a corporation and privileges granted by a royal charter."[18] Also, borough is a word that refers to a British type of administrative term. Parish is a French word that covers the neighborhood traditionally in a particular

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[15] Mumford, Lewis. Neighborhood and Neighborhood Unit, *The Urban Prospects*, 1st ed. New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968. p.58.

[16] Neighborhood, Oxford Dictionaries | English. (2018). *neighbourhood | Definition of neighbourhood in English by Oxford Dictionaries*. [online] Available at: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/neighbourhood [Accessed 2 Sep. 2018].

[17] District, Oxford Dictionaries | English. (2018). *district | Definition of district in English by Oxford Dictionaries*. [online] Available at: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/district [Accessed 2 Sep. 2018].

[18] Borough, Oxford Dictionaries | English. (2018). *borough | Definition of borough in English by Oxford Dictionaries*. [online] Available at: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/borough [Accessed 2 Sep. 2018].

geography. Parish is also an English word defining the area served by a particular church. Parish councils are the lowest level of local administration. The quarter also is an Italian usage to address the geographical and physical institution about neighborhood traditionally. Ghetto and suburb are the relative terms to illustrate a particular geographic neighborhood, which are owned by the specific community in them. So, the significant point here is the community and their locality within space. The reason for using the word neighborhood as the nucleus of cities refers specifically to its "communal" sense. In 1885, community identity was thought to have been lost from social life as a consequence of some factors in the rapidly developing modern society (rapid organization, population density, emphasis on, individuality, lack of settlement in cities and migration). There was a desire to revive the neighborhood unit in London within the concept of "settlement house movement" that would comprise an urban building unit including "community" as a primary priority.[19] From 1985 onwards, there have been many developments and approaches to the idea of the neighborhood unit that will be discussed in the second chapter. The pre-condition of these studies is the concept of "community", which is regarded as a prerequisite for a healthy social structure of face-to-face relationships. So, "neighborhood" and "community" became inter-relational terms that were discussed in social science, architectural and environmental researches.

The community and neighborhood unit seemed to be an ideal means to reunite the sense of belonging and recreate the bonding relationship with the environment, although the community depends on people's living factors such as age, gender, social class. In addition, another aspect of a sense of belonging can be related to factors such as, religious, immigration and ethnicity that people share in the same place. Thus, neighborhood and community can manifest themselves in different forms in many

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[19] Barlas, Adnan. ″Komşuluk Birimi″, Kentsel Planlama Ansiklopedik Sözlük, ed. by Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy, Ninova Publication, 1st edition: September 2012. p.281.

geographies, social classes and cultures. To sum up these differentiations; they can be concisely defined as follows:

> Whilst there may be a dominant narrative concerning the way in which we relate to our urban neighborhoods in contemporary Europe, there are numerous contingencies which mediate that relationship.[20]

The different terms reflect together the fact that "neighborhood" constitutes not only a physical place to interact in, but also its inhabitant's existence in the first place. So, the reason why the neighborhood started to be used as a common term in the planning of certain areas in big cities is the lack of a sense of community in the modern industrial era. In other words, to reduce the fear and anxiety that accompany the individual's existence in the modern era, planners used the neighborhood as a management tool in the field of urban planning. To understand the relationship here between human and environment, there should be a clear statement of analysis about the communal phase of life within an architectural/urban spatial perspective.

1.3. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In this thesis, the research process is based on two phases. The first is a brief observation and analysis of the historical dynamics involved, and secondly, these historical developments are interpreted through the example of the selected area. The first chapter, the introductory part, explains the neighborhood unit concept as viewed internationally and briefly addresses its historical development. The chapter also includes terminological issues and the focal points of the related research to introduce the "neighborhood unit" concept and the related terms.

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[20] Patricia Kennett and Ray Forrest, *The Neighbourhood in a European Context*, Urban Studies, Vol. 43, No. 4, 713–718, April 2006. p.715.

In the second chapter, there is a brief investigation of the historical dynamics that discusses "neighborhood" and "neighborhood unit" differentiation both in the international context and in Turkey's urban development with illustrative points about common aspects and structures in cities. The purpose about the comparison with Turkey is basically that it aims to analyze whether there are similarities with Clarence Perry's principles on neighborhood unit process. For the preliminary exploration of the case study in Ankara, Turkey, the neighborhood unit concept and the environmental relations in architecture are examined within the archival medium of the architectural journals over three decades, from 1950 to 1980. Additionally, international examples of the neighborhood unit are surveyed to better understand the main aspects of the selected concept and the case in Turkey through its differences and similarities.

The third chapter attempts to structure the neighborhood unit within the specific circumstances of Turkey. The chapter is intended to be a commentary, literature survey and analysis to illustrate the production dynamics of housing in Turkey and the relevant effects on neighborhood unit concept. Thus, it provides particular research and criticism about Ankara and Turkey's urban development. The important point in this part is that, beyond the needs of neighborhood-level housing, the increasing differentiation in housing regarding levels of developments from the 1950s to 1980s. Interestingly, this increase is not merely due to a demand and supply relationship but to some other factors, especially economic concerns and preferences. For instance, house ownership became both a reality and an investment instrument for a certain group of people. Although the housing question seems to be a separate issue from neighborhood principles, their processes contain overlapping factors which are appropriately highlighted. Thus, the notion of the neighborhood as a romantic ideal rather than a practical reality is discussed. Is it an advertising product? Or can it be a reasonable spatial unit for a sustainable form of urbanism feasibly produced by updating its values? These are the main questions for a better understanding of the argument of the thesis throughout the research.

Since it is in accordance with Perry's aforementioned neighborhood unit conception, a particular case is scrutinized in chapter four. "Konutkent II", which is located in the western part of Ankara is the case study area and was planned in 1978. In this chapter, "Konutkent II" is analyzed in a detailed manner in subheadings that refer to Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit principles. Ankara has an important role in exemplifying the transformation period in the architecture and city planning that were highly affected by global developments. Before focusing on the case area, some other projects are explained to exemplify the neighborhood concept or to enable a comparison with it. Consequently, the role of the production of this particular housing concept illustrates how "neighborhood concept" became a tool to plan outer parts of the city.

In the concluding part, the question is posed of whether or not the neighborhood expresses a meaning through social phenomena. The approach of subdividing the city into parts has been a pervasive idea in several ways. Nevertheless, the key difference of the neighborhood unit from the other approaches seems to be the "community" issue. Within this regard, can the neighborhood paradigm be reproduced in a sustainable way to preserve its values like community and sense of belonging? Or, is it a form that provides environmental space having a functional network, yet is bounded to remain an anachronism? These questions are discussed with references to some scholarly debates to make an inference through examples and developments in Turkey in the concluding part.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT

2.1. NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT CONCEPT

The word "neighborhood" is described as "modern sense of community of people who live close together."[21] In Turkish, it is called "mahalle" a term having its roots in Arabic language. It is defined as "the smallest part of a city, a town, a village, which is divided by its administration, and is composed of building zones and human communities."[22] The Turkish word *mahalle* refers to a traditional form of organization, and may have a nostalgic association at first when thought of in the context of current conditions in big cities. In addition, it provides a background context for its occupants and their relationship with their environment. *Neighborhood Unit,* as an important urban concept and formation of the early twentieth century, which is derived from the general conception of neighborhood, is described as "A small dwelling unit which is located in a narrow place, mostly dominated by face-to-face and personal relationships, and providing the urban facilities like grocery store, market, elementary school, park, playground located in walking distance."[23]

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[21] Neighborhood | Origin and meaning of neighborhood by Online Etymology Dictionary. [online] Available at: https://www.etymonline.com/word/neighborhood [Accessed 2 Sep. 2018].

[22] Keleş, Ruşen. Kentbilim Terimleri Sözlüğü, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1980. p.196.

The word *Mahalle* definition translated by the author from the resource Kentbilim Terimleri Sözlüğü. The original definition in Turkish:

"Bir kentin, bir kasabanın, büyükçe bir köyün, yönetim bakımından bölündüğü, yapı bölgeciklerinden ve insan topluluklarından oluşan en küçük parçalardan her biri. Bk.: komşuluk birimi."

[23] Ibid. p.184.

The planners, sociologists and researchers, for instance, the American architect William E. Drummond, American planner Clarence Arthur Perry, Canadian-American urban sociologist Ernest W. Burgess, American sociologist Charles Horton Cooley, American historian and sociologist Lewis Mumford, refer to some similar terms to describe the neighborhood's unclear boundaries such as *quarter, commune, suburb, and parish*. Mumford describes the neighborhood as "For neighbors are simply people who live near one another." He emphasizes that the network of relationships within a neighborhood was not a forced one, or not formed by "common origins" or "common purpose". The space and dwelling in it are the common keys of neighboring.[24]

Ever since the 1900s, *neighborhood and the neighborhood unit* have started to be discussed as a planned unit of urbanism strategies in Europe and the United States of America. Ali Madanipour, Professor of Urban Design, pointed out that neighborhood was one of the major tools used in creating an urban planning system at the beginning of the 20th century. In his book "Public and Private Spaces of the City", Madanipour represents public and private space along three scales; "spatial scale body", "degrees of exclusivity and openness" and "made of social encounter and association with space".[25] Madanipour states that space in the urban setting cannot be divided into a public and a private one; it starts to divide into branches with socio-economic and cultural patterns.[26] He indicates that "neighborhood" is one of the most significant patterns of the urban life "where social groups, ethnic and cultural groups and other subsections of the society tend to find a particular place of their own while a political,

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The *neighborhood unit* definition translated by the author from the source of Kentbilim Terimleri Sözlüğü. The original definition in Turkish:

"Dar bir alanda yer alan, daha çok yüz yüze ve kişisel ilişkilerin egemen olduğu, üyeleri, yürüme uzaklığı içindeki ilkokul, oyun yeri, gezilik, bakkal ve manav gibi ortak kent kolaylıklarından güçlük çekmeden yararlanabilen küçük yerleşme birimi. Bk.: mahalle."

[24] Mumford, op.cit. p.59.

[25] Madanipour, op.cit. p.4.

[26] Ibid. p.120.

economic and aesthetic processes find an outlet to be expressed."[27] Public and private distinctions and differentiation in the pattern of neighborhoods are explained by him as follows:

> On the one hand, neighbourhoods show how identity and difference find a spatial shape, while on the other hand public-private distinction works within and across the neighbourhoods to frame patterns of social life. It is here that the universality that is associated with public-private distinction finds a particular flavor, as it falls within the distinctive framework of the neighbourhood.[28]

He pointed out that the neighborhood concept had become a controlling tool to plan and design urban growth for what as he called "micro-urbanism."[29] He categorized some of the major design principles with examples of projects from different geographies. One of them is "Urban Villages Forum (1998)" which is a community based urban planning project. The Urban Villages Forum emphasized the different facilities occurring within a unit, such as shopping, environmental activities, residential and commercial settlements. Its focal point, a "strong sense of place" is supported by the project's easy walking points, and its belonging, in a managements sense, to its local residents.[30] Another example is a well-known New Urbanism from the United States. It was named as "Traditional Neighborhood Development" or "Transit Oriented Development" which emerged with the consequences of suburb spread including the alienation of society, increasing criminality, environmental deformation and the problem of public spaces as undefined spaces. It highlights that the key characteristic of the suburb is the highways and a neighborhood's key characteristic is the existence of corridors and open spaces.[31] Another significant example "Britain's Housing Settlements in the 1980s" was creating estates containing

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[27] Ibid. p.120.

[28] Ibid. p.120.

[29] Madanipour, Ali. Design of Urban Space: An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process, John Wiley &Sons, New York, 1996. p.201.

[30] Ibid. p.121.

[31] Ibid. p.122.

300 to 4500 houses in an area with government encouraging investment by the private sector. The dominant theme of these housing projects was to mix housing types that can develop a sense of community, with these projects incorporating such facilities as a primary school and small-scale commercial opportunities for the activities of daily life.[32]

The social spaces that played a major role in those design principles illustrate that designing a physical environment –which includes from house to streets, from streets to public areas, from the network of small scaled settlements to the entire city– promotes the idea of a community-based concept in urban spaces. In addition, these small-scale neighborhood environmental spaces blur the distinct line between the private and public sense; in particular "an identifiable part of urban fabric as a neighborhood." Especially, as Madanipour pointed out, that the sense of community in the neighborhood was the guiding concept in designing an environment for ideal living condition as follows:

> The public spaces at the neighborhood level, therefore, are expected to provide the opportunity for social interaction and hence the creation of a sense of community. This should be supplemented with measures at larger scales where he asks to 'plan developments in ways that enhance rather than hinder the sociological mix that sustains a community.[33]

Madanipour questioned why such a community creation has an important role in creating an urban plan? All in all, it was a concept fashionable about two decades ago within Lewis Mumford's criticism on the "neighborhood unit", Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit" concept and Unwin's "neighborhood unit" concept. However, the idea of planning small-scaled neighborhoods has attracted some criticism mainly centered around the fact that neighborhoods are designed as "physical environment rather than the social environment." The cities had already undergone a major transformation with mobility, highways, workplaces at the city center, residential

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[32] Ibid. p.122.

[33] Ibid. p.128.

areas on the outer parts of the city. So, this attempt had been discussed as an uncertain social bond on an urban scale. Madanipour highlights the main difficulty about neighborhood concept approaches as follows:

> The main difficulty is that the new developments have traditionally been developed on cheaper land on urban fringes rather than on recycled land in the cities. Furthermore, in Britain, the prospects of urban intensification suffer from the government's reluctance to provide the necessary incentives and people's cultural preference for houses with gardens, rather than flats.[34]

The importance of handling the issues of neighbor and neighborhood differs depending on the academic disciplinary context. In the sociological perspectives, there is plenty of research on the neighboring concept and its sub-concepts, concentrating on various relationships. However, in the context of spatial studies, especially in architecture and urban planning, the neighboring concept has three aspects.[35] The first one is a naturally/traditionally formed neighborhood; if you visit it, you understand it immediately as a traditional neighborhood. The second one is the planned neighborhood settlements, complete with their own necessary facilities as an urban unit. And the last one is the unconscious creation of neighborhoods due to the process of urban growth; construction of new highways, railroads, and consequently; suburb settlements.[36]

In 1929, the concept of the neighborhood unit was proposed by Clarence Arthur Perry, who was associated with the Russell Sage Foundation.[37] The purpose of Clarence

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[34] Ibid. p.127.

[35] The three aspects and the critical evaluation of neighborhood and neighborhood unit will be described in the third chapter.

[36] The introduction part written by Shelby M. Harrison. Reprinted volume of Clarence Perry's The Neighborhood Unit, LeGates R. and Stout, F. *Early urban planning*. London: Routledge / Thoemmes Press, 1998. p.23.

[37] Russel Sage Foundation is an American Foundation established on 1907 to improve social and living conditions in United States with the contribution in research, publication education, institution activities.

Perry's neighborhood unit was described by Shelby M. Harrison, the General Director of the Foundation, as follows:

> The purpose in undertaking this inquiry into neighborhood unity and life has been to discover the physical basis for that kind of face-to-face association which characterized the old village community and which the large-city finds it so difficult to re-create.[38]

As he mentions, some societal/community values that gradually fade away in cities would be reintegrated into everyday life by creating neighborhood unit life. Harrison underscores the importance of Perry's deep-rooted approach in the potentials and possibility of community life in cities as follows:

> Instead of dealing longer or chiefly with the lattice upon which the vine is trained, he now digs deeper into those roots of community life which are to be found in the physical structure of the city; and his conclusions, since they involve elements in that structure come naturally into the field of city planning.[39]

Clarence Perry's approach is widely acknowledged as the most widely influential report referring to the planned neighborhood unit. However, it has to be noted that before his approach, neighborhood and the neighborhood unit had been discussed by mainly William E. Drummond, Raymond Unwin and Robert E. Park. The fundamental studies in planning first started with an architectural and urban planning competition; City Club's Competition held in Chicago.[40] The City Club's Competition was held for planning of a quarter in Chicago in 1912-13 by the Chicago City Club. As indicated in Donald Leslie Johnson's analysis about this competition and neighborhood approaches[41] William E. Drummond was the first planner who used the term *neighborhood unit* to denote the quarter plan before Perry's usage of the same

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[38] The introduction part written by Shelby M. Harrison. Reprinted volume of Clarence Perry's The Neighborhood Unit, LeGates R. and Stout, F. *Early urban planning*. London: Routledge / Thoemmes Press,1998. p.23.

[39] Ibid. p.23.

[40] Johnson, Donald Leslie. Origin of the Neighborhood Unit, *Planning Perspectives,* 17(3), 2002. p.230.

[41] Ibid. p.235.

term in the field of urban planning. Drummond, who was a Chicago Prairie School architect, emphasized that "order" was the key to developing big cities. He critically examined the cities' current situations and pointed out that streets, harbors and rail transportation facilities could not appropriately develop in all the parts of the city. In addition, he highlighted that the spread of apartment building "violated" "the sense of appropriation and harmony" in old and new parts of the city. Drummond claimed that cities needed "order" since there was "chaos".[42] He supported the idea of garden cities and garden suburbs, which required planning the whole neighborhood development together with planners, architects and other professionals. According to the Drummond's proposal, "unit" could structure the whole city as a "neighborhood" or "primary social circle". Within this whole, each unit would have its particular "intellectual", "recreational" and "civic requirements".

In the book "City Residential Land Development" published in 1916 by the Chicago City Club, Drummond suggested that the whole city should be divided into quarter-sections; and each of these should create a certain terrain of the "social and political structure" of the city. Drummond's sketch identified a "civic sub-center", which was formed by a municipal market, postal and civic departmental offices, station, freight depot, and storage buildings. The green belt which linked the civic sub-centers was proposed as passing through the city and neighborhood unit streets. (Figure 2.1) In essence, the green belt and narrower streets created the boundaries of the neighborhood unit. Each unit included large parks, apartment buildings and low-cost single dwellings integrated into a whole, as well as a business center and a social center. Within this spatial organization, the business center was located on the corner of the unit to avoid the effects of possible heavy traffic. In this respect, the inner streets could be narrower and specific to every unit.

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[42] Yeomans, Alfred Beaver. City Residential Land Development, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916. p.39.
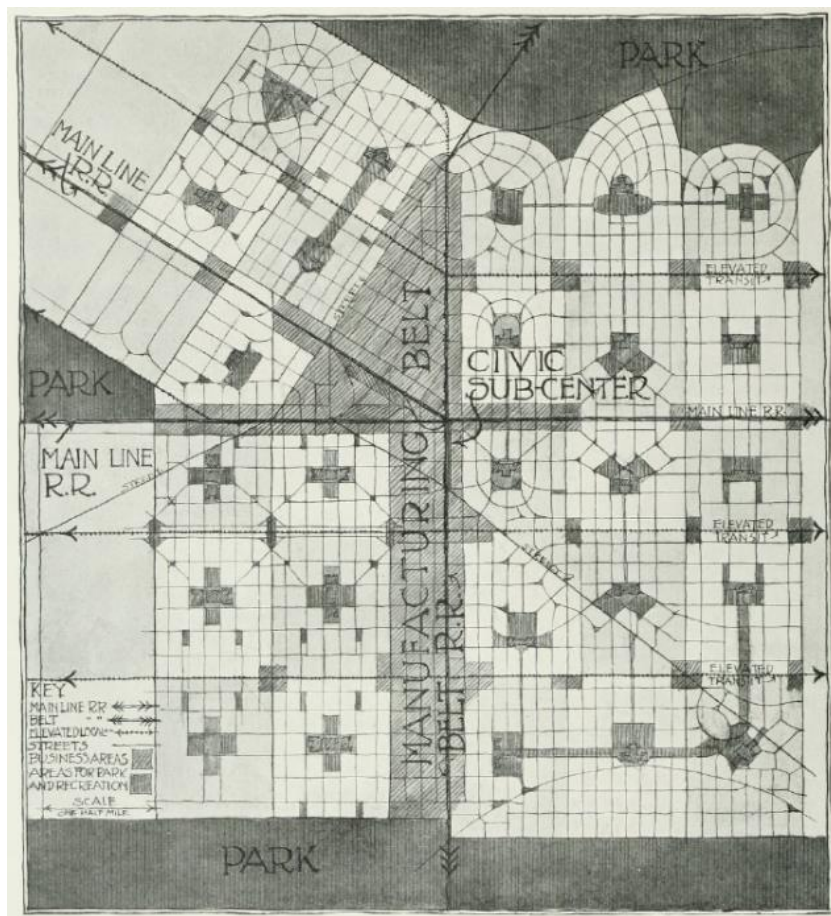
Figure 2.1. William E. Drummond's Neighborhood Plan Scheme, "A City Area Developed on the Neighborhood Unit Plan"

As a focal spatial point, "the institute or social center" was placed at the unit's center. The social center's facilities comprised schoolrooms, workshops, elementary educational facilities, halls for classes, club and societies for literature to read, music, drama, dance and lectures. The center also provided recreational and sports activities in gardens and athletic fields.

In times when the submissions of the City Residential Land Development began, there was also an ongoing research interest in the field of sociology about the neighborhood

and its empirical analysis.[43] Donald Leslie Johnson summarizes the period as "the shift in thinking from politically and commercially dominated city centers to the human condition and to suburban micro-communities".[44] Obviously, during these years new ways of urban life were analyzed and attempts made to rationalize them through more humane and refined planning perspectives. The City Club's competition held in 1912 put emphasis on theoretical data and the social and physical community context. The fact that these contexts were concentrated on was grounded in the shortcomings of the previous Chicago Plan. The previous city planning of Chicago had been based on "Plan of Chicago", a book written Daniel Burnham and Edward H. Bennet and published in 1909 by the Commercial Club of Chicago. The plan was prepared in the automobile age so, there were many relatively new concepts such as wide highways in addition to railways. However, the creation of widened highways and railroads started to overwhelm the existing city and transform it. The Plan of Chicago was seen as "inhuman, imperialistic, undemocratic, a show of city, a commercial venture" as Jens Jensen, who was a Danish-American architect and landscape planner, stated. He was the chair of the City Club's Planning Committee who initiated the 1912 competitions. The previous attempts had resulted in a consequence described by Donald Leslie's expression of "the shift". The powerful conception of a contemporary neighborhood unit based, upon the traditional neighborhood formation, played an important role within the realization of human-centered city life.

After the submission of the City Residential Land Development Plan, Clarence Arthur Perry's *neighborhood unit* was promoted as an ideal and was supported by the City Club organization. Perry pointed to the ongoing issues, particularly by emphasizing the notion of a neighborhood that has no visible boundaries:

> The words "village," "town," and "city" suggest clearly defined types of
> inhabited areas. "Neighborhood", however, means something vague and

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[43] McKenzie, Roderick Duncan. The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in Columbus, Ohio, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923.

[44] Johnson, op.cit. p.231.

indefinite. Its significance is qualitative than quantitative. The reason is obvious. A village or a city has conspicuous boundaries. Where building stops and the open country begins, there is the edge or the outside surface of the municipality. The neighborhood, on the other hand, usually has no visible boundaries. Its fabric is continuous with that of the adjacent residential, business or industrial sections. Because of its formlessness it does not have a clear identity in people's consciousness.

Perry suggested that the scheme of the neighborhood should be "both as a unit of a larger whole and as a distinct entity in itself." Perry's neighborhood plan was based on family-life and the community. He classified the system into four main parts; the elementary school, small parks and playgrounds, local shops and the residential environment.[45] In his published research, he analyzed both the earlier proposed units and the existing sociological culture and environment. Then, a prototypical scheme was suggested by him as a special plan for a neighborhood district. In this scheme, the unit was surrounded by arterial highway and streets to redirect the heavy traffic, in a similar way to Drummond's proposal. The interior zone of the unit served for residential use, parks and recreation areas. At the heart of this scheme there was a community center and shopping center. (Figure 2.2)

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[45] Perry, Clarence. The Neighborhood Unit, LeGates R. and Stout, F. *Early urban planning*. London: Routledge / Thoemmes Press, 1998. p.34.
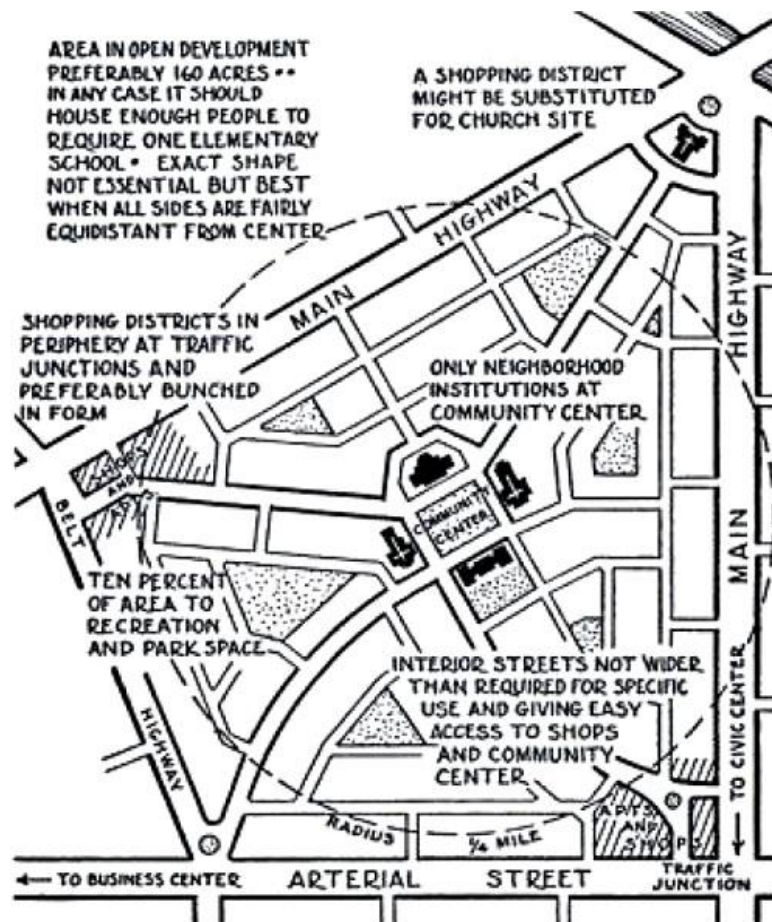
Figure 2.2. "Neighborhood-Unit Principles" by Clarence Arthur Perry

Lewis Mumford in the book "The Urban Prospect" published in 1968 noticed and defined Perry's suggestion and the neighborhood unit term in the context of the unfavorable circumstances existing in cities. Mumford criticized the formation of American cities on the grounds that they were composed and planned only by an understanding of functional zoning. The reason behind the importance of planning development in relation to the neighborhood unit was "the development of transportation" and "the segregation of income groups under capitalism". Cities started to be zoned using a 19th century design approach, which created a radical shift from "facilities for settlements" to "facilities of movement". According to Mumford, the dominance of "movement" destroyed the whole city's appropriate living

conditions and constituted a danger to neighborhood life.[46] He emphasized that the neighborhood was a "social fact" that was integrated with the city as a unit of a larger whole. He supported Perry's neighborhood unit ideas, especially in regard to two factors. First, the study was based on the sociologist Charles H. Cooley's approaches and analysis about "face-to-face community", "based on family", "commonplace", and "generally shared interests".[47] The second factor was that following the designing of suburbs, a consciousness emerged of the concept of neighborhood. The planned units, public open spaces, tree-lined streets revived the idea of the neighborhood as an aesthetic unit.[48] Finally, Mumford pointed out Perry's neighborhood unit as a suitable approach for the urban community:

> One of the leaders of this movement, Clarence Perry, was led by his analysis of the local community's needs to give back to the neighborhood the functions that had been allowed a lapse or had become unduly centralized, since the decay of the medieval city. That path led him from the neighborhood to the neighborhood unit: from mere cohabitation to the certain of a new form and new institutions for a modern urban community. In planning, the result of this was to change the basic unit of planning from the city-block or the avenue to the more complex unit of the neighborhood, a change that demanded a reapportionment of space for avenues and access streets, for public buildings and open areas and domestic dwellings: in short, a new generalized urban pattern.

In addition to voicing Mumford's understanding, it is necessary to mention Ernest W. Burgess' significant criticism of neighborhood studies and their empirical grounding. Burgess, a sociologist, illustrated that there was a contradiction between sociological studies and spatial studies about the neighborhood. Two points were emphasized by Burgess; one was that social sciences could only render limited knowledge within the chosen area. The other was that researchers and planners who studied neighborhood

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[46] Mumford, op.cit. p.61.

[47] Ibid. p.62.

[48] Ibid. p.63.

rarely referred to social science.[49] He made a clear argument for a duality in the studies with the "factors" and "forces" distinction made by the American Urban Sociologist Robert E. Park. Burgess, who said that "Science is concerned not with factors, but with forces":

> Factors are the elements that co-operate to make a given situation. Forces are type-factors operative in typical situations. A factor is thought of as a concrete cause for an individual event; a force is conceived to be an abstract cause for events in general so far as they are similar. A particular gang of boys, the Torpedo gang, of which Tony is the leader–and which is made up of eight street Arabs–is a factor in the situation which a certain settlement in an Italian colony in Chicago faces. But as soon as the attention shifts from this one gang in general the transition is made from a factor to a force. A gang is a factor to a given settlement; the gang is a force from the standpoint of all settlements.[50]

For a study of the neighborhood, the forces were geographical conditions, human wishes, and community consciousness. Burgess analyzed the condition of cities as urban growth through outskirts far from the central business district.[51] The transition of zones such as slums, workers and industrial settlements, and up-market residential dwellings created a local district in, near and between them. These were named as "ecological forces" by Burgess. The ecological forces naturally affected cultural forces. In addition, he asked two critical questions; "Is the neighborhood as a factor in the lives of youth soon to become a situation of the past? Can settlements and social centers expect to hold back the tide of the forces of city life?" Robert E. Park also explains the neighborhood as:

> Proximity and neighborly contact are the basis for simplest and most elementary form of association with which we have to do in the organization of city life. Local interests and associations breed local sentiment, and, under a system which makes residence the basis for participation in the

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[49] Burgess, W. Ernest. Chapter VIII. Can Neighborhood Work Have a Scientific Basis?, in Park, R., Burgess, W. Ernest and McKenzie, R. *The City*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. p.142.

[50] Ibid. p.143.

[51] Ibid. p.148.

government, the neighborhood becomes the basis of political control. In the social and political organization of the city it is the smallest local unit.

The place of the neighborhood in society constitutes a natural network that relates communal and state organization. So, it creates a hierarchy from man to society that it is desired to outcome in modern cities with an understanding of modernization. The determination of the organizational role of the neighborhood can be understood as follows:

> The neighborhood exists without formal organization. The local improvement society is a structure erected in the basis of the spontaneous neighborhood organization and exists for the purpose of giving expression to the local sentiment in regard to matters of local interest.[52]

The perspective of Burgess' point of view provides an idea about the neighborhood unit: whether it is a romantic aspiration or a necessity of urban planning via the studies or plans that are based on an investigation of the forces of particular cultural, ecological and political issues. Undoubted, conceptions on neighborhood process have a particular place in the Turkish urban context as well. The aim of this study is to investigate the conditions, forces and the discourse about the neighborhood in Turkey. Within the context of Burgess' method of force and factor differentiation, Ankara will be identified as a case to illustrate the political, cultural and sociological dynamics on urban planning and neighborhood. The thesis will examine whether it is possible to discuss the concept of the neighborhood by decoding the discourse and practices that have emerged in urban planning developments in Turkey similar to the transformation of Chicago. In particular, the neighborhood unit concept identified by Clarence Arthur Perry will be examined in Ankara's Western fringe planned neighborhoods with its basic principles; *size, boundaries, open spaces, institution sites, local shops and*

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[52] Park, Robert E. Chapter I. Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment, in Park, R., Burgess, W. Ernest and McKenzie, R. *The City*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. p.7.

internal street system.[53] Regarding the scientific research on city planning by Perry and other contributors in the 1920s as mentioned before, it can be claimed that resemblances exist between Ankara's planning attempts at the end of 60s and at the beginning of 70s by the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau. To illustrate the neighborhood production in Ankara, thus, the key concept will be Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit.

2.2. NEIGHBORHOOD AND NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT CONCEPT IN TURKEY: FROM "TRADITIONAL" TO "PLANNED UNIT"

2.2.1. Neighborhood/Mahalle

The neighborhood can be comprehended as the keystone of a city's spatial formation and management system in the Ottoman Era. However, urban planning has experienced a lot of changes during the period from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. The urban planning which will be evaluated in the perspective of the transition period from traditional neighborhood to neighborhood as a planned unit dates back to the socio-spatial dynamics of the 19th century Ottoman Empire. A critical evaluation of the neighborhood (as a basis for the contemporary conception of neighborhood unit) in a Turkish context requires a brief examination of the neighborhood structure in Ottoman times.

Mahalle constituted a basic urban unit, which included a social and administrative network. The people who lived in the same neighborhood knew each other well and were virtually responsible for each other in their communal relationship. It had no

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[53] For further consideration, Neighborhood-Unit Principles can be seen in the book Reprinted volume of Clarence Perry's The Neighborhood Unit, LeGates R. and Stout, F. Early urban planning. London: Routledge / Thoemmes Press, 1998. p.34.

clear geographical boundaries; nevertheless, people used to refer to their neighborhoods to introduce themselves. The neighborhood was an important root for introducing themselves due to the fact that family surnames did not exist then. Cem Behar defined "mahalle" as "the sense of belonging to a place and daily life".[54] He emphasized the distinction between "mahalle" and "semt" in the book "A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul, Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle". He indicated that "semt" was a geographical placement which referred to location, whereas "mahalle" was a belonging placement for a community:

> Within intramural İstanbul, the distinction between the semt (district) and the mahalle was of primary importance in the perception of urban space and in situating local identities. The semt is a nondescript area, a district, usually much larger than an average mahalle, indicate of a rather large section of the city. Most of the semts took their name from a precise point, such as a city gate, a large market, or a building that was functional for the city as a whole (Edirnekapı, Fatih, Sultanahmet, Karagümrük, Unkapanı, Şehremini, Fener etc.) and were therefore used as basic geographic markers.

In Islamic and Ottoman City research, Istanbul is seen as a representative Ottoman city which consisted of "mahalle webs" that formed the urban fabric.[55] They were not very crowded; mahalle – as indicated as traditional form in this part – had from ten to fifteen streets at most. The streets were placed around a small square or a small mosque. Depending on the mahalle's religious denomination, the worship areas differed as church, synagogue or mosque. As emphasized in the book aforementioned, before the First World War, an average Istanbul neighborhood's population was around fifteen hundred people.[56] For the basic needs of the neighbors there were a couple of shops and fountain or fresh water cisterns. In addition, there was a big bazaar or weekly markets for servicing the needs of the community. The public utilities were

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[54] Behar, Cem. A neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2003. p.6.

[55] Ibid. pp.3-4.

[56] Ibid. p.5.

sometimes a primary school, which was a Dervish school in the 16ᵗʰ century and a public bath. Cem Behar defines the role of the neighborhood as follows:

> The mahalles were well entrenched as basic communities at the local level and played key roles in shaping local identities and solidarities. This solidarity entailed a particular modus vivendi, plus some sort of collective defense, as well as various mechanisms of mutual control and surveillance many of them designed for regulating and monitoring public morality. In many mahalles, collective social life was real, durable, and strong.[57]

So, the neighborhood was an essential urban unit, or in Behar's definition "cellular structure" within its relation to the city, face-to-face interaction and self-positioning. Additionally, it has, naturally, a similar context to Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit. Neighborhood unit, in Perry's definition as "both as a unit of a larger whole and as a distinct entity itself" is universal in the existence of four spatial components; *the elementary school, small parks and playgrounds, local shops and residential environment.* He extended the classification terms through very similar definitions to Behar's traditional neighborhood emphasis.

In the 19ᵗʰ century, the Ottoman Empire was affected by Europeans' control of capital and the nature of the trade balance. According to İlhan Tekeli, the Ottoman Empire's transformation in the economic and communal system in 19ᵗʰ century slowly changed the city center. New lifestyles appeared in society which were classified as the rising new class, bourgeoise and middle class. Both traditional and modern lifestyles existed side by side due to the slow rate of transformation in cities. Depending on the changes in cities, even though it was slow, new transportation systems became necessary in the form of automobiles, tramways and public transportation to provide services to the gradually modernizing urban life, to the growing population in big cities and the commercial activities in the city center. The effects also were seen as with the creation of newly required living zones for the various newly emerging groups of people.[58]

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[57] Ibid. p.4.

[58] Tekeli, İlhan. Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama ve Kent Araştırmaları Tarihi Yazıları. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010. p.49.

Tekeli points to the dual formation of cities and the changes in neighborhood structure. He concludes that the neighborhood structure -which differed only with ethnic differences and comprised members of different classes in the pre-industrial city- became transformed and class differentiation occurred in housing areas. These transformation and transportation developments led to new urban forms such as suburbanization in the city.

The transformation of the traditional neighborhood can be explained by three factors in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. The Empire's patterns of foreign trade primarily affected the cities with seaports. These places became integrated with foreign traders who worked in and inhabited them. Before the 19th century, traditional houses in the Ottoman Empire houses were constructed as frame houses. Due to the frequent occurrence of devastating fire in cities, large areas were destroyed, and thus began to be zoned for housing. Another effect in communal change in the Ottoman Empire was the great number of migrants as the Empire fell into decline.[59] Consequently, there arose new neighborhoods for migrants, as well as new commercial neighborhoods in big cities.

During the period from the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire's developmental changes and the steps taken in urban planning also focused on neighborhood planning. According to Tekeli, the first reconstruction plan for İstanbul was made by Moltke in 1842. It is emphasized that the neighborhoods should be geometrical with their squares, road constructions, health conditions and regulated floor heights. He suggested parks, garden arrangements, fountains, tombs and madrasa and squares in the middle of neighborhoods.[60]

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[59] Ibid. p.50.

[60] Ibid. pp.54-55.

2.2.2. Neighborhood Unit/Planned Neighborhood

The modernization period of Turkey is categorized two periods in Sibel Bozdoğan's article "Art and Architecture in Modern Turkey: The Republican Period". These are *The Transition Era* and *The Republican Era*. According to Bozdoğan, even also after Tanzimat and reforms, there occurred a shift in the sociological issues and political ideologies.

> While reformist initiatives proliferated in this period to a degree that defies summary, they cohere around certain themes: legislation; education and elite formation; expansion of government; intercommunal relations; and the transformation of the political process.[61]

The social transformations begin with era's effects on Turkish architecture. Modernization process and its understanding started with "new" and "ideal" terms and producing the spaces for these ideologies which includes new democratic nation-state, rapid changes and transformations to all aspects of life; government buildings and also including housing. The main question is how Turkish architects adapted the entire modern understanding with their own discourse. Founders of Republic had a strong belief in modernism with their inner communal purpose. According to Aydan Balamir, the new architecture fits with the project of enterprise the new ideology that radical "civilization reform" with western taught.[62]

With the declaration of the Republic in1923, the process of building a new nation-state gained a movement in Turkey. Within this process, Ankara, as the new capital of Turkey replacing the centuries-old Istanbul, became the focal point of a new understanding of urbanization. As the symbolic locus of Turkey's modernization project, Ankara has undergone several planning breakthroughs, including modern life

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[61] Bozdoğan, Sibel. Art and Architecture in Modern Turkey: The Republican Period, in Kasaba (ed.) Turkey in the World, 2008. p.17.

[62] Balamir, Aydan. Mimari Kimlik Temrinleri 1-2: Türkiye'de Modern Yapı Kültürünün Bir Profili, Mimarlık, 2003-2004.

styles and the very first example of a modern city presaged by the Republic. Not unexpectedly, after the announcement of Ankara as the capital, the population began to increase very rapidly. Therefore, housing issues appeared as the principal problem in this process. Not only the production of an adequate amount of housing, but also the quality of the accommodation in a modern sense became central issues.

The urban planning of Ankara was based on two principles as İlhan Tekeli underscores. The first was the implementation of planned development, and the second one was to incorporate studies in urban planning and urbân management.[63] For the creation of a city management system and housing planning, German, Austrian and Swiss architects and planners played an important role in 1920s.

Lörcher Plan –1924-25

The first plan for Ankara was prepared by the German city planner Dr. Carl Christoph Lörcher. (Figure 2.3) At the same time, the İstanbul Provincial Government was established and the production institutions of the Republic were called into action for the purpose of rapidly forming a plan. İstanbul Şehremini (Mayor) Haydar Bey was appointed to Ankara on 8 June 1924 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.[64] He made the efforts necessary to establish a flour factory, brick and tile factory and cement factory that were necessary for the construction field of the new city. While the electricity generating station and gas infrastructure were important steps to the development of the new Ankara and the planning workers quarter began accordingly.

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[63] Tekeli, İlhan. Bir Başkentin Oluşumu: Avusturyalı, Alman ve İsviçreli Mimarların İzleri – Yeni Başkente Doğru – Site Planlaması- Goethe-Institut Ankara. 2010.

[64] Cengizkan, Ali. Ankara'nın ilk planı: 1924-25 Lörcher planı, kentsel mekân özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve bugüne katkıları, etki ve kalıntıları, Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004. p.14.

Figure 2.3. 1924 Lörcher - Old City Plan

An important segment of the population of Ankara consisted of politicians, public servants and diplomats who arrived in the city in 1924-25. The increase in population made the shortage of residential accommodation an urgent consideration. A new plan to implement the Lörcher plan was drawn up including "Yenişehir". (Figure 2.4) The plan mainly referred to the principles of Garden City as sub-urban environments on the city web and green areas. As emphasized by Ali Cengizkan in the book "Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı" "zoning" was seen for the first time in the Lörcher Plan with gardens, health services, marketplace, residential areas and their differentiation and accesses facilities. Additionally, for the old city and new city plan,

there appeared a "Regievungsviertel" Management Neighborhood[65] in Yeni Şehir (Yeni mahalle). It can be seen that in the 1925 Lörcher Map, there was a system for a transition from the individual to a collective nation.[66] (Figure 2.5)

Figure 2.4. 1925 Lörcher - "Yeni Şehir" Plan

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[65] The translation could be Government District. However, in the book "Ankara'nın İlk Planı 1924-25 Lörcher Planı" by Ali Cengizkan, the zonings are described as Turkish word 'mahalle' instead of describing as district or settlement. To continue the ongoing attempt, the translation made with the word "neighborhood".

[66] Cengizkan, 2004, op.cit. p.43.

Figure 2.5. 1924-25 Lörcher Plan (Old City and Administration City, Çankaya)

The Lörcher Plan provided neighborhoods for different income group and status as in Ali Cengizkan's recommendations; these locations were Dumlupınar, Kurtuluş and Demirlibahçe.[67] However, the new city plan provided only limited residential accommodation with single- and two-story houses on a small area.

Hermann Jansen Plan – 1928

Later, as the realization dawned that the Lörcher Plan was inadequate, the second competition of urban planning was organized with the participation of German professionals; Herman Jansen, Prof. J. Brix and the Frenchman Leon Jausseley at the suggestion of Ludwig Hoffman who was a professor of architecture and planning in

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[67] Ibid. p.87.

Berlin.[68] Three urban planners designed plans for Ankara, which was envisaged as a city with a population of 300,000. Herman Jansen's plan won the competition which provided for an expansion around the north-south artery in Ankara. (Figure 2.6) It should be noted that both the Lörcher and Jansen plans were influenced by the urban concepts of Camillo Sitte and Ebenezer Howard.[69]
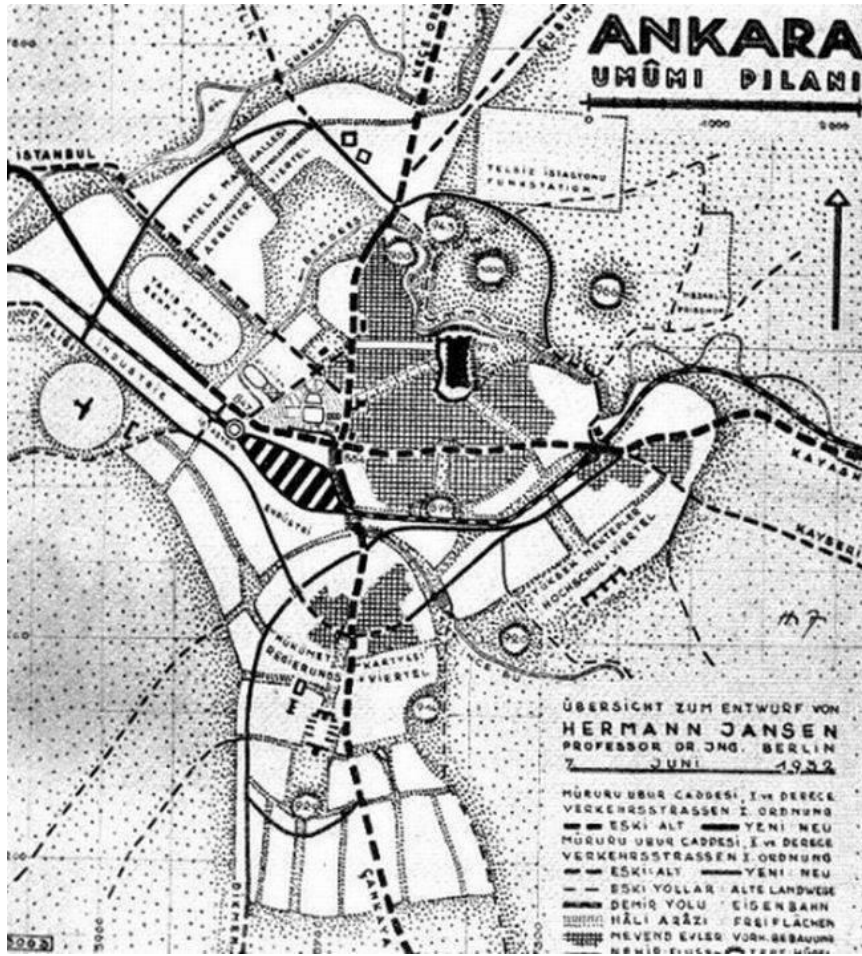
Figure 2.6. Jansen Plan

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[68] Ibid. p.87.

[69] Tekeli, İlhan. Almanca Konuşan Plancı ve Mimarların Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sının Planlaması ve Konut Sorununun Çözümüne Katkıları Üzerine, Goethe-Institut Ankara, 2010.

The artery -Atatürk Boulevard- connected the old city with the new Governmental district. In addition, the Atatürk Boulevard was defined as the main artery for the development of a zoning plan which included the Workers (Amele) Neighborhood, the University zone and the Airport zone. However, Workers Neighborhood (Amele Mahallesi) was one of the undone projects of Jansen Plan. (Figure 2.7) The significant difference of this type of housing was its context about societal needs.[70] The houses of Workers Neighborhood were planned to build as terrace houses and semi-detached houses with standardized building elements to reduce both cost of construction and prices of houses. Instead of this planned neighborhood project, there formed squatter settlement in time.
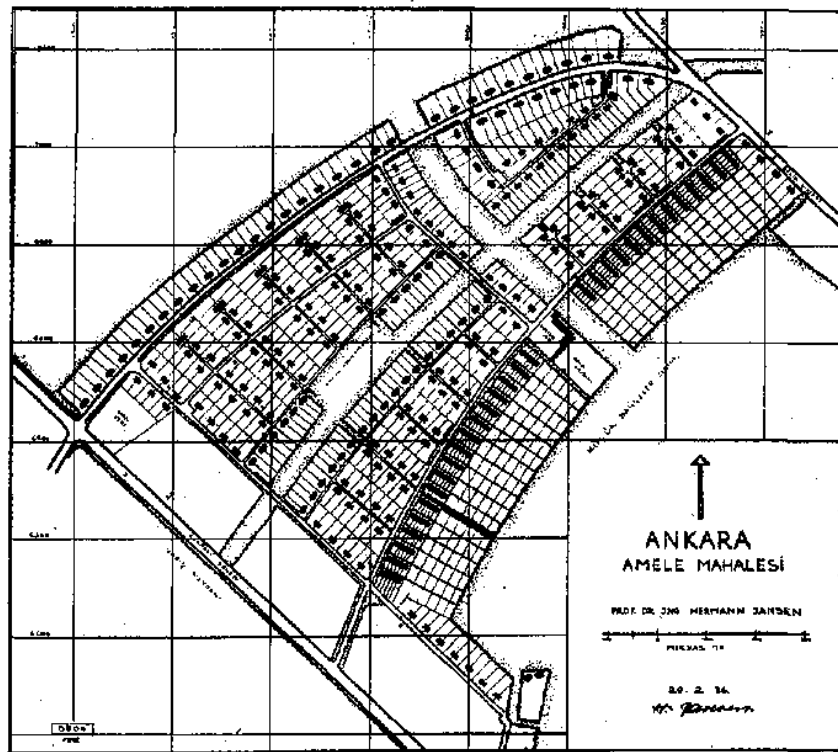
Figure 2.7. Ankara Amele Neighborhood

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[70] Yavuz, Fehmi. Başkent Ankara ve Jansen, *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture,* 1/7, p.25-33, 1981. p.27.

The Jansen Plan regarded the green areas in Ankara on a large scale with Gençlik Park and the Hippodrome and envisaged small houses with large gardens. The plan was implemented from 1932 to 1938 under the effects of the land speculation of the period and the difficulty in the implementation of a zoning plan. The creation of a well-structured Western-style city plan started to be inadequate to cope with the unanticipated increasing population. The urgent need for residential areas created a type of housing "planned neighborhood (siedlung)" after the 1930s.[71] Attempts were made to solve the problem of housing inadequacy and high prices through the economic organization of the construction phases. One solution aimed to resolve the problem by building several affordable housing schemes outside the planned areas of the city. The first type was 'civil servant cooperative' which can be exemplified by Bahçelievler by Jansen in 1936.[72] The second type was the 'workers neighborhood' which comprised elementary school, workers houses, a marketplace, kindergarten, playgrounds and sports courts. The significant example of this type was Seyfettin Arkan's Amele Neighborhood in Zonguldak.[73] The third type was the neighborhood for civil servants erected by the state. The significant example of this type is Paul Bonatz's Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in Ankara.[74] Within the constraints of the organizational dynamics and population changes, it can be argued that these processes resulted in the production of the planned neighborhood in Turkey.

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[71] Tekeli, 2010, op.cit. p.98.

Tekeli calls the production of this type as neighborhood planning "siedlung" in the book.

[72] Ibid. p.98.

[73] İmamoğlu, Bilge. Workers' Housing Projects by Seyfi Arkan in the Zonguldak Coalfield. Ankara: METU, 2003.

[74] Tekeli, 2010, op.cit.

Uybadin-Yücel Plan – 1957

In response to the demographic changes in Ankara, at a new competition for a master plan was held in 1955 by the Ankara Municipality. Raşit Uybadin and Nihat Yücel won this international competition, and their plan was approved in 1957. (Figure 2.8) The Uybadin-Yücel Plan was created with the pre-cognition of a population of 750,000 population in 1985. However, by 1962, the population of Ankara had already surpassed the projected number. The plan offered increased growth and density in the north-south direction. As indicated in "Ankara Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu 1970-1990"[75], the plan would offer west-east extension rather than south-north extension. In addition, it emphasized that the Uybadin-Yücel plan was created to comply with the boundaries of the Municipality's proposals in the report. These proposals did not include the west-east extension of the city. This period continued with the erection of apartment blocks on land made free by demolishing two-story detached houses with gardens. Baykan Günay's statement on this planning transformation illustrates the main shifts in this process; "the garden city transformed into an apartment city, and the green belts into a squatter city". The process was a start to loss of the natural values and creation of "apartment neighborhoods" similar to William E. Drummond's aforementioned criticism in the first part of the chapter "apartment buildings 'violated' 'the sense of appropriation and harmony' in old and new parts of the city." He highlighted that there was a need for "order" to cope with "chaos".

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[75] Ankara Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu, 1970-1990, Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu, p.8.
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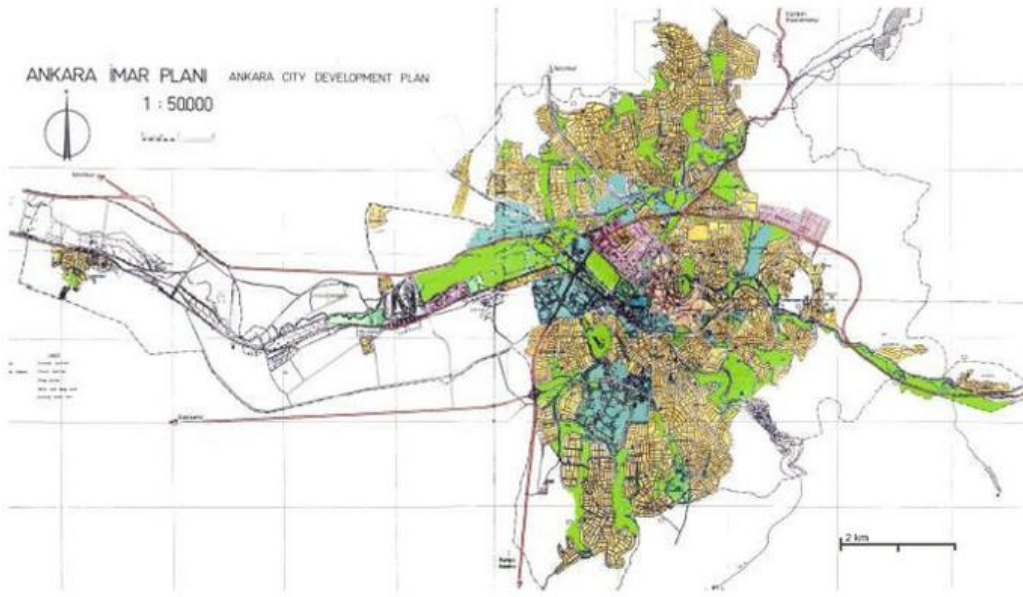
Figure 2.8. Uybadin-Yücel Plan

Fringe Development: Ankara Master Plan 1990

While the problems escalated with changing and transforming of the city, new urban studies were initiated in the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau. The Bureau, established in 1969, focused on surveys, analysis about population growth and transportation systems in the city to achieve some scientific solutions. As a result, the Ankara Master Plan 1990 was prepared as the fourth plan for Ankara with a 20-year period as a structural plan horizon rather than a master plan.[76] The plan was developed from a "corridor scheme" that eliminated 11 other schemes.[77] Different from the previous plans, the Ankara Master Plan 1990 suggested a western axis settlement along the İstanbul and Eskişehir Roads. (Figure 2.9) Thus, the decentralization and suburbanization period started with the Ankara Master Plan 1990.

[76] Baykan Günay cited from Bademli in the book "Ankara Spatial History" p.8.

[77] The elimination stages are extend explained on Nazım Plan Report 1990.

It should be noted that the period's significant commercial activity was the Real Estate and Credit Bank which developed many housing settlements on the Western corridor.

Figure 2.9. Ankara Master Plan 1990

The Ankara urban planning process can be summarized in the form of the attempts mentioned above. It can be said that planned residential neighborhoods were only created for specific social groups with only limited sectoral attempts. If considered from the beginning, there were planned neighborhood areas for workers which connected with the industrial areas in the city. There were neighborhoods for civil servants created by the state. And finally, there were neighborhood zonings in the western fringes for the middle-classes in the case of Ankara; Batıkent, Eryaman and

Çayyolu. The other initiatives were based on the legalization of areas where immigrants had already settled in order to provide themselves with shelter. Nevertheless, these initiatives were meant to legalize immigrants to stay in the area they had chosen to live in, rather than giving them a real right to having adequate housing. In addition, apartment buildings became another form of rapid urbanization. The building of apartment buildings was legalized by the government. So, cities had undergone a change through the advent of the apartment building complexes and differentiated production; the texture of cities started to become complex. The development in the Western fringes was the result of scientific urban analysis and surveys for the future Ankara. Additionally, the approach of the Ankara Master Plan 1990 suggested that studies should be updated in line with the changing conditions in the city by the Ankara Master Plan Bureau. These studies can be evaluated in line with Burgess' criticism about neighborhood studies which illustrated that there should be sound empirical grounds for the creation of a spatial plan. For this reason, the concept of the neighborhood unit will be concentrated on in the Western fringes of Ankara – which was planned with the aid of surveys, data and analysis– both in terms of its distance from the city center and with proposals for typological diversity and new morphological formations.

2.3. ANALYSIS OF NEIGHBORHOOD AS AN URBAN FORMATION VIA ARCHITECTURAL JOURNALS IN TURKEY

The architectural and urban planning attempts in Turkey triggered discussions about housing in the various milieu. The journals of Arkitekt, Mimarlık, Yedigün and Muhit[78] were the media that brought to the fore the current issues from local and

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[78] Arkitekt; Zeki Sayar, Abidin Mortaş, Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu – 1931-1980

Mimarlık; The Chamber of Architects Publishing Committee, 1963-Present

international news about architecture. In particular, Arkitekt and Mimarlık provided a forum for the architectural profession to discuss theory and practice in architecture. Some of the journals, like Yedigün and Muhit, focused on patterns of social living in Turkey. In this respect, the journals became a powerful archive and resource for researching the relations and dynamics of the period. In a Foucauldian understanding, it can be affirmed that a certain discourse on housing issues including the conception of neighborhood appeared in some statements and started to dominate the architectural and urban agenda.

The Arkitekt Journal was first published in 1931 by Zeki Sayar, Abidin Mortaş and Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu. The journal was published weekly from 1931 to 1980. In the beginning, the title of the journal was MİMAR. After the Language Reform in 1935, its name was paradoxically changed to ARKİTEKT on account of the fact that *mimar* is a word with Arabic roots. However, there was no equivalent to fit with MİMAR in the Turkish language. After that, it was decided to change the name to ARKİTEKT. Even merely by looking at the way the journal's name was changed, evidence of a modernization project and cultural transformation arising from the effects of reforms and new principles in Turkey can be seen. The Arkitekt journal includes nine or ten parts in every issue. These parts are about construction, materials, the housing, industry, world architecture, advertisements, urban planning etc. In the early years of its publication, there was much more discussion about theoretical questions of how modern architecture should be, what modern architecture is. In regard to these questions, some discussions started to appear about identity and nationality and their bonds with architecture.

Figure 2.10. Arkitekt Journal Collage (Collaged by E. Ünver)

The Mimarlık Journal first appeared in 1963 and the journal is still being published by The Chamber of Architects of Turkey. The journal is published on a bi-monthly basis. The Mimarlık Journal concentrates mainly on current discussions about architecture and cities from a critical standpoint. In addition, the journal includes in every issue the topics of architecture, urban planning, construction techniques, materials, academic research, architectural competitions, modern architectural concepts and conservation. The journal's target readers are architectural and planning students, professionals in practice and academics. Both journals, Arkitekt and Mimarlık, are important in creating a base to understand and decode architects' and planners' view points and the current discussions in the architectural milieu.

Figure 2.11. Mimarlık Journal Collage (Collaged by E. Ünver)

This section will analyze architectural journals and the concrete examples from the period 1950 to 1980 as an archive and a repository of the circulation of architectural and socio-cultural events in the period.[79] While doing this, the aim will be to define the transformation of neighborhood concept as the consequences of the significant events or, as a paradigm to create cities based on order. Within a methodology based on Foucault's theory of discourse, the research will continue with the collection and analysis of the statements that circulate about/within the period. Many critics, researchers and analysts have focused on the housing question and issues in Turkey since the 1950s. This has been an important and recognized problematic both in the fields of architecture and sociology; in contrast to previous approaches, some more recent studies have described the environmental behavior regarding the domestic settlements.

According to Üstün Alsaç and many other historians and critics, the transformation of architecture and representation started to expand its scope from a policy of state control to more pluralistic attitudes via developments involving the multi-party system and aid from other countries.[80] In addition, after the 50s, there was an important shift in the sectors of architecture and construction within the competitions held and financed by the government. While these developments transform the intense understanding of architecture in the previous era,[81] the private sector expanded its field of operations into housing, hotels, tourist facilities etc. Following the impact of these factors, from the beginning of the 60s to the 70s there should also be mentioned the academic reforms within universities and aid from Western countries. Since in this period there was a concentration on urban planning, housing projects and academic reforms, some of the important actors in these processes were studied in European

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[79] See appendix A. in the page 147 for further information about the analysis of the journals.

[80] Alsaç, Üstün. Uluslararası Mimarlığa Açılış: Mimarlıkta Serbest Biçimlerle Çözüm Getirme Düşüncesi (1950-1960), Trabzon: KTÜ Baskı Atölyesi, 1976. p.43.

[81] The "modernization" period of Turkey is categorized into two periods in Sibel Bozdoğan's article "Art and Architecture in Modern Turkey: The Republican Period". These are *The Transition Era* and *The Republican Era*.

countries. After 1931, the architects who had founded the Arkitekt journal turned their attention to residential architecture (mesken mimarisi)[82], designing the canonical villas usually termed cubic architecture, and apartments with flat roofs and no ornamental façades. However, after the 50s, both the Arkitekt Journal and the Chamber of Architects of Turkey's Mimarlık Journal concentrated on the dynamics of urbanism and the concept of neighborhood unit due to the fact that with new factories, their workers needed housing as well as the general expansion of the population in big cities.

The first appearances of "neighborhood" in various contexts can be traced to the beginning of the 50s as a consequence of the dwelling/housing problems (mesken sorunu). In these years, the urbanism plans of European countries were looked to as exemplary dwelling projects in the Arkitekt Journal. These projects started from the basis of neighborhood units and included 5-year-plan and the expected outcomes. While the examination of these plans was neither positive nor negative in tone, the definition of the neighborhood as a planned urban organization was illustrated and praised through the European examples.[83] The interest in city development via neighborhood units continued during the period because of the fact that the neighborhood unit was seen as organized, rational, contemporary and modern. However, it was obvious that only a few groups of citizens would have the chance to dwell in ideal neighborhoods due to the high purchase prices involved. These high prices were related to the expensive construction techniques employed and the economic conditions in Turkey.[84] During the same period, there were some publications about neighborhood types which had been constructed in different regions of Turkey. Merbank Mahallesi in Zincirlikuyu in Istanbul was an example of

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[82] Bozdoğan, op.cit. p.437.

[83] Antoinette Suquet-Bonnaud, translated by: Y. Mimar Naci MELTEM, Rotterdam Şehri Kendi İskan Meselesini Nasıl Halletti, Arkitekt Journal, Vol. 3-4,1951. pp.81-82.

[84] Merbank Mahallesi Zincirlikuyu, Proje ve Kontrol: Y. Mimar Zeki SAYÂR, Mimar: Dr. Y. Mimar Muallim Turgut Cansever, Arkitekt Journal, Vol. 11-12, 1952. pp.215-224.

a neighborhood unit with the sense of an ideal environmental relationship between the inhabitants and the proposed green environment concepts with trees.
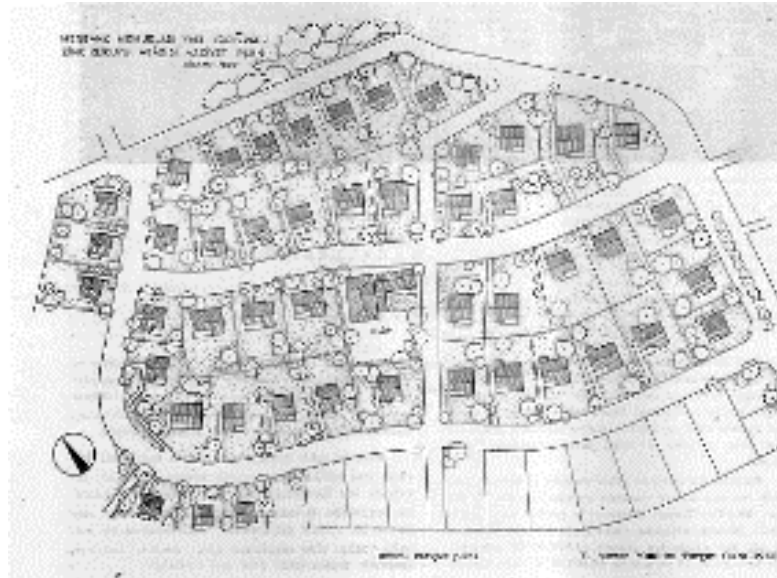
Figure 2.12. Merbank Neighborhood Master Plan
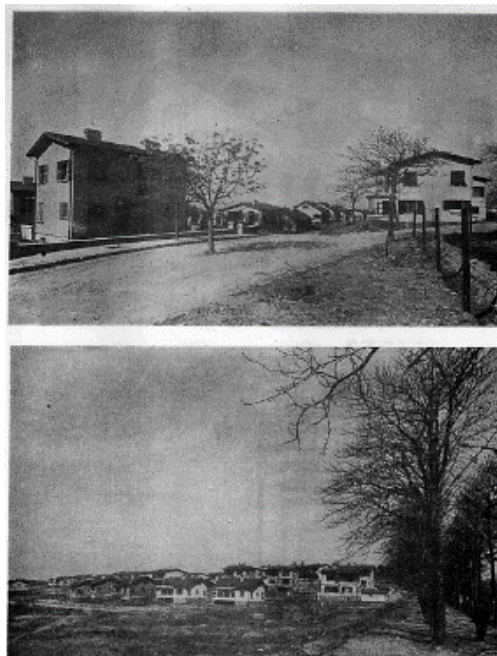
Figure 2.13. Merbank Neighborhood, Zincirlikuyu, İstanbul

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Another neighborhood settlement described in the same year's Arkitekt was the Levend Neighborhood in Istanbul. While the housing units were described as *neighborhood unit*, the statements included and emphasized some key terms such as social interaction, squares and gathering illustrated the ideal organization of the dwelling type. The master plan of the Levend Neighborhood integrated a shopping area, movie place, square (plaza) and a mosque where neighbor residents could enjoy a social integration/contact through their spatial practice.
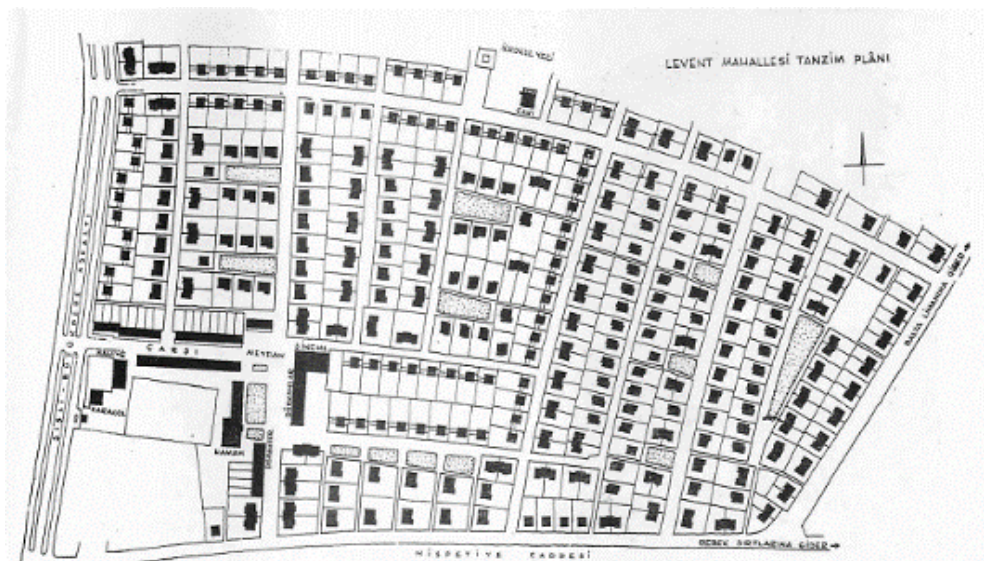
Figure 2.14. Levend Neighborhood Master Plan

Figure 2.15. Levend Neighborhood, İstanbul

The interpretation of Bernard Wagner[85] in his project of workers' houses demonstrated important evidence about the planned neighborhood unit for the working class in the 1950s. The examination of his influences was described with these words in the Arkitekt Journal:

> It is understood from the pictures that the house types settled in the landscape beautifully in considering all the requirements. The trick of big areas and garden areas between house blocks is that the worker's houses are not constructed as villas. It is seen that *row housing terraces* are preferred in all the new workers' neighborhoods. There is no expectation of a good result in the neighborhood, which is constructed as *villas* and sited in rows, due to the small open areas. At the same time, single villas which are constructed in small plots are expensive to build. Within these matters*, row houses* which have social areas are more proper than *fake villas*.[86]
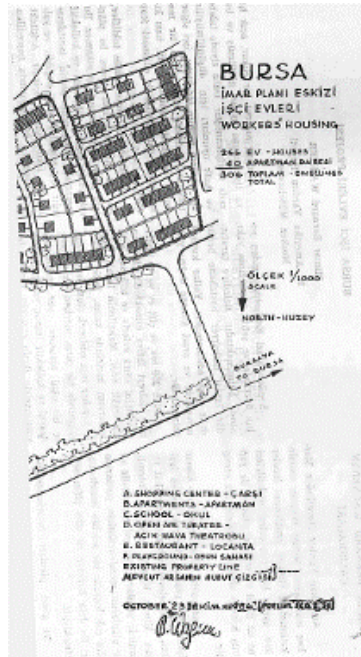
Figure 2.16. Bursa Workers' Housing

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[85] Bernard Wagner, who is the son of Martin Wagner, has made many housing applications for mine workers in Germany, prepared neighborhood and housing plans for workers' houses in Bursa, Erdemli and İzmir.

[86] Doçent T. Mimar A. Sabri Oran, Mimar Bernard Wagner'in Türkiye'deki Çalışmaları, Arkitekt Journal, Vol. 2, 1956. p.76.

In 1956, some critical questioning arose about housing problems and the relationship between humans and the environment. The publication *Human and City (İnsan ve Şehir)* written by architect and urban planner Ertuğrul Menteşe examined the perception of a human in the environment. He mentioned that the interaction between people and their traditional modes of entertaining, meeting and gathering starts to disappear in new cities; thus, the design attempts should start from social interaction in organizing cities. He emphasized the zoning plan and neighborhood unit as the keys to better organization in the metropolitan city. The traditional neighborhood or towns have an inner organization and identity belonging to a certain place, a certain commune. In this respect, in order to break the chaos of the metropolitan city, there should be form of organization shaped by the neighborhood units.
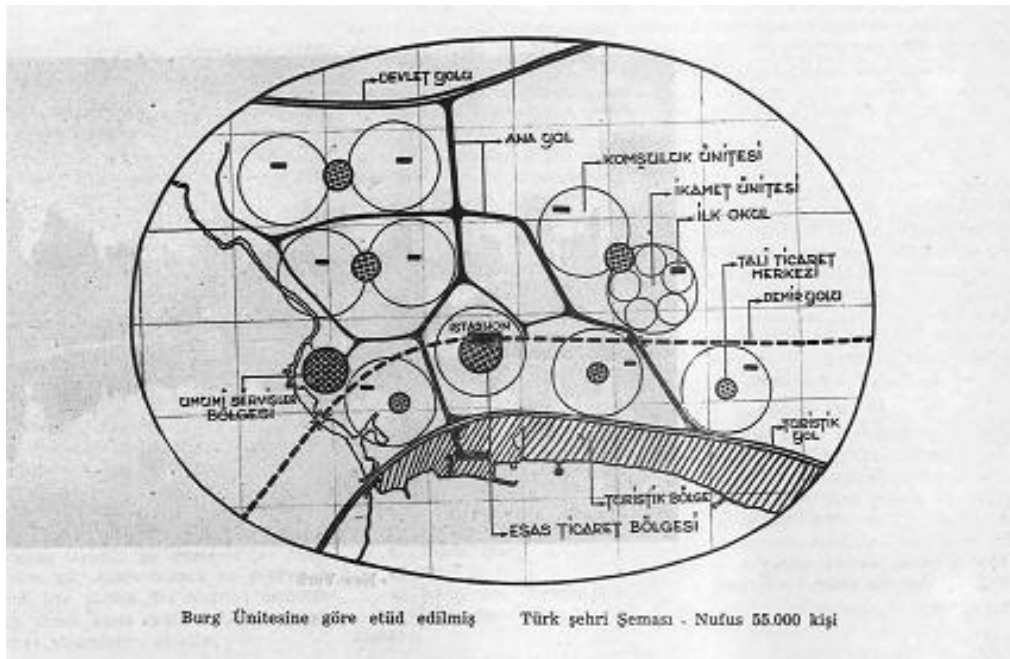
Figure 2.17. Turkish City Schema

The translated publication of Jane Jacobs, which was published in the Arkitekt Journal in 1952, demonstrated some consequences of urbanization model within

banlieue/suburb and outer city neighborhood organization. [87] The consequences were defined as "poor neighborhoods in the city center" (şehir merkezinde fakir mahalleler). In the social conditions of the 1950s, the situation was not seen as a consequence of class separation, landlord-tenant relationship or the decentralization of the city. The aim was to create an ideal environment and inhabitants with a small family, an everyday work-house loop, hygiene and a modern lifestyle. *The poor neighborhoods in the city center* were seen as a problem that should be immediately removed from modern society. In line with this point of view, there occurred a construction haze of *community housing* for low classes in the USA. The motto was "A hygienic house in a convenient for every American family to live in" in the USA source. In Turkey, the consequences were not different from the Western countries. Housing problem (mesken sorunu) and especially the issue of migration made the unplanned neighborhoods, the areas of squatters (gecekondu), visible. In one of his articles in the Journal Arkitekt, Zeki Sayar stated that the regulations and municipal organizations favored the construction of such big apartment blocks and sites. While the municipality evicted the squatters from a certain place, at the same time they suggested a more distant place to settle the same squatters. On the other hand, criticism about workers' housing also appeared at the end of the 50s. Haluk Togay emphasized that the transformation of workers housing from detached houses to terrace houses did not work properly. Turkey's difficult economic situation at that time and the need for foreign financial resources and construction techniques naturally made the workers' houses expensive. The term "sefalet mahalleleri" as gecekondu appeared simultaneously with the construction of unnecessarily big houses and the socioeconomic fact of migration.[88] According to Sayar and Togay, the problem was ignored; the organizations should be interested in constructing proper places to the lower classes.[89]

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[87] Fakir Mahallelerin Ortadan Kaldırılması, Jane Jacobs, translated in Turkish, Arkitekt Journal, Vol. 1-2, 1952. pp.39-41.

[88] Y. Mimar Haluk Togay, İşçi Meskenleri Meselesi, Arkitekt Journal, Vol. 3,1959. p.116.

[89] Zeki Sayar, Gecekonduların Yıktırılması Münasebetiyle!, Arkitekt Journal, Vol.1,1959. p.29.

At the beginning of the 60s, a new term came into widespread use; "social housing" (sosyal mesken). According to Sayar, this new term could not be differentiated from the other cliché terms such as affordable housing, workers' housing, apartment blocks, an apartment for every family.[90] In the same period of time, Şevki Vanlı criticized the condition of urbanism in Turkey within the context of the relationship between humans and environment. He emphasized city planning and the consequences in five categories, which were related to the inhabitants. He claimed that migration could not be ignored, squatter settlements could not be demolished, the outer city settlements and their inhabitants could not be isolated from the city center. He proposed a definitive statement which is still worth thinking about now, that planning can only succeed through a social and physical analysis of Turkey.[91] He declared:

> We are the owner of the physical environment before we build. After we build, the environment owns us. And we have to adapt ourselves to the built environment. While Aristo says "The city should protect the human and make the human pleased", he manifests the good organization of built environment can provide the good living conditions.

The environment and human relations assumed as another relevance in the 1960s. In 1964, The Turkey Report was sent to the U.I.A. VII. Congress and s published in the Chamber of Architects publication the Mimarlık Journal. The report was composed of two parts: first, Urbanism – Neighborhood Units, and second, Precautions about Squatters. In the second part, there was an approach towards reconstructing the squatter settlements via at the two-staged construction process. This system defined as "self-help" (Figure 2.18), was about constructing only the ground floor plan with the participation of the inhabitants in the first stage. When the family once had the opportunity to construct the first floor, they would construct it according to the plan of the house type. As the construction process continued, the municipality and government would support the family both technically and economically.[92] This

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[90] Zeki Sayar, Mesken Davası, Arkitekt Journal, Vol. 4, 1961.

[91] Şevki Vanlı, Toplum Düzeninin Şehir ve Yapıya Etkisi, Arkitekt Journal, Vol. 4, pp. 175-180, 1962.

[92] U.I.A. VII. Kongresine Gönderilen Türkiye Raporları, Mimarlık Journal, Vol. 7, 1964. pp.8-13.

attempt was an important development regarding the city organization and social environment in terms of considering the target community's opinions rather than removing all the squatters from the city. Bülent Batuman expresses the view that "self-help housing" was a strategy that was suggested by the UN to "Third World" countries, this was in the light of similar experiences and problems occurring in many rapidly urbanizing countries.[93] In this production, users are included in the production process.
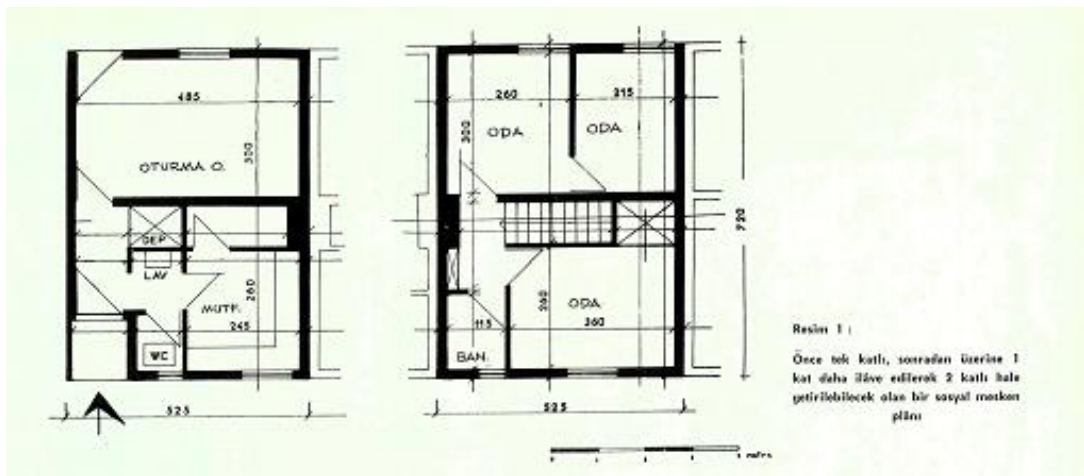
Figure 2.18. "Self-help" House Type

The criticism of Ertuğrul Menteşe about the conditions in the Turkish cities suggested the need for carrying out sociological analyses within the context of housing and neighborhood issues. According to Menteşe, the smaller housing blocks for workers or providing the minimum needs for shelter could not solve the problem of planned and unplanned neighborhoods in the current conditions of the cities. As he stated, a human is a social being and he creates his environment in an immediate situation. When people own a house that is too small for their needs, after a while, they tend to transform it into a bigger one. This transformation forms a loop which will always be

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[93] Batuman, Bülent, Turkish Urban Professionals and the Politics of Housing 1960–1980, *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture,* 23:1, 2006. p.63.

perpetuated. In support of his criticism, he cites the words of the sociologist Emile Durkheim:

> Human develops himself as nonstop in the social environment. In the beginning, he confines to protect himself from the adverse conditions. When the conditions become better, he adjusts to the society which he belongs to, and he succeeds in breaking the principles which are oppressing him.

In short, Menteşe claimed that cities need a flexible/elastic plan (souple) to organize the total body of their inhabitants. In 1967, a conference was held in Prague with the theme of "human and architecture". Five academic papers were sent to the conference by four Turkish architects of the period. Three of them were presented in the Congress by Ertuğrul Menteşe, Ekmel Derya and Orhan Özgüner. These papers concentrated on Turkey's urbanism problems and their consequences and on the question of how these issues could be handled in a proper way. The main conclusion of these papers was that: as the government and municipal organization supported only industrialization and mass production, some predictable consequences occurred like migration, squatters, class separation and decentralization. However, the starting point should rather be supporting agriculture, traditional living styles, improvements in living conditions and developments in construction techniques in villages and small towns. When this attempt was initiated in a proper way, people would not have to migrate to the cities to live in better conditions. They would not be alienated from their own cultural environment for economic reasons. Finally, to provide an appropriate choice of habitat, there should be different choices and options available for living within the *ideal environment*.[94]

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[94] Türkiye'de Yerleşme Düzenlemesi, Arkitekt Journal, Vol. 3, 1967.

CHAPTER 3

THE EVALUATION OF THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICE AND SOCIAL ISSUES IN TURKEY

In the third chapter, the dynamics of the geography, administration, public demands and modern life process that were mentioned in the second chapter will be examined in a more detailed form so as to reveal a cause-effect relationship. The third chapter also in to reveal the essential nature of significant sources through the keywords that are significant to defining the process. Therefore, the structure of the process will be established via international sources in conjunction with sources from Turkey. This chapter consists of three main parts. The first of these is the evaluation of the period between 1950 and 1980 in Turkey in the context of urban planning.

First of all, it is necessary to mention previous fundamental studies related to the scope of the present research. In this context, these studies are reviewed from the general to the specific; urban planning, housing issues and neighborhood unit or planned housing units. One of the main pieces of research about examining the key concept of Perry's neighborhood unit in Turkey is Ali Cengizkan's evaluation on Academic Staff Lodging, METU, Ankara as a neighborhood unit.[95] His conclusions about the research area of neighborhood illustrate particular discussions about the socio-physical dimension. They include gender issues such as working the relationship of women and housewives with their social and physical environment and mobility. His criticism regarding the unit principle is as follows:

> Although the introduction of the unit principle to Turkish city planning policies is as early as the second half of the forties', no theoretical approach was made to the point. The neighborhood plans relied on the superficial data

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[95] Cengizkan, Ali. The Socio − Physical Dimensions of Neighbourliness, Master Thesis, METU, 1980.

obtained from foreign studies and not any national or regional characteristic was sought for.[96]

After this research, Cengizkan examined Turkey's condition concerning housing and urban planning with his Ph.D. Thesis "Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture Ankara 1948-1962" in 2000. According to Cengizkan, Bahçeli Evler, Güven Evler, Aydınlık Evler, Memur Evleri (Saraçoğlu Mahallesi) were the pioneering examples of the rules and topologic determinisms of Perry's neighborhood unit. However, the effects of the rapid urban changes and their dependency on the socio-economic system led to the loss of the values of the neighborhood concept of these environments. He concludes that the consequence was that it is just left "some traces from the marketplace schools, shops" of being a neighborhood unit.[97]

There were several studies on housing issues, squatters and neighborhoods which became the focus of discussions in the academic world of Turkey during the housing shortage and planned outskirt developments in cities. Under the guidance of these studies, the question of the paradigm of neighborhood started to become reshaped as a theoretical concept. The process' dynamics and relationships to urban planning and neighborhood design will be explained with architectural researchers' attempts in the following headings. Some of these thesis and researches referred to the Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit concept to illustrate the principles.[98] In most of the

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[96] Ibid. p.15.

[97] Cengizkan, Ali. Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture Ankara 1948-1962. p.54.

[98] To illustrate the attempt, there should be mentioned an exemplary research on housing. In Sıla Karataş's Master Thesis "Building Marshall Plan in Turkey: The Formation of Workers' Housing Question, 1946-1962", published in 2015, Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit is used to evaluate the neighborhood and community relation as a term. Another example could be Gülnur Güler Kavas' Master Thesis "An Alternative Housing Experiment by the Housing Administration of Turkey: Ankara, Eryaman Stage III". In Kavas' thesis, the neighborhood unit concept by Perry is mentioned as a source to illustrate the scheme of a model community. After the initial explanation, Eryaman examined in detail other significant principles. There are also several studies on western parts of Ankara in the field of architecture and urban planning such as: Aybike Ceylan Kızıltaş's PhD Thesis "Role of Design Control on Urban Form: Çayyolu Ankara", Başak Zeka's Master Thesis "The Humanistic Meaning of Urban Squares: The Case of Çayyolu Urban Square Project", Melda Açmaz Özden's PhD Thesis "Planning for Sustainable Communities in Suburban Residential Neighborhoods: The Case of Ümitköy, Ankara".

architectural researches in Turkey, Perry's approach has been used as a prologue to illustrate the neighborhood definition rather than properly examining the principles of the neighborhood unit concept. The focal point generally is illustrating the similarities with the design principles related to "community", both in Turkey and the European countries. In the light of these studies, it is proposed that the Konutkent II site in the western corridor of Ankara constitutes neighborhood principles in the form of a more specific example. Before getting into the case study, as mentioned before, the formation of neighborhood discourse and its sociological infrastructure will be explained in reference to significant historical events.

The evaluation comprises the factors that have affected urban planning and housing in Turkey in different contexts. The contexts create an over-arching picture for understanding the advantages and drawbacks of the decision makers' choices and the situation of foreign-dependent countries, such as Turkey. Regarding Turkey's transformation process through the industrial changes and attempts at modernization, three topics can be discussed; tractor years, railways to highways and social realization. These discussions will be handled with references to major influences such as Atilla Yücel, Mete Tapan, Ali Cengizkan, İlhan Tekeli, Bülent Batuman and Tahire Erman's researches and publications about the conditions in Turkey mainly regarding urban growth and urban planning.

3.1. "TRACTOR YEARS" IN TURKEY

As in the definition of Burgess' factors and forces concept, the changes in family structure, political system and economic system affect the urban fabric. Mete Tapan states that, when studying or working on the built environment, planned or unplanned, sociological factors cannot be ignored. He adds: "it is only through such an approach

that a theoretical perspective on urbanization can be obtained."[99] According to him, the change in the typology of the city in the form of new needs and the development of a dominant typology illustrates the socio-economic system in society. Tapan states that "Changes in any arena of the social realm influence the development of cities."[100]

While emphasizing the changing systems in Turkey, it is suggested that a significant change started to happen with the emergence of the Democrat Party which came to power in 1950. The most significant change in the built environment here is that the private sector began to play a greater role in development strategies. Tapan describes the 1950s as "tractor years."[101] Because in the 1950s' the Turkish economy and developments were dependent on foreign investments, Tukey's development strategies concentrated on rural areas rather than industrialization. Most financial credits were spent on agricultural investments. So, the landowners in the countryside became one of the wealthy classes in society, benefitting from these investments. Small landowners were forced out of agriculture due to this strategy, so they sold their land and migrated to the cities where they could find employment. On the one hand, there was new urbanization that promised city life with work available in developing industries. In this way, the great migration from the countryside to the city started with a strong impact on the political, economic and social economy as mentioned above.

Migration caused a major change in the urban fabric. The need for shelter led to the emergence of migration neighborhoods in big cities such as Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. The parts of the city that industrialized and the foreseen development of residential projects are scrutinized in the book "Fabrikada Barınmak" edited by Ali Cengizkan. The settlements that contain "production" and "shelter" were exemplified in the book. The architecture and network produced by the factory settlements contain

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[99] Tapan, Mete. "International Style: Liberalism in Architecture", in Holod, R. and Evin, A. *Modern Turkish architecture*. [Philadelphia, Pa.]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984. p.111.

[100] Ibid. p.111.

[101] Ibid. p.112.

many modernization phenomena.[102] In these "production" and "shelter" settlements, the user is an industrial worker at the same time they spend their whole day and night in the locality of the factory. The factory-housing settlements have a variety of houses suitable for married couples and their families and for single people. Similar to the principles in the neighborhood unit, there are sports, shopping and recreation areas in these settlements. In this book, Cengizkan states that:

> Workers houses designed in the factories seem to have targeted "creating a new society" with the decision on the overall layout of the factory.[103]

The squatter neighborhoods covered the urban fabric in this period. Due to the inadequacy of the production of housing to anticipate and meet actual needs. Bülent Batuman refers to two social actors as urban professionals and squatter settlements in the study of squatter and housing issues. He states that the discourse on the squatters, which is the result of the housing shortage and inadequate industrialization, has evolved from being targeted negative views to the socialist lifestyle.[104] In addition, in her scholarly works Tahire Erman, highlights the important dichotomies for the community who migrated from rural to urban areas and tried to adapt themselves to living in an urban society. It is necessary to state that the people who were termed "urbanized" in the modernization process of cities were considered the elites of the city who already adopted modern western values and lifestyles. In the meantime, the rural and urban distinction continued. It was expected that the people who migrated from rural to urban areas would abandon their rural values and traditions and move on to urban life and take on the identity of "real urbanized." However, this very optimistic expectation went unrealized. In her research and studies on the migrant community,

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[102] Cengizkan, Ali. (ed.) Fabrikada Barınmak [Dwelling at the Factory], Ankara: Arkadaş Yay. 2009. p.267.

[103] The original quote in Turkish from the book "Fabrikada Barınmak"in page 272 as follows:

"Türkiye'de fabrika yerleşkeleri içinde tasarlanan işçi konutları, fabrika yerleşiminin genelindeki kararlarıyla birlikte, bir "yeni toplum inşası"nı hedeflemiş görünmekte."

[104] Batuman, op.cit. p.59.

Erman identifies that the immigrants continue to exist in the city by building or maintaining their own traditions and societal sub-groups. Erman also states that migration studies started to evolve approaches on urban planning within an understanding of acceptance over time by the immigrant population of the values related to their new sociological circumstances. She also adds:

> It has been agreed that migrants may carry both rural and urban features at the same time or develop a synthesis out of the combination of the two.[105]

The migrated people became important communities by increasing their physical and social presences in the big cities. They formed subcultures of the city and were added to the pluralistic production. So, this led to the questioning of definitions related to the urban and the adaptation of the immigrants to the city.[106] Erman refers to these definitions as follows:

> As the result of chain migration and the tendency of migrants from the same region or village to cluster in the same squatter neighborhood, the values and norms, and to a lesser degree the ways of life, of the village are preserved in the city. Despite all these arguments in academic circles, "rural" and "urban" continue to represent two very different modes of existence for common people, particularly for rural-to-urban migrants.[107]

In her research, Erman gives importance to the studies on the urban life and lives of the identities in the migrant communities. She emphasizes that the migration population also varied in the environments where they lived. Some immigrants try to create a balance between their old and new lives, some reject their rural ties. Their own neighborhood productions also exist in the planned urban parts through regulations and urban developments, and they cannot be ignored.

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[105] Erman, Tahire. Becoming "Urban" or Remaining "Rural": The Views of Turkish Rural-to-Urban Migrants on the "Integration" Question. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30(04), pp.541-561, 1998. p.541.

[106] Ibid. p.542.

[107] Ibid. p.542.

The importance of these studies regarding their sociological and socio-economic perspectives reveals the critique of urbanization and the determination of problems as is stated in the aims of the research in the introductory part of this research. Again, for the housing market in this period Mete Tapan identified the situation as follows:

> This was also the period during which a lucrative real estate market developed and provided for the rapid growth of a semi-industrialized construction industry. The inflationary policies of the government led to massive investment in housing and land by individuals. Indeed, purchasing residential units or buying land was the most popular form of investment among the middle and the upper-middle classes.[108]

3.2. "RAILWAYS TO HIGHWAYS" TRANSITION EFFECTS IN TURKEY

In 1947, Turkey started to receive foreign aid under the Marshall Plan. Thus, the process of Turkey becoming adapted to, and part of, the international economy began. On the other hand, the injection of capital by the western block brought with its dependence on foreign capital and also inflation.[109] The Marshall Plan's policy was developing the road system and production policies in agriculture with machines.[110] With the aid's interest in road construction and agricultural equipment, Turkey entered a new phase in economy from 1950 onward. The changing economic process became effective in the city; large amounts of new construction and transportation systems were implemented throughout the country. Previously, it had been desired to provide development by railways, however, this interest shifted to highways and arterial roads. "The new modes of transportation" also affected the urban settlement and the building styles produced. Now, the production started to offer many alternatives for middle and

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[108] Tapan, op.cit. p.112.

[109] Ibid. p.112.

[110] Coşar, Nevin. and Demirci, Sevtap. Incorporation into the World Economy: From Railways to Highways (1850–1950). Middle Eastern Studies, 45(1), 2009. p.25.

upper-middle income groups. According to Tapan, the most "influential" examples of housing production are 4. Levent Development and Ataköy Development in İstanbul.[111] Tapan's argument about 4. Levent is as follows:

> It should be noted, however, that the Levent Development was the first to combine single residences, terrace houses and multi-story apartments for a mix of different income groups.[112]

He highlights that the housing projects of the Levent and Ataköy style, offering multi-story apartments, high-rise blocks and different types of togetherness as a complex became a model for further projects. The importance of this period regarding urban life in Tapan's view is that city life was in a "transition period". The government was not able to control the accelerating speed of urban expansion, although the country's building policies were an attempt to regulate housing production. The almost immediate result of the transition from railways to road transport can be summarized as the expansion of urban areas along highways and the emergence of new urban areas. Tapan explains his opinion of this period as follows:

> This period, therefore, emerges as a decade of paradoxes with conflicting social needs, economic goals and technology. Future alternatives in architectural practice and thought should be considered in the light of this era.[113]

In addition, Tapan emphasizes the consequences of migration where mainly squatter settlements covered the city center by criticizing the architectural profession's ethics and goals concerning the environment as reflecting a social and political crisis.[114]

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[111] It can be examined from the examples given in the journals section.

[112] Ibid. p.120.

[113] Ibid. p.122.

[114] Ibid. p.122.

3.3. SOCIAL REALIZATION IN TURKEY WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC AND MARKET CHANGES

Atilla Yücel states that studies and thinking in the 1970s were concentrated around two issues. One of these was a "growing interest of architects in social issues" and the other was "the search for a new formal vocabulary outside the prevailing canons of the International Style." Yücel's study demonstrates the process in Turkey regarding these two points. As he emphasizes, there was a strong relationship between social history and architectural ideologies and trends.

> Social forces act through a metalinguistic medium, that is, through current architectural ideologies.[115]

The main reasons for the tendencies in social and political issues are illustrated as the 1960 military intervention and the 1961 Constitution. These developments allowed the formation of a reformist and democratic turn in Turkey due to the fact that the new constitution allowed freedom of expression and organization. Therefore, new organizations, trade unions and professional associations became active in this period. There was a more liberal environment in literature, art and politics with the support of freedom of thought in the media. The culminating result of all these effects was that society became much more sensitive to social and political issues and developed a more active consciousness.[116]

According to Yücel, in a case like Turkey, the first goal was "rapid industrialization" and "fair distribution of income". Yücel expresses the spirit of the period as follows:

> Social realism became a new tendency in plastic arts as well as in literature. The general trend was inevitably a new "opening to the left," and this left-

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[115] Yücel, A. "Pluralism Takes Command the Turkish Architectural Scene Today", in Holod, R. and Evin, A. Modern Turkish architecture. [Philadelphia, Pa.]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984. p.126.

[116] Ibid. p.126.

wing movement influenced all intellectual and artistic activities and milieu, including those of architecture.[117]

In this period which ended with the 1980 coup, the growth of the business sector, pluralistic worldviews and the emergence of new concepts were manifested. In the course of these 20 years, social consciousness was raised and, it should be emphasized, the urban lifestyle, values and awareness of consciousness as well as architectural ideas matured with a "pluralistic approach". This process lasting two decades influenced deep-rooted developments in the field of architectural education and architectural practice. Universities moved towards a scientific approach in training foreign architects building on the previous period, empirical and positivist approaches to architecture begun to develop. According to Yücel, instructors and students who witnessed this period illustrate an active defense of social consciousness in the professional practice of architecture.[118] He makes an inference and evaluation about this period as follows:

> Functional and programmatic constraints, consumer ideals, social imperative, leftist criticism, historic and regional advocacies, scientific approaches and positivism in design, rationalist-irrationalist duality, authenticity versus eclectic choice: such are the categories covered by the theoretical and critical debates of the last twenty years. Should one also add some others such as the primacy of technology and the need for adequate design approaches in advanced building systems as it has often been argued? Maybe. More important, however, is the evaluation of the relevance of theory when trying to understand the architectural activity of the period as a whole, especially the artifacts it has produced, buildings and spaces.[119]

Another significant approach to social realization is İlhan Tekeli's wide ranging analysis regarding both in architecture, planning and economic, democratic and social issues in Turkey. Tekeli examines the social context under three categories:

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[117] Ibid. p.126.

[118] Ibid. p.128.

[119] Ibid. p.131.

First, society creates demands for particular architectural skills and functions at different stages of economic and technological evolution. Second, architects act within movements shaped by the impact of local and international architectural ideas, and in so doing they articulate an architectural ideology. Third, as the profession develops and undergoes differentiation, the means of transmitting or replacing architectural ideologies are alters.

This transition period in Turkey was multifaceted and, as previously mentioned by Mete Tapan and Atilla Yücel's observations, changes in the national economic system caused changes in the social institution and class structure. Such a transition unavoidably included the evolution of a new lifestyle. This lifestyle not only brought about the redefinition of society's demands, architectural styles and new production, but also redefinitions of ideological approaches at the national level entered the agenda of architectural practice. As a result, new movement adherents and opponents took part in the architectural style. Turkey encountered problems in creating an identity while there were the ongoing effects of a capitalist system and Western influenced effects. According to Tekeli, the development of Turkey's architectural practice can be categorized into five periods:

Within these questions in mind, we will explore the evolution of architectural practice in Turkey in terms of the following five periods. The first period, 1923-1927, corresponds to the continuing influence of the First National Architectural Movement which prevailed during the Second Ottoman Constitutional Period. The second is the Ankara-Vienna cubism of functional architecture between 1929-1939. The Second National Architectural Movement comprises the third period between 1940-1950. The fourth, between the years 1950-1960, is marked by International Style solutions. The fifth period after 1960 is characterized by social consciousness in architecture.[120]

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[120] Tekeli, İlhan. "The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey", in Holod, R. and Evin, A. Modern Turkish architecture. [Philadelphia, Pa.]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984. p.10.

Tekeli makes an observation about the period until the 1960s in Turkey concerning social awareness and architectural practice as follows:

> In general, however, both the organizational achievements of architects and their preferences among different architectural styles were totally marginal to the international dynamics of Turkish society Rapid urbanization generated its own rules and mobilized different social forces in creating a new living environment. Neither architects nor other professionals were able to play any role in this process They only tried to retain their professional monopoly and to ensure their elitist, urban identity.[121]

The rapid transformation of the cities was not kilter with the speed of the production of architecture and the projected growth solutions. Due to the fact that the squatter neighborhoods corresponded with migrants' needs,[122] their production skills and their economic situations, these types of production played an important role in urban areas. Such a production, which is independent and does not comply with bureaucracy, the economy or the architectural profession's approaches represented real needs and could not be ignored. In the end, professionals, architects, engineers, and the bureaucracy considered the production of squatters as a problem and opposed it. On the other hand, industrial companies considered the production of squatters as a solution that enabled them to reduce the cost of employment. This duality was mentioned by Tekeli as an important determinant of the 1960s.[123]

The second important development for Turkey was the "build and sell"[124] concept. Due to the rise in the price of the land used for urban planning, house ownership became more difficult for the less affluent classes in society. Production was mostly directed towards individual family houses on individual plots of lands. As a result of this process, the "flat ownership"[125] law was promulgated which gave members of the

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[121] Ibid. p.26.

[122] Here, the "need" refers to traditional lifestyle of rural community.

[123] Ibid. p.26.

[124] Build and sell concept refers to "yapsatçılık" in Turkish.

[125] Flat ownership refers to "kat mülkiyeti" in Turkish.

middle class the opportunity to own an apartment. However, such a production system encouraged the construction of multi-story buildings and dense residential areas in the planned urban areas by the speculative contractors, the so-called "builder and sellers". What needs to be understood is that the contractor, who does not put up the capital for production, becomes a bridge between the landlord and potential buyers as an intermediary in this "build and sell" system. Therefore, the relationship between the user and the designer in the production process was eliminated. As Tekeli says, "The criteria of the contractor were imposed on the architect. In time, some architects became contractors as well but were equally constrained by market taste."[126]

From the 1960s onwards, socialist ideas began to gain ground in the political arena with the ongoing constitutional amendments. The 1961 Constitution introduced the State Planning Organization. The purpose of this institution was the beginning of a production that was formulated according to scientific data and social sciences that were free of political bias. The social sciences were no longer a tool, but a foundation of the rationale behind architectural proposals.[127] This perspective was supported by the educational programs and scientific studies of universities.

Architects began to give more importance to social problems, something maybe resulting from the increase in the number in the profession and their ever-worsening socio-economic status.[128] This increase in numbers led to differing views and polarization in the field of architecture. The Chamber of Architects defended the professional rights of architects working in poor conditions, and this could not lead to the formation of a pluralistic architectural union. Since the late 1970s and through the 1980s to the present, the contractor has lost importance in the "built-and sell" process. Contractors have largely withdrawn from the market. Within this process, housing investment for the middle-class has been provided by the state and by bank credits. In

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[126] Ibid. p.27.

[127] Ibid. p.27.

[128] Ibid. p.28.

this period, the housing and construction aspects of the built environment have played an important role in Turkey.[129] Tekeli summarizes the process in Turkey as follows:

> To sum up, a pre-industrial society such as Turkey, while being integrated into the world economic system, undergoes diverse transformations simultaneously. During these transformations, it has to be a nation on the one hand, and it has to be a part of the international system on the other hand. Yet it also has to create a national identity by defining cultural values that are distinctly its own.[130]

Through the effects of significant event in Turkey, it can be concluded that the process of ideology, regarding the regime and economy, is accurately portrayed by İlhan Tekeli for Turkey. And the sociological aspect of the study can be discussed in the context of Amos Rapoport's significant book on man-environment studies, "Human Aspects of Urban Form", written in 1977.

Rapoport who is an architect and one of the founders of Environment-Behavior Studies (EBS), focuses mainly on the role of cultural variables, cross-cultural studies, and theory development and synthesis. Studies examining the interaction between people and their built environment are generally called Man-Environment Studies and the 70s was the period that many scholars focused on this research area.[131] This paradigm is different from "traditional design in stressing man." The focal point of these approaches' is the human animal's "social and sociological environment and in being systematic" as explained by Rapoport. He expresses the idea of interaction as follows:

> People then act according to their reading of the environmental cues and thus the "language" must be understood. If the design of the environment is seen as a process of encoding information, then the users can be seen as decoding

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[129] Ibid. p.30.

[130] Ibid. p.31.

[131] Rapoport, Amos. Human Aspects of Urban Form, Oxford; New York: Pergamon Press, 1977. p.1.

it. If the code is not shared, not understood or inappropriate, the environment does not communicate.[132]

This particular understanding allows the effect of the environment on people to be examined. According to Rapoport, in environmental discussions, there is an assumption people settled down in a place after they transformed it or connected with it. But in most cases, people have a great impact on the place they choose as their habitats. They select living spaces in an adaptation to transformation. Yet the main thing is that the society members choose their habitats. We can see this as a planned or unplanned choice such as neighborhoods, suburbs, squatters, minority neighborhoods, workers' houses, where communities have formed. Rapoport names this choice as "habitat selection." Nevertheless, habitat selection is prevented in some cases and is turns into forced selection/placement. When habitat selection is observed through the negative or positive factors of the environment located in a particular culture and particular geography, it can be better decoded. Rapoport states that the goal of the book is "to review data", "to synthesize the data" and "to test the relevance of this data to the analysis and design of the urban form."[133] He also indicates that it is a goal to design a city for people which clarifies the problems and organizes the physical and social form.

Rapoport highlights that the spatial organization of a landscape represents the needs, values, social and physical interaction/harmony of people or groups in the space.[134] He exemplified the space organization within San Cristobal las Casas, Mexico diagrammatically. (Figure 3.1) The diagram illustrates the continuity in space organization at three scales; from room to house, from house to neighborhood, from neighborhood to town. The interesting point about this diagram is that it significantly overlaps with the urban design concept of the "neighborhood units" goal at a city scale.

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[132] Ibid. p.3.

[133] Ibid. p.5.

[134] Ibid. p.4.
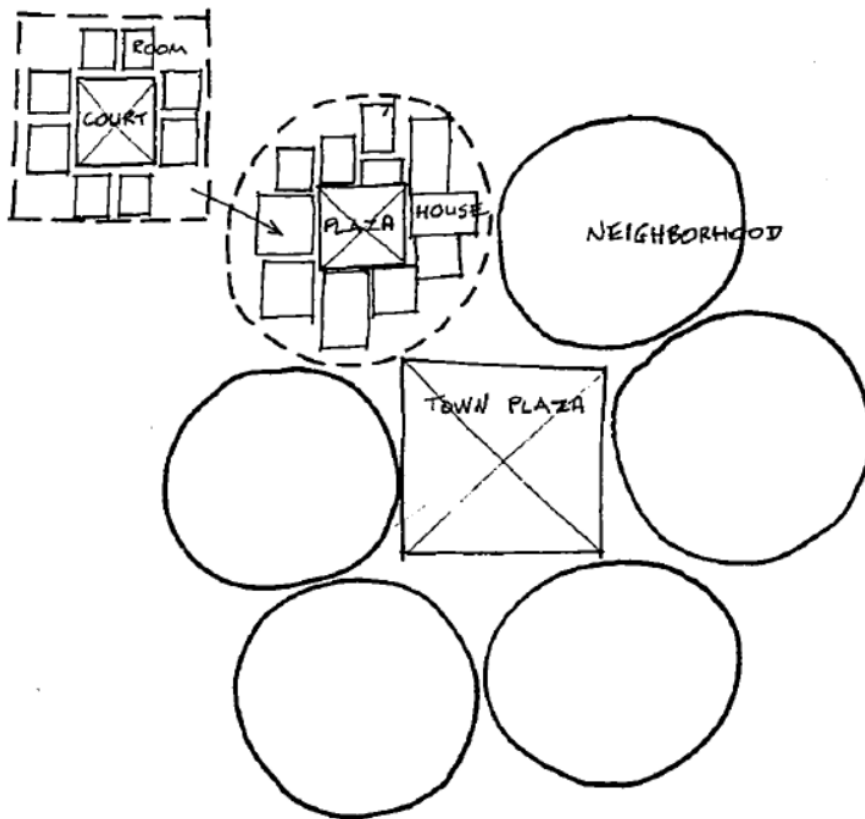
Figure 3.1. Organization of San Cristobal Las Casas, Mexico (diagrammatic) (based on Wood 1969). from the book: "Human Aspect of Urban Form" by Amos Rapoport.

The built environment has various properties such as "organization of meanings", "organization of time", and "organization of communication." Organization of meanings is represented through signs, materials, colors, forms and landscaping. Organization of time is expressed in two ways. The first of these is structuring of time as "linear flow vs. cyclic time", "future orientation vs. past orientation." The second is "the tempos and rhythms of human activities and their congruence or incongruence with each other." The organization of communication also varies in two ways. One of them is "face to face communication" in the nature of the built environment. The other is "communication by the environment". He also states that:

> The rules which guide the organization of space, time, meaning and communication show regularity because they are linked systematically to culture.[135]

Within this conception, culture starts to define the rules of organization corresponding to the habits that reflect lifestyle, behaviors, roles, and built form. When these rules are encoded, the question and the organization system can be understood and analyzed under the question of why one environment is different from another. He exemplifies the culture differentiation in the importance of the built environment with a comparite example; "the views of French observers that the American city lacks structure or American views that Islamic cities have no form".

Rapoport stressed the term "meaning" regarding the man-environment studies and planners' explorations on this issue. Housing is considered by the professionals as maintenance and protection of the location's social and visual aesthetics, character and value, while it is considered as "the symbol of the position in society" or "shelter" by users. Actually, it creates a duality to explain an environmental quality for both groups of users and planners. According to Rapoport, one of the important points in man-environment studies is "value" and "context." The context and value relation may differ in a neighborhood or in a slum study, in the working-class housing preferences, and in a place symbolizing the architecture of the past. He emphasizes the strong value and context in the effects of migration on city space as an example. He summarized the man-environment studies criteria in the introductory part of the book with another diagram, the "Preference Space Diagram." (Figure 3.2) Rapoport emphasizes the evaluation of "preference space" varying through the factors like worldview, value system, lifestyle etc.

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[135] Ibid. p.14.

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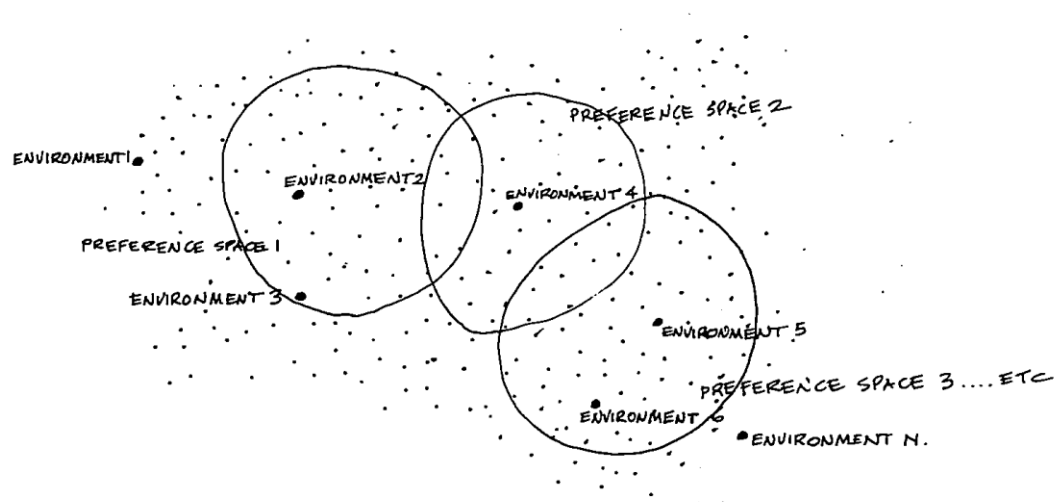
Figure 3.2. "Preference Space Diagram" from the book Amos Rapoport's Human Aspects of Urban Form.

Space preference and the evaluation of the built environment vary with the effects of different components such as culture, social class, geography etc. Additionally, the data, that are inferred through the observation and analysis of the built environment, can be seen in the milieu of advertising. In advertisements, as well, the media include different terms such as hills, crest, heights, cliffs, dales, manors, estates, park, lake, view, and the like. And he exemplifies with the use of housing advertisements in Sydney and Australia newspapers (Figure 3.3)
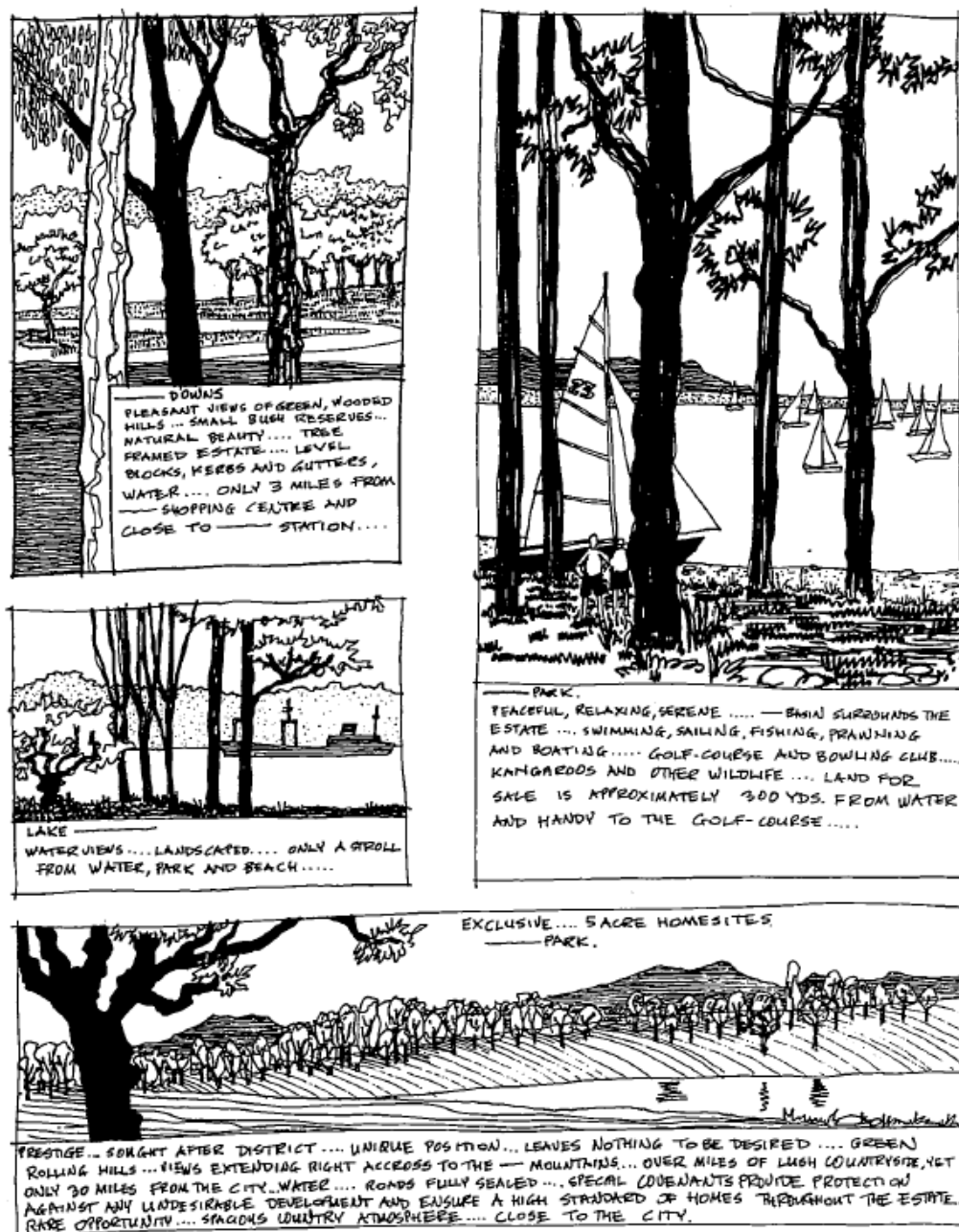
Figure 3.3. "Environmental quality in housing advertisements. Five examples (Sydney, Australia, during April 1972)" from the book Amos Rapoport's Human Aspects of Urban Form.

These type of advertisements for housing stress the quality and taste of the imaginary built environment, such as trees, shopping distance, panoramas, quiet environment but also easy transportation to the city center, recreational facilities etc. They give an idea that the imaginary place is a desirable environment for people. However, Rapoport states in the case of the desirable that these advertisements also create a relation with a certain group of people who wants high-quality houses, who have high status and income.[136] City organization is the result of human behavior, interaction, selection by individuals and groups and some restrictions. The selection process involves positive (which is described as pull criteria by Rapoport) and negative criteria (which is described as push criteria by Rapoport). Rapoport says that there are both "pull factors" -preference- and "push factors" -economics and discrimination- involved. Rapoport stresses that migration is an example of environmental decision and expression of preferences as migration. People choose their settlements or avoid some environment under the influence of pull and push factors like highly valued landscape or crime, heavy traffic, security problems. At the conclusion of these preferences, people create their own environment in the new landscape. So, there occur expressions that are related to the landscape, belonging and preference. Rapoport illustrates these factors as an image. (Figure 3.4)

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[136] Ibid. p.61.

PUSH | PULL

MANIFEST
E.G. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
JOBS
CLIMATE
HOUSING   ETC

LATENT
E.G. SYMBOLIC LANDSCAPE
IMAGE
ENV. PREFERENCES
SIZE   ETC

I.E. THERE ARE 4 MAJOR ALTERNATIVES.
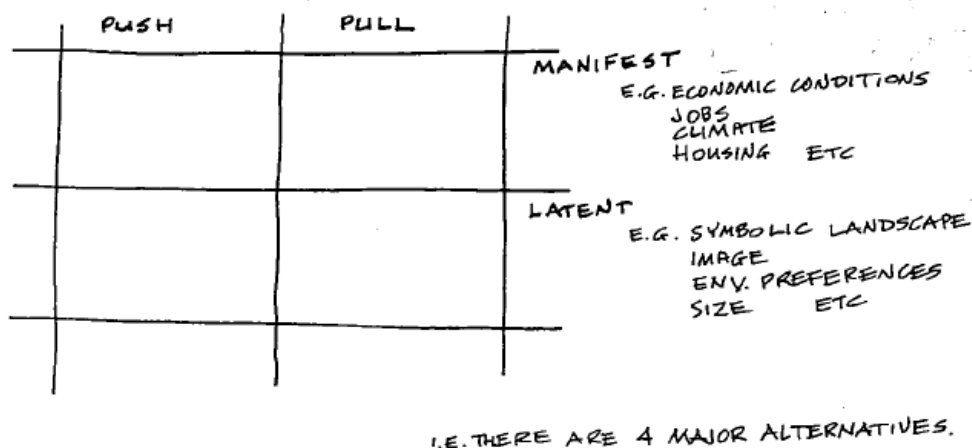
Figure 3.4. "Push and Pull Factors" from the book Amos Rapoport's Human Aspects of Urban Form.

To sum up, he suggested that design should not only be about the basic needs of people but specific needs and inhabitant's lifestyle, culture and preferences. After the discussion of the components of environmental quality, habitat selection, migration, preferences and variability of standards, he illustrates the consequences of man-environment study by means of two titles: the problem of "slums" and "squatter settlements". According to Rapoport, slums should be evaluated as a dwelling which reflects the total social contexts like a natural neighborhood because its spatial value is much more important than physical conditions and the standards of the built environment. There is a natural bond that creates mutual support, relations, communication in the environment and he defines the term slum as follows:

> Clearly "slum" is an evaluative not an empirical term and that evaluation is based on the social image of an area and its physical condition- although as we have seen, the physical condition is often evaluated in terms of appearance – which, in turn, is an indicator of social character.[137]

Another significant evaluation made on "squatter settlements" by Rapoport is that squatters are similar to slums in the context of such factors as mutual help, belonging

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[137] Ibid. p.98.

to a place and social network. The unique culture of squatters is the reproduction of their lifestyles, flexibility and upgrading their house constructions. Consequently, the behavior redefines the space organization in different settings. The differentiation illustrates that different cultures create variability in the criteria of physical and perceived space. He also challenges the widespread view that shaping one's environment by using the built environment and opinions on a human/user as a passive factor in shaping the environment.

It is illustrated with both Turkey's cities transition conditions and the realization of human centered design principles there was a dis-connection of cultural values and the built environment in cities. On the one hand, there was an effort to create an international world, while there was an application of the representation of an ideal form related to the emergence of management and the economic system. Although the intention was a regeneration initiative that could accommodate ongoing change (industrialization, crowding, technology, new society balance and economic system), in fact, the change demanded transformation, and, after a period of time, modern architecture concrete examples became a form of self-representation for the high-income groups. Later, it was criticized as becoming an understanding that was disconnected from the tradition, which could not provide equal value to every member of society, even though the attempt was to serve the basic individuality of humans.

In conclusion, the city is the concrete expression of economic regulations, the process of conflict, inequality, innovation, reactionism, universalism, narrowmindedness, the process of developing. The city consists all the layers of the history and knowledge in ways of different representations with its built environment. It is evidenced that a country with an ancient culture in the transition period of rapid industrialization was, on the whole, able to cope with the housing problems. The effects are similar in different countries but the same condition of transition in industrialization. The changes in the field of business and production and the growth of the cities demanded by industrialization began to make the existing roads, street widths, transportation, traffic and railway in cities inadequate. As it is seen with Rapoport's advertisement

illustrations and the interest of houses condition, the main reason why the media and upper classes began to view workers' housing as a problem, thus, can be indicated through the effects of this problem on the rest of society. The main point is not the fact that the housing issue is only related to the poor housing conditions and the need for new housing, but rather the relocation of the housing problem into the capitalist system and the resonance of the construction and finance relations. Instead, reconstruction of the administrative and political connections was needed to deal with the very basis of the problem. Otherwise, similar housing problems and questions would unavoidably continue in the future. As a matter of fact, although these processes are in different conditions and periods, production, consumption, crisis, financial variables, speculations are more or less similar in different geographies. Therefore, it was determined that the order and the attempt to create a community, mentioned in the beginning, can be questioned and evaluated in the framework of the societal needs.

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPLICATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT VIA THE SELECTED PROJECT

Through the correlation on sociological issues and urban planning in Turkey with international discussions, we can see that the examination of the neighborhood unit can be suitably implemented in the western fringe of Ankara within its growth process, as will be briefly summarized in the following part.

Neighborhood as a planned unit started to be produced after the requirements that had been identified by urban planning organizations in Turkey between 1933 and 1945.[138] The production of neighborhood units consists mainly of three contexts such as cooperatives, mass housing for workers and housing for government employees. Ankara's core formation was based on the Lörcher, Jansen and Uybadin Yücel plans. The intention of the fourth plan was to create new residential and employment possibilities on the western fringe of the city, particularly for the middle classes. The plan considered the growth of the city towards the fringe, leaving the core to the proposals of the previous plans. In addition, the Ankara Metropolitan Office started to collect data and conduct surveys for urban planning. The outline of Ankara, the Ankara Master Plan 1990, was proposed as a structural plan more than a master plan within its new industrial zone, housing developments and western corridor.[139]

The examples of housing complexes on the western fringes need to be analyzed and examined as units in regard to two factors. Firstly, the units have the ideal characteristics of Perry's neighborhood unit principles. The second factor is

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[138] Tekeli, İlhan. Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama ve Kent Araştırmaları Tarihi Yazıları. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010. p.98.

[139] Baykan, op.cit. p.15.

decentralization and creating a fringe to a center with a morphological characteristic. Ankara has two western corridors; the İstanbul Road and the Eskişehir Road. The urban developments on the İstanbul Road, which include Batıkent and Eryaman, were based on state-supported approaches. On the other hand, the developments on the Eskişehir Road, which include Ümitköy, Çayyolu, Alacaatlı and Beysukent, were mainly based on private sector approaches. The Konutkent II site, which is located in Çayyolu, was chosen as a case study area to be analyzed and evaluated as a neighborhood unit example in Ankara. At the conclusion of the analysis, it is aimed to underscore the questions of: Does the neighborhood concept correspond to the nostalgia of a living environment? Is it a paradigm for the planned living environment? Within the process and transformation of the settlement from the 1980s to the current situation, it will be evaluated under the following headings.

4.1. ÇAYYOLU DISTRICT IN THE WESTERN FRINGE OF ANKARA

The developments in the Çayyolu district began with the Çayyolu Mass Housing Plan for the middle and upper middle classes by the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Office and the Municipality of Greater Ankara.[140] The residential projects are named as "site" in Turkish and, as mentioned by Oya Erişen, "site life" refers to "a clean social environment provided by the homogeneity of its residents on the basis of social and occupational backgrounds." This definition then considerably overlaps with the main principles of the "neighborhood unit" concept. The word "site" firstly formed an idea of a gated residential area gated with borders in common. It should be noted that it has a different meaning that refers to both the cooperation of the producers in the name and a settlement that has its own paths, residential blocks and social spaces.

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[140] Erişen, Oya. Suburbanization in Turkey within the Process of Integration to Global Development and a New Life-style Settlement, METU, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2003. p.108.

Within this concept, the middle and upper-middle classes were offered different alternative residential areas decentralized from the city center.

The Çayyolu district is located on the southwestern side of Ankara. The Eskişehir Road connects the district to the city center. (Figure 4.1 – 4.2) Çayyolu's production of residential units is significant in illustrating all the three types of production mentioned -cooperatives, mass housing for workers, mass housing for government employees and the residential unit's current situation in city life. The major role of the production of residential units in the western fringes, in this case in Çayyolu, was based on cooperation credit funding from banks and people's interest in buying a with a loan repayable in installments. This project creates a model for producing residential areas for different classes of society in Turkey. At this point, it can be said that there was a supply-demand relation between society and sources. In the western parts of the city, the production of space started to be transformed from small-scale apartment buildings to large scaled campus projects. The reasons for the large land usage were basically that the price of land in outer parts of the city was affordable and cooperative systems could be produced easily in these areas.
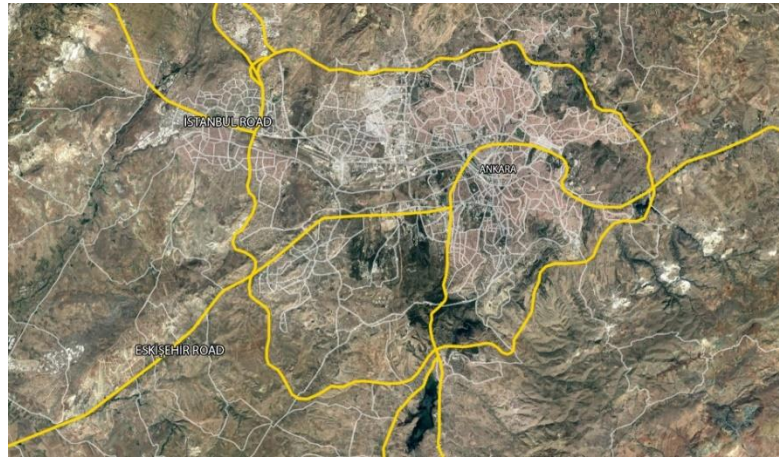
Figure 4.1. Ankara City Center and Highways: Eskişehir Road and İstanbul Road
(Rendered by E. Ünver by highlighting highways on Google Earth map image)
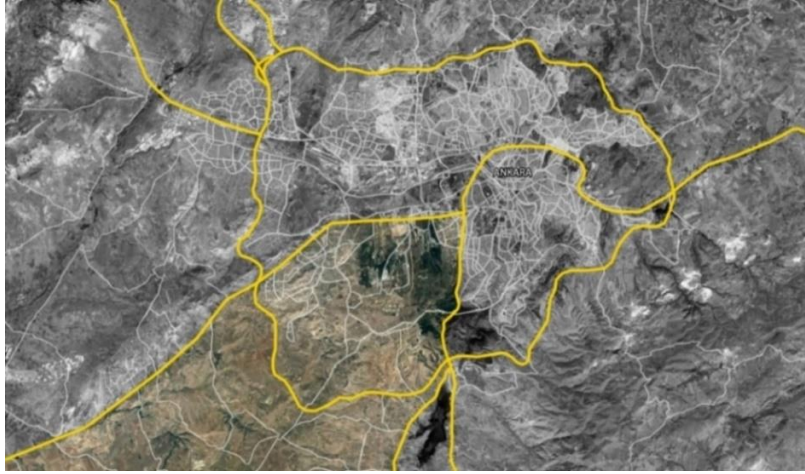
Figure 4.2. Ankara City and Western Fringe

(Rendered by E. Ünver by highlighting highways and related area on Google Earth map image)

One of the main actors of the period was the Real Estate and Credit Bank (Emlak ve Kredi Bankası). The Real Estate and Credit Bank was established in 1926, originally named as "Emlak ve Eytam Bankası", to support the construction approaches of society and to supply credits for several architectural projects. As is apparent, the financial role of this establishment, the state-owned bank, was lending money in exchange for real estate mortgages. The Real Estate and Credit Bank continued on operating until 1946. The signature project of the establishment was the Saraçoğlu Neighborhood in 1944-1946. After 1946, the bank was restructured and it became the Turkey Real Estate Credit Bank Incorporated Partnership (Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Anonim Ortaklığı) to widen their scope pf operations in 1946. After restructuring, the Bank continued with projects involving residential units and state buildings until 1988. The significant examples of constructions are the Ankara Turkish Hearts Central Building, the Central Bank Building, the Ankara State Opera and Ballet, The Ministry of National Defense Houses, the TRT Houses, the Devlet Neighborhood, the TBMM Lodgments. The residential projects that were financed by

the Bank are located mainly in Konutkent, Bilkent, Oran, Elvankent in Ankara, Ataköy, Ataşehir, Bahçeşehir in İstanbul and Gaziemir, Mavişehir in İzmir.[141]

4.1.1. Çayyolu District and "Site" as Neighborhood Unit

Çayyolu has different variations of residential units that can be exemplified as a neighborhood unit. Some of them are, Koru Sitesi and Konutkent II which were built by the Emlak Bank and cooperative production system in the late 1990s. Angora Houses, İlko Site and some other examples are located near one another, and can be seen in the following map. (Figure 4.3) The residential developments in Çayyolu that can be described as a neighborhood unit are the Ümitkent Site, the SS. Mutluköy Housing Cooperative, the Mesa Koru Housing Estate and the Konutkent I and Konutkent II Sites. In addition to the Emlak Bank, MESA played an active role in constructing new residential units in Çayyolu for the middle and upper-middle classes. The land use of the site is organized for different functions that can be analyzed using Perry's principles, such as an elementary school, kindergarten, shopping center, residential blocks or areas, pedestrian paths and road system.

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[141] Emlakbank.com.tr. (2018). *Tarihçe*. [online] Available at:
http://www.emlakbank.com.tr/sayfalar.asp?LanguageID=1&cid=2&id=11&b=detay [Accessed 8 Sep. 2018].
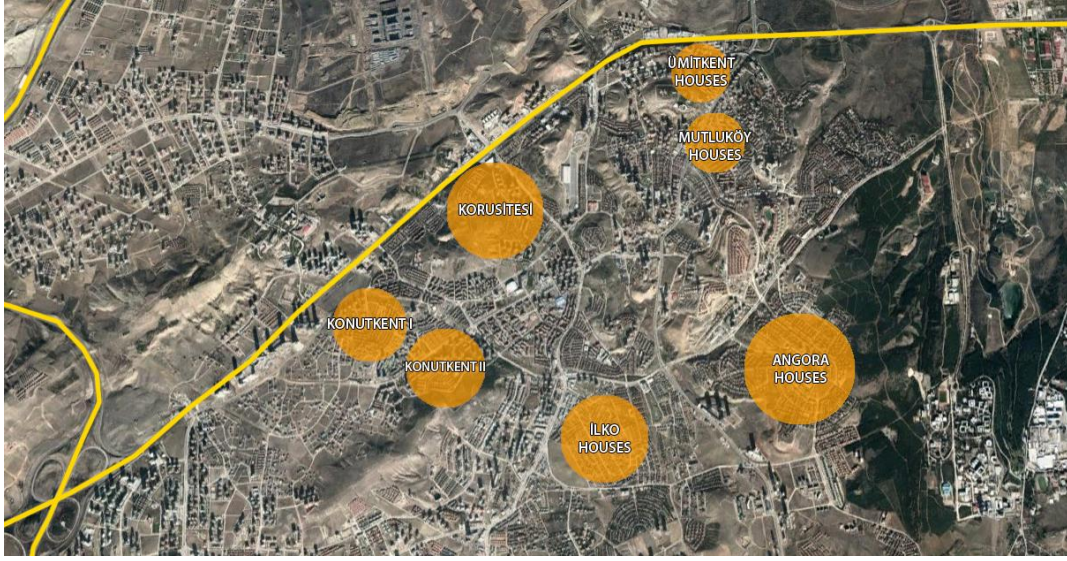
Figure 4.3. Main Housing Projects as exemplary units in Çayyolu District

The aim here is to emphasize that there is a similarity between the housing production in Çayyolu in the period of 1970-1980 and the neighborhood paradigm. It is believed that this constitutes a conscious or unconscious contribution to the neighborhood discourse in Turkey. Therefore, in addition to the case to be examined, Konutkent II, Ümitköy and Koru Sitesi will also be briefly examined, not as alternatives but as related examples. The common aspects of the neighborhood unit paradigm will be supported by visual materials.

The Mutluköy Housing Estate:

The Mutluköy Housing Estate located in the district of Ankara Ümitköy (SS. Mutluköy Building Society) is a "social housing project"[142] designed by the architect Özgür Ecevit. As Özgür Ecevit states, The Cooperative of Mutluköy was established

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[142] Mutluköy Housing Estate was researched by author in the course AH 544 – Architectural History Research Studio Ankara: 1950-1980 instructed by Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan in spring semester of 2016 at METU. An interview by the author with the project's architect Özgür Ecevit in scope of the course. The evaluation of the project was based on both Özgür Ecevit's and the author's opinions.

by the employees of the Republic's Senate, although it is widely known as being established by the members of the parliament. The design of the housing complex was the result a competition by invitation held by the cooperative members. The reason of being for Özgür Ecevit being one of the invitees was his acquaintance and working relationship with Ekrem Gürenli, who is a landscape architect who worked in Germany in 1960s and was the designer of the Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Defense State Cemetery, the TRT Oran Campus. The Mutluköy Housing Estate was the first housing project of Özgür Ecevit after his return to Turkey from Munich in 1977. According to Ecevit, the reason he won the competition was his work on housing projects in Germany in that country's post-war period. He stressed that he had learned housing design and the social housing notion particularly through working on these projects under conditions of limited economic resources.

Figure 4.4. Mutluköy Housing Estate, Two-Story Houses Model View

Figure 4.5. Mutluköy Housing Estate, Model View

The Housing complex has 469 houses; 310 two-story terrace houses and 15 blocks that includes 159 apartments. The central axis, termed the which is called as "recreational green area" by Özgür Ecevit is the most valuable feature of the project and forms the area between the blocks and the terrace houses. This allocation of space was important because social housing is a living environment which encompasses not only shelter but also daily activities and social relationships, in contrast to the current understanding of luxury residential projects. In addition, the landscape design, framed by green areas and footpaths, creates semi-public and public areas connected to the central axis. (Figure 4.6)
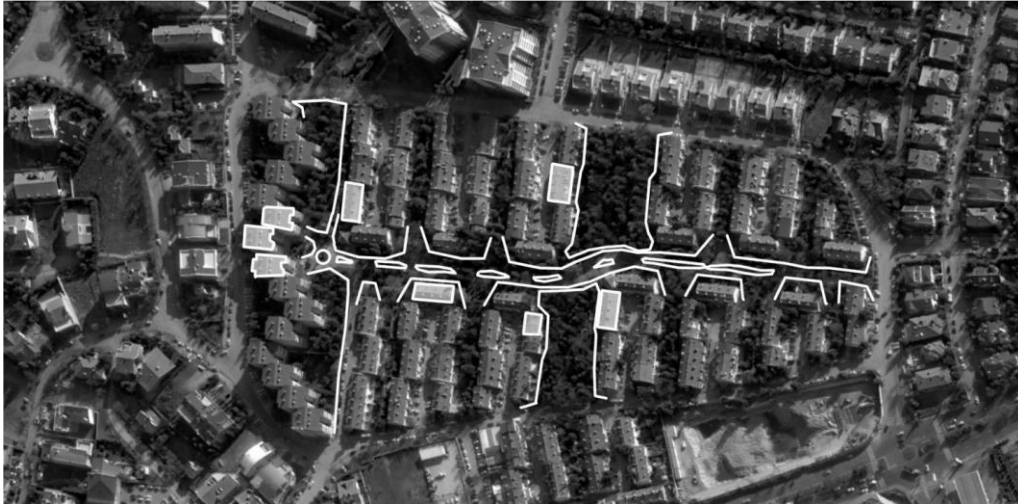
Figure 4.6. Mutluköy Housing Estate, Master Plan - Alley
(Sketched by E. Ünver)

The Project of Mutluköy is a *social housing project* as a *settlement* which does not offer separate social living defined by boundaries; on the contrary, it is a settlement which has both public, green areas and living areas with its *alley* transforming the empty landscape of Western Ankara in 1977. The Mutluköy Housing Estate is a significant example through which is the era's modern architectural ideas and styles, together with various values like; cooperative, construction techniques, western

fringes of Ankara, competition design and the neighborhood unit can potentially be discussed.

Figure 4.7. Mutluköy Housing Estate, Blocks and Alley, March 2016
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Figure 4.8. Mutluköy Housing Estate, Two-Story Row Houses, March 2016
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Figure 4.9. Mutluköy Housing Estate, Paths and Row Houses - The view from "alley", March 2016
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

The Mesa Koru Housing Estate, located in Korusitesi in Çayyolu, was planned in 1978 and built in 1985 as a cooperative with a contribution from MESA. The cooperative was established for middle and upper-middle income groups of people. The unit has 1480 houses; 6 blocks, fourteen-stories high, include 504 housing units, 7 five stories blocks that include 800 housing units and 176 terrace houses. (Figure 4.10) The unit provides parking areas for each block and terrace houses separated by footpaths and main roads. The nodes of the footpaths have small public areas that include social facilities and leisure activities. (Figure 4.11)

Figure 4.10. MESA Koru - High-rise Blocks, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Figure 4.11. MESA Koru – Inner Paths and Recreation, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

The unit includes a shopping center, elementary school, kindergarten, restaurant and cafes for the activities of daily life. The kindergarten is an interesting example to highlight the concept of no boundaries and the associated safety issue, while also providing its solution. It comprises a building with a small courtyard surrounded by the classrooms. There are two paths to reach the kindergarten courtyard. However, the spatial continuity is overlooked from the high-rise blocks. (Figure 4.12)
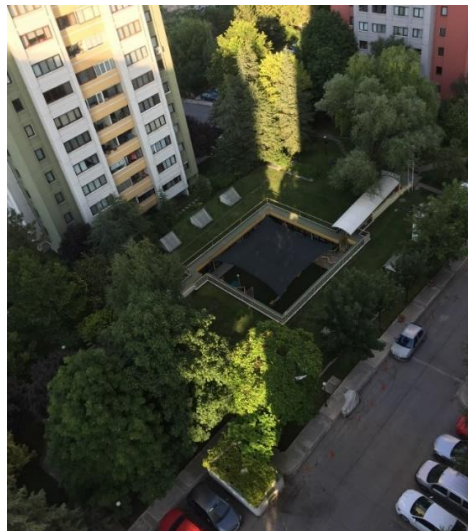
Figure 4.12. MESA Koru – Kindergarten, June 2018 (Photograph by E. Ünver)

The Mesa Koru Site has no clear boundaries isolating it from the surrounding areas. However, there exists a division between public and semi-public spaces within the hierarchy of the pedestrian pathways and social facilities such as a restaurant, cafes, shops, bank and a post-office. The peripheral parts of the site contain the majority of the social facilities. The inner areas are structured around the residential blocks and small public spaces that allow residents to relate with their neighbors. (Figure 4.13) In conclusion, this settlement is a significant example that possess the principles of Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit as a single unit. However, there is no continuity of the neighborhood unit concept covering a wider area that could be analyzed on an urban scale, either in Ankara, or elsewhere in Turkey.

Figure 4.13. MESA Koru - Shopping Center, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Figure 4.14. MESA Koru - Board of Management, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Figure 4.15. MESA Koru - Elementary School, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

4.1.2. Analysis of a "Neighborhood Unit": the Konutkent II, Çayyolu, Ankara

Clarence Perry starts to explain the principles of the neighborhood unit as follows:

> The scheme is put forward as the frame-work of a model community and not as a detailed plan.[143]

As highlighted by Perry, the neighborhood unit as a concept engenders a scheme that illustrates the relations of the functions of an organic whole to show the universal need for a "family-life community". Perry says that the needs that residents encounter in daily-life such as attending an opera, visiting a museum, buying furniture etc. can be covered by the opportunities provided by the "downtown district" or city center.[144] However, there are other facilities that can be local and "well-arranged" in the residential community. The main four facilities are an elementary school, small parks and playgrounds, local shops and a residential environment in a universal classification of a neighborhood.[145] The Konutkent II site in Çayyolu includes an elementary school, kindergarten, residential areas covering a wide variety of forms, parks and recreational areas that constitute different sports facilities, a shopping center, local shops and cafes, a management and control center for the sustainability of the original design of the unit for the site residents, a road and pedestrian system, gardens and hills that all are in an arrangement that can be supported by Perry's neighborhood-unit principles. In this part, there will be an analysis, using both maps in layers and vistas from the parts of the unit to illustrate the principles.

The first plan for Konutkent II was prepared in 1983. Later, a second plan was created to enlarge the area in 1990 by Emlak Bank and the cooperative system. It has undergone several changes since the beginning of the building period. However, it still

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[143] Perry, op.cit. p.34.

[144] Ibid. p.34.

[145] Ibid. p.34.

currently sustains unique values that correspond to Perry's principles. The major factor in the sustainability of the site is that it has its own management and control system with a series of regulations.[146]

There are two regulations, one dates back to 1994, the other dates back to 2009. The extended report can be seen on the residential area's website. It should be noted that there are some important rules governing changes and transformations for the site. In this management plan, the board of directors of residents, villa residents and residents of adjacent villas are all dealt with separately. The management system is provided by selecting separate representatives for each type of structure.[147] The rules and methods that affect the social life of the residents' houses and building blocks are specified and the residents have to abide by rules and obligations related to the external activities which are independent of the home life. For example; it is ruled that residents cannot put things like laundry on the exterior of the residential blocks, they cannot throw rubbish into bins except in the appointed areas.[148] They cannot assign their independent units, which have been shown as a dwelling, business or trading places

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[146] "Üzerinde Belediyece onaylı Yerleşim Planı ve Uygulama Projesine göre yapılmış olan 1518 adet apartman dairesi, 5 adet ayrık villa, 80 adet ikiz villa, 42 adet sıra villa ve 39 adet dükkân, 1 adet okul, 5 adet Mesa Aş'ye ait ticari donatı olan ve ünitelerini, alt yapı tesisleri, ile bağlantılı birden çok yapıyı kapsayan Konutkent II Sitesi Toplu Yapısı, 634 Sayılı Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunu ve ilgili diğer yasaların emredici kuralları saklı kalmak üzere bu Yönetim Planına göre yönetilir."

Yönetim Planı, 2009. p.2.

[147] "toplu yapısı kapsamında bulunan (aynı temel üzerinde inşa edilmiş, ortak girişi ve çıkışı bulunan ve birden bağımsız bölümden oluşan) ayrık veya bitişik düzende inşa edilmiş blok yapıların her biri, kendi sorunlarına ve yalnız o bloka ait ortak yerlere ilişkin olarak, o blokta bulunan bağımsız bölüm (daire, büro, dükkan vs.) maliklerinden (kat maliklerinden) oluşan "Blok Kat Malikleri Kurulu'nca yönetilir. Dubleks veya triplex olarak ayrık veya bitişik düzende inşa edilmiş olup, her birinin kendi bağımsız girişi bulunan, her biri ayrı bir bağımsız bölüm niteliğinde olan "bahçeli konut" veya "villa"lar kendi sorunlarına, eklentilerine ve münhasıran kendilerine tahsis edilmiş ortak yerlere ilişkin olarak kendi maliği tarafından yönetilirler."

Yönetim Planı, 2009. p.2-3.

[148] "Bağımsız bölümlerin balkon, pencere veya teraslarından hiçbir şekilde halı silkemezler, su dökemezler, çöp atamazlar, binanın dış cephesine veya dıştan görülebilecek yerlerine ve bahçelerine çamaşır asamazlar."

Yönetim Planı, 2009. p.10.

on the floor ownership register, to an institution such as a hospital or dispensary clinic.[149] Unless unanimously permitted by all floor owners, they may not hang advertisements or signboards that appear on the façade of a building or out of the windows, balconies or terraces of the independent sections of the building, and the balconies and terraces with walls or glazing. Except on the balconies or terraces, they cannot place a fixed sunshade, air-conditioning or dish antenna on the exterior of the building in such a way as to disrupt the general appearance and beauty of the building, they cannot take unauthorized security measures. These restrictions also apply to villas.[150] The maintenance and use of the villa gardens are determined in the "Environmental Regulation Implementation Project", which is the responsibility of the villa owners only.[151] In addition, the front and rear gardens of the villas must be well maintained. Existing trees cannot be cut in any way, if it needs cutting due to disease, this should be notified to the board and written approval should be obtained.[152] According to the regulation, costs such as common expenses of the unit, road, park,

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[149] "Kat mülkiyeti kütüğünde mesken, iş veya ticaret yeri olarak gösterilmiş olan bağımsız bölümlerini, hiçbir şekilde hastane, dispanser klinik gibi müesseselere tahsis edemezler."

Yönetim Planı, 2009. p.11.

[150] "Bütün Kat Malikler oybirliği ile müsaade etmedikçe, binanın ön, arka ve yan cephelerine, bağımsız bölümlerinin pencere, balkon veya teraslarına dışardan görünen veya dışarı sarkan levha ve tabela asamazlar, balkonları ve terasları duvar veya camekanla kapatamazlar. Balkon veya teras hariç, binanın genel görünüm ve güzelliğini bozacak şekilde bina dış cephesine sabit ve kalcı renkli güneşlik, klima veya çanak anten koyamazlar, imara aykırı güvenlik önlemleri alamazlar. Bu kısıtlamalar villalar için de aynen geçerlidir."

Yönetim Planı, 2009. p.11.

[151] "Villaların ahşap veya prekast elemanlar ile çevrelenen ve "Çevre düzenleme uygulama projesinde" de belirlenen bahçelerinin kullanım hakkı villa maliklerine aittir. Söz konusu bahçelerin bakımı ve kullanımı sadece villa maliklerinin yükümlülüğündedir."

Yönetim Planı, 2009. p.11.

[152] "Villaların ön ve arka bahçeleri malikleri tarafından sürekli bakımlı ve temiz olarak korunacaktır. Mevcut ağaçlar hiçbir şekilde kesilemez, hastalık nedeni ile kesilmesi gereken ağaçlar Toplu Yapı kat Malikleri Kuruluna gerekçeli bir yazı ile başvurmak ve yazılı onay almak zorundadır. Bahçe düzeninin komşu malikleri rahatsız etmeyecek ve konutların güneşten faydalanmasını engellemeyecek şekilde olması gerekir."

Yönetim Planı, 2009. p.11.

maintenance, and repair of facilities are collected from the residents as a result of the planning amount determined by the collective structure board of representatives. The elementary school and kindergarten do not have to pay this fee.[153] The regulation explains the Unit's Manager's responsibilities such as; establishing and supporting organizations to carry out social, cultural and sporting activities within the residential area, to organize and supervise the services such as garbage collection, communication, transportation, shopping etc.[154] The regulation illustrates the local authorities' and management's role in the unit. In this way, the sustainability, responsibility and social relations become structured at the neighborhood unit level. In the following section, an exploded diagram of the "Konutkent" unit illustrates the elements of design principles of neighborhood unit such as; size and boundaries, parks and recreation, community center, shopping areas, Street system, elementary school and kindergarten, forested hills and gardens, residential diversity. (Figure 4.16) The elements of the unit will be explained and analyzed in detail in the following part along with the definitions of Perry's principles.

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[153] Yönetim Planı, 2009. p.13.

[154] *"Konut alanı içinde çöp toplama, haberleşme, ulaşım, alışveriş gibi hizmetlerin yürütülmesini organize eder ve denetler. Kontu alanı içinde ve dışında kalan yeşil alanların içindeki spor alanları, çocuk bahçeleri ve havuzların yapımı bakım, onarım, güvenlik ve işlem hizmetlerini yürütür."*

Yönetim Planı, 1994. p.11.
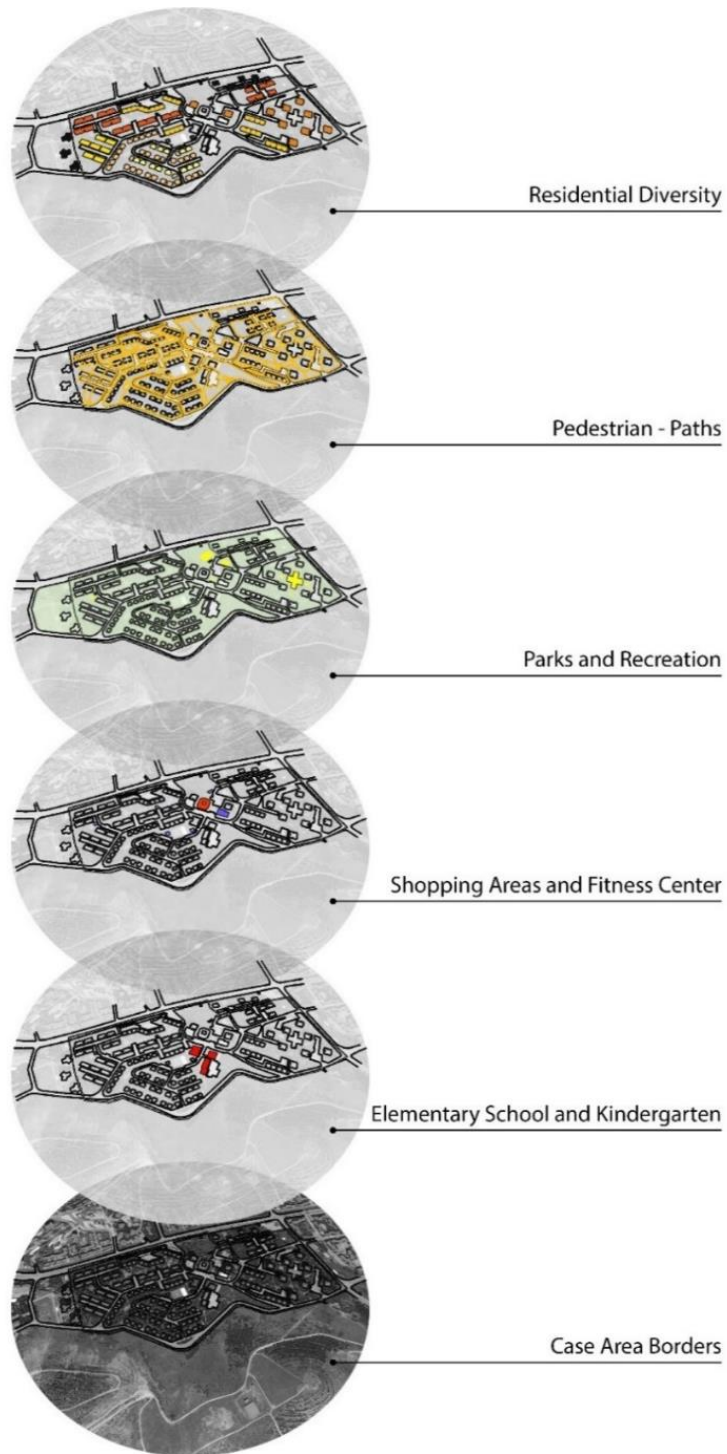
Figure 4.16. Konutkent II - Exploded Diagram

(Visualized by E. Ünver)

4.1.2.1. Size and Boundaries

Perry's principle suggests "the unit should be bounded on all sides by arterial streets, sufficiently wide to facilitate its by-passing by all through traffic."[155]

As shown in Figure 4.17, the Konutkent II site is bordered by two main thoroughfares and a side street. The Konutkent II Unit is not separated by a visible wall or fence, but surrounded by main roads and a small forest on one side.

Figure 4.17. Konutkent II – Borders
(Visualized by E. Ünver)

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[155] Perry, op.cit. p.34.

The unit is surrounded by the 2432nd Thoroughfare in the northwest, the 2853rd Thoroughfare in the northeast, and Hayrabolu Street in South East. On the south-eastside, there is an area of green space arrangement, which can be called a small forest. The two streets which are on the side of the unit, Hayrabolu Street and in the middle of the unit, Safranbolu Street are used for commercial services, school, and kindergarten transportation. Under a later sub-heading, the intermediate streets and the street system will be explained and it will be shown that there is a graduation from the public to private space with a parking system and the intermediate roads ending in the pedestrian paths in the unit. This hierarchic order helps both to create a gradual transition from the public to the private sphere and to ensure traffic safety and private property. Such a unit not isolated by a fence and the combination of these units indicate the necessity of "order" for urban planning. Similar principles appear in the settlement of many residential units in Çayyolu. It should, therefore, be stated that Çayyolu has a much more ordered planning system that avoid chaos. Perry explains the street system in an example as follows:

> To avoid inviting through traffic, interior streets should not connect with the boundary highways at points directly opposite similar street openings in the adjacent district. Of course, at the corners of the unit such junctions are desirable and unavoidable, but in the intervening spaces street openings along the arterial highway should be staggered.[156]

Regarding the principle of size, the main focal point is the elementary school and the elementary student's need to reach home on foot easily. As highlighted by Perry, there is an exemplary neighborhood unit plan of 65 hectares[157] as shown in this study earlier. (Figure 4.18) Perry concludes the size principle as follows:

> The conclusion to which we are led by the above computations is that the desirable area of a neighborhood district from the standpoint of school population, with dwellings distributed according to customary single-family housing densities, is around 160 acres.

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[156] Ibid. p.85.

[157] In American land measurement; 65 Hectares=160 Acres.

Perry also refers to many other accepted norms and he concludes that the size can differ according to the population in the areas and the capacity of the schools. However, he advocates the norms of "The Committee on School House Planning of the National Education Association." So, Perry suggests the size principle as "In any case, it should house enough people to require one elementary school, exact shape not essential but best when all sides are fairly equidistant from the centre." and the size of the unit should be "¼ mile radius" (400 meters). High schools are concerned by other factors than local communities. In the case of the neighborhood, high schools are not as thoroughly involved as elementary schools.

Figure 4.18. "Neighborhood-Unit Principles" by Clarence Arthur Perry

Konutkent II is a similar unit to Perry's exemplary unit with its two main roads and one arterial street. In addition, the elementary school and kindergarten are located relatively in the middle of the unit and on the arterial street.

4.1.2.2. The Elementary School and Kindergarten

The elementary School and kindergarten, have existed since the beginning of the construction of this unit, and are located in the management plan of Konutkent II. The elementary school plays an important role in determining the size of the population in the neighborhood unit. The kindergarten and elementary school are located on a road which passes through the center of the unit. (Figure 4.19)

Figure 4.19. Konutkent II – Elementary School and Kindergarten
(Visualized by E. Ünver)

The elementary school started to operate on September 16, 1994. The name of the educator Avni Akyol, who was the Minister of Education between the years 1989 and 1991, was given to the elementary school. In the 1994-1995 academic year, Avni Akyol Elementary School had 307 students and 30 teachers. In the 1998-1999 academic year, there were 1520 students and 91 teachers and the Avni Akyol Elementary School became the primary school with the highest number of students in 1999. With the need to regulate the capacity, the attendance was divided into two shifts; morning and afternoon. Later, with the opening of other primary schools in Çayyolu, the student density decreased and one-day full-time education was resumed. In 2005, physical improvements to the school were started with the TKY project.[158] Art classrooms, technology classes, laboratories, a library, and indoor sports hall were built to serve many activities. In addition to the indoor gymnasium of the elementary school, there is a large garden, basketball court and audience viewing facilities that can serve many outdoor activities. In the 2010-2011 academic year, there were 45 teachers, 785 students; and in the 2017-2018 academic year, there were 37 teachers and 508 students. The Avni Akyol Elementary School has many social activities. One of these activities is a training and benefit teaching initiative on the sustainability of the green space by students in the small forest previously mentioned under the "Size and Boundary" head.

The kindergarten, which opened in 1996, is a special institution called "The Doku Culture Kindergarten" which was established under the Ministry of National Education. It provides preschool education between 2-6 years old. It has an area of 1200 m² with its own garden. (Figure 4.20)

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[158] TKY is the project which is directed by Ministry of National Education. Project's full name is "İlkokullarda Toplam Kalite Yönetimi Uygulamaları" (Total Quality Management Practices in Elementary School).

Figure 4.20. Konutkent II, Kindergarten, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

4.1.2.3. Shopping Center and Local Shops

Perry suggests that "One or more shopping districts, adequate for the population to be served, should be laid out in the circumstance of the unit, preferably at traffic junctions and adjacent to similar districts of adjoining neighborhood."[159]

In line with Perry's suggestions, in the neighborhood unit, there is the Konutkent II shopping center opposite the primary school. As with the elementary school, the shopping center is also accessed from Safranbolu Street, which is the secondary road that passes through the center of the unit. The shopping center, located almost in the middle of the unit, is at an equal distance from all the gathering points. (Figure 4.21) There are 39 shops in the shopping center with various functions such as stationery, a local butcher, dining restaurants, a grocery store, a tailor' shop, hairdresser, barber, a supermarket and a dairy products shop.

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[159] Perry, op.cit. p.35.

Figure 4.21. Konutkent II – Shopping Center and Cafes
(Visualized by E. Ünver)

The main point to be remembered here is, as Perry points out, it is not essential to meet all the needs within the unit but to meet daily needs locally. There are four corner entrances to the Konutkent II shopping center. (Figure 4.22) Two of these entrances are on Safranbolu Street and the other two are on the pedestrian area around the high-rise blocks. Access is generally directed to the market via pedestrian paths. There is a courtyard on the axis of entrances. It has flights of steps on all four sides and provides access to the open corridor on the upper floor. The central courtyard serves as a multi-purpose social space. (Figure 4.23) As mentioned earlier, the shopping center is also included in the management supervision and expenses. Both the residents and their tenants are provided with the opportunity to improve their needs and expenses through the annual management plans.

Figure 4.22. Konutkent II, Emlak Bank Konutkent II Shopping Center, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Figure 4.23. Konutkent II, Atrium of Emlak Bank Konutkent II Shopping Center, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Other types of commercial activities take place in the space between the housing blocks. (Figure 4.24) These areas are mostly used for functions like a real estate office and home improvement market. Functions such as buffets and grocery stores are not included in these small shops. In fact, the shops between these buildings serve only the island where the specific building type is located, so there is no service that can meet the needs of the whole unit.

Figure 4.24. Konutkent II, shops in between Mid-rise blocks, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Perry pointed out that there are two main presumptions regarding shopping in the neighborhood unit. One of them is; it should be indicated that the small shops are for the neighborhood unit. The other assumption is that the shops cannot be spread all

over the neighborhood unit. They should be clustered for easy access on foot and in best suited places of the unit for all the residents. The need for clustering is driven by the need to minimize the unwanted contact like noise, service entrance etc. between the residential areas and shopping areas. However, in the Konutkent II neighborhood unit, there are some small shops in between the residential blocks. Any possible disturbance is resolved in the management plan of the unit. The use of these shops as a practice or other large commercial space's functions is limited to the management plan.[160]

4.1.2.4. Community Center

In the neighborhood unit, the understanding of community emerges with a natural organization that serves as a common consciousness for social activities and interaction. The neighborhood units, which are shaped as local organizations, have a clear management system for many activities and the responsibilities related to the physical facilities. Perry highlighted the significance of the sense of community and its physical nature as follows:

> The activity of such groups is civic in its nature, and the seat of it – the place where the group meets – might very appropriately be located at the focal point of the community.[161]

This point is a crucial and natural necessity both physically and mentally for the neighborhood unit. These activities are implemented with a voluntary or established association for the promotion of common local interests. The Konutkent II site has local management and business support in order to improve, clean, secure and maintain the existing physical order in the streets within the local neighborhood unit.

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[160] Yönetim Planı, 1994. p.11.

[161] Perry, op.cit. p.72.

This civil committee is also responsible for social activities and improvements. The importance of local governments and organizations is shown in the following quotation from Perry:

> They may include at the start only a hundred families. They are strong when they are supported by five or six hundred household groups, and they reach their maximum size when representing about 1,000 families, or a population of 5,000 people. They continue to exist in even larger or denser populations, but from this point on, the degree in which the whole community is represented in them gradually diminishes. If this statement is true the standard, we have set up for the neighborhood unit is about right for healthy local organization.[162]

4.1.2.5. Street System

Perry suggests that "The unit should be provided with a special street system, each highway being proportioned to its probable traffic load, and the streets net as a whole being designed to facilitate circulation within the unit and to discourage its use by through traffic."

The street system has a hierarchy with a transition from public to private space in Konutkent II. Hayrabolu Road, which is the service road, is located at the outer boundary and the Safranbolu Road, which passes through the neighborhood unit mainly provides service access to the shopping center, elementary school and kindergarten. People who come to the unit by public transport, get off at the bus stop in front of the school and walk to the residential blocks via pedestrian paths. People arriving by car drive to their parking areas in front of the house clusters by way of small roads that are linked to access to public transport and the service road. There is a hierarchy cascade between the parking space and the road. (Figure 4.26)

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[162] Ibid. p.55.

Figure 4.25. Konutkent II – Solids and Landscape

(Visualized by E. Ünver)

Figure 4.26. Konutkent II – Paths

(Visualized by E. Ünver)

The hierarchy of the street system indicates security and privacy in Perry's principles as follows:

> If a school should not be located upon a through highways (unless, of course, all the children come from an area adjacent to that side on which the school is built), then it is equally true that the school's service sphere ought nowhere to be traversed by the thoroughfare. The kind of school district layout, then, which is indicated by safety considerations, is a cell or neighborhood unit in the street system, protected from all through traffic. But travelers with destinations beyond the protected areas must have some channels by which they can reach them. The manifest solution is to provide a way for them between districts; therefore, the walls of our protected cell should be arterial highways.[163]

As shown in Figure 4.27 which is explained as "two distinct classes of population movements" in Perry's neighborhood unit principles, there is an "activity of a neighborhood range" and an "activity extended to the downtown district."

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[163] Ibid. p.52.
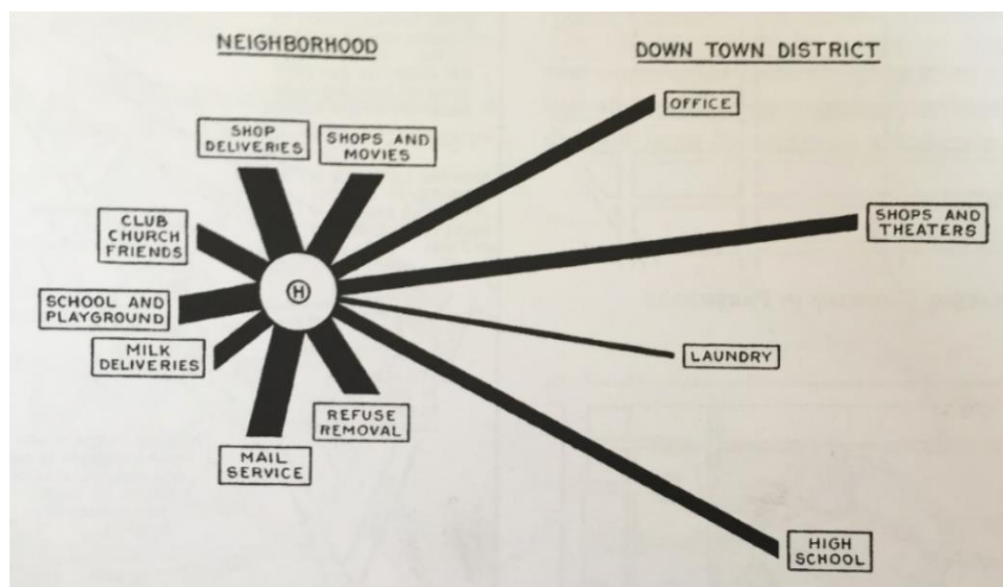
Figure 4.27. "A Comparison of the Neighborhood and Downtown Movements to and from the Average Home Based on Weekly Movements"

According to the diagram in Figure 4.27, in order not to force drivers coming from the city center, the road leading from the outer perimeter, not from the neighborhood unit, continues as a highway. In addition, an intersection or a roundabout has to be negotiated before entering the neighborhood unit. Thus, the traffic inside the neighborhood is blocked and the security at the entrance will be controlled. Dead-end streets and natural-form streets are also recommended by Perry in the neighborhood unit, both in terms of security and diversity. This proposal creates pedestrian priority and easier control of access from highways. In short, Perry says that street system proposals, which support hierarchy, are among the requirements of neighborhoods.[164] Another issue is the placement of the housing blocks and the privatization of the space in between the social areas of the residential blocks. Figure 4.28 illustrates the semi-special social and playground area formed by the siting of the residential blocks. This, or a similar arrangement, can be created when the use of the interior social area is

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[164] Ibid. p.87.

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supported by a well-designed street system. Similar privatized areas in the Konutkent II neighborhood unit were formed by the clustering of residential blocks as indicated under the "Residential Diversity" heading.
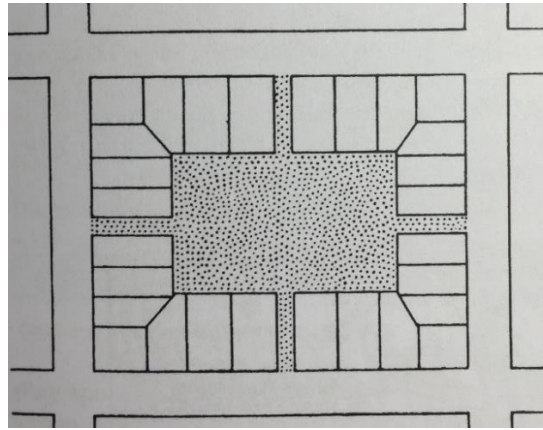
Figure 4.28. A Neighborhood Playground Placed in the Interior of a Special Block, Thus Saving Street Improvement Costs"

4.1.2.6. Parks and Recreation Areas

Perry suggests that "a system of small parks and recreation spaces, planned to meet the needs of the particular neighborhood, should be provided."[165]

There are parks and recreation areas between residential islands in Konutkent II neighborhood unit. These areas can only be accessed by pedestrian paths. These places, which are designed as lush green spaces, are places where children can meet and interact with each other and socialize and sometimes play sports activities. The small squares are located facing the residential islands by the expansion of the pedestrian paths. This form of design provides a safe space for housing users without

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[165] Ibid. p.34.

separating them by fences or walls. The following image shows a large park and recreation areas.

Figure 4.29. Konutkent II – Parks and Recreation
(Visualized by E. Ünver)

Sports activity areas are mostly located nearby the gym and shopping center. Since the high-rise blocks are located in a separate area (on the east of the unit) from the other block types, the resting areas are located in the middle of the 8 high rise blocks. In the other residential blocks, there are quite a lot of alternative smaller scale areas behind the blocks for intermediate passages and residential areas.

Figure 4.30. Konutkent II, a park and paths in the middle of row-houses, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Figure 4.31. Konutkent II , a park and paths in the middle of middle rise blocks, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

The villas in the south of the neighborhood unit use their own private gardens. Nevertheless, there are also small playgrounds and recreation areas. As previously mentioned, the cleaning, maintenance and organization of these areas are paid for by

the contributions of individual households in the annual management plan. There are, additionally, several designed feeding and drinking stations for stray animals.

Figure 4.32. Konutkent II, green areas and paths in the middle of blocks, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

The facilities in the neighborhood include children's playgrounds, football, basketball and tennis courts, sometimes a swimming pool, and gym.[166] The football, basketball and tennis courts are located to the north of the gymnasium and the shopping center. There is also a gymnasium with a swimming pool at the Konutkent II neighborhood unit. In addition, landscaped and recreation areas, social areas and relaxation areas should be included. Information on the maintenance and management of these areas has been previously given in the Konutkent II site management plan. Perry ideas about the management of these areas are as follows:

> The recreation layout provided in the neighborhood-unit scheme could be administered by a municipal park board, but not with the same economy. As the basis of a system covering a whole city, under a central form of administration, it would be excessively costly. On the other hand, it lends

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[166] Ibid. p.61.

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itself, as has already been indicated to support and supervision by voluntary associations of residents. In a city entirely built on the neighborhood-unit plan, it is quite probable that the whole system of local recreation facilities could, under the stimulation and guidance of a central promotional agency, be placed upon the basis of local support. Again, from its very nature, the neighborhood scheme is adaptable to local conditions, favors community life, and facilitates the activity and cooperation of youth-developing agencies such as the Scouts. It creates the *milieu* in which from time immemorial the characters of the oncoming generations have been formed.[167]

4.1.2.7. Forest Hills and Gardens

Konutkent II unit has many green areas which are mainly integrated with the residential blocks and gathering spaces. As already mentioned, the green areas are also the responsibility of residents to care for while socializing with others or using them as safe spaces for their children. Sustainability of the naturalness of the area is ensured by rules such as the prohibition against cutting trees related to the green areas previously mentioned. In addition, the tree planting activities organized by the management also encourage this sensitivity.

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[167] Ibid. p.66.

Figure 4.33. Konutkent II – Forest and Hills

(Visualized by E. Ünver)

4.1.2.8. Residential Diversity

There are seven types of housing in the Konutkent II neighborhood unit. Some of them are detached, some are semidetached villas and some of them vary, as with the apartment blocks. The visual representation which follows shows the distribution of these houses in the unit using color. (Figure 4.34) The management and responsibilities of the common areas, the responsibilities of the villas for their gardens have been mentioned under the previous headings and it should be noted that the site is still clean, attentive and kept in order by the users.

Figure 4.34. Konutkent II – Residential Layer (Visualized by E. Ünver)

Type A blocks, with 16-20 floors, are located in the northeast of the neighborhood unit. Eight of them form a cluster. The other 2 blocks are located behind the shopping center and gymnasium. (A-1 and A-2 blocks) (Figure 4.35) There are four 3-room apartments on each floor in the A type blocks. There are 80 apartments in some blocks and 64 apartments in others, depending on the number of floors. In total, there are 704 3-room apartments in the type A blocks.

A Type		
	Number of Apartments	
A1	80	3 Bedroom Apartments, 4 Apartments in 1 Flat, 16-20 Story Blocks
A2	80	
A3	80	
A4	72	
A5	72	

A6	64	
A7	64	
A8	64	
A9	64	
A10	64	
TOTAL: 10	704	

Table 4.1. Konutkent II – A Type Blocks

Figure 4.35. Konutkent II, Type A Blocks Cluster-1, Cluster-2

Figure 4.36. Konutkent II, high-rise apartment blocks

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Figure 4.37. Konutkent II - High-rise blocks from the shopping center entrance, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Type B blocks, which have 5-9 floors, are spread over the central part of the neighborhood unit. In the southeast of the unit, they form a cluster of 3 rows of blocks. (Figure 4.39) Sixteen of them, which have linking passages and small shops, form another cluster as terrace housing in the northwest. There are 3 or 4-room apartments in type B blocks. Some 4-room apartments are located on the top floor of the blocks as a duplex. According to the number of floors, the number of 3 or 4-room apartments number vary with 44, 72 or 112 for each block.

B Type		
	Number of Apartments	
B1	112	3-4 Bedroom Apartments, 2 Storey in 1 Flat, some of the 4 Bedrooms are 2 Storey Apartments, 5-9 Storey Blocks
B2	48	
B3	44	
B4	72	
B5	72	
B6	72	
TOTAL: 6	420	

Table 4.2. Konutkent II – B Type Blocks

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Figure 4.38. Konutkent II, Type B Blocks Cluster-1, Cluster-2

Figure 4.39. Konutkent II - mid-rise blocks, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Type C blocks are located in the northwest of the neighborhood unit. They form terrace housing with an intermediary passage between the two blocks abutting each other, as with type B blocks. (Figure 4.42) The aforementioned intermediate circulation, social and play areas are distributed in various ways to the areas reached by these inter-block passage. There are 11 type C blocks. Three 3, 4-room apartments are located on each floor. The blocks have 4 or 5 storeys which contain 32 or 40 apartments depending on the number of storey.

C Type		
	Number of Apartments	
C1	40	
C2	40	
C3	40	
C4	40	
C5	32	3-4 Bedroom 2 Storey Apartments, 3 Apartments in 1 Flat, 4-5 Storey Blocks
C6	40	
C7	40	
C8	20	
C9	40	
C10	20	
C11	40	
TOTAL: 11	392	

Table 4.3. Konutkent II – C Type Blocks

Figure 4.40. Konutkent II, Type C Blocks Cluster-2

Figure 4.41. Konutkent II, Type C Blocks, Cluster-1

Figure 4.42. Konutkent II, Type C Blocks, June 2018
(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Type D villas are terrace housing in the southwest of the neighborhood unit. The villas consist of 4 rooms and 1 living room. These 2-story villas are formed as terrace housing with six of them in each terrace. There are open car park areas in front of every row. The entrance of the houses is on the elevated corridor linked to the parking space. (Figure 4.44) Again, type D villas and type C blocks include pedestrian walkways and children's play areas. The total number of D type villas is 42.

D Type		
	Number of Apartments	
D1/1-2-3-4-5-6	6	
D2/1-2-3-4-5-6	6	
D3/1-2-3-4-5-6	6	
D4/1-2-3-4-5-6	6	7 Row-Houses
D5/1-2-3-4-5-6	6	
D6/1-2-3-4-5-6	6	
D7/1-2-3-4-5-6	6	
TOTAL	42	

Table 4.4. Konutkent II – D Type Row-Houses

Figure 4.43. Konutkent II, D Type Row Houses

Figure 4.44. Konutkent II, Type D Villas, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

Type E and F villas are located in the middle of the neighborhood unit. There are 27 type E villas, which are semi-detached villas with 3-rooms, and 13 type F which are also semi-detached villas, but with 4-rooms. E, F, and G type villas form a mixed ordered cluster in the south of the unit. (Figure 4.46 – 4.47) Semi-detached villas have garages next to them. There is no elevated level between the road and the villas.

E Type		
	Number of Apartments	
E1/9-10	2	
E2/7-8	2	
E3/5-6	2	
E4/3-4	2	
E5/1-2	2	
E6/1-2	2	
E7/3-4	2	
E8/5-6	2	
E9/1-2	2	
E10/3-4	2	
E11/5-6	2	
E12/3-4	2	
E13/6-7	2	
E14/12-13	2	27 Semi-Detached Villas
E15/10-11	2	
E16/8-9	2	
E17/6-7	2	
E18/3-4	2	
E19/5-6	2	
E20/4-5	2	
E21/7-8	2	
E22/8-9	2	
E23/5-6	2	
E24/7-8	2	
E25/6-7	2	
E26/8-9	2	
E27/10-11	2	
TOTAL	54	

Table 4.5. Konutkent II – E Type Houses

Figure 4.45. Konutkent II, Type E and F Semi-Detached Villas

Figure 4.46. Konutkent II, Type E Villas, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

F Type		
	Number of Apartments	
F1/2-3	2	
F2/4-5	2	
F3/1-2	2	
F4/3-4	2	
F5/1-2	2	
F6/7-8	2	13 Semi-Detached Villas
F7/9-10	2	
F8/1-11	2	
F9/4-5	2	
F10/2-3	2	
F11/3-4	2	
F12/1-2	2	
F13/1-2	2	
TOTAL	26	

Table 4.6. Konutkent II – F Type Houses

Figure 4.47. Konutkent II, Type F Villas, June 2018

(Photograph by E. Ünver)

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Type G villas are located in the villa cluster consisting E and F type semi-detached villas at the south of the neighborhood unit as 5 detached villas. They have closed car parking spaces next to them. (Figure 4.49)

G Type		
	Number of Apartments	
G1/1	1	
G2/3	1	
G3/2	1	5 Detached Villas
G4/1	1	
G5/5	1	
TOTAL	5	

Table 4.7. Konutkent II – G Type Houses

Figure 4.48. Konutkent II, Type G Villas

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Figure 4.49. Konutkent II, Type G Villas

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The present study scrutinizes the neighborhood unit concept through a multilayered analysis and research on the situation in Turkish cities. Findings and discussions highlight that the neighborhood unit concept fulfills complex functions and relationships, which provide order and continuity with bonds to a certain place and hierarchy in an urban scale. The sociological approaches emphasized in this study have illustrated that in order to discuss a paradigm of the neighborhood unit, analyses and studies should be carried out in the light of certain forces such as population, geography, culture and economy. The selected field study, the Konutkent II Housing Unit, shows that the neighborhood unit principles can be analyzed by taking into account the physical and management relationships within its production process.

The neighborhood unit, was inspired by the traditional neighborhood values as an international term, aims to protect the collective community and to maintain this order and to reduce the tension in the whole city while the new interventions in urban planning were being carried out. The principles of the neighborhood unit and the sense of creating a mixed community in the newly built environment observed in the built examples in Turkey. Also, it evidenced that German architects' social housing experiences affected the period's housing production expectedly. However, the effort was not sustainable in the whole city. Although factors such as geography and culture affect the need and production, the similarity of some sense of belonging that is common in social consciousness can be summarized by the intersection of these production styles or principles. The transformation of the term "neighborhood unit" into Turkish as "komşuluk birimi" (neighboring unit) can also be explained by the reflection of cultural changes and values.

The micro-urbanism and neighborhood paradigm have been characterized by social and political theorists as important foundations for supporting the development of communities. It can be observed that the areas where people manage collectivity in the new order and where the neighborhoods were formed by the three factors mentioned earlier have not changed yet. Therefore, organizing the city with neighborhoods or planned residential areas is a breakthrough that could capture the need for order in urban planning and city management that exists in the examples from Turkey and throughout different cultural geographies. Nevertheless, every period and every generation examine and discover some positive or negative aspects of the city. At some point, the effort to build a society reappears as the key to the individual needs in socio-spatial norms. The scale here is quite extensive, and the idea of an ideal house, which was mentioned by Amos Rapoport in the 1970s, still prevails in the housing advertising market. The gigantic office and residential complexes, which are launched as neighborhoods, are located on highways carrying high volumes of traffic, especially in Ankara and Istanbul, can be remembered through their advertisements extolling social needs for the purposes of speculative investment. Even though the needs and search are enduring, the products that have emerged are not always for the benefit of society. Today, the neighborhood is one of the most repetitive terms of housing sector. TOKI takes part in this discourse with its large settlements with the support of the state. In addition, today's one of the controversial of the national architectural competitions was "7 climate 7 region" (7 İklim 7 Bölge). The competetition's standpoint claims that there should be planning aiming to carry the traditional values to the current living conditions in cities with the term "neighborhood". However, the fact that the socio-economic conditions and the architectural values that were already corrupted by the state-based organizations were dealt with in a national competition by the neighborhood discourse led to much more controversy in the architectural agenda. To indicate the distinction, Madanipour says:

> The rise of the city has created a continuous fear of anonymity and atomization of individuals. The elusive theme of building bridges and forging socio-spatially identifiable communities comes back to the agenda of those

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concerned with understanding cities and with transforming them. There would be a return to the theme of neighborhoods building as long as some find themselves lost in the crowd and need to belong to an identifiable corner, and some need to separate themselves for establishing a status or avoid what and whom they feel should be avoided, and some are pushed to one corner to live apart from the rest, and some are fearful of the loss of control over the affairs of the city and the state; in other words, as long as there is social difference, stratification and control.[168]

As emphasized in the book "Design of Urban Space" written by Madanipour; "the neighborhood unit" was based on the concept of the area of a primary school, within a radius of a quarter to half a mile (0.4-0.8 km), bounded by many transport arteries, to provide a safe area for children to go to school.[169] Perry created the idea of the neighborhood unit inspired by the social concerns of the time. It portrayed the concept of "the intimate" and "face-to-face community". While Perry defined the paradigm of neighborhood unit as "a new generalized urban pattern", he suggested a new urban planning rather than blocks and wide avenues. However, when an archival analysis on the architectural agenda is carried out, it is possible to see that the Turkish praxis failed to achieve the "sociological ideal" primarily due to the dynamics involved in the new economic condition, as well as the sector shift issues together with the lack of environmental behavior studies about urbanism in the period from the 50s to the 70s. When car ownership became widespread, it was necessary to identify the appropriate traffic needs. These demands shaped the wide boulevards, parking areas and other highway requirements. The aim here was to provide an opportunity for uninterrupted and maximum mobility. However, this approach is dominated by the imperatives for mobility. For modern society, Perry reminded us that "Human beings not only move about; they also reside."[170] Therefore, these changes lead to demands for areas which have a more stable living environment than highways. Perry also reminded us that the people on the highway, the passenger, the traveler, the inhabitant, and the people living

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[168] Ibid. p.142.

[169] Madanipour, 1996, op.cit. p.204.

[170] Perry, op.cit. p.84.

in the maze are the same people. There appeared criticisms that the inhabitants should show great caution in areas where motorways have priority. Precisely for this reason, Perry did not take the motorway into the unit. He created border streets and patterns of slow traffic movement, so he did not neglect the special needs of the neighborhood. In a non-interpersonal environment, which is presented by modern life, the social paradigm, especially in big cities, is located in the area of the alienated and individualized. Community reconstruction of neighborhoods makes some parts of the urban space into semi-private areas, some other parts as transition spaces from public to private rather than displaying a sharp distinction. Madanipour summarizes this as follows:

> In other words, the neighborhoods are created to extend the private sphere of individual property and intimate home to a larger part of the city. On the other hand, the neighborhood appears to be a mechanism with which groups find supremacy over individuals, so they can intrude into the private sphere of individuals and households. By defining a separate part of the city, in which social encounters are potentially intensified among limited participants, the possibility of privacy and concealment is reduced under the gaze of the group.[171]

The neighborhood units mentioned in the course of this study are bound together by the concept of their physical borders. In addition, they are not detached from their peripheral boundaries. Even Perry says, "The neighborhood unit, unlike many other planning schemes, is likewise vitally dependent upon its edges."[172] The roads or highways passing through the borders are also the living walls of the neighborhood. The borders that are characterized as living walls make the form of the unit visible to other living areas; they play an important role in the hierarchical staging of its individuality and also indicate its exact area that exists within both their conceptual and physical featuring.

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[171] Madanipour, 1996, op.cit. p.141.

[172] Perry, op.cit. p.104.

At the same time, high population mobility and anonymity make it very difficult to create real social bonds (perhaps only through traditional neighborhoods, natural collectives) that develop in the long term. Dividing the city into neighborhoods may also lead to the fragmentation of society and the city rather than the planned and aimed for social cohesion. Actually, the design of urban space provides a platform for displaying the social relations of society. The prediction that this social action, which can be created by the public-urban space, in most forms of the neighborhood (form, geography) is what it aims to achieve. In the new urban examples, the public domain image is shaped as a point of sale for commercial firms, and indicators of prestige targeting consumption rather than social integration. However, it should not be forgotten that such a mode for creating a neighborhood is not the only way; and strong public spaces are a step towards collectivity.

In the conclusion of this research on the specific situation in Turkey, it could be claimed that in order for the construction of the neighborhood to be a priority for the city and for it to cover a large area, the planning and development initiative should be supported by the state. As aforementioned, it is unlikely that such a program will be implemented through private sector initiatives. The attempt also requires certain standards, funding from the state and the enactment of relevant legislation. Although, a few improvements have been made, it could not become a prototype for residential planning for all classes by means of the neighborhood unit, both for Turkey and for the world at large. It is mostly aimed at providing housing for low and middle-income groups. So, in this case, can a correlation be established between the living spaces? "Interaction" in the concept of social life –whether artificial or natural interaction– which is seen as the starting point, will always be limited in all circumstances. Perry's determination on the subject was as follows; when the villages are urbanized, the old social networks are destroyed due to the characteristics of the new settlement, such as job, housing and space. And he adds:

> The village is a natural political entity-a civic cell-but the city, ordinarily, is a vast accretion of business, industry and dwellings around the original civic

nucleus which has become diseased through the effort of functioning in the midst of a mass of politically inert tissue.[173]

Although the neighborhood unit is seen as the basis of social virtue and urban growth, the urban people (the urban community) who meet together in an artificial way must form common interests and cooperate on common things. After the completion of this process, it can be observed that these relations represent social power and status, or represent a notion of community.

While the housing projects were described as a neighborhood unit in this research, the statements including and emphasizing some key terms such as social interaction, squares and gathering illustrated the ideal form of organization of the dwelling type. The master plan of the Konutkent II neighborhood unit stipulated an integrated shopping area, squares (plaza) and an elementary school, pedestrian streets where neighbors could have a social contact through their spatial practice in their everyday life. The structure of the settlement displays a variety of housing typologies such as high-rise apartments, mid-rise apartments, and semi-detached villas and detached villas. Konutkent II was chosen as a case study because its unity, continuity and a common character of housing and environment design to reflect a contemporary urban model with its layers. The Konutkent II neighborhood unit concept, which has been examined with reference to Perry's principles, does not exist only in Çayyolu but also in Eryaman and Batıkent with many examples, as mentioned previously. Today, we can say that the Konutkent II neighborhood unit maintains its ongoing values and architectural features. There is a shopping center which is still viable, an elementary school provides education and it has a dense population of users. The biggest factor underlying Konutkent II's sustainability is that MESA had been involved in the operation of the unit for a long time. There are ordered and organized responsibilities for the contracting company that sees to the needs for repair, operation, and management in an efficient way. Perry mentions the "tone" and "character" of the place next to the physical components of the neighborhood unit. The tone or character

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[173] Ibid. p.125.

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of a residential area is the value of the space that is formed by the feelings or experiences associated with the financial, physical and social inputs. When the attribute is deliberately created, it may sometimes have no character or a non-valued character when it is associated with the site.[174] The best way of engendering social character is by giving a name to the place. This name can be chosen for geographic reasons, by the presence of beautiful houses or, conversely, by slum houses. In fact, this situation comes to the fore with the definition of the place a person belongs to in the traditional neighborhood concept. The neighborhood is emphasized as part of its identity. It seems that Perry's emphasizing the importance of "character" and "tone" by associating the name label or the importance of the sense of belonging. Another significant quality of neighborhood unit planning rather than ordered apartment blocks construction in an area is emphasized by Perry as follows:

> The second relation of area to residential character concerns the process by which the distinguishing physical features are created. It is manifest that a residential section which was laid out, landscaped, built up and sold by one comprehensive management would have a distinctiveness and definiteness of character that could not possibly be attained by a section of similar size in which each structure was developed by a different individual.[175]

Housing production styles resulting from a management decision will always vary throughout the country. What is important here is whether these products can showcase the "character" of the growing city. Character and tone can be sustained by volunteer-based social organization and local administration. From this perspective, it can be concluded that the neighborhood unit will contain the character in a sustainable manner. There can be a discussion about the good aspects of a planned neighborhood style and the layout of building areas. But does the community, inspired by the traditional, solve the problems of individuality in a modern society? In addition, has the neighborhood unit's goal to create an urban texture succeeded? This topic will be discussed in the concluding section.

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[174] Ibid. p.52.

[175] Ibid. p.53.

The Neighborhood Unit as an urban design concept is still a questionable way of producing urban space due to the concrete examples of its sustainability. The intervention in the city as a designed neighborhood gives well-organized physical surroundings to people, however, it has a limited potential for creating an urban pattern. The various attempts at urban planning, like urban town plans, new modernism, neighborhood unit, suburbanization etc. have all introduced particular design principles as tools to create order but not a generative paradigm that can be produced with overlapping layers in future. In the postmodern world, that I believe will never end, there will always be some new expectations and new offerings that refer to something that originally existed in past or are desired in future. To create habitats that sustain a desired community life, further researches on sociological, economic, technological issues should be made in urban planning studies regarding the neighborhood paradigm. Rather than establishing a conclusion, it should be questioned whether the urban patterns produced by overlapping new layers are the results of the needs of a particular society and geography? Or, is it more likely to be a pattern produced by ongoing trends the interest in which is based on economic outcomes and advertisements?

In the current period, in which unprecedented social changes are taking place, this transition phase causes mobility and anxiety that highlight the need to redefine and reconstruct the social relations that have broken the old ties. In addition, spatial changes; the spread of suburbs, the realization of decentralization with a broken design, the separation of social groups into social layers have emerged as problems re-enforcing all these needs. However, the desire to create a community in modern planning means creating a system of power relations that would be unpalatable to many. According to Perry, in a sense, it means intervention to the private sphere of individuals in the name of social grouping.[176] What is essential here is that the neighborhood unit proposes to the urbanist an environmental and social shelter in this unknown and anxiety ridden society.

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[176] Ibid. p.136.

Finally, to have an appropriate habitat selection, there should be different choices and preferences to live in the *ideal environment* in line with the understanding of Rapoport's analysis of man-environment relations. To create an ideal living environment, there should be a paradigm covering the cultural, economic and social values in society. When this is defined with a clear spatial statement that is not determined by the power relations of economy, it can be suggested as an ideal environment for a particular society.

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APPENDICES

A. ANALYSIS OF NEIGHBORHOOD AS AN URBAN FORMATION VIA "ARKİTEKT" AND "MİMARLIK" JOURNALS

Table A.1. Analysis of the "archive" – Arkitekt Journal and Mimarlık Journal (1950-1980)

	Housing Problems	Neighborhood as planned	Neighborhood as unplanned	International Discussions	Habitants	Context
	Mesken Sorunu	Planlı Mahalle	Plansız Mahalle	Uluslararası Tartışmalar	İkamet Edenler	Bağlam
1950	x	x (-)	x (-)			Regulation, Municipality, New Cities
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler
1951	x			x (+)		Western Countries' City Developments, Dwelling
						Batı Ülkelerindeki Şehirleşme, Mesken
1952	x	x (+)	x (-)	x (-)		Western Countries' City Developments, Dwelling, Consequences in Turkey
						Batı Ülkelerindeki Şehirleşme, Mesken, Türkiye'deki Sonuçları
1953	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler

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	Housing Problems	Neighborhood as planned	Neighborhood as unplanned	International Discussions	Habitants	Context
	Mesken Sorunu	Planlı Mahalle	Plansız Mahalle	Uluslararası Tartışmalar	İkamet Edenler	Bağlam
1954	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler
1955	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler
1956	x	x (+)		x (+)		Western Countries' City Developments, Dwelling, Consequences in Turkey
						Batı Ülkelerindeki Şehirleşme, Mesken, Türkiye'deki Sonuçları
1957	x	x (+)		x (+)		Western Countries' City Developments, Dwelling, Consequences in Turkey
						Batı Ülkelerindeki Şehirleşme, Mesken, Türkiye'deki Sonuçları
1958	x	x	x	x	x	Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları

	Housing Problems	Neighborhood as planned	Neighborhood as unplanned	International Discussions	Habitants	Context
	Mesken Sorunu	Planlı Mahalle	Plansız Mahalle	Uluslararası Tartışmalar	İkamet Edenler	Bağlam
1959	x		x		x	Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1960	x	x	x	x		Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1961	x	x				Cost-effective Houses, Community Housing, a decent home for every family, minimal houses
						Ucuz Mesken, Halk Meskenleri, Her aileye bir ev, Asgari Mesken, Fert başına inşaat sahası
1962	x	x	x	x	x	The relation between man and environment, Urbanism, Social and Physical Analysis
						İnsan ve çevre ilişkisi, Şehircilik, Sosyal ve Fiziksel Analizler
1963	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları

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	Housing Problems	Neighborhood as planned	Neighborhood as unplanned	International Discussions	Habitants	Context
	Mesken Sorunu	Planlı Mahalle	Plansız Mahalle	Uluslararası Tartışmalar	İkamet Edenler	Bağlam
1964	x	x				Workers' Houses
						İşçi Evleri
1965	x		x			Squatters, Increased Population, Regulation
						Gecekondular, Nüfus Artışı, Düzenlemeler
1966	x	x	x			Analysis of the Conditions in Cities
						Şehirlerin Durumu
1967	x				x	Architecture, Human and Environment, Industrialization, Mechanization, Agriculture
						Mimarlık, İnsan ve Çevre, Endüstrileşme, Makineleşme, Tarım
1968	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1969	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1970	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları

	Housing Problems	Neighborhood as planned	Neighborhood as unplanned	International Discussions	Habitants	Context
	Mesken Sorunu	Planlı Mahalle	Plansız Mahalle	Uluslararası Tartışmalar	İkamet Edenler	Bağlam
1971	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1972	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1973	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1974	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1975	x	x (+)				Housing
						Mesken

	Housing Problems	Neighborhood as planned	Neighborhood as unplanned	International Discussions	Habitants	Context
	Mesken Sorunu	Planlı Mahalle	Plansız Mahalle	Uluslararası Tartışmalar	İkamet Edenler	Bağlam
1976	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1977	x					Regulation, Municipality, New Cities, Social and Economic Consequences
						Düzenlemeler, Belediyecilik, Yeni Şehirler, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Sonuçları
1978	x	x	x			Housing, Tree Massacre
						Mesken, Ağaç Katliamı
1979	x	x			x	Social Housing Criticism and Examples
						Sosyal Konut Eleştirisi ve Örnekleri
1980	x				x	Built Environment, Urbanism Criticism
						Yapılı Çevre, Şehircilik Eleştirisi

The table A.1 inspired by Amos Rapoport's analysis from the book "Human Aspects of Urban Form" and formed with Foucauldian understanding of "discourse" illustrates the situation of the discussions in the archive of the period's journals. The table was created by scanning the Arkitekt and Mimarlık Journals covering the period between 1950 and 1980. Within this period, during the urban planning movement in Turkey and Ankara, the housing issue in the urban context was always discussed as the main

topic. The theme called "the unplanned neighborhood" represents the neighborhoods that were formed in three different ways; immigration, lack of supervision in housing production and urban growth. The column referring to "planned neighborhood" represents the neighborhoods formed by the attempts at urban planning. The important point here is that these formations brought into the spotlight the *neighborhood* as the elemental unit of urban planning. The international discussions in these journals have been the subject of intense debate and speculation. One faction asserts that architecture in Turkey should demonstrate an integration of Turkish values and modern understanding, the other faction argues that Turkey has not yet undergone a transition period similar to the modernized countries; so, examples of Western design should be used directly as models. In addition, there were some new terms that were sometimes translated in Turkish, and sometimes imported in their original form and often extolled as educational and innovative in the theoretical base in architecture.

The other column referring to "habitant" represents the issues on people and their relationships with space. In fact, "habitant" column points to how difficult it is to objectively evaluate "people", "inhabitant" and "community" as the focal point. Although the planning steps are a result of housing-related innovations, the human factor is hardly considered in the general context. Neighborhood production is created by the chosen classifications like workers, civil servants mainly citizen classification. However, the return to the traditional house and the sense of belonging, Amos Rapoport's habitat selection base, which reflects the longing for the old and offers radical solutions, is not felt much in the examined archive. As it is seen on the "context" column, the issues are generally gathered around terms such as the municipality, management and the creation of a new city. This is another point that indicates that the human-environment studies cannot be considered in the neighborhood transformation. It should be noted that the cells in the table which are "x (-)" and "x (+)" define the negativity or positivity of the topics in the discussion in the journal articles. When there is no (-) or (+), it means that there is no critical evaluation of the current situation, there is a detection about the issues in cities.

As can be seen in the table, the "housing problem" as "mesken sorunu" was always

an issue throughout the period. (Tale A.1) However, the human-environment relations and sociological aspects were rarely discussed. Even when the problems with human-environment relations are attempted to be portrayed, there did not exist clear statements because of the emphasis on facts as the outcomes in the regulation, demographical and economic dynamics of Turkey. To illustrate the analysis of the archive, some examples and approaches were mentioned related to neighborhood production in the period from 1950 to 1980 in the second chapter.